

A
Complete History
O F
ENGLAND:
WITH THE
L I V E S
O F A L L T H E
KINGS and QUEENS
T H E R E O F;

From the Earliest Account of Time, to the
Death of His late Majesty King *WILLIAM III.*

CONTAINING
A Faithful RELATION of all AFFAIRS of STATE
ECCLESIASTICAL and CIVIL.

The Whole Illustrated with Large and Useful NOTES, taken from divers Manuscripts, and other good Authors: And the EFFIGIES of the KINGS and QUEENS from the Originals, Engraven by the best Masters.

V O L. II.

- CONTAINING
- I. The History of King *HENRY VIII.* Written by the Right Honourable *Edward Lord Herbert of Cheshire.*
 - II. The Life of King *EDWARD VI.* By Sir *John Hayward.*
 - III. The Life of Queen *MARY.* Written in *Latin* by *Francis Godwin*, Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, newly Translated into *English* by Mr. *J. H.*
 - IV. The History of Queen *ELIZABETH.* Written by *William Cambden*, Esq; *Clarencieux King at Arms*; newly done into *English.*
 - V. The Annals of King *JAMES I.* By the said *Mr. Cambden.*
 - VI. The History of King *JAMES I.* By *Arthur Wilson*, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Brab. Aylmer*, *Reb. Bowwick*, *Sam. Smith* and *Benj. Walford*, *Will. Freeman*, *Tim. Goodwin*, *Tbo. Bennet*, *Matth. Wotton*, *John Walchoe*, *Sam. Manship*, *Tbo. Newborough*, *John Nicholson*, *Richard Parker*, and *Benj. Tooke.* 1706.



THE
L I F E
AND
R E I G N
OF

King Henry the Eighth.

Together with which is briefly represented
A General HISTORY of the Times.

Written by the Right Honourable Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

IT is not easie to write that Prince's *History*, of whom no one thing may constantly be affirmed. Changing of Manners and Condition alters the coherence of Parts, which should give an uniform Description. Nor is it probable that Contradictories should agree to the same Person: So that nothing can shake the Credit of a Narration more, than if it grow unlike it self; when yet it may be not the Author, but the Argument caused the Variation. It is impossible to draw his Picture well who hath several Countenances.

I shall labour with this Difficulty in King Henry VIII. not so much for the general observation (among Politicks) that the Government of Princes rarely grows milder towards their latter end; but because this King in particular, (being about his declining Age, so diverse in many of his Desires, that he knew not well how either to command or obey them) interverted all, falling at last into such violent Courses, as in common Opinion derogated not a little from those Vertues which at first made him one of the most renowned Princes of Christendom.

*Council.
Trid. l. 1.*

His Education was accurate, being destined (as a credible Author affirms) to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, during the Life of his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*; that prudent King his Father chusing this as the most cheap and

glorious way for disposing of a younger Son. For as he at once disburnd his Revenues, and the Publick from the Charge incident to so great a Person, so he left a Passage open to Ambition; especially ever since *Eugenius IV.* had declared the Place of a *Cardinal* above all other in the *Church*. Besides, he consider'd it would be no little Security to his Posterity, that this Dignity was conferr'd on one who had Interest in the Conservation of the Crown. By these means not only the more necessary Parts of Learning were infus'd into him, but even those of Ornament; so that, besides his being an able *Latinist*, *Philosopher* and *Divine*, he was (which one might wonder at in a King) a curious *Musician*; as two intire Masses compos'd by him, and often sung in his Chappel, did abundantly witness. These were Qualities which invested in an excellent and well form'd Personage, made him every way recommendable. To which again, a great Courage and active Spirit being added, he seem'd to hold that strong Temper of Authority, which made him esteem'd and redoubt'd both at home and abroad. Had his Age answer'd his Youth, or Expectation, none of his Predecessors could have exceeded him; but as his exquisite Endowments of Nature engag'd him often to become a Prey of these Allurements and Temptations, which are ordinarily incident unto them; so his

*Vid. Consti.
An. 1440.*

King Henry a good *Latinist*, *Philosopher*, *Divine*, and *Musician*.

He was Brave,

1509. Courage was observ'd by little and little to receive into it some mixture of Self-will and Cruelty.

But Obstinate and Cruel.

I am the more particular in his Description, for that Princes Actions are not always drawn from Reason of State, but sometimes even from Inclination and Humour. They have many ways to be Wise, and seldom err while they keep their Estate and Reputation. Nothing is so easie as to reign, if the Body of Government be well framed. Let the Counterpoises of Reward and Punishment go aright, the Wheels of this great Clock seldom fail. This King used both well as long as his Means and Complexion suffer'd him; though at last, passing these Bounds on either side, he cannot be denied to have fallen into divers Irregularities.

June 28.

1491.

1509.

April 22.

The time of his Birth was June 28. 1491, and of his coming to the Crown April 22. 1509, when though he might be thought apter for Delights than Business; yet, as he follow'd the Advice of able Counsellors, fewer Errors were committed than when all things were sway'd by his own Arbitrement; for, as they were selected (out of those his Father most trusted) by the Countess of Richmond his Grand-mother, (noted to be a vertuous and prudent Lady) so he took their Impressions easily, both out of a diffidence of his own strength in the managing of the weighty Affairs of his Kingdom, and a desire he had to be free to those Exercises which most sort'd with his Youth and Disposition. And certainly it was a happy Conjunction for him, since, if the first part of Wisdom consist in an Ability to give good Counsel, the next is to take it; the Condition betwixt both being ever most obnoxious to Danger. But that their Names may be known to Posterity, I shall mention them as they are upon Record.

His Council.

William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary, and Lord Privy-Seal.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surry, Lord Treasurer of England.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward of the King's Household.

Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, of Gower, Chestow, and Rayland, Lord Chamberlain.

Sir Thomas Lovel, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.

Sir Henry Wyat.

Thomas Ruthall, Doctor of Law.

Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, Controller.

* April 9.

1532.

† 1511.

Sir Henry Marney, * afterwards Lord Marney.

Sir Thomas Darcy, † afterwards Lord Darcy.

The frame of this Council was of Scholars chiefly, and Soldiers: Among the former sort I find the Archbishop Warham, much celebrated by the learned Erasmus; and of the latter kind, there will be divers mention'd with Honour, in the following History. So that their Choice proceeded rather from their sufficiency in the Business they were to discharge, and Care of that Authority they must support, than from any private Affection. Insomuch, that notwithstanding the high Reverence they bore to their Prince's Person, they were observ'd so to love the Prosperity of his Affairs, as they would not only impartially advise, but often modestly contest with him in any thing for his Good. Besides, among them (though not many) there were divers able to execute and perform as well as counsel. So that, without divulging any Secret, or descending from the Dignity of their

Place, to require Advice from their Inferiors, they mov'd in their own Orb. This held up the Majesty of the Council. Only I find it strange, that among all these there was not so much as one that I may call stiled from the Common Law; which, though I cannot commend, (Wisdom evermore beginning at home) yet I doubt not was so temper'd, as, when any Difficulty in this kind did arise, the Counsel learned in the Law was sent for. However, it seems that King kept them at a distance towards the beginning of his Reign, though towards the middle and latter end I find some were (through their great Abilities) received into the Body of his Council; yet so, as the King was noted not to admit reason of Law every where; for reason of State: Therefore he us'd to take their Advice obliquely, and no otherwise than to discover how safe his own Designs were, and so with less danger to vary from them. Which Deviations yet he would so regulate, as his Actions at home had still, if not their ground, yet at least their pretext from the Common Law. Neither was it hard, the practice thereof having been so long intercepted in the Civil Wars of Lancaster and York, as there were not a few Overtures for the Regal Authority, both in his Father's time and his, to appear in, and enter.

The first Office perform'd by these Counsellors, was mix'd betwixt Piety to their deceas'd Prince, and Duty to their new; it being the best continuance of that Regal Authority which should never die, to revive the memory thereof in that way only which is permitted, being Pomp and Ceremony. This appeared not only in a great

May 9.

Funeral, but by that magnificent Structure in Westminster, where the Chappel having been finished by Henry VII. himself, had the Tomb afterwards added and perfected by his Executors, 1519. Concerning which, though it be reported that the Chappel cost only 10000 l. (or, as others say, 14000 l.) and the Tomb 1000 l. yet as Monney went then, it might be thought a sumptuous Monument.

Henry VII. Chappel cost but 14000 l.

While the Obsequies and Rites were preparing (the particulars whereof Hall after his manner relates) King Henry retired privately from Richmond (where his Father died) to the Tower of London, both that he might with more leisure advise with his Council concerning the present Affairs of his Kingdom, as also the better to avoid those Salutes and Acclamations of the People, which could not but be unseasonable, till the Lamentations and Solemnity of his Father's Funeral were past. He thought not fit to mingle the Noises. Here then it was in the first place resolv'd to make good his Authority, as having more undoubted Right to the Crown by the Union of the White-Rose and the Red in his Person, than any King ever deliver'd to us by warrantable History. For this End he found or took occasions. In one kind Henry Stafford, Brother to the Duke of Buckingham, serv'd for Example, who (upon I know not what suspicion) was apprehended presently, and committed to the Tower; which yet seem'd afterwards so frivolous, that to repair this Disgrace, he was the same Year made Earl of Wiltshire. In the other kind, Doctor Ruthall became the Object, being (together with one of his Council) made the same Day Bishop of Duresme. Thus, though it seems he hast'd to take upon him the real Marks of Sovereignty, yet he so temper'd them, as to leave his Subjects in hope of an even hand. Besides, that he might shew himself gracious to his Subjects, he not only confirm'd the Pardon his Father gave a little before his death for all Offences, except Murder, Felony, and Treason, (to which

April 23. Hall.

1509. which general Abolitions do not properly reach) but for further performance of his Father's last Will caus'd a Proclamation to be made; That if any Man could prove himself to be then wrongfully depriv'd of his Goods, by occasion of a certain Commission for Forfeitures, he should (upon due complaint) have satisfaction; whereupon so many Petitions were presently exhibited against Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, Esqrs. (employed lately for taking the Benefit of Penal Statutes) that it was thought fit to call them before the Council, where Empson spake to this effect:

Empson and Dudley call'd to an Account.

April 25.

Right Honourable and others here present:

Empson's Speech before the Council.

I Have remark'd two Causes in general, that move Attention. One is the greatness, the other is the strangeness and novelty of Argument. Both these concur so manifestly in the Affairs now question'd, that I will not much implore your Patience. Though on the other side, considering my violent Persecution, I cannot but think it a favour, that I may speak for myself; but (alas) to whom? The King my Master, to whom I should appeal, as to my supreme Judge and Protector, abandons me to my Enemies, without other Cause, than that I obey'd his Father's Commands, and upheld the Regal Authority. The People, on whose equal trial I should put my Life, seek my Destruction, only because I endeavour to execute those Laws whereof themselves were Authors: What would have happen'd to me, if I had disobey'd my King, or broke my Country's Laws? Surely, if I have any ways transgress'd, it is in procuring that these Penal Statutes might be observed, which your selves in open Parliament decreed, and to which you then submitted, both your Persons, Estates, and Posterity; and if this be a Crime, why do you not first repeal your proper Acts? Or if (which is truth) they stand still in full force and virtue, why do you not vindicate from all Imputation both your selves and me? For who ever yet saw any Man condemn'd for doing Justice? Especially when by the chief dispenser thereof (which is the King) the whole frame of the proceeding hath been confirm'd and warranted? Nay, whoever saw Man on these terms not rewarded? And must that which is the life and strength of all other Actions, be the subversion and overthrow of Mine? Have you read or heard in any well-govern'd Country, that the infractors of Laws made by Publick Vote, and Consent escap'd without Punishment, and they only punish'd who labour'd to sustain them? or when you had not read or heard any such thing, could you imagine a more certain sign of ruine in that Common-wealth. And will you alone hope to decline this heavy Judgment? When contrary to all Equity and Example, you not only make Presidents for Injustice and Impunity, but together with defaming would inflict a cruel Death on those who would maintain them; as if this might be a fit Guerdon for those who (I must tell you) every where else would have been thought the best Patriots; what can we expect then, but a fatal Period to us all? But let God turn this away, though I be the Sacrifice. Only, if I must die, let me desire that my Enditement may be entred on no Record, nor divulged to foreign Nations, lest if they hear, in my Condemnation, all that may argue a final dissolution in Government, they invade and overcome you.

To this was answer'd briefly. That he receiv'd a great deal of liberty to speak ill, as well as to do: That he should find at last, he was punish'd for passing the bounds of his Commission from the late King, and for stretching a Law which in its self was severe enough to the common and poorer sort of People, from whom he exacted most unjustly. The chief parts of his Accusation (that I can find) were,

Moffet.

1. That he had committed divers Persons to prison, without suffering them to answer till they had compounded for their Fines.
2. For searching unduly Mens Estates, and bring-

ing them wrongfully to hold under that Tenure they call in Capite; without that the Parties could be permitted to a Traverse, till they had payed great Fines and Ransoms.

3. That Wards, being come to full years, were not allow'd to sue out their Livery, till they had paid an excessive Composition.

4. That Outlaw'd Person could not be allow'd to sue out their Charter of Pardon, till they had paid half the profit of their Lands for two years, upon pretence that it was according to Law.

5. That he usurp'd upon the Jurisdiction of other Courts, in hearing and determining divers matters properly belonging to them.

6. Lastly, That whereas a Prisoner being indicted for Theft, in the City of Coventry, to the value of one pound, was by the Jury acquitted; the said Empson conceiving the Evidence to be sufficient, committed the Jury to Prison, till they enter'd into Bond to appear before the King's Council; where the matter being again consider'd, it was order'd they should pay Eight Pounds for a Fine, (which was thought so heinous, as, at a Sessions being held afterwards at Coventry, a particular Indictment was fram'd against him, and he was found Guilty.) How many of these Allegations were verified, or how far they might be warranted by the last King's Commission, appears not to me. Howsoever, for the present, they were * committed to the Tower.

This Empson, reported to be a Sieve-maker's Son in Worcester, from this mean beginning, by his Wit and Industry, came to be of Council to King Henry VII. and Master or Surveyor of his forfeits in divers kinds; in which place he served as an Instrument, for raising great Sums to the King. Dudley (a Gentleman of Birth, and such parts as he was chosen Speaker of the Parliament House † 19 Henry VII.) assisting him. † 1503.

These Men (call'd by Polydore Virgil *Judices Fideles*) having it seems, exceeded their bounds, were detested of all, but especially the poorer sort, who found it easier to hate, than to pay. To satisfy their Complaints therefore, it was thought fit to permit them to the ordinary ways of Justice: The Promoters they used being so severely punish'd in the mean time, betwixt the Pillory and Shame, that they dy'd all (a few days after) in Prison, save one Giovanni Baptista Grimaldi, who, foreseeing the storm, took Sanctuary in Westminster.

Empson & Dudley's Informers punish'd.

All Clamors being thus silenc'd, the next care was, that the Crown might be put on the King's Head, with that Solemnity, which in former times was used. This was not yet so speeded, but that the King's Council thought fit first to advise with him concerning his Marrying. About which many Propositions being made, the graver sort told him, that the same reasons which made his wife Father chuse to match with Spain, (first by marrying his eldest Son Arthur, to Katharine Daughter of Ferdinand King of Arragon, and after Arthurs Death, by treating a Match between the said Lady and Him) were in force still. That since he had pretences on France, no Alliance could be useful on that part. Besides, that betwixt great Estates adjacent to one another, such Jealousies use to rise, that they may make Peace sometimes, but never Friendship. That Leagues and Confederations have in them the nature of harmonical Accords, which jar in the second, but agree in the third Interval. Therefore, that he should match with Spain, or at least with some Prince, that might joyn with him, when there should be question of opposing France, which, since the late * Union of the Dukedom of Britain, he was to consider as a potent and dangerous Neighbour. As for the House of Burgundy,

Reasons offer'd to K. Henry, for his marrying the Princess Kat. of Spain, his Brother Arthurs's Widow.

1499.

1509. and Low-Countries, (which was come to the hands of Maximilian the Emperor, by his match with Mary, Daughter and Heir to the last Duke called Charles the Bold, *Carolus Audax*) he needed not fear any thing, unless he did wilfully provoke them; the causes of love on that part seeming to be perpetual, as being founded upon the mutual necessity of those Ports and Havens, to which, upon all foul weather, the Shipping must resort on either side; and lately confirm'd by a new Contract of Charles, Grandchild and Heir of Maximilian, with Mary the King's Sister [which yet held not,] it was then consider'd, whether he might not immediately take the said Lady Katherine; and the rather, because the Treaty had not only been dispensed with, in the time of Henry the Seventh, his Father; but some offence lately taken by Ferdinand, because it was deferr'd so long; (for perfecting whereof therefore, he had sent ample Commission to his Ambassador here, (as I find by our Records, about this time;) and to conduce hereto, was alledg'd (as Polydore hath it) the Law, Deuter. 25. of marrying the Brother's Wife; and, to help this again, the Princess Katherine protested her self to be a Virgin, offering to be try'd by Matrons. It was added also, that the Lady was present, and that saved time and charges; besides, she had given so much proof of Vertue and sweetness of Condition, that they knew not where to parallel her. Again, when she should depart the Kingdom, a great Dower must follow her, which would be transported yearly out of the Nation. All which Motives were corroborated by the above-mentioned Dispensation, obtain'd divers years before from Julius II. who, as he was a stirring and warlike Prelate, and had his ends upon King Henry the Seventh, in the Wars then begun in Italy, made no great difficulty to grant it; and the rather, because he was sensible that all the Children which should be gotten betwixt them, would be firm to the Papacy; since, if ever they renounc'd the Pope's Authority, they must disclaim the Power by which themselves were made Legitimate. A Messenger therefore having been sent to Rome, Anno 1503. (Ferdinando's Power and Mediation concurring) obtain'd a Licence from the Pope, many of the Cardinals, in vain, opposing it; whereof more amply, when we shall have occasion to speak of the Divorce. Thus, upon the third of June, being about six weeks after his Father's Death, he espoused the Lady Katherine.

June 24. Their Coronation was yet deferr'd till the 24th of the same Month. The Forms and Magnificence whereof being set down by Hall, Hollinshed, and others, are by me purposely omitted.

June 29. Not long after the King, who had left off Mourning, was forc'd to take it again, for his Grandmother, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, a vertuous Lady, and a great Benefactor to both our Universities, by whose Advice (as is said) chiefly the King's Counsellors were chosen: Whom she so disposed, as they might deliberate well among themselves always, before they gave their advice to this young King, as not thinking fit (at that Age) he should be distracted by difference of Opinions. Neither did they vary much, during her Life; though afterward, some smothered Jealousies broke out into open Faction. Inasmuch that Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, out of a competition for being most eminent in the King's favour, became at last not sufficiently united between themselves. But, as it is a rare felicity in Princes to make election of able Counsellors, so it is no less to order them aright. For, as secret Combination for their own ends, usuall brings them too close to one

another, so ambitious Opposition keeps them too far off; the true distance being that only, which is created by a just emulation to do their Master Service; in which posture, unless they be studiously kept, without being suffer'd to decline to either extream, many inconveniences must follow in the administration of Publick Affairs.

Now though these two (as Polydore relates) had brought all business within their Verge, (William Compton chief Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and who was next in favour to them, being more attentive to his profit, than to Publick Affairs:) I doubt not yet, but their fellow Counsellors were often admitted; though, perhaps not being acquainted with all the Premises, they were hardly able to ground a solid Advice. The Bishop was an old and intimate Counsellor to King Henry the Seventh, and knew all the Mysteries of State. The Earl of Surrey was (in deed) later in Credit, yet a brave and understanding Nobleman, though (as Polydore observes) his Estate was much waisted by the Civil Wars, (his Father John, who was made Duke of Norfolk by Richard the Third, having been kill'd in Bosworth-field on his side, and the Earl himself kept Prisoner in the beginning of Henry the Seventh's Reign.) However, his very place of Lord Treasurer, which he held ever since the 16th of Henry the Seventh) made him much in request; as one who both kept and dispensed that Mass of Wealth, left by Henry the Seventh; which (if we may believe Authors) was 1800000 Pounds Sterling. A greater Sum (doubtless) than any King of this Realm before had in his Coffers. And such as might be thought in effect quadruple to so much in this Age. It seems yet, so great a part of it was by the King's Order, distributed to divers of the Court-Gallants, that the Bishop, who was Lord Privy Seal, and remember'd how hardly it was gotten, repin'd at it, and thereupon did ill offices to the Earl, as if (saith Polydore) he parted with it too easily, or, perchance, made advantage to himself thereby. But that we may leave these things to the credit of Polydore (in whom I have observ'd not a little Malignity,) I find it resolv'd between them, that in imitation of his Father (who instituted first a Band of 50 Archers to wait on him) some Horse-Guards should be ready always to attend his Person. The number propos'd was but 50. But, as every one had an Archer, a Demilance, and a Cuffrel (as our History calls it, but being truly *Coustil-lier*) or a kind of Ambactus, or Servant belonging to him, besides three great Horses for his own use, so it grew to a considerable number: Of these Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex was Captain, and Sir John Peachie Lieutenant. But whether this might raise some Jealousie among the People (which yet my Authors mention not) or that their expence were greater than that it could continue after the rate it began, (both they and all their Horses being trapp'd in Cloth of Gold, Silver, or Goldsmith's Work) I find it was dissolv'd at last, and came to nothing.

This Year a great Plague begun at Calais, which though it consum'd many Persons, was not thought sufficient yet to keep off an Enemy. So that Sir John Peachie with 300 Men, was sent thither to defend the Place; by whose good order the Town was secured.

Empson and Dudley being (as is above said) committed to the Tower, new and strange Crimes were found and objected against them, as appears in their Indictments upon Record, wherein, they are accus'd of Conspiracy against the King and State; and first, that during the sickness of the late King in March last, they summon'd certain

1509.

1485.

1500.

1485.

The Crimes laid to the Charge of Empson and Dudley.

1509. of their friends to be in Arms at an hours warning; and upon the Death of the said King, to hasten to London. Out of which, and other Circumstances, it was collected by the Jury, that their intent was to seize on the Person of the new King, and so to assume the sole Government, or when they could not attain this, to destroy him.

July 16. Of which Crimes, how improbable soever, Dudley in his Tryal at Guildhall in London, July 16. 1509, and Empson at Northampton, Octob. 1. were found guilty by their Juries, and both condemn'd of Treason, and so remanded to the Tower.

Our King being thus settled in his Throne, took several prospects upon all his Neighbouring Princes.

The Foreign Princes Contemporary with K. Henry. 1503. In Scotland (then) reign'd James the Fourth, being of a middle Age; who was his Confederate by Treaty, and Brother-in-Law by the Match of Margaret (whom Henry the Seventh gave him, Anno 1503.) Howbeit, as he held a stricter Correspondence with France, than stood with the Interest of our Kingdom; some Jealousies of State arose betwixt Henry the Seventh and him, which yet were past over a little before our King's coming to the Crown, and the former Treaty confirm'd.

1498. In France, Louis the Twelfth, an old and warlike Prince reign'd; who studiously yet conserv'd the Peace made betwixt Henry the Seventh and himself, 1498, both that he might the better incorporate and settle in the French Crown the Dukedom of Brittain, claim'd by him in Anne his Wife's Right, (being not only a large addition to his Dominions, but of great nearness and consequence to this Island) and that he might be freer to attend his designs in Italy (whereof in its due place.) For which reasons also he had concluded (by the means of James the Fourth) a League with John King of Denmark, and Sweden then powerful by Sea, by which that King was bound to assist him, in case of Invasion.

* 1490. In Arragon, Ferdinand an Ancient and Politick Prince rul'd in his own Right, and in Castile by the right of Isabel his Wife, Inheritrix thereof, who dy'd 1504. By this Lady he had one Son, who deceas'd 1497, and four Daughters. Isabel the eldest being Marri'd to * Alphonso Prince of Portugal, and afterwards to Manuel King thereof, † dy'd without Issue, whereby Jone the second Daughter became Heir of Castile in the Right of her Mother; and had by her Husband Philip (Son to Maximilian the Emperor) Charles and Ferdinand (Emperors successively) and four Daughters, Leoneta, Katharine, Mary and Isabel. This Philip shortly after his * coming to the Kingdom of Castile in the Right of Jone his Wife † dying, and she through some Indisposition of Mind or Body, proving unapt for Government, Ferdinand reassum'd his Power in regard of the Minority of his Grandchild Charles. Mary third Daughter to Ferdinand, was Wife to the foresaid Manuel King of Portugal, in place of her deceas'd Sister. And for the Match of Katharine with England, the following History will sufficiently speak it.

1503. In the Empire Maximilian (though chosen only King of the Romans) appear'd potent; both by the Authority deriv'd thence, and by the Match he had made with Mary, Daughter and Heir of Charles the Bold, Carolus Audax last Duke of Burgundy; by which not only his Estate there, but all the Low-Countries descended to him. Nevertheless, as he consider'd of what Importance it was, for his designs to make a firm Alliance with England, He first offer'd a League 1503. to Henry the Seventh, and (for Consolidation there-

of) his Daughter Margaret, Dowager of Savoy; 1509. and, when that fail'd, procur'd a kind of Contract Decemb. 16. 1508. betwixt Charles (afterwards Emperor, and not above eight years old) his Grand-child, and Mary (afterwards Queen of France) younger Daughter to Henry the Seventh. Neither of which Marriages yet taking effect, the result was only a Peace and Friendship, establish'd upon the first proposition of Alliance betwixt them; of which also Maximilian was no less glad (as having secured the Low-Countries thereby) than Louis XII. was for Brittain. And they had reason; the adding of the one to France, and the other to the House of Austria, being not only the greatest strengthening our most suspected Neighbours ever had, but a weakening of us, while we lost two of our best and most useful Confederates; so that the permitting thereof so easily, may be thought a greater Indulgence than could stand with reason of State, had not a consumption and weariness, through our long civil Dissentions at home occasion'd it. For the Inhabitants of both Countries, wanted not pretext to dispute the right of their Princes: In Portugal reign'd Manuel, of whose Matches having formerly spoken, I shall add little more, than that he had already made divers discoveries towards the East-Indies. 1501.

In the Low-Countries, Margaret Duchess of Savoy, appointed Regent by her Father Maximilian, and having also the charge of her Nephew Charles his Education (who was born at Gaunt.) many ways approv'd her self a discreet Lady; as appears by the many good Offices she did to our King, and to all other Christian Princes, as well as by the bringing up of her Nephew for a Tutor, to whom, in that part of Learning call'd *humaniores Literæ*, the politer Studies, she chose Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Pope; and for State-business Anthoine de Croy, Lord of Chièvres, an able Person, who instructed him therein as soon as he was capable of it. 1508. 1500.

In the Papal See Julius the Second, a warlike Prelate presid'd; who having far more, and other designs than stood with the Dignity and Function of an Ecclesiastical Person, adventur'd to trouble all things. As supposing himself not only priviledg'd by his Place, from all Attempts of Foreign Princes; but that the power of Peace and War did so immediately depend on him, that he should at least, not want occasion to exercise his charge of Arbiter of their Differences. Towards which also, because he knew how much our King could contribute, he passionately desir'd a strict League with him, which was embrac'd, as will appear hereafter.

As for the Great Turk Bajazet the Second, though now grown a formidable Enemy to Christendom, our King look'd on him at a distance, and no otherwise than as he stood in Relation to his Confederates.

Having thus survey'd the present Monarchs in particular, he did not forget to take into his special Consideration the State of Venice, which about this time did much enlarge it's Territories, so that, notwithstanding the opposition not only of the chief Christian Potentates, but even of the Turks themselves, they extended their Dominions every way: Insomuch, that the Pope Maximilian, Ferdinand and Louis the Twelfth had the last year, being 1508, enter'd at Cambray into a League against them, the Conditions whereof were; That they should not desist till they had recover'd all those places which the Venetians had taken from them; upon confidence yet, that the first Conqueror should restore to any of the Confederates that which belong'd to him. And that 1508. Dec. 9.

1509. that *Louis* the Twelfth should be General of the Armies, and personally present in the Expedition. To which also he was the more dispos'd, for that the *Venetians* had gotten from him sundry places belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*. Howbeit, as these Affairs did not directly concern our King, so he took the more leasure to attend the event, and to serve himself thereof.

A Parliament
call'd.

1509.
Reign 1.
Jan. 21.

By this time it was thought fit for many Reasons, but especially for contenting the Commonalty, which seem'd to be wholly alter'd by the rigorous proceedings of *Henry* the Seventh, to call a Parliament, which began in *January* following. Here then *Empson* and *Dudley*, formerly not only expos'd to the revenge of all Men, but publickly condemn'd (as is above related) were attain'd of High Treason. And here I shall touch a little upon the Laws enacted the first year of this King, as far as they may concern the more Historical and Political parts. I find therefore, divers of these Statutes by which King *Henry* the Seventh took advantage of the People, repeal'd, explain'd, or limited. Among which the benefit of forfeitures for Penal Laws, was reduc'd to the term of three years next preceding. Inasmuch that the principal scope of this Parliament, seem'd to have reference to *Empson* and *Dudley's* business, which was so represented, (by the Lower-House of Parliament chiefly) that the King was willing to restrain his own Authority in some sort, that he might enlarge the Peoples Confidence and Affection towards him. Lastly, in this kind some untrue Inquisitions found by *Empson* and *Dudley*, as also some assurances of Lands past to them, were annihilated and made void. Besides which I find little material, save only that a Sumptuary Law against Excess of Apparel, was Repeal'd, and a new one a little more decent Subrogated.

As our King was now in high esteem with his People for Justice, so was he no less redoubt'd abroad, for the hopes he gave of being an Active and Courageous Prince. All which was the more regarded, because his Treasure was so great, that he might be thought able suddenly, and without the delays usual in raising of Money, to execute his Designs.

Therefore divers Ambassadors repair'd to him from *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and other places, who were magnificently entertain'd.

The business of the *French* King (*Louis* the Twelfth) was chiefly to keep good Correspondence between the two Countries, while himself went on with his Wars in *Italy*. In sequence hereof also *Tillet* saith, there was a Peace made between *England* and *France* this year, *March* 23. 1498. And, whereas at the Treaty of Peace in *July* 1498. *Louis* the Twelfth had given caution to *Henry* the Seventh, to pay that which remained of 745000 Crowns, due according to a Treaty made between *Charles* the Eighth, and the said *Henry*, 13 *Novemb.* 1492. Now the said *Louis* did stipulate to pay the remainder of the Sum.

That of *Scotland* was Congratulation in King *James* the Fourth's Brother-in-Law, and his Sisters Names, with confirmation of the late Treaty of Peace; containing also some Propositions tending to the penetrating of our Kings present Designs, that they might frame their Counsels accordingly, which was with some relation to *France*.

That for *Denmark*, was chiefly to establish a better course for Trade; for which purpose a Statute was repeal'd at this Parliament, which did prohibit our Men other Traffick towards *Denmark* and *Iseland*, than to a place call'd *Norrburn*.

The King finding now all things safe both

abroad and at home, took those liberties which became his Youth; yet were not his Exercises sportful alone, but had in them a mixture of Letters and Arms. Therefore though some relate that he us'd Singing, Dancing, playing on the Flute and Virginals, making Verles and the like: Yet his more serious Entertainments were the study of History and School-Divinity (in which he especially delighted,) Jufts, Turneys, Barriers, and that not in an ordinary manner, but with the Two-handed-Sword and Battle-Ax. These again were set forth with costly Pageants and Devises, and these so frequently, that not only much time, but a great part of the Treasure was consum'd in 'em. Of which whoever desires to see more, may peruse *Hall* and *Hollinshed*, who have many particulars worth looking on, for him that hath so much leasure. Besides these, he us'd sometimes Tennis and Dice, at which certain Strangers used to play with him; till the King, finding 'em to be Cheats, at length chas'd 'em away.

Empson and *Dudley* lying now in Prison, condemn'd and attain'd by Parliament, the importunate clamours of the People prevailing with the King in this years Progress, he not only restor'd divers Mults, but for further satisfaction to the Commonalty (by a special Writ) commanded to have their Heads struck off, *August* 18. doing therein (as thought by many) more like a good King, than a good Master.

Julius the Second having recover'd what he desir'd in *Italy*, by his Wars the last year, was contented now to accept the submission of the *Venetians*, with whom (his Confederates not being privy thereto) he made Peace *Feb.* 24. 1510. and being jealous of the greatness of the *French* in *Italy*, (with whom he had also this quarrel, that they defended *Alfonso d'Este* Duke of *Ferrara* against him) he endeavour'd all he could to oppose them; to this purpose he inclin'd *Ferdinand* Speed. by giving him the Investiture of *Naples*, King *Henry* the Eighth he solicited, by putting him in mind of the Glory of his Ancestors, &c. and offering him the Honour to be *Caput faderis Italici*. Our King upon this sends *Christopher Bambridge* Archbishop of *York*, to reside at *Rome*, and treat of these matters. In the mean while the Pope and the *Venetians* proceed, and attempt *Ferrara*, *Genoia*, and other places. But as they prosper'd not, he lays hold on his Spiritual Sword, and Excommunicates *Este*, with all his Adherents. *Louis* the Twelfth on the other side calls a Synod of the *French* Church at *Tours* in *France*; where certain Questions touching the Popes late Actions and his Authority were proposed, and resolved against him, and his Excommunication pronounced void. It was also decreed, that an Admonition should be sent to him, to imbrace Peace and Moderation; which if he refus'd, he should be summon'd to call a free and general Council (according to the Decree of the Council of *Basle*.) *Louis* having proceeded thus far, communicated the matter to *Maximilian* (whom as yet the Pope had not won from him) and joining with themselves the Cardinals *Bernardine*, *Brisenet*, and others, they summon'd a Council to be held 1 *Sept.* 1511. at *Pisa*, commanding the Pope to appear there. While these things were doing, the *French* under *Chaumont* came before *Bononia*, where the Pope now lay sick, and besieg'd it, forcing him to such hard Conditions, as upon the coming of relief he would not stand to. Howsoever, this besieging of the Pope being given out, sounded so ill, that our King presently made a League with *Ferdinand* for his Defence; which was an engagement for greater Actions hereafter, as we shall see in its place.

The

1510.
K. Henry's
Sports
and Exercises.

Empson
and *Dudley*
beheaded.
Aug. 18.

Feb. 24.

Head of
the Italian
League.

Pope *Julius* II.
Excommunicates
the Duke
of *Ferrara*.
Sept.
Dupleix.

A National Synod
in *France*
declares
that Excommunication
void.

A Council
summon'd
without
the Pope.
He is cited to appear before 'em.

1511.
Jan. 1. The first day of this year, being 1511, the Queen was brought to bed of a Son, which therefore in the Name of a New-years-Gift, was by her presented to the King. But as the Child liv'd not to the latter end of the next Month, so the greatness of Joy did more than expire in the shortness. Notwithstanding which, it is said the youthful Parents were soon comforted, reputing, that in Children (as in Silver Vessels) little is usually lost, but the fashion. But it fell not out so well, for it pleas'd God, that no Heirs Males remain'd betwixt them two. In the mean time **Feb.** Ferdinand King of Arragon, being not ignorant in what estate his Daughter was, sent Ambassadors to perform his due Complements on that occasion, and withal, to sollicite the King for Assistance against the Moors in Africk. He had already conquer'd those in the Province and City of Granada; through the Streets whereof as he rode triumphantly, 1492, the certain News was brought him of those great Riches, discover'd in the Indies by Columbus; which I therefore mention, because (to use the Spanish Phrase) I think it the greatest Coyuntura that ever happen'd; he having reduc'd his Dominions in Spain to an intireness, and at the same time receiv'd News of that immense Treasure in another World. His demand was presently granted by our King, and the Lord Thomas Darcy sent with 1500 Archers (the Soldiers then in request) to Ferdinand, with whose help he intended to revenge the loss receiv'd the * last year at Gelves in Barbary. **Aug. 30.** Howbeit, as Julius the Second being much press'd by the French (whose Affairs prosper'd in Italy) requir'd the help of Ferdinand against them; he desist'd from his Enterprize, and resolv'd to succour the Pope; whereupon also our Men richly rewarded, did return home.
May. In like manner Margaret Regent of the Low-Countries, obtain'd of the King 1500 Archers to assist her against the Duke of Gueldres, though Confederate of Lewis the Twelfth, and James the Fourth. These therefore under the Command of Sir Edward Poynings Knight of the Garter, lately * made Warden of the Cinque-Ports, presently after their landing were met by the said Lady Regent, and thereupon united and recommended with much favour and particularity to the rest of her Army. The Exploits done by this brave Cavalier, and our English, I have not expressly set down, both for that the Lady Regent joyn'd not any considerable forces with them, for the employing great Actions; and that themselves were not free to attempt any thing by themselves. Howsoever, I find they were licensed to return, (not without great testimonies of their worth) and that, upon review of the Troops, Sir Edward Poynings found that not fully a hundred of his Men were wanting.
The King's Authority over the Narrow-Seas (studiously conserved ever by his Ancestors) was about this time somewhat lessen'd by the Piracies of Andrew Breton (whom our Chronicles call Barton) a Scottish-Man. This Breton, in revenge of his Fathers Death, as also other Injuries, having in vain sought redress in Flanders, for a Ship taken from his said Father by some Portugals, obtain'd Letters of Mark from James the Fourth, upon condition yet, he should not exercise Piracy. Notwithstanding which, he seiz'd on divers of our lesser Barques (upon pretence of carrying Portugal's Goods) and pillaged them. For remedy of which Inconvenience, the two Sons of Thomas Earl of Surrey (Lord Treasurer, and Earl-Marshal of England) were employ'd. The younger call'd Edward, being Lord Admiral, commanding in one Ship; and Thomas the elder Brother in another. Thereupon (in several places,

though at one time) they invested Bretons two Ships; which, though the Scottish Writers make to be far less than ours, maintain'd a cruel Fight: The obstinate Pirate (though so grievously hurt that he died on the place) encouraging his Men with his Whistle, even to his last Breath. But our English pursu'd their point so, that at last they forc'd these Ships, and brought them (together with the Men that remain'd) away, and presented them to the King; who, upon their submission, graciously pardon'd them; so that they would depart out of his Kingdom within 20 days. James the Fourth hearing of this, sent to require satisfaction, as being against the Treaty betwixt them. But it was answer'd, That it did not become a King to impute breach of Treaty to his Confederates and Allies, only for doing Justice on a Pirate. The Messenger, rather silenc'd with this Answer, than satisfi'd, returns to his King; who, when occasion was offer'd, fail'd not to shew how ill he took the death of Breton.
The Pope being freed from Siege at Bononia, proceeds in his Wars against the French; goes in Person against Mirandola, and by Composition takes it; but, not long after loses Bononia to the French, led by Gaston de Foix, his whole Army being routed. Yet was not this a greater Affront to him, than the Council to be held at Pisa, a City now in the hands of the Florentines, whom therefore Julius presently interdicts, and shortly after expelling Soderinus (Governor thereof by means of Charles the Eighth of France) restores the Family of the Medices, who were formerly expuls'd. The Princes also and the Cardinals who summon'd this Council being Excommunicate, &c. notwithstanding which they proceed. But being slighted by the Citizens of Pisa, they translate the Council to Milan; but finding no better respect there, they remove it to Lyons in France; where they summon'd Julius to appear, and answer, and finally suspended his Authority. Upon this, the Pope thunders against France, exposing it, (together with Navarre, whose King favour'd Lewis) to the Conqueror; and, to Abrogate the Council of Lyons, he summon'd another to be held at the Lateran in Rome, April 19. 1512. Unto this Council our King sent his Commissioners, being Sylvester Bishop of Worcester, John Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Docwra Lord Prior of Saint Johns, and Richard Abbot of Winchelcombe, Feb. 4. 1512, as appears by our Records. In this Council the Sentence of Excommunication was confirm'd against the Authors of the other Council, and the Acts of it revers'd. Not content herewith, he sent also to Ferdinand, and to King Henry the Eighth (who had already privately mediated a League with him) to take open Arms, and fall upon France. Not neglecting together to use all means for withdrawing Maximilian from the French Party. For though he had joyn'd with Lewis to call the Council at Pisa, (first rough-hew'd at * Tours) and did still adhere to him: Yet, as the Pope and Ferdinand, whom he would not disoblige, offer'd him more advantageous Conditions, he was gain'd at last to the contrary Party, and Lewis expos'd to the Danger. The Principal Agent which the Pope used to our King, was Christopher Bambridge, who had resided a while at Rome; and for this Service was thought to deserve the Cardinals Hat, which also he obtain'd in March 1511. In the mean while, the business being brought to our Council-Table, some spake in this manner.
That a fairer Opportunity was never offer'd, whether be desir'd to maintain the Authority of the Pope, or to recover his own Right in France. That either of these were just Considerations, but both together not so the Pope.

1511.
 Buch.

Andrew Barton, a Scotch Pirate, taken by the English. Aug. 2

The King of Scotland re-sents it.

Jan. 2.
 I. de Scer.
 May.

The Council suspends the Pope Ex Officio.

Feb. 4.
 1512.

1510.
 Sept.

Hist. Pont. Ciacconii, &c.

Reasons for a Breach with France in favour of the Pope.

1511. to be pretermitted. To further these Designs, he should not only have the Assistance and Blessing of his Holiness, but of his Father-in-Law. Besides which, it was possible Maximilian the Emperor might joyn herein; however he and Lewis the 12th, had of late concurred in their Designs. That it was probable, his Subjects in France retain'd still a due Memory not only of their Allegiance, but of the benefit receiv'd from the Crown of England. Besides, that in France there never wanted discontented Persons, who would joyn with his Forces. And for his Coffers, they were not so full in any King's time; to which again he could not doubt but a large Supply would be given by Parliament, which never fail'd in Contribution, when there was no question of War with that Country. As for the Difficulties he should find in the Enterprise, they were not considerable. Louis the Twelfth being not only deeply engag'd in a War in Italy, but having lost his best Men there; so that before he could give order for his Affairs at home, he might be oppress'd; or, when he would leave his pretences on Italy, to look to his own Country, that would yet free the Pope from the danger he was in, and consequently give his Majesty the Honour of performing his Intentions.

Reasons
against it

Some yet, that did more seriously weigh the business, opin'd thus; That the Kings Title indeed in France, especially to the Hereditary Provinces, was undoubted; the occasion fair; and many Circumstances besides conducing to this great Business: Yet that all these were not sufficient for the making of a War against so potent a Neighbour, unless there were more than possibility of effecting our Purposes. This they might consider by comparing these times with the former. And if when all Guyenne, Anjou, Touraine, and for a long while Normandy was ours; and when, besides this, the Duke of Bretagne was our friend, and the House of Burgundy an assur'd Ally and Confederate to this Kingdom, we yet could not advance our Designs in that Country, what hope is there now to attain them? Are we stronger now than at that time? Or can we promise our selves better Success? Let it be granted, that as many Battels as we have fought against the French, have been almost so many Victories; what was this Kingdom the better for them; Who can say he made a fortune thereby? Had we ever a more glorious time than that of Edward the Third; and was yet the Country ever more poor or weary of the Wars. If you will not believe our Histories, look even on our Records, and you will find not only how the Treasure of our Kingdom was much exhausted, but even the People themselves glutted with their Prosperity. And shall we trust now to better days? What though with our 12000 or 15000 we have oft defeated their Armies of 50000. or 60000? Stands it with reason of War to expect the like Success still? Especially, since the use of Arms is chang'd, and for the Bow (proper for Men of our strength) the Calcever begins to be generally receiv'd. Which, besides that it is a more costly Weapon, requireth a long practice, and may be mannag'd by the weaker sort. Let us therefore (in God's Name) leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. The natural Scituation of Islands seems not to sort with Conquests in that kind. England alone is a just Empire. Or, when we would enlarge our selves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the Eternal Providence hath destin'd us; which is, by Sea. The Indies are discover'd, and vast Treasure brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherwards; and, if the Spaniard or Portugals suffer us not to joyn with them, there will be yet Region enough for all to enjoy. Neither will a Piety, equal to that of succouring Julius the Second, be wanting; since, by converting those Infidels to the Christian Religion, there will be a larger field open'd for doing of good, than by establishing a doubtful and controverted Head of the Church: The Council of Pisa having determin'd both to depose him, and substitute another.

But our young King, with whom zeal to do the Pope Service, and ambition to recover that Patrimony whereof our King Henry the Sixth was in possession, and which our Civil-Wars only lost, declin'd this sober Advice, and adher'd to the former. And that, especially, for two Reasons urg'd by way of Supplement; whereof the one was, that there was new hope Maximilian the Emperor would be won to his side. The other was, that he understood from Rome, the Pope had an intention to take away the Stile of CHRISTIANISSIMUS from the French, (which their Historians confess) and transfer it on him; which he thought would be a perpetual glory to the Nation.

1511.

K. Henry
himself
for a War,
and why.

Hereupon it was resolv'd, together with calling a Parliament, to send (by John Young Doctor of Law, and Master of the Roul) unto Louis the Twelfth a Monitory Ambassage, requiring him to desist from War against the Pope. But Louis, whether out of his own Courage, or that he thought the Emperor assur'd to him, or that (indeed) there was no hope of a Peace, (he having been privately advertis'd that our King resolv'd War) regarded not at his Advice; Our King therefore, that he might have more than one Title to invade France, sent to require his Patrimonial Inheritance of Anjou, Guyenne, &c. and, in case of refusal, to denounce War. This then being proclaim'd, Leavies were commanded, and Money's granted by Parliament (which began Febr. 4.) were rais'd. While these things were doing, I shall observe my former Method, and by the way touch on the Laws then enacted, which may belong to History.

War declar'd.

A Parliament call'd.

That because Money, Plate, and Jewels being transported out of the Kingdom, had impoverish'd it, a double value should be paid by the Offenders.

1511.
Feb. 4.
An. Reg. 3.
Parl. H. 8.

There was also confirm'd an Order formerly taken concerning Escheators, Commissioners, and finding and turning of Offices; which it seems had relation to Empson and Dudley's proceedings. Because also unlawful Games kept Men from shooting in the Long-Bow, they were put down, and Archery commanded. For the better understanding of which Act, another part, whereby the Cross-Bow was also forbidden.

There were likewise certain great Priviledges granted to Men that went beyond Sea with the King. As also Penalties ordain'd for Captains that abridg'd the number of their Soldiers, or detain'd their Wages; as also for Soldiers departing without Licence.

At this Parliament also the King was pleas'd to restore John Dudley, Son and Heir of Edmund Dudley lately attainted. On whom, towards the end of his Reign, he conferr'd the place of Lord Admiral of England, as shall appear in this History.

John Dudley
Son of Edmund
Dudley restor'd
in Blood.

About this time there was one Hieronymo Buonviso born at Lucca, who being a Bankrupt Merchant, through his friends in Italy, obtain'd so much favour from the Pope, as to be made a kind of Agent here. This Man being acquainted with all the Popes business, and upon his Letters of Credence, receiving likewise the King's and Council's Answers to his Negotiations, became so expert in all those Affairs, that being corrupted by the French, (who gave him a Pension, as I find in our Records) he discover'd many things that much concern'd either side. And from hence it arose chiefly, that Louis the Twelfth was so particularly inform'd of our Designs, that he used many Preventions, as may be observ'd in the following History.

Buonviso,
the Pope's
Agent, betrays
the King's
Councils
to the French.

The War with France being thus determin'd, it was consult'd in what part we should begin. And though

1511. though that of *Callais* seem'd the most ready way, yet, because *Ferdinand* promis'd to joyn with the King in this War, (which was call'd *Holy*) it was by his consent resolv'd to land somewhere in the Spanish Dominions; and that from thence both their Armies (being united) should joynly invade *Guyenne*. For better understanding of which Project, I must observe, that both the Kings (besides that of vindicating of *Julius* the Second) had their several Designs, as will appear afterwards. The General nam'd by the King was *Thomas Grey* Marquis of *Dorset*, with whom went, besides his three Brothers, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Willoughby*, and Lord *Ferrars*, and divers Knights and Squires, all of them brave Persons, and about 10000 Soldiers; among whom I find in the Spanish History, there were about 5000 Archers, who besides their Bows and Arrows, carri'd Halberts, which they pitch'd on the ground till their Arrows were shot, and then took up again to do execution on the Enemy. An excellent part of Military Discipline, and yet not remarkable by our English Chronicles. These Men about the third, or as the Spaniards have it, the eighth of *June*, (being shipt in Spanish Vessels) arriv'd at *Passage*, a Port in *Guipuscoa*, where one *Faderique* Bishop of *Siguenca*, (an able Person) attended them. This Bishop after he had assur'd them of their welcom, and that the Duke d'Alva, General of the Spanish Forces, with 1000 barded Horse, 1500 Gennets or Light-Horse, and 6000 Foot would shortly joyn with them, did much cheer our Men after their long Sea-Voyage. In the mean while *John d'Albret* (King of *Navarre* in the right of his Wife *Catharine de Foix*) having the Spanish Army in *Arragon* on the one side, and the English on the other of his Kingdom, thought himself in some Straits. And the rather, that the Pope having lately Excommunicated him for assisting the French, and by a Bull dated *March 1. 1512*, expos'd his Kingdom in prey to the Conqueror; He suspected *Ferdinand* had some design upon him. Neither was he deceiv'd; for, that he might be drawn away from *Louis*, or at least that a quarrel might be pickt against him, *Ferdinand* sends to require that he would declare himself; pretending some jealousy of his proceedings ever since *Louis* the Twelfth (who was advertis'd of this *Holy League*, as it was termed) had requir'd his help, or when he would refuse, threaten'd him with taking *Bearne* away, as being a Feud held of *France*. To comply with *Ferdinand* also, the English General sent to him, not only to remember the ancient League and Friendship betwixt the two Nations, when the English were in possession of *Guyenne*; but thereupon (as well as in the name of the Church) to require his help in this *Holy War*. The King of *Navarre* in this perplexity (for he was urg'd no less to the contrary by the French) protested that it concern'd him to be Neutral, he being as much in danger of losing *Bearne* on the French, as *Navarre* on the Spanish side. Yet, whether to gain time, or indeed really to shew his forwardness in this Church Affair, he offer'd (upon security given that neither *Ferdinand* nor the English should molest him) that for four Months space, the States of *Navarre* should (by their Oaths) solemnly assure him of all amicable usage in that Country; and before that time he doubted not, but *Bayone* (which was the Key to *Guyenne*) would be taken by *Ferdinand* and the English. But this was not thought sufficient; therefore it was demanded that the King of *Navarre* would deposite some Towns as cautionary on that behalf. But as he still excus'd himself, the English and Spanish (who had sepa-

1512. rately treated before) thought now joynly to send their Agents to the King of *Navarre*, so that *Antonio de Acuna* Bishop of *Camora*, and Sir *John Stile* (Resident Ambassador for our King in *Spain*) were presently dispatch'd to him. Being admitted to Audience, their demand was, to have the Fortresses of *Estella*, *Maya*, and *San Juan*, consign'd for their security in the Enterprize of *Guyenne*. But the King of *Navarre* protesting still that it concern'd him to hold Neutrality, was at last press'd to make a final Answer. Here then he agreed that *Viana*, and some other places of less strength than those demanded, should remain as Pledges of his Fidelity: Yet, before this could be settled, the French were come to the confines of both Jurisdictions: Where the English, being desirous to give some proof of their Valour, without any order from their General, pass'd over the River of *Vidassona*, which divides *Guipuscoa* from *Guyenne*, to skirmish with the French. This grew at last so hot, that the Marquis was constrain'd to pass over the rest of his Army to disengage them, which being done, he retir'd again to his Camp near *Fuentarabia*, in good order. Hereupon the Marquis of *Dorset* began to complain, that the delay of *Ferdinand* had given the French time to raise these Forces to oppose them; and together demanded briefly his clear Resolution, what he meant to do in the point of invading *Guyenne*: But he was answer'd, that since the King of *Navarre* would not admit a way through his Dominions, he must be forc'd; neither did he think that *John* would take it ill to suffer a little Violence, when it were for nothing else, but to shew the French, that he did not voluntarily consent thereunto. The Marquis reply'd, that this being no part of his Commission, he must first acquaint the King his Master with it. But *Ferdinand* finding that both the French Army increas'd, and that the suffering them to come nearer might frustrate his designs in *Navarre*, commanded the Duke of *Alva* without more delay, to invest *Pamplona*, the chief Town of *Navarre*, entertaining in the mean while *John's* Ambassadors with hope of an Accommodation, who seem'd also to believe it, until they heard of the Siege. The industrious *Ferdinand*, that he might draw also the Marquis of *Dorset* to assist him, us'd these Reasons, That the passage to *Bayone* by the way of *Fuentarabia* was narrow, having the Sea on one side, and on the other side the huge Mountains of *Navarre* and *Bearne*; so that if they should undertake the Siege at *Bayone*, without assuring themselves of the Countries behind them, they might be shut up on every side, whensoever *John* should declare himself for the French Party. Therefore that he should proceed according to Military Rules, and prevent this Inconvenience by seizing first on all the Avenues. The Marquis of *Dorset* hereupon calling a Council of War, return'd this Answer; That he desir'd to lose no time, and therefore thought it the best course for both to divide the Armies: And that *Ferdinand* should enter *Guyenne* by *Navarre*, while he took the way of *Bayone*. Yet the King who still pursu'd his Design, seeming not satisfi'd herewith, desir'd rather that both the Armies might pass joynly through *Navarre*. The Spanish marching still first, and making way for the English to follow. But the Marquis of *Dorset* answer'd again, he might not transgress his Commission, which permitted him not hostily to enter into *Navarre* upon any Terms. Insomuch that now almost six weeks were spent in those Treaties.

Ferdinand finding no more to be expected from the English, resolves alone to invade *Navarre*, promising the Marquis yet from thence to fall

The Marquis of Dorset's expedition into Spain.

Curia.

June 3.

The English bus'd by the Spaniards.

1512. on *Guyenne*; not doubting (on this assurance) but the *Marquis* would stay, and at least serve as a Countenance to his Enterprize. Hereupon the Duke of *Alva* being commanded to * proceed, (without hurting any yet but those who resisted) soon after † took *Pamplona*, which when our *Marquis* heard, he testifi'd much Discontentment, both as he found *Ferdinand* kept not his Promise, and as his Victuals were much shortned on this occasion, he having been abundantly supply'd before from *Navarre*.

In the mean while *Ferdinand* to prevent that ill Intelligence, which the *Marquis* might give, sends to *England* a Messenger on purpose, with account of his Actions, and to desire a more ample Order to the *Marquis* to assist him; not neglecting the while, any occasion either for reducing the best part of *Navarre* to Obedience, or * entitling himself to the Right thereof, as our Records tell us: Which in all particulars of this Affair, do much confirm the *Spanish* History.

Being thus advanc'd, He thought fit again to sollicite *John* King of *Navarre* (now retir'd towards *Bearne*) that he would joyn in this *Holy War*. And that he might do so the better, He temper'd Threats and Promises in a more effectual manner: The Bishop of *Camora* and Sir *John Stile* hereupon were dispatch'd again, requiring his final Answer. But the Duke of *Longueville* being come with puissant Forces near to those parts, they made bold to detain the Bishop, not without terrifying him with worse usage; giving leave yet to Sir *John Stile* to return. Things being brought to these Extremities, *John* King of *Navarre* thought fit to go to the *French* Court, to excuse himself for suffering the *Spanish* to become so soon Masters of *Navarre*. Neither had he it seems any way to make this so credible, as by permitting the *French* with the same facility to seize on *Bearne*. Thus was this King in a short time, dispossest of all his Estate, only for not knowing how to behave himself, either like a Friend or Enemy.

Now *Louis* the Twelfth, though not so much as hoping that the *English* and *Spanish* should stand thus divided, yet as he desir'd rather a War in that Country, than his own, so he prepar'd as if he were at once to sustain both their Forces; commanding the Duke of *Longueville* to proceed warily. But the difficulty was not great. For though *Salvatierra* was kept by *John*, as long as he treated with *Ferdinand*; yet now he abandon'd it to the *French*, and retir'd himself to *Paris*. Betwixt this Town and *Bayone*, then the *French* encamp'd their Army, though for having 5000 in that City (daily reinforc'd by new Levies) it seem'd not to stand in so much need of Defence. This while the Duke of *Alva* requires an Oath of Obedience from those of *Pamplona*, and in general from the rest of the chief Inhabitants of *Navarre*. They again offer it upon the terms agreed on, which was for four Months, and till they had given proof of their Neutrality in the business of *Guyenne*. But the Duke reply'd, that King *John* being fled away to the *French*, and therein having declar'd himself an Enemy both to him and this *Holy War*, He would now accept no Oath, but that of a simple Obedience to his King and Master: Upon this ensu'd disputes and diversities of Opinions; all which yet were moderated by the *Spanish* Army, which did not much insist upon Reason, having Power in their hands.

Navarre being thus in a manner reduc'd, *Ferdinand* sends the *Mareschal Aquilera* to the *Marquis* *Dorset*, protesting that his Army should pass the Mountains at *Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto*; And

1512. this he did to try whether it would move him yet to joyn Forces. But the *Marquis*, who was inform'd that the place did lead to *Bearne* (which remain'd only for an intire Conquest of the Dominions of *John*) as well as to *Bayone*, thought fit to attend more certainty, concerning the way of the *Spanish* Army. *Ferdinand* on the other side, taking this as a delay, would not omit the prosecuting of his Intentions, laying (in the mean while) all the fault on the *Marquis* slackness. But no Man ought to blame any General in this kind, unless he knew his Instructions. *Ferdinand* therefore was too forward herein. But the Duke of *Alva* who consider'd of what moment diligence is in great Affairs, sends some away presently to seize on *Saint Juan de Pie del Puerto*; which accordingly was perform'd, though the *French* were now entering that Country. To make this good also, the Duke himself (by the King his Master's Commandment) follows with the Body of his Army. And now *Ferdinand* again sends to invite the *Marquis*. But as the *English* could not pass thither, but by a place call'd *Maya* (a rough and almost untrodden passage) or another way far about (for either of which they wanted Horses to draw their Ordnance) so was there a new difficulty interpos'd, for joyning the Armies. Howsoever, it concern'd *Ferdinand* (after many delays) to acquit himself so far, as to seem at least roundly to go on in the invading of *Guyenne*. And his Master-piece was, together with performing his own Intentions, now to have brought his offer to our King, within the compass of Probability. He consider'd also, that alone, he was too weak for the *French* Forces, so that he had more than one reason to sollicite the *English* Army.

Being in this Posture, he begins to think what remain'd to be done: On the one side, he had the honour of diverting the *French* from their great Designs in *Italy*, (for *Louis* began now to attend his home Affairs) and therein to have freed the Pope. On the other side, having reduc'd all *Navarre*, (only *Esfella* excepted, which he took afterwards) and pass'd the Mountains, He seem'd engag'd to secure his Conquests. Therefore he thought on nothing now but going on; trusting for the rest, to the Negotiation of *Martin de Ampios*, whom he had sent to our King. And this Man (if we may believe the *Spanish* History) obtain'd that the *Marquis* *Dorset* should do whatsoever he was advis'd by *Ferdinand* for the *Holy-Cause*. But, before this Instruction could come, the *Marquis*, who saw Winter now approaching, and very near 3000 of his Men sick or dead of Disorder, and drinking those hot Wines, and for the rest suffering much for scarcity of Victuals; and lastly, being advis'd that the *French* had fortifi'd *Bayone*, and planted a great Army before it, thought it too late to begin any great Enterprize. Therefore he sent the Treasurer of his Army, and Sir *John Stile* to *Ferdinand*, to represent those Difficulties, and to acquaint him with his Determination to be gone. At last, though with much ado, *Ferdinand* (according to an Article of the Agreement) provided some Ships for the *English*; but before they could depart, the *Marquis* between Discontent and ill Diet so distemper'd himself, that he fell sick, the Lord *Howard* being substituted in the mean while for Command of the Army. While yet they made ready for Sept. their Journey, Letters came from our King by *Windsore* the Herald, commanding the Army to stay; promising withal to send a New Supply under the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain. But the Soldiers so mutined, that at last the Generals were

1512. were constrain'd to embarque themselves, and come home (about the end of November) to England. Whereupon Ferdinand (who desir'd now only to maintain what he had gotten) turns himself to other Arts; labouring (by Maximilian's Mediation) to withdraw the French from assisting John. The Conditions being, that Charles Prince of Castile their Grand-child should match with Reynera, or Reynee, second Daughter to Louis the Twelfth (which yet was but colourable as appears in their Histories) and, that the French should condescend hereunto, it was no little Motive, that they had acquir'd so much in Bearne; so that keeping their possessions on either part, much Treaty pass'd without any other effect, than that John on both sides was outed: Though, for Ostentation, Richard de la Pole (calling himself Duke of Suffolk) as I find by our Records, was appointed by Louis to attempt the recovery of Pampelona though in vain. And thus ended this Voyage to the grief of our King, who seem'd so much offended with the ill Success, that he purpos'd once to punish the principal Authors of it. But his General excus'd himself by the narrowness of his Instruction, and partly lay'd the fault on Ferdinand, who being bound by promise to furnish the Army with many Necessaries, yet fail'd. Lastly, they made it appear that Ferdinand never intended any thing but the Conquest of Navarre, (which therefore his Successors hold to this day.) ¶ Though this Voyage were prosperous, yet I find by Polydore, that Sir Edward Howard, who conducted the Marquis to Spain, having with the Fleet first clear'd the Seas from Enemies, landed at a little Bay in Brittain, and march'd seven Miles into the Country, whence (after burning some Towns) he brought away rich Spoils. Not contented herewith yet, he put his Men on shore at Conquet, and divers other places; where the French still receiving the worse, they at last desir'd a Parley. The substance whereof was, That the English would leave off this kind of desultory and cruel War, which tended only to the burning of Villages, and ransacking the Poor. But he reply'd, He was not to take his Directions from them. Besides, that it was the part of brave Gentlemen to defend their Country, and not shamefully to sue for Mercy. After which, and a Banquet in his Ship, they were dismiss'd, and our Admiral return'd home. ¶ The French in the mean while, making great preparatives by Sea, Our King thought fit to reinforce his Fleet, adding to twenty Ships under the Command of his Admiral, five and twenty more under the Command of the choicest of those Gallants that attended him; placing in the chief Ships call'd the Regent, Sir Thomas Knevet Master of his Horse, and Sir John Carew in the Sovereign; Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford, went with sixty of the tallest Yeomen of his Guard. This brave Fleet chancing to meet thirty nine Sail coming out of Brest in Brittain, assaulted them; where two of the greatest Ships on both sides being grappled, fell on fire by some Accident, or as the French will have it, by the desperate Courage of Primauguet (barbarously, as I conceive it, styl'd by our Chronicles Sir Piers Morgan) and so were consum'd. The Captain of the English Ship (being the Regent) and of the French (call'd the Cordeliere) together with the Soldiers in them, perish'd all, save only a few French, who sav'd themselves with Swimming. Howsoever, the rest of the French were so terrified herewith, that they made away presently, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adjoining. To repair this loss, our King built a Ship, the greatest ever known before, though Buchanan and

Lesle say, that James the Fourth, King of Scotland made one; whom the English and French King desiring afterwards to imitate, fail'd so much, that they were not able to make it steer.

The King finding now that businesses were grown to some extremity, betwixt the two Nations, discloses his design of going in Person into France, as choosing rather to make War in his Enemies Country, than to attend it at home. This also, that he might the better perform, He is advis'd to discover what Correspondence he might expect from his Neighbours and Confederates. Therefore he had sent a good while since Sir Robert Wingfield to Negotiate with Maximilian, and draw him to his Party; neither found he much difficulty therein. The Emperor being glad that the Warlike Disposition of our King turn'd it self against France; so that with assurance of his Affection, he encourag'd our King to go on. For Maximilian was now falln off from the French, both that the Pope strongly procur'd it, and that he thought it best to adhere rather to Ferdinand and his Grand-Child's Interests: For pretext whereof, yet alledging only some breach of Article of the Treaty of Cambray on Louis his part. The French on the other side, joyning with the Duke of Ferrara, prepar'd to defend themselves; raising for this purpose a puissant Army, under the command of Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, Governor of Milan, who (in the name of the Pisan Council) fought the Battle of Ravenna, which being won for his King, he lost for himself, as dying (almost wilfully) against a little Body of the Enemies, when the Victory for the rest was gotten. Howbeit, the French under Monsieur de la Palisse proceeding took Ravenna, and divers other places, which they deliver'd to a Cardinal Legate in the name of the Pisan Council, so that they were now (together with this City) Masters of Milan, Genoa, Bononia, and Florence. Nevertheless, as the contrary part led by Raymond de Cardona, (Vice-Roy of Naples under Ferdinand) had in the name of the Holy-League, brought huge Forces into those parts, the French were forc'd to quit all those places, within the space of two Months: (as Sandoval hath it.) Maximilian Sforza (Son to Lodovico) whom the French had divested, being replac'd in Milan, to hold it in the Name, or at least under the protection of the Suisse, whereupon also the Duke of Ferrara (unable any longer to subsist) humbled himself to the Pope, and was pardon'd. Maximilian yet, not content with these Victories, would have added to them Vicenza detain'd by the Venetians. But they refusing, the Pope, whether desirous to conserve Maximilian's friendship at what price soever, (since he had now disavow'd the Pisan Council) or that perchance he thought not himself sufficiently reveng'd on the Venetians, joyns in the Enterprize.

Ferdinand in the mean while, (according to his wonted manner) makes a double Treaty. On the one side therefore, he not only joyn'd Offices with our King to Maximilian for this purpose, but encourag'd him to repair the imputation of slackness laid on the English in their Voyage to Spain, desiring yet, that if he sent any Army again into those parts, it might be under the command of his General. While on the other side, he secretly treated with Louis the Twelfth, for the match above mention'd; promising also to assist him in his Affairs in Italy. That Politick King's Intention being, by one means or other, to divert the French from aiding King John to recover Navarre: (who yet I find * dy'd of grief not long after.) Lastly, our King

The Mar-
ques Dor-
set returns
without
doing any
thing.
Novemb.

October.

May.

May 23.
Hall.
June 1.

Aug. 10.
Bellay.

A Sea-
fight be-
tween the
English
and French.

1512.
1506.

April 11.

Sandoval.
Vida del
Carl. V.

1512. remembering how the Scots have usually helpt the French, and being inform'd besides, that James the Fourth did resent still the Death of Breton, and some other Affronts, he sends Nicholas West Dean of Windsor, and Doctor of Law, to know how he stood affected: And the rather, that he was inform'd King James had an Army on Foot. To which he answer'd, That he lov'd and esteem'd alike, both Henry the Eighth, and Louis the Twelfth; and therefore that he thought it best, to be Neutral in any difference betwixt them. West reply'd, that he might do well to signifie thus much by Letters. But King James said, that the sending any Declaration of Neutrality under his Hand, might argue he inclin'd a little to the English side, and consequently might breed a Suspicion; especially when Louis the Twelfth could not be ignorant of the favourable Audience given him, and therewithal dismiss him. Upon whose return; our King taking this Cautelous Answer into mature Consideration, found it arose from a private League betwixt Louis and James, (which our Records furnish us) to this effect.

Articles of a Treaty between the King of France and Scotland, against K. Henry. May 22.

I. Because the King of England's Predecessors have often sought to endamage both Princes and Realms, therefore they combine to resist the same; and one to aid the other perpetually against the said King.

II. If the King of England shall at any time wage War against the King of Scots, the King of France and his Successors shall wage War with all their power against the King of England, and the Scottish King promise the like.

III. Neither King shall suffer his Subjects to serve or aid the King of England against the other.

IV. Neither of the two may take Truce with the King of England, without the other give his consent, or be comprehended therein if he please.

V. If the said Louis decease without Children, and there be strife about the Succession, the King of Scots shall not intermeddle, but accept him who shall be made King, for his friend, and defend him against his Adversaries, if the King of England assist them. And the same Louis promises to do, if the Scottish King decease without Issue.

This Convention shall be confirm'd by the Pope, and neither of the Contrabents shall procure nor accept any Absolution from the Oath.

Our King understanding this, resolv'd to send his Treasurer Thomas Earl of Surrey into Yorkshire, and the Northern parts, to have an Army in readiness, in Case the Scots should stir in his absence. Together with all this provision, He thought fit to call a Parliament, where, besides enacting divers good Laws (whereof I shall hereafter mention some) He obtain'd two fifteens and four demies. He had also a kind of Subsidy, call'd Head or Poll-Money, That is, of every Duke ten Marks; an Earl five Pounds, a Lord four Pounds, a Knight four Marks, every Man valu'd at eight hundred pound in Goods, four Marks: And so after that rate till him who had forty shillings in Wages, who paid Twelvepence, after which every one who was above fifteen years of Age, paid four Pence. Order was also given that Bulwarks, Brays, and Walls, should be rais'd in his Castles, and strong-holds on the Sea-side, wheresoever it was needful.

1513. Feb. 21. Julius the Second expecting now the Success of that War he had kindled against the French, * dyes; in whose place was chosen Cardinal Giovanni di Medici, by the name of Leo the Tenth. This Pope pursuing his Predecessors Designs, encourageth our King to War against France. But he having now accomplish'd the Age of twenty one years, needed little Invitation, and the rather, that he was assur'd by his Ambassadors, Sir Edward Poyning, Sir Thomas Bolen, and John Turg, that Maximilian would really perform his

Treaty with him, only he suspected Ferdinand. Therefore (I find by our Records) he sent into Spain, William Knight Doctor of Law; commanding him together with Sir John Stile, to use all Arguments to perswade Ferdinand, that the return of the English Army, was contrary both to his Will and Command; offering further, that if he might have Assistance against France for the Conquest of Guyenne, that 100000 Crowns should be given in hand to Ferdinand, and as much more when it was gotten. For this purpose also promising pay for 6000 Men at six pence per diem for six Months. But Ferdinand now, to whom nothing was dearer, than the Conservation of his Conquest in Navarre, cunningly declin'd this Proposition; as hoping by a Treaty with France, to effect his Purposes; howbeit he advis'd our King to send his Standard Royal with some Forces to Guyenne; and to try whether the People would follow it; since he said, they were very affectionate unto him. But our King gathering hence, as well as by some private Advertisements, that Ferdinand treated secretly with France, resolv'd to press him to declare himself, and therefore by Letters, June 17. he requires Ferdinand to seal a Treaty against France, to which his Ambassadors here had consented. But Ferdinand disavowing his Ambassadors proceeding, since the Holy League (as he said) became void, upon the return of the Kings Army, discovers withal that he had made a Truce with France for one whole year, which he advis'd our King also to accept. The Treaty to which Ferdinand's Ambassadors enter'd at this time, was the Treaty here set down, which I find among our Records, and have mention'd, as being full of design, how ever eluded.

I. The first Article of the Confederation made between the Pope, Emperor, Kings of England and Arragon, against Louis the Twelfth, was to be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies, &c. K. Henry was the Head.

II. To denounce War within 30 days after the date hereof, and within two Months to invade him, viz.

The Pope in Provence or Dauphine.

The Emperor in some other fit place.

The King of England in Aquitaine (or Guyenne) Picardy or Normandy.

The King of Arragon in Bearne, Languedoc, and Aquitaine. Not to desist from Hostility, or make any Truce without common consent.

III. That the Subjects of the Confederates serve not the Enemy under pain of losing Life and Goods.

IV. That the Emperor (if he have not yet done it) shall recall the Authority by him given to the Schismatical Cardinals, and their Conventicle, and within a Month after the date of this, signifying his pleasure to them, shall Void and Nullifie all their Proceedings and Acts in the same.

V. The Pope shall (at the request of the Confederates) fulminate his Ecclesiastical Censures against all that oppose this League.

VI. The King of England shall give the Emperor, (towards the great Charges he shall be at) 100000 Crowns.

VII. Yet the Emperor by his Treaty will not engage his Grand-child Charles (now under his Tuition) into this War with Louis.

But this Treaty being refus'd by Ferdinand, our King proceeds by the help of his other Confederates, to the War with France; the Pope for the more declaring himself, both confirming an Excommunication granted by Julius the Second against James King of Scots, in case he should break the Peace and Treaty with the King of England, and * granting an Indulgence to all that should assist King Henry, and the other Confederates, March.

1513. federates, against *Louis* and the Schismaticks of the Council of *Pisa*.

All things here being thus dispos'd for a War, *Maximilian* with some patience attends the coming of our *English* Army; as being confident, however the business succeeded between the two Nations, he could make his advantage thereof. That he might do this the better, he thought it not amiss to interpose some difficulties. Neither could he be wholly won, till he had obtain'd of *Henry* 120000 Ducats towards his charge in bringing 3000 Horse and 8000 Foot which should enter *Burgogne*, as soon as the King attempted *Picardy*.

While these Preparations were in hand, our King, to take off *James*, sends Doctor *West* again into *Scotland*, where, instead of all other Offices, that King exhorted ours to a Peace with *France*, promising on those Terms his Friendship. But our King being resolv'd to proceed, thought fit in the first place to clear the Sea from the *French* Navy: And therefore sends his Fleet, being compos'd of forty two Sail, besides lesser Barques, against them. The *French* being inform'd hereof long before, had gotten one *Pregent*, a Knight of *Rodes*, (called by our Historians Prior *John*) with four Gallies to pass the *Streights*, and come to *Britagne*, where many good Ships were appointed to join with them. And till they came, it was thought better to keep within the Haven of *Brest*, than to encounter our Navy lying at Anchor in sight of them. Our Men therefore resolve to attempt them in the middle of their Defences; while they intend this, one of our Ships (under the command of *Arthur Plantaginet*) was cast away on a blind Rock. This staid our Men a while; at last they pursue their Design, and enter the Haven, where the *French* Fleet lay under the Covert of many Platforms that were rais'd on the Land. Besides, they had joined twenty four Hulks together, with purpose to set them on fire, and let them go adrift with the Tide, when our *English* should approach them; or (as our Records have it) to keep the Fire

April 17.

from theirs. Lastly, they moored their Ships as near the Castle as they could, and so attended *Pregents* coming. Being prepared thus, the Lord Admiral, *Sir Edward Howard*, considering the order in which the *French* lay, thought fit to advertise his King and Master thereof, advising him withal to come in Person, and have the glory of this Action. But our King's Council taking this Message into Consideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether Fear (as was thought) but Stratagem and Cunning, that made the *French* thus attend their Advantage, thought the King was not so much invited to the Honour, as Danger of this Action, and therefore rejected the Overture. Thereupon they write sharply to him again (as our Historians say, though our Records mention not this particular) commanding him to do his Duty. Whereof that brave Cavalier was so sensible, as it caused him to hazard his Person afterwards so rashly, that it occasion'd his death; the manner whereof was thus, as it is drawn out of our Records: Where, by a Letter dated from him, April 17, it appears, That, after he had come before *Brest* with his Navy, he sent out his Boats, to make a shew of landing; whereupon the *French* flocking to the shoar, to the number of above 10000 (the *English* in all the Boats being not above 1500) he thought fit to land over-against *Brest*, where he burnt the Country in sight of the Castle; the *French* Ships (the while) lying beneath it, being defended with their Hulks: And that he thought not fit to do any more till Victuals came, whereof he stood then in need, though he said he had them

at a great Advantage, their Gallies being not yet come. Together with which Dispatch unto the King, he sent Mr. *Arthur Plantaginet*, much discourag'd as he said by the casting away of his Ship; and disabled to serve in any other kind, because his Soldiers that remain'd were bestow'd elsewhere. After which I find by another * Letter of *Sir Edward Echingham* (who was present in the Expedition) that, April 22. six Gallies of the Enemies, (being two more than were expected) and four Foylts under *Pregent*, put into *Blanc-sablon-bay* near *Conquest*, a little below *Brest*; which being notified to our Admiral, he himself, being attended with four choice Captains, resolv'd to board them April 25. Whereupon entering himself into one of the two Gallies (which only the *English* had at that time) and committing the other to *Walter Devereux* Lord *Ferrers*, he advances with two Row-Barges and two Crayers; in the one of which was *Sir Thomas Cheyny* and *Sir John Wallop*, in the other *Sir Henry Sherborne* and *Sir William Sidney*; *Pregent* (this while) lying betwixt two Rocks, that had Bulwarks on them, full of Ordnance. All which yet could not deter our Lord Admiral, who therefore about four in the Afternoon (the same day) boarded the Galley in which *Pregent* was, and enter'd it with his Sword and Target, one Carroz, a Spanish Cavalier, and seventeen *English* more attending him, commanding together his Galley to be fastned or graped to his Enemies; but whether the *French* hewed asunder the Cable, or our Mariners let it slip for fear of the Ordnance, the *English* Galley fell off, and this Noble Person was left in the hands of his Enemies; of whom therefore our Men could give no other account, but that when he was past all hope of recovering his Gallies, he took his Whistle from his Neck, and flung it into the Sea. The Lord *Ferrers* in the mean time (who was in the other Galley) fail'd not to do his part, until having spent all his Shot, and seen the Admiral's Galley fall off, he retired; which the Row-Barges also did, as not knowing but the Admiral was safe. The sad News of whose loss yet being at length made known, it was thought fit to send to the *French* Admiral, to know what was become of him. Whereupon *Sir Thomas Cheyny*, *Sir Richard Cornwall*, and *Sir John Wallop* came to know what Prisoners were taken; to whom *Pregent* (or Prior *John*) answered, None, but a Mariner, who told him, that a certain Person they bore overboard with their Pikes was their Admiral. Lastly, he added (in the Letter) that the *French* in *Bordeaux* had made six new Gallies, which were shortly expected at *Brest*, and that our Gallies, as he said, could do the *French* Men most displeasure.

1513.

May 6.

Apr. 22.

April 25.

Sir Edw. Howard, the English Admiral, engages the French.

And is kill'd.

May 4.

The French land in Suffex, and are repuls'd.

Upon news of our Admiral's death, his Place was * presently bestowed on his Brother the Lord *Thomas Howard*; who, wisely considering the advantage of the *French* Gallies in a Calm, and number of their Ships, and the danger of the Winds for us, if they blew South-west, desired of the King so many Soldiers as might both man the Ships, and make good the Landing. But before he came, our Fleet (it seems wanting one to command it) was return'd, and *Pregent* (upon notice thereof) encourag'd to land in *Suffex*, from whence yet he was quickly repuls'd, without doing more that Year. And now the Lord Admiral having equipp'd the Navy Royal, scoured the Seas, and secur'd our King's intended Passage. The Particularities I shall omit, until (in imitation of *Polydore*) I have set down the Description of *Thomas Woolsey* (afterwards Cardinal) a Man at this time beginning to be in special favour with the King, the Original whereof I must

1513. must deduce from his chief Raiser and Founder, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester. This Bishop, being made Principal Secretary and Privy-Seal, became not only an able, but potent Minister of State; having yet difference with the Lord Treasurer Thomas Earl of Surry, a Noble Man of great Courage and Experience in Affairs, he stood not secure. They had often been reconciled by the King, who not only best knew, but often suffered most for their opposition. Yet as the wiping out of Blots sometimes makes them greater, so Satisfaction for Injuries seldom expiate them so totally, but that some impression remains. Therefore they stood still at a distance, in which Condition yet they wanted not their Advantages on either side. The Bishop had abundant matter to suggest; the huge Treasure, which Henry VII. left, being so exhausted, that it was now almost consumed; while the Lord Treasurer in the disposing of this young King's Bounty, so ordered Business, as in facilitating Dispatches, he got him many Friends and Followers. The Lord Treasurer, on the other side, said, that nothing being done without the King's special Order, it was through Envy only the Bishop thus oppos'd him. In these terms then they stood still, without almost concurring in any thing, but in excluding all others from gaining on the King's Disposition; which yet they did not so much by mutual Consent, as by diminishing in their turns, every body else, that was extraordinarily in his good Opinion. At last the Bishop thinking how to better his Party, brought in this Thomas Woolsey; to which purpose also Sir Thomas Lovell Knight, and Master of the Wards, assisted him. This Man, though of mean Birth, being observed by them to be of a quick and stirring Wit, and particularly famous for a Dispatch in Henry VII. his time, wherein he used extraordinary diligence, was thought a fit Instrument for their purposes. He was already a Chaplain in the Household, and Almoner, and from thence raised to the place of a Counsellor. Being in this nearness he knew as well how to discourse with the King in matter of Learning, (the King being much addicted to the reading of *Thomas Aquinas*) as to comply with him in his Delights; insomuch, as (saith *Polydore*) he would sing, dance, laugh, jest, and play with those Youths in whose Attendance and Company the King much delighted. Briefly, (to use *Polydore's* words) he made his private House *Voluptatum omnium Sacram, quo Regem frequenter ducebat*: A Receptacle for pleasures of all kinds, where he frequently entertain'd the King. He omitted not yet in the midst of all these Jollities, to speak seriously, representing to all Business to the King, as he got much Credit with him. And this, again, was confirm'd by those Gallants, who contributed no little thereunto. Whereupon he began to tell the King, that he should sometimes follow his studies in School-Divinity, and sometimes take his Pleasure, and leave the care of Publick Affairs to him: Promising that what was amiss in his Kingdom should be rectified. Likewise, he omitted not to infuse Fears and Jealousies of all those whom he conceived the King might affect. Whereby he became so perfect a Courtier, that he had soon attained the height of Favour. For as Princes have Arts to govern Kingdoms, Courtiers have those by which they govern their Princes, when through any Indisposition they grow unapt for Affairs. These Arts being hopes and fears, which as doors and passages to the Heart, are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themselves in, and keep all others out: And therefore may be termed not only the two ends of that Thred upon which Government

1513. depends, but through their dexterous handling, may be tyed upon what Knot they will. Particularly, he desired to reduce all Businesses to himself; for which End he spake in this manner:

Sir, Your Highness hath now sufficient experience of strange effects, which Contradictions in Councils bring forth: It is unsafe to believe singly either of those on whose advice your Highness most relies, and impossible to believe both. May your Highness therefore choose some one, who being dis-interested, may have no passion or thought but to serve your Highness. All those strong Reasons of State which conclude Monarchy the best form of Government, make for a Favourite in the next place. Insomuch, that of Supreme Authority, as of those Pyramidal heights on which the Statues of Princes were anciently plac'd, I dare say, there can be none well rais'd, that from the lowest foundation is not sharpened by degrees unto its point. But lest this should be thought looking upwards only, be pleas'd a while to look down, and consider things the other way, and the Prospective will hold its Proportion. For how, Sir, should a King conserve his Power, if he divide and let it fall at once on divers inferior Persons? Believe me, Sir, to diffuse it over-suddenly, is to take away not only from the Dignity, but even intireness of it: It being with Authority, as with a Spring or Fountain, which, that it may keep his Course and Name, must be cherish'd and entertain'd, till it grow great, by the Contributions and Concurrences of those lesser Heads that run into it. Kings must never descend but by steps. The more Orders are under them, the higher still they stand. Neither will your other Counsellors think themselves much less'n'd this way; for when they may use the ordinary power and sway allow'd them over their Inferiors, they will not think themselves much concern'd for the rest. Besides, your People will be glad of it, as knowing which way to address their Suits. To leave them more at large, were to expose them to those delays and uncertainties they would never patiently endure. Again, it would be impossible any other way to keep secrecy in Business, (which yet is the life of Council) or almost to find out who is the Divulger. Moreover, when your Highness in some great and perplex'd Affairs, hath occasion to acquaint your Counsellors only with some part of your meaning, what instrument can be so apt as a Favourite? While, if things succeed ill, or otherwise that your Highness would not seem to have the Advice proceed from you, how easily may your Highness disavow all, and lay the fault on him? Thus may your Highness find the many uses you may make of your Favourite. Yet, Sir, let me say, I should never advise your Highness to see by his Eyes, or hear by his Ears only; this were to keep you in too much Darkness and Subjection. To prevent this therefore, be pleas'd to appoint able Persons, and such as may not know of each other, by whom your Highness may be inform'd, not only what is done, but even said vulgarly. Thus shall your Highness take order not to be deceiv'd. As for the more doubtful and intricate parts of Business, which require particular Scrutiny and Examination, your Highness in my Opinion, may do well to have three or four confident Persons, not yet of the Body of your Council, with whom separately your Highness may advise, before those difficulties be brought unto them. This will enable your Highness to speak thereof when you transfer it to the Body of your Council, and make you discern their Opinions; only, if any thing be determin'd, let your Favourite still be the chief Actor in the Execution. Hereof then your Highness may please to advise. Neither will I presume to nominate my self otherwise; only I will crave leave to say thus much, that when your Highness would out of your own Election, think fit to use my best Service herein, I should not doubt but so to establish and conserve your Highness Authority, as to make you the greatest and happiest Prince living. Neither should I fear to fall when any benefit might grow to your Majesty thereby. The young King be-
ing

1513.
The rise
of Cardinal
Woolsey.

1513.

Woolsey's
Speech to
the King
before his
Advance-
ment.

1513.

He is great in the King's Favour, and forgets his Relations and Friends.

ing perswaded thus, without other Advice or Consideration adopted *Woolsey*, and thereupon orders him to dispatch his chiefest Affairs. This got him not only Estimation and Addresses, but Presents and rich Gifts from the greatest Persons. They again brought him to that Insolency, that he seem'd not only to forget his Birth, (being a Butchers Son) but all his former Friends; insomuch as no Man (saith *Polydore*) durst remember him of an ancient Acquaintance. A Badge or Livery whereof (he saith) appear'd in his outward Garment, he being the first (saith the same *Polydore*) among all Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals, that ever wore Silk for his uppermost Vestment. Yet was it not alone; for as divers other Priests imitated him, some envy was rais'd on the whole Clergy. But this was when Silk was either more rare, or more esteem'd; it being in this Age so common, that it is become the wearing of every mean Person. The Gallants of the Court finding now the Kings favour manifestly shining on *Woolsey*, apply'd themselves much to him. And especially *Charles Brandon*, who for his goodly Person, Courage, and Conformity of Disposition, was noted to be most acceptable to the King in all his Exercises and Pastimes. Notwithstanding all which (saith *Polydore*) the King sadly examin'd busineses himself; and howsoever the chief trust was committed to *Woolsey*, did not omit yet (as far as his youth would suffer him) to use his own judgment in his weightiest Affairs.

Reasons against the King's going in to France in Person.

Reasons for it.

All preparations for the expedition to France being now hattned, amongst which that of Victualling the Army was (not without a Sarcasm to his Birth) recommended to *Woolsey*, it was yet controverted whether the King should go in Person. They who oppos'd it, urg'd first their due affection to, and tenderness over him; saying further, that if the King should die without Issue, (however the Succession were undoubted in his Sister *Margaret*) yet that the People were so affected to the House of *York*, as they might take *Edmund de la Pole* out of the Tower, and set him up. That the War in France was not of that Consequence (especially since, with the death of *Julius* the Second, it seem'd the chief causes of dissention ceas'd) that the King should go in Person, and desert his own Kingdom. On the other side it was alledg'd, that to commit an Army wherein the flower of his Nobility and Kingdom was, to any one Subject, was not only unsafe, but to the prejudice of many worthy Competitors for that Honour. That it was no new thing (whether they regarded the ancient Kings of *England*, or the modern Emperor, and two French Kings successively) to go in Person with a Royal Army. That the same Providence rul'd every where. But it was reply'd, that till the King had more Issue (and that Masculine) it was against all reason of State to hazzard the Kingdom to those Tumults which might follow; to which Opinion, as the best, it is likely the King would have condescended, had not fresh Letters arriv'd from *Maximilian*, in the Popes name exhorting him speedily to come; and promising that he would not only give him meeting, but take pay under him. In the mean while it was thought fit that *Edmund de la Pole* (Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Elizabeth* Sister to *Edward* the Fourth, who had been made Prisoner by *Henry* the seventh, and so continu'd many years) should have his Head * struck off; Our King therein but executing what his Father *Henry* at his departure out of the World commanded, (as *Bellay* hath it.) And true it is that he was of a turbulent and audacious Spirit: But whether any late matter was alledg'd against

* Apr. 30. Edmund de la Pole beheaded, no lawful Cause alledg'd for it.

him, doth not sufficiently appear to me by any Record. Though some Correspondence with his younger Brother *Richard de la Pole* (who I find by the French Writers, commanded 6000 French at the Siege of *Therouene*) might perchance accelerate his End.

The King resolv'd now to go in Person, ^{Hall.} thought fit yet to send his Vanguard before. This was commanded by *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, High Steward of the King's Household, who was accompany'd with *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *Thomas Docwra* Lord Prior of the Order of *St. John's*, *Sir Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-water*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Rice ap Ithor* Captain of the Light-Horse, and many other brave Knights and Esquires, and the number of above eight thousand, who came to *Calais* in Mid May. These being follow'd again with the Middleward of about six thousand more, commanded by the Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King (whom also the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, and *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Audley* and *De-la-ware*, the Barons *Carow* and *Cursyn*, and divers other worthy Knights and Esquires, accompany'd) arriv'd at *Calais* fifteen days after. These two Lords attending the Kings further Directions, stay'd there till June 17. when they both in good order of Battel march'd towards *Therouene*, before which Town they arriv'd upon the two and twentieth following, pitching their Tents about a Mile off. This Town was fenc'd with a large Ditch, strong Bulwarks, and quantity of great Ordnance, which shot freshly, insomuch that the Baron of *Carow* Master of the Ordnance was the first night kill'd by a Bullet in the Lord *Herberts* Tent, which came so near him, that the French (though erroneously) writ he was slain there. ^{They attack Therouene. I. de Serr.}

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* planted himself on the North-west, and the Lord *Herbert* on the East side of the Town, whence they made their approaches. In the Town was a Garrison of about two thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Lances, commanded by *Monsieur Francois de Teligny*, and *Antoine de Crequy*, *Sieur de Pondromy*: To relieve them again, the French rais'd a puissant Army, to which ten thousand Men under the Duke of *Gueldres*, and six thousand more under *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to *Edmund* lately Beheaded, were added.

In the mean while our King having constituted *Queen Katharine* Regent, passeth the Sea to *Calais* upon the last of June; bringing with him the rest of his Army, which was transported with about 400 Sail: With him came also the *Almoner*, and new Favorite, *Thomas Woolsey*, who for having liv'd long in that Town under the Treasurer thereof, was perfectly acquainted with the Addresses of it. The King being visited by the Ambassadors of the Emperor, the Regent of *Flanders*, and Duke of *Brumwic*, stay'd here till the 21 of July, when hearing that the French meant to relieve *Therouene*, under the Command of *Louis Duc de Longueville*, and *Marquis de Rotelin*, whom *le Seigneur de la Palisse*, as also the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont d'Anjou*; and *Buisse d'Amboise* accompany'd, he hasten'd his departure. His Army consisted of about 9000 good fighting Men, besides those who belong'd to the Carriages, which were some 2000 or 3000 more. *Sir Charles Brandon* (a little before * *Crea-* May 15. ted Viscount *Lisle*) had the Vanguard, whom the Earl of *Essex* (Lieutenant-General of the Spears) accompanied. In the Battel the King came, having the Duke of *Buckingham* on the one hand with 600 chosen Men, and *Sir Edward Poyning* on the other with as many more; *Sir Henry Guilford* carrying the Standard Royal. The Rere-

1513.

The Earl of Shrewsbury passes over to Calais with 8000 Men. May.

The Lord Herbert follows him with 6000.

June 22.

Hall.

They attack Therouene. I. de Serr.

Hall. June 20. Queen Katharine appointed Regent. The King passes over to Calais.

July 21.

Marchen towards Torouane.

May 15.

Hall.

1513. Rereguard being compos'd in great part of the Retinue of Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, and Woolsey to the number of 800 Men was led by Sir William Compton. In the spaces betwixt, the great Ordnance (among which Bellay mentions those call'd the 12 Apostles) was drawn, and part of the Carriages dispos'd. After all these yet came Sir Anthony Oughtred and John Neville with 400 Spears. This little, but flourishing Army, was scarce enter'd the French Confines near Ardres, when news was brought that the Enemy appear'd. Hereupon Sir Rice ap Thomas (who came from Therouene with 500 Light-Horse to meet the King) joyning with the Earl of Essex, and Sir Thomas Guilford, who commanded 200 Archers on Horse-back, drew towards the French, but they presently disappear'd. As they march'd yet, two pieces of Ordnance miscarry'd, the one

* July 28. whereof was * lost, the other † recover'd in despite of the French. Upon the fourth of August the King came to Therouene, before which he caus'd a sumptuous Pavilion to be pitch'd. Sir Alexander Baynam, Captain of the Pioneers, shortly after caus'd a Mine to be made under the Walls; but the French countermining, it was well disputed, and divers kill'd on both parts. Aug 9. Maximilian being * now come to Ayre, it was thought fit an Interview should be made. But the day being very foul, the Ceremony was short.

Aug 11. About two days after, Lyon King of Arms in Scotland in his Heralds Coat, comes to the Camp, and desires leave to deliver a Letter * to the King. Garter brings him in. The King having perus'd the Contents (which were Expostulation for some pretended Injuries, and thereupon denunciation of War unless he return'd) makes a sharp Answer by word of Mouth, among other things telling him, *That he had left an Earl behind him in the North, who could very well defend his Kingdom against the attempts of his Master.* But Lyon refus'd to carry any verbal Message. Whereupon our King thought fit by Letter again, to answer to this purpose, *That he understood this Expostulation, to be nothing but the picking of a Quarrel to assist the French, and invade him in his absence. That he wish'd him to call to mind how John King of Navarre, for aiding the French in the same manner, lost his Kingdom; and advis'd him to take that for a warning.* Lastly, *He bid him be assur'd, that what he did to him or his Realm now he was absent, should be remembered, and requited again in like measure.* Before yet these Letters could be deliver'd by Lyon, his King and Master James the Fourth was kill'd, as shall be hereafter related.

Aug 12. Upon the twelfth of August, Maximilian the Emperor came to the King, in the quality of his Soldier, and therefore not only wore the Cross of St. George, but receiv'd his pay duly, which I find by some, to have been a hundred Crowns per diem. Notwithstanding which, that all due respect might be render'd to his Person, the King gave order to lodge him according to his Dignity, in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, for the rest most sumptuously entertaining him the space of two days that he stay'd in the Camp. Therouene was not yet so streightly besieg'd, but that on the one side which was towards the River Lys, there was a way open, on which part the French intended to relieve it. The King therefore commanded five Bridges to be instantly made over the said River, by which himself with Maximilian

Aug 13. The Emperor Maximilian comes to the King's Camp, wears St George's Cross, and receives his Pay, a hundred Crowns a Day.

† Aug. 15. an (who was now * return'd again) and a great part of his Army pass'd. † This was scarce done, when our Light-Horse brought word, that the French were in fight. Our King thereupon march'd towards them. The French at first came, as if they meant to fight; but after a slight Skir-

1513. mish, fled away in much Disorder, which seem'd the stranger, that the fight was between the Horsemen only, and many of the bravest of their Nation were among them; Our Men pursued and took Louis Duc de Longueville, Marquis de Rotelin, Bayard, Fayette, Clermont, and Buisse d'Ambois, and brought them away, together with nine Cornets. The Seigneur de la Palisse, and Monsieur d'Imbrecourt were also taken, but agreeing for their Ransom upon the place, were presently let free, or as others say, escap'd. This Battle hapning the 16th of August, was call'd by the French, *la Journée des Espérons*, because they made little use of any thing but their Spurs, for the good success whereof therefore both the King, and Maximilian the Emperor (wearing still his Badge of the Red-Cross) did upon the place congratulate with each other, and afterwards assisted at a solemn *Te Deum* for this easie Victory.

Aug 16. Neither had the French better fortune, in setting upon a Convoy going with Provisions for our Army betwixt Guisnes and Therouene, they being repuls'd (as Bellay hath it) and Monsieur de Pleffis slain. While the French held Battle with our King as is aforesaid, part of their Cavalry, which had divided it self that it might the better bring in Provision, fell on the quarter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Rice ap Thomas on the other side of the Water; but they were also soon repuls'd, though the Garrison and Townsmen taking this occasion, sallied forth upon the Trenches of the Lord Herbert to make a Diversion; for that Lord being prepar'd to receive them, they were quickly beaten in again. Few days after the Seigneur de Pontdormy despairing to keep the place long * yielded both it and the Ordnance to the King, upon Condition they might depart with their Arms, Bagg and Baggage, and Drums beating in Military Order. Which being done, our King and the Emperor (who as I find it confirm'd in an Ancient Manuscript Diary extant in our Records, still gave our King the Precedence) entred the Town, August 24.

This City being gotten, it was now disputed whether our King should hold it; a question which could not but seem strange as well to the Authors of the Council as Complices in the hazard, especially since it cost so much, as Guicciardine doubts not to call it, *Spesa intollerabile & infinita*; Howbeit it was at last resolv'd, that because it so confin'd on Maximilians Territories, and that the Garrison infested his Subjects by frequent Incurfions, that at Maximilians Intreaty, the Town should be raz'd, save only the Church and Religious Houses; so much did our King defer to the Emperor Maximilian for being his Soldier, and taking pay under him. Besides, our King consider'd that to leave any Troops behind, would disable his further designs, for which Motives therefore he gave the Town to Maximilian, who levell'd it, which yet I find was not so done, but that the French did shortly after repair, and put it into defence. From hence the King (being perswaded to it by Maximilian) resolves to besiege Tournay; But by the way, being diverted by the Princess Marguerites perswasions (who desired much to see him at Lile) he pass'd three days in her Company, and the many fair Ladies that attended her; when remembering himself, that it was time to visit his Army (which lay at some distance from him strongly encamp'd) he takes leave of the Ladies. Being now out of the Gates a Mile or two, some such mist happen'd both to him and all his Train, that they had lost themselves; neither could they resolve which way to turn, until a Victualler coming by chance from his Army, both inform'd him where it lay, and conducted him thither, to the great rejoycing of

1513. The Battle of Spurs. The English beat the French and take several Persons of Quality.

Aug 16.

Another Skirmish in which the French have the worst.

Aug. 22.

Aug. 23. Diary M.S. Therouene surrenders to K. Henry. Aug. 24.

Aug. 24. Diary. J. T. Therouene raz'd.

Bellay. Sept. 12. Diary of Jo. Taylor, M.S. Hall. Sept. 14.

K. Henry loses his way in Flanders.

1513. of them all. The 15th of Septemb. the Army (which Maximilian had now left, upon pretence of I know not what unsatisfaction which yet was shortly repair'd,) set down before Tournay, which thereupon was summon'd to yield; but the greater part refusing, the King encamping on the North, the Earl of Shrewsbury on the South, and the Lord Herbert on the West of the Town began their Batteries. When upon the 21st a Messenger from the Earl of Surrey brought the Gantlet, or as * others say, the Coat-Armour of James the Fourth, as a Token of the Victory obtain'd at Flodden. This, as it rejoyc'd the King, so it put him in mind of the Vicissitude of all worldly things. Therefore he temper'd his Mirth with a serious Consideration of the events to which Wars are subject. Howsoever, he caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung publicly the day following, and a Sermon to be preach'd by the Bishop of Rochester, who laid all the fault on that King's breach of Word. Which day also those of Tournay capitulated and yielded to our King, by the name of *Roy Tres-Chrestien* (as I find in the Original * Contract) upon condition of Fidelity, and present payment of fifty thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, and a yearly Pension of four thousand pounds *Tournois*, for the space of ten years. Whereupon the King, as John Taylor Doctor of Law, present at the Siege, faith in his Manuscript Latin Diary, gave them leave to enjoy their Ancient Customs and Liberties; upon Condition yet they should admit a Garrison. Neither as it seems could they do otherwise; the French being so much discourag'd by their late Misfortune, that they did not attempt the relieving of it. Thus, on the 24th of September, our King enter'd the Town Triumphantly. And here, upon Consultation what was next to be done, it was resolv'd to surcease the War for this year, Winter now beginning to enter. It was thought fit also, to leave Sir Edward Poyning with a strong Garrison to keep it. Which cannot but seem strange, to those who consider that *Therouene* was raz'd; since *Therouene* was nearer the English Pale, and might be better defended, and would besides, have kept the passage open to this. But false Counsels are like false Gemmes; which how counterfeit soever, have (when they are well set) one good light to be seen by. Therefore Woolsey, (who was so much Author of this Council, as he got the Bishoprick of the place thereby) could glose his advice, with telling the King, he might now have confidence in Maximilian, as having serv'd under him. Besides, that the razing of *Therouene* at his request, would put a perpetual obligation on him. But as for Tournay, that it was fit it should be kept as a Trophée of his Victories; and the rather, that Caesar (in his Commentaries) confesseth here, more than in any place else, to have found a valourous Resistance. But how well the Arguments were grounded, the sequel will shew. The first use our King made of this Town, was to repay the Courtesies receiv'd of the Princess Margaret. Hereupon she being invited, came thither, as also her Nephew Charles Prince of Castile; (afterwards Emperor,) between whom and his Sister Mary, there had interceded a kind of Contract, (as is before related) ever since the time of their Father Henry the Seventh; which likewise for the present seem'd to be confirm'd betwixt them, insomuch that they came to divers Particularities; among which one was, that the King should bring her with him the next Spring. I find also some Overture of a Match between Charles Brandon, now Lord Lisle, and the said Princess Margaret; which, though it took no effect, was not yet without much Demonstration of outward Grace

and Favour on her part. In the mean while, that the Ladies and the Emperor who came with them, might be receiv'd according to their Quality and Worth, the King taking the said Lord for his Associate, did * hold a solemn Jufts there against all Commers; which he bravely perform'd. And now having feasted the Ladies Royally for divers days, he † departed from Tournay to Lisle, where he was invited by the Lady Margaret; who caus'd there a Jufts to be held in an extraordinary manner; the place being a large Room, rais'd high from the ground by many Steps, and pav'd with black square Stones like Marble; while the Horses to prevent sliding and noise, were shod with felt or flocks, (the Latin words are *feltra sive Tomento*.) After which, the Lords and Ladies danc'd all Night.

Yet, as I find by Foreign Authors, these Jollities were not the only cause of his stay. For Ferdinand (the first mover of these Troubles) hearing that the War against France was likely to cease for this year, sends Pedro de Orrea, and Juan de la Nuca, and Gabriel de Orti to Henry the Eighth, with Commission to treat for a League, by which both Kings, with the Emperor, should severally enter France the next Spring: And that, for this purpose, each of them should from their Frontiers begin the War. That Ferdinand therefore from Navarre should invade Guyenne with fifteen thousand five hundred Foot, and one thousand five hundred Horse of his own Subjects, and to be paid by him; and six thousand Germans, to be paid at the rate of twenty thousand Crowns Monthly by the King of England. In Consideration whereof, the War was to be made in the said King of England's Name, and for the recovery of his Patrimony in Guyenne. On the other side, that the King of England assist by Maximilian, should with sixteen thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, from his Territories, invade Normandy or Picardy; and that they should not relinquish this War without mutual consent. Lastly, there was place left for the Pope, the Prince, Arch-Duke, the Duke of Milan, the Swiss and the Florentines, to enter into this League; which was Sign'd at Lisle on the 17th of October, by Richard Bishop of Winchester, and the Marquis Dorset on our Kings part; The Seigneur de Berghes first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Emperor, and Gerard de Pleine President of his Council; and Pedro de Orrea, Don Luis Carroz, and Juan de la Nuca, Ambassadors of Ferdinand. This being done, and the King for the rest testifying much Satisfaction, departed thence, and two days after in good order of Battel, came to Calais, having in this Voyage bestowed honour upon divers persons of Worth. Sir Thomas Cornwall, Baron of Burford, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Tho. Blount, Sir Henry Sacheverel, &c. being made Knights Bannerets; and Sir John Maynwaring, Sir John Scuth, Sir John Digby, &c. created Knights. And here the King gave order for securing Tournay, as well as the rest of his Possessions in those parts, which being done, and the wind proving fair, he shortly came to his Queen at Richmond, who had long expected him.

Having now related the King's Expedition (which I was unwilling to interrupt by any intervening Occasion) I must return to the Narration of that Battel, which was fought betwixt James the Fourth, and Thomas Earl of Surrey, commonly call'd Flodden-field. This King retaining in his Mind some rancour for divers Causes formerly related, thought he could not any time more seasonably revenge himself, or for the rest give a more acceptable Testimony of his love to Louis the Twelfth, than now in the King's absence, by invading his Realm. Therefore, having

1513.
Diar. J. T.

Octob. 11.

Tilts and Tournaments in Flanders.
Octob. 13.
Octob. 16.
J. T. Diar.

Survita

A Grand Confederacy against France.
Octob. 17.

Octob. 17.

Diar. M.S.

Octob. 24.
The King returns to England.

The Scots War.

1513. Aug. ving first denounc'd War by his Herald, he sent Alexander Lord Humes, his Chamberlain, to forrage the Borders; which Sir William Bulmer hearing, used that Diligence, that he overtook and fought with him in his Retreat, so that he recover'd a rich Booty. The King hereupon in Person, with an Army of sixty thousand (some write a hundred thousand) Men, enters the Country, and, after a few days Siege, takes Northampton-Castle. Thomas Earl of Surrey hereupon hastens his Army, which consisted of twenty six thousand, appointing his Son the Lord Admiral to come by Sea, and meet him at or near Alnwick, in Northumberland. This brave Lord fail'd not his time, bringing with him also about one thousand Men; of whom when the Earl had taken view, and given order in what place every one should fight, he marches towards the King; who had remov'd his Army to an Hill call'd Flodden (or Fluden) on the edge of the Mountain Cheviot; where he strongly entrench'd himself. The Scotch Writers here relate, that many of their Country-Men (for want of Victuals) secretly fled home, leaving the Kings Troops but thin. Our Writers on the other side, make the Scotch-Men much superior in Number. Howsoever, the Earl of Surrey desir'd nothing more than to fight, as finding the whole Country thereabouts so forrag'd and spoil'd, that he could not long subsist. Therefore on Sunday, Sept. 4. he thought fit to send Rouge-Croix Herald, with a Trumpet, and Instructions to James the Fourth, to tell him, *That in regard he had violat'd his Faith and League, and hostily enter'd the English Ground, that on Friday next he would bid him Battel, if the said King would stay so long in England, and accept it.* The Lord Thomas his Son, also requir'd Rouge-Croix particularly to certifye the King of his Journey by Sea; and that, *because he could meet no Scotch Ships there, he thought fit to land, that he might justifie Andrew Breton's Death; And added further, as he look'd for no Mercy from his Enemies, so he would spare none but the King only, if he came in his Hands. And to make all this good, that he would be in the Vanguard of the Battel.* Lastly Rouge Croix was charg'd, if any were remanded, he should (for preventing espial) bring him no nearer than two Miles unto the Camp. James the Fourth receiv'd this Message gladly, and as he was a Prince of great Courage, by his own Herald assures the Earl, *that he did so much desire to encounter him, that tho' he had been at Edinburgh, he would have left all business for that purpose: And therefore wish'd him to rest assur'd, he would not fail to abide Battel the day nam'd, which was Friday.* This being done, the Herald delivers a Protestation from his King and Master, in these very words, being in answer to the former exhortation of the Earls.

Sept. 4. Hall. His defence of his invading England. As to the Causes alledg'd of our coming into England, against our Bond and Promise (as is alledg'd,) thereto we answer; Our Brother was bound as far to us, as we to him; and when we swore last before his Ambassador in presence of our Council, we express'd especially in our Oath, that we would keep to our Brother, if our Brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our Brother brake first unto us. And since his Breach, we have requir'd divers times him to amend. And lately we warn'd our Brother, as he did not us ere he brake. And this we take for our Quarrel, and with God's Grace shall defend the same at your assign'd time, which with God's Grace we shall abide. Hereupon the Earl advancing, came within three Miles of Flodden; but perceiving that the King still kept upon the Hill, which was unapproachable, He sent Rouge Croix again, with a Letter subscrib'd by himself, his Son the Lord Admiral, and divers other principal Noblemen and Knights, where in

1513. respectful Terms, they provok'd him to descend from his Fortifications, and fight in a large Plain call'd Milfeild (which lay between them) upon Friday following; alledging for this purpose, the promise they receiv'd from his Grace heretofore. But no Satisfactory Answer being given to this, and the Heralds being return'd on either side, the Earl removes with his Army to such a place, that if the Scotch-Men would not leave the advantage of their Site, he might cut off their Victuals, and consequently draw them down. James the Fourth hereupon firing his Huts, dislodges covertly by the benefit of the Smoak, and keeping still on the higher Ground, at last he commands a stay. Presently after the Earl also traversing some Boggs and Marshes, till he arriv'd to the bottom of this Bank, found the ascent not very steep, and thereupon encourageth his Men to fight. This done he marcheth up; the Vanguard was led by his two Sons, the Lord Thomas and Sir Edmund; the Battle by himself, and the Rear by Sir Edward Stanley. The Lord Dacres with his Horse, being appointed as a Reserve on all occasions. The King observing this well, and judging that it was not without much disadvantage that the English came to fight, exhorts his Men to behave themselves like brave Soldiers, and thereupon joyns Battle. Sir Edmund Howard at first was in some distress, by the singular Valour of the Earls of Lenox and Argile, but the Lord Dacres coming to his Succour, as also one Heron, the fight was renew'd; the Lord Thomas Howard pursu'd his Point better, yet so, as he found a brave opposition from the Earls of Crawford and Montross. The Kings Battle, and the Earls likewise maintain'd together a long and sharp fight. This while Sir Edward Stanley by force of Archers, constrain'd the Scots to descend the Hill, inasmuch that for avoiding his storm of Arrows, they open'd their Ranks, and therein seem'd to give one of the first Overtures for Victory. The King perceiving the Disorder, redoubl'd his Courage, inasmuch that our Writers confess he had almost overthrown the Earls Standards. But the Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Edward Stanley, who had discomfited their opposites coming to Succors, and the Lord Dacres also flying in with his Horse, the Scots were so hardly put to it, that for their last defence they cast themselves into a Ring; in that order of fight doing all that valiant Men possibly could to defend themselves. No Man yet did in his Person more than the King; Inasmuch, that pressing on still, he was at last kill'd on the place, as our Writers have it. The Scotch Writers yet say it was one Elphinstone, who wearing the same Arms the King did, was taken for him, affirming further that the King fled over the River Tweed, and was there (I know not how) slaughter'd. The fight continuing three hours, made the event doubtful, and the execution great. In conclusion, most of the nobler fort, one Archbishop, and two Bishops, besides four Abbots on the Scots side were slain there, and about ten thousand others. On our side (says Polydore) there died about five thousand, others say fewer; so that as it was a Bloody Victory, it might be thought somewhat uncertain till the next Morning, when the Body suppos'd for the King's, and so acknowledg'd by divers of both Nations (as our Historians say) was found among the dead Carcasses, having receiv'd (as our Writers have it) a mortal wound with an Arrow, and another with a Bill. The Scots lay the occasion of their Overthrow chiefly on some of their Troops that look'd on, and never so much as gave stroak. But that we may leave these things to their Relations, I find after this Battle the Scots that remain'd,

The Battel of Flodden-field.

James the 4th King of Scotland kill'd.

The Scots routed.

Hall.

1513.
Sept. 9.

main'd, return'd home much griev'd for the unfortunate success of that Day, being Sept. 9. The Earl took all the Ordnance, and particularly seven extraordinary fair Culverins, call'd the *seven Sisters*. And so after giving God thanks, dismiss'd the greatest part of his Army, and retir'd himself home, until News of the King's coming to Richmond brought him thither, taking order in the mean time, that the dead Body, being embalm'd, should be carried first to *New-Castle*, and after to *Shene* in *Surry*; though, as that King was excommunicate, it may be doubted, whether it were buried in any Consecrate place; since I find by Breve dated November 29. 1513, and extant in our Records, that our King obtain'd a Breve from the Pope, for transferring the Body to St. Paul's in London. Upon condition yet, that the Bishop of London should first absolve the said James, and our King *Nomine ipsius aliquam convenientem penitentiam adimpleret; in his Name underwent some fitting Penance.*

Nov. 29.
Records.

Jan. 3.
1514.
The Parliament sits.
Regni 5.

Our King now (the Parliament still sitting) establish'd an Order, how the Subjects he had in his new Acquisitions in France, might recover their Debts from those in England, as well as the English from them. Moreover it was enacted, that every Person that would sue for the King's Pardon, upon certain Articles, should have it.

M. S.

In this Parliament also Margaret, Daughter of George Duke of Clarence, late Wife of Sir Richard de la Pole Knight, petitioned, That since, by Act of Parliament, 19 Henrici VII. Edward Earl of Warwick was declar'd Traytor, and so his Lands forfeited; it would please the King, that she might inherit (as being Sister and next of Blood) his State and Dignity, and so be stiled Countess of Sarum; which was granted.

A Tumult in London by the Apprentices.

I find little else memorable this Year among our Historians, save only a Commotion in London; which hapned on this manner. The Villages of Islington, Hockston, and Shoreditch having so inclos'd their Grounds, that they debarr'd the Citizens from their accusom'd Freedom and Exercises; the Apprentices of London threw down the Hedges and Ditches, after this manner. A Turner running in a Fools-Coat through the Streets, and crying *Shovels and Spades*, was presently follow'd in such numbers, as all their Inclosures were quickly levell'd. For which therefore the Lord Mayor was well check'd, and command given him to prevent further Mischief.

The French King, now finding two principal Frontier Towns taken, the Flower of his Chivalry made Prisoners, while the rest ran away, his best Confederate James IV. kill'd, and the chief Administration of Scottish Affairs devolv'd to the hands of Margaret, Sister to King Henry VIII. (at least until she married again,) a League, in opposition to him, sworn by three the most puissant Princes of Christendom: The Pope animating all this against him, under the odious name of a *Schismatick*; and lastly, himself far stricken in years, begins to think how best he might come off. And, to this, he had but a Winter's space; for the War was to begin the next Spring. He negotiates therefore with the Pope first. To this End he offers satisfaction for his Obstinacy; next, he stipulates to give way to the accomplishing the Pope's Designs in Bononia, and elsewhere; to renounce the Council of Pisa, and accept that of Lateran, promising withal to remand the Cardinal Bernardino, (whom as the Pope desired to have, so he graciously pardoned.) Lastly, whereas great Inconveniences might follow, not only to his Holiness, but all Christendom, if, by these Intestine Wars a passage were made open for Selyme the Turk to invade it, (who had lately taken eighteen strong Places near Presburg in Hungary,) he promiseth his assistance

against them. All which being taken by the Pope into serious consideration, makes him relent; and, in sequence thereof, not only recommends Peace and Unity to all Christian Princes, and particularly to our King, but, shortly after enters into a League against the Turk; for this purpose using those potent Ministers of his the Church-men, who were in favour with their several Princes. Louis the twelfth also draws Maximilian off, partly by representing the danger above-mention'd in Hungary, which (next Ladislaus) most concern'd him; and partly by according the demands he made about divers pretences in Burgogne; and lastly urges some Discontents remaining in Maximilian's Mind, ever since Henry VIII. and himself met last, (though in effect they were little more than *Puntiglios*, ordinarily hapning on the Interview of great Princes.) And for Ferdinand he was easily taken off, so that he might enjoy Navarre, and for the rest keep his Authority in Italy. To which therefore Louis the twelfth condescended, proroguing the * last years Truce with him for twelve Months longer. Lastly, because Henry VIII. was (without all these) able alone to find him work, he offers his Friendship, and Alliance in matching with his Sister the Princess Mary, thought then one of the fairest Ladies of her time. To strengthen this Proposition also, he advertises our King, that Charles Prince of Castile (afterwards Charles V.) was treating of a Marriage with Anne Daughter of Ladislaus King of Hungary; and were it in earnest, that he intended to match with his Sister the Princess Mary, that yet (being but fourteen Years old in February next) he was not ripe enough for her; concealing in the mean time that himself was as much too old.) He privately also acquainted the King how Ferdinand did but deceive him; as one, that would at all times be drawn to his Party, when he might enjoy Navarre. Together with which, it is probable he did reveal the aforefaid secret Truce made by the Spanish Secretary Quintana, betwixt himself and Ferdinand for one Year more. An Article whereof was, that, during the said Truce, Louis XII. should not molest Milan. He told him, besides, that Maximilian's Designs were on the Venetians, and not on France. And that the Levies in Flanders for the Wars propos'd against France the next Year, were and should be retarded by the Princess Marguerite, purposely, because her Father had other Designs: All which was represented to the King by private and confident Messengers, who under colour of treating for the delivery of Louis Duc de Longueville, and the rest who were Prisoners of War, negotiated this great Affair. Our King hereupon disdain-
ing to be twice deceived by his Father-in-law Ferdinand, and detesting withal the Ingratitude and Levity of Maximilian, agreed a League with Louis XII. upon the seventh of August 1514. for the term of their joint lives and one Year after. The effect was, That all former Offences should be remitted and abolish'd, Traffick restor'd, and all Impositions on Strangers since fifty two Years last past, extinguish'd. That no Letters of Merque should be granted, but against the principal Delinquents, and that only in case Justice were denied. That no Robbers by Land, or Pirates by Sea should be maintain'd on either side. That Rebels and Fugitives should not be entertain'd, but render'd (within twenty days after Requisition) to their Sovereigns. That they should be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other. That (for mutual defence of their present Estates) Louis XII. should furnish at the requisition of Henry VIII. one thousand two hundred Lances by Land, and five thousand Men at Sea, with convenient Shipping. And Henry VIII. ten thousand Archers

1514.

Decemb.

The French K. makes his Peace with the Pope.

* April.
1513.

K. Henry concludes a Peace with the French K. Aug. 7. Du Tillot.

1514. by Land, and five thousand Men at Sea, with Shipping, at the requisition of Louis XII. But if either of the two Kings shall require Aid of the other for the recovery of his Pretensions, then Louis shall lend King Henry six hundred Lances only, and King Henry him but five thousand Archers for Land-Service; the Sea Forces retaining the numbers above-mention'd. All this to be at the cost of the Demandant. Yet, if either of the said Princes shall be invaded, only for the cause of this Confederacy, then the other shall aid him at his own Charge. If War be made by common Consent, neither Prince may make Peace severally. That the English Merchants should have their ancient Privileges at Bourdeaux restor'd. That this Treaty should be publish'd and ratifi'd by the Pope, (by whom it was chiefly procur'd) with a Clause of Excommunication on the Infraction. Among the Allies of each Prince, the Scots also were comprehended herein, upon Condition, that after Septemb. 15. they should make no Incurfion on the English by publick Authority; and if any were otherwise made, that satisfaction should be speedily given. Besides this, the French Writers confess there was a Treaty apart, by which Louis promised to pay Henry VIII. a Million of Crowns, the said Henry rendering him an Obligation, by which Charles Duke of Orleans, Father of the said Louis, and other Princes of France were bound to pay the said Sum. For, whereas Charles VIII. Predecessor to Louis XII. by a Treaty at Estaples 1492, bound himself and his Heirs to pay King Henry VII. and his Heirs the Sum of 745000 Crowns; and, after the death of the said Charles, Louis XII. bound himself and his Heirs to pay so much as remain'd thereof, and this Bond was twice made by the said Louis XII. first to Henry VII. 1498, and after to Henry VIII. 1510. And whereas (besides this Bond) the aforesaid Charles had bound himself to the Lady Marguerite Dutcheff of Sommerfet, Anno 1444, to pay her a certain Sum of Money, which was not yet discharged. Therefore, as also for confirming the Amity betwixt Louis and Henry, the said Louis did now bind himself and Heirs in a Bond of a Million of Crowns to be paid to King Henry VIII. in his Town of Calais, at several times, (viz.) November 1. next following fifty thousand Francs; and May 1. next, so much more, and so till the whole were paid. (Which Obligation I find in an Original thereof, dated Sept. 14. 1514.) All which minuted by Louis de Longueville (called by some Louis d'Orleans Duc de Longueville) during his restraint, was at last thus fully concluded. The Princess Mary also was to be consigned to him, with convenient speed; notwithstanding (saith Polydore) the King had secretly destin'd her once to another, who though he gave place, when it was so much for her Dignity, yet married her not long after. The Condition for the Marriage, betwixt the said Louis XII. and Mary the King's Sister, were these, as we find them in our Records.

That, 1. within ten Days following, Matrimony shall be contracted by both Persons by Proxies, per verba de presenti. 2. After the Contract above-said, within two Months, the King of England shall send and convey her, with Jewels and Household-stuff fitting her Estate, to Abbeville in France; where, within four days following the said Louis XII. shall solemnly marry her. 3. King Henry shall give with the Princess Mary four hundred thousand Crowns; of which Sum (in regard of the traduction of the Lady, her Apparels, Jewels, &c.) Louis will be content to accept the one half, i. e. two hundred thousand Crowns, and to pay himself the rest out of the Monies which by the late Treaty he is obliged to pay King Henry. 4. Louis shall assign to the Princess Mary a Jointure as great as any Queen of France (and namely as Queen Anne the last Queen) hath had. And this during her life she shall enjoy, wheresoever she reside. 5. If Louis die first, then the Princess Mary, during her life, shall en-

joy her Dowry and Jointure, and all Jewels which the Queens of France have used to enjoy after the death of their Husbands. 6. If Louis survive the said Princess, then he shall have and enjoy her Portion, Jointure, Jewels, and Goods, according to the Custom of France.

While these things were in agitation, the King (who called to mind many that had serv'd him with much Fidelity, Courage, and Success in his late Occasions and Enterprizes) thought he could not do any thing more justly and prudently, than to bestow some condign Recompence upon them; it being such a Mystery of State as not only gives the greatest Lustre of Regal Authority, but of that Consequence, as being used well, there will be little need of Punishment. The Reward to these brave Cavaliers he had selected out for this purpose, the King thought good to invest in honour chiefly. Therefore upon the second of February, Thomas Earl of Surrey was by him created Duke of Norfolk; (a Title * before conferr'd on John his Father by Richard III. and then again extinguisht.) His eldest Son, the Lord Thomas Howard also being substituted Earl of Surrey. Together with which he had an augmentation of Arms for his Atchievement in Flodden-Field. Sir Charles Somerset also, being in Elizabeth his Wife's right, (who was Daughter and Heir to William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon) Lord Herbert of Chesfow, Gower, and Ragland, was created Earl of Worcester. Sir Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle was now also created Duke of Suffolk; and Sir Edward Stanley, not long after made Lord Mounteagle. Lastly, Thomas Woolsey Bishop of Tournay, was constituted Bishop of Lincoln.

The King, being at some rest now from transmarine Affairs, begins to look towards Scotland; upon which he had many Advantages. For as the two Princes, left by King James, were very young; his Sister Queen Margaret (their Mother) having the Administration of all the Affairs there; the chief and most active part of their Nobility kill'd, there wanted not many occasions to prevail himself of; whereupon also, either by gentle means or otherwise by force, he resolv'd to procure an Interest in the Government of that Kingdom. To this it conduced not a little, that those Nobles which remain'd, betwixt Envy and Ambition, were distracted among themselves. The Queen foreseeing well, that, in this ill condition of Affairs, many Inconveniences might follow, in a Country, whereof (by special Clause of a Testament made by the King before the last Expedition) she was declar'd Regent, as long as she continued unmarried, sends to the King her Brother, to crave his Advice and Assistance; beseeching him withal, that he would desist from Hostility. The King most generously answer'd, that, If the Scots would have Peace, he would keep Peace; if they would have War, he would likewise have War. Thus were all things compos'd for the present, and James V. (being not two years old) in Parliament declar'd King, in February 1514. Yet as, not long * after, she took to Husband Archibald Dowglass Earl of Angus (one both for Birth and other Perfections the eminentest she could chuse in that Country) some Innovations and Troubles ensued. For while Dowglass labour'd by his private Power to supply that Authority, which by marrying him, she seem'd to have lost; the Kingdom was broken into Factions. The favourers of Dowglass allerdg'd, there was no other way to keep Peace, but by submitting all to Queen Margaret; for, since the King of England did therefore only desist from pursuing his Victory, because the Administration of Affairs was in his Sisters hands, it were best to leave them there; to erect any other

1514.

Feb. 1. 1483.

Acreation of Noble Men.

The Queen Regent of Scotland begs a Peace.

The King's Answer.

* Aug. 6. Feb.

Divisions in the Scottish Government.

1514. other form of Government, were to draw the English in again; and when all their forces united were not able to resist him absent, what might they attend from him present? Especially, when not only their chief strength was lost in the late Battel, but Henry should find a Party with his Sister, (both in her own Name, and in the King her Sons) would make for him. The other Faction (whereof Alexander Humes was chief) urg'd the Ancient Custom of Scotland, which in these cases, he said, did always choose some Protector or Vice-Roy. Neither did it hinder, that they had hitherto pay'd so much deference to the Vertues of the Queen, that as long as possibly there was pretext for it, by the King's Testament, they had admitted her for Regent: For now, since by Marriage of Dowglafs, she had voluntarily relinquish'd that Power; that the Country therefore should resume their wonted Right and Priviledges. For, if in the most quiet and serene times, Women had been excluded from Government, how much more now? Yet was not this the only reason that mov'd Humes. For, while he doubted lest the ancient followers of his House should by the Power of Dowglafs be now drawn from him, he left nothing unattempted that might diminish and weaken either him or the Queens Authority. Therefore he recommended every where John Stewart Duke of Albany, Cousin-German by the Father to James the Fourth; who, though then in France, was yet of great esteem at home. This again, was seconded by the Arts of the French, who could by no means suffer the good Affection of that Nation to be divided, much less drawn from them. Howbeit Louis thought not fit openly to discover himself, as fearing to offend our King, with whom he was now contracting a strait League and Affinity. Therefore he would not suffer the Duke to come into Scotland, though not long before * elected Governor; by the Queens consent as was pretended; which yet may be doubted; she protesting † to our King afterwards, it was extorted from her.) Howsoever, after the Death of Louis he was sent over, (as shall be shew'd hereafter) well furnish'd both with Men and Money, to take Possession of the chief Government of all things, during the Minority of the Prince.

While busineses were now in preparation for Peace and Allyance betwixt our King and Louis the Twelfth, it was thought fit for discharge of the King's Engagement and Honour, to send to Flanders, to discover how in those parts their affection stood towards the Match propos'd betwixt Prince Charles and the Princess Mary; and withal, to require Men for the War intended the next Spring. But Charles having already broken two Articles of the said Treaty of Marriage; one whereof was, that when he came to fourteen years of Age, he should send a Proxy into England to contract the Princess *per verba de presenti*; the other, that at a day appointed he should come himself to Calais to espouse her; and our Ambassadors finding for the rest nothing but delay and irresolution, the King would no longer omit to give order that his Sister should neither be slighted, nor his Affairs otherwise suffer detriment. Therefore, after a short Protestation, whereby the fault was laid on them; (without yet, that any intention was disclos'd for disposing the Princess Mary in any other place, or of making a League with Louis the Twelfth) the King proceeds more roundly in his Business. Before yet this could be effected, *Pregent* with his Gallies coming to *Sussex* by Night, and landing there, after a short stay was driven back, and in the Retreat, shot in the face with an Arrow.

Sir John Wallop hereupon being sent into Normandy, burnt divers Ships, and one and twenty Villages, landing many times in despite of the French, which seem'd the more strange, that his Soldiers exceeded not eight hundred Men. The French also appearing in some numbers near the English Pale, Sir Thomas Lovell was sent with certain Troops to Calais, for the better strengthening of the place; and the rather, that Richard de la Pole was now gathering Forces for some great Design. But before he could do any thing, the Treaty and Peace was made; among the Articles whereof, though the remanding of Richard de la Pole was propos'd, yet Louis would never consent to it, but sending him out of France gave him a yearly Pension.

Louis de Longueville having now power from his King to contract Marriage *par parole de present* with our King's Sister, she also sent * her Procuration to the same effect, the Ceremony whereof was solemnly held at the Celestins in Paris, Septemb. 14. News whereof was no sooner brought, but our King, together with the Queen conducting her to the Sea-side bid her farewell, and recommended her to the Duke of Norfolk's care. Shortly after which landing at Boulogne, and being met by some principal Persons deputed by the King, she was attended on, and guided towards Abbeville; in the way to which, the old King on Horseback met and saluted her, and afterwards retir'd himself privately, while she was receiv'd into Abbeville with much Pomp. Where on St. Dennis Day, Octob. 9. she was in Person marry'd to Louis the Twelfth; who, after bestowing many Jewels on her, and rich Presents to those who came along, dismiss'd all, save a few Officers and Attendants, amongst whom I find Mrs. Anne Bollen, Daughter to Sir Thomas Bollen, as one. Howbeit, occasion was given of bringing over some of our prime Nobility and Cavaliers to Paris not long after.

Francois de Valois, Duke of Angoulesme, and next Heir Male to the Crown (having in May before marry'd Claude eldest Daughter to Louis the Twelfth, by Anne who was Inheritrix of Bretagne) desir'd now, in the King's declining Age, to give some proof of his Valour. Therefore, before the English departed from Abbeville, he caus'd Jufts to be proclaim'd; which, for being so extraordinary (the Persons and Manner consider'd) I thought worth the relating. The effect thereof was, that in November ensuing, he with nine Aids, would answer all Comers that were Gentlemen of Name and Arms, on Horseback and on Foot. The Laws on Horseback were, that with sharp Spears they should run five Courses at Tilt, and five more at Random, being well arm'd and cover'd with pieces of Advantage for their best Defence. After this to fight twelve stroaks with sharp Swords. This being done, he and his Aids offer'd to fight at Barriers with the same Persons, with a Hand-spear and Sword. The Conditions were, that if any Man were unhors'd, or fel'd fighting on Foot, his Armour and Horse should be render'd to the Officer of Arms. That for this purpose an Arch Triumphant should be set forth at the Tournelles, near Rue Saint Antoine in Paris, on which four Shields should be plac'd. That he who would touch any of them, must first enter his Name and Arms. That he who touch'd the first, which was Silver, should run at Tilt, according to the Articles. Who touch'd the Golden Shield, should run at Random as above mention'd. He that touch'd the black Shield, should fight on foot with Hand-spears and Swords for the one hand; six Foynes with the Hand-Spear, and then eight stroaks to the most Advantage (if the Spear so long

1514. May.

June

France

* Aug. 22

Sept. 14.

The Kings

Sister the

Princess

Mary pass

ses over to

France.

Octob. 3.

Octob. 9.

And is

marry'd

to Louis

the 12th.

Mrs. Anne

Bollen one

of her Re-

tinue.

May 18.

1514.

Solemn

Jufts pro-

claim'd by

Francois

Duke of

Angoulesme,

afterwards

Francois the

first.

Hall.

The Con-

ditions of

them.

1514. long held,) and after that twelve strokes with the Sword. He that touch'd the tawny Shield, should cast a Spear on foot with a Target on his Arm, and after fight with a two-handed Sword. This Proclamation being made, the Duke of Suffolk, and Marquiss Dorset, and his four Brethren, the Lord Pinton, Sir Edward Nevile, Sir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheney, and others, obtain'd leave of the King to be at the Challenge; which they so hasten'd, that before the end of October they came to S. Denis, where they found the Queen; the Solemnities for her Coronation, as also for her Reception at Paris, being not yet in

readiness. *Francis de Valois*, knowing how good Men at Arms the Duke of Suffolk and Marquiss Dorset were, requested them to be two of his Aids, to which they assented. But while these things were in preparing, Mary the French Queen was upon the Fifth of November Crown'd in St. Denis, the Earl of Worcester and Dr. West (who were appointed for this purpose by our King) attending her in the Solemnity thereof, and *Francis de Valois* (afterwards King) holding the Crown (which was very weighty) over her Head. The day following she enter'd Paris with great Pomp, and the morrow after the Jufts began, of which the King and Queen were Spectators; the King being yet so weak that he lay on a Couch. These Jufts continu'd three days, in which three hundred and five Men at Arms were answer'd by the Defendants; among which some were so hurt, that they dy'd not long after: At Random and Tourney, the Duke of Suffolk hurt a Gentleman very dangerously, and the Marquiss Dorset did no less to another. Then the Duke overthrew a Man both Horse and Arms, and so did the Marquiss. Francis at last being hurt, desires the Duke and Marquiss to fight at Barriers; who therefore took the first place against all Comers. In the mean while, Francis intending an Affront, (as was thought) to the Duke, cauleth a German (the strongest Person in all the Court) to be arm'd secretly, and present himself at Barriers; they both did well; yet the Duke at last with the but-end of his Spear struck the German till he stagger'd, and so the Rail was let fall. The Marquiss Dorset also foil'd another French-man. Then they took some breath and return'd to fight again; when the Duke so pommell'd the German about the Head, that Blood gush'd from his Nose, which being done, the German was convey'd away secretly. Divers other brave feats were done likewise, which the reader may find elsewhere. At last our English with singular honour, return'd to their King and Master, whom they found much comforted for the birth of another Prince, though not living long after.

But the contentment of Louis the Twelfth was almost as short; who being aged, and infirm, after some eighty days possession, rather than enjoying of his Queen, dy'd January 1. 1515. leaving behind him no Issue Male; though otherwise of that esteem among his Subjects, for his care not to oppress them with Impositions longer than his necessities requir'd, that he was call'd *Pere du Peuple*, Father of his People. After him succeeded *Francois de Valois*, above mention'd, a Prince of great hope. His Age was twenty one or twenty two; wherein as well as in the most part of his Manners, there was much conformity betwixt our King and him. Particularly, they might be thought two the goodliest Personages, not of their Quality only, but of their Time. This Prince was Sacred (to use the French term) at Reymes 25 of January, 1515. taking on him, together with the name of King of France, that of Duke of Milan. To which he seem'd to have

a double Title, both as he was of the House of Orleans, to which the Claim of the said Dutchy belong'd, as also being comprehended in the Investiture made by the Emperor, according to the Treaty at Cambray. And because he succeeded as well to the Right, as to the means of recovering the said Dutchy, he thought on nothing more than how to vindicate the glory his Predecessors had lost in that Attempt. His first care was how to assure himself of our King: This he procures, partly by addressing himself to Woolsey, who then prevail'd most with the King, and partly by giving great Conditions. And thus the last Treaty of Peace with Louis the Twelfth, (being to endure but till the first of January next,) was (as I find both by ours and the French Record) renew'd in the same Terms, the 5 of April following, and prorogu'd for term of their joyn't Lives, and one year after. Only better order was given for Depredations than before; it being agreed now, that no Merchant of either Nation should depart out of their Ports, without giving caution to their several Admirals, that no Wrong or Molestation should be done by Sea.

Upon the 8th of May, the French King agreed also to pay at certain days a Million of Crowns to our King; (for so the French have it,) which whether it were a new Stipulation, or that formerly agreed on by Louis the Twelfth, appears not to me; and Polydore's words are obscure, which import only *pretium pro pace datum*, Money paid for obtaining a Peace. The 15 of May following, the Scots enter'd into this Treaty, (for they were comprehended under a condition of keeping the Peace.) Neither did our King easily believe, that under-hand they would have made any other. Notwithstanding which, the French and they did, upon the second of January following, privately enter into a League Offensive and Defensive against England.

Together with the proposing of this Treaty (in which the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Richard Wingfield Deputy of Calais, and Doctor West, were employ'd,) our King sent a Letter to the Queen his Sister; wherein he desir'd to know, how she stood affected to her return to England, desiring her withal not to match without his Consent. She on the other side, who had privately engag'd her Affection to Charles Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover her self to both Kings; intreating Francis to mediate this Marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, (though once intending to propose a Match betwixt her and the Duke of Savoy;) but our King, for the Conservation of his Dignity, held a little off; However he had long since design'd her to Suffolk. The Queen also believing that this Formality was the greatest Impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting (as appears by an Original) that if the King would have her married in any place, save where her Mind was, she would shut her self up in some Religious-House. Thus, without any great Pomp, being secretly married, the Queen writ Letters of excuse to the King her Brother, taking the fault (if any were) on her self; and together, for the more clearing the Duke of Suffolk, profess'd that she prefix'd the space of four days to him, in which she said, unless he could obtain her Good-will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her. Whereby, as also through the good office of Francis, who (fearing lest our King by her means should contract some greater Alliance) did further this Marriage, our King did by degrees restore them to his favour; Woolsey also not a little contributing thereunto, while

He desires the Duke of Suffolk and Marquiss Dorset to be two of his Aids.

Mary the French Queen Crown'd Nov. 5. Nov. 6. Nov. 7.

The Duke of Suffolk and Marquiss Dorset's Bravery at the Jufts.

Hall.

* Nov.

1514. Jan. 1.

Louis the 12th dy's. Francis the 1st succeeds him.

Jan. 25.

1514.

1508

* Aug. 7. 1514.

† 1516. K Henry confirms the Peace with France. April 5.

May 8. J. du Till.

Polydore says Francis bought the Peace. May 15. The Scots included in the Treaty. Jan. 2. 1515.

Tillot. The Treachery of the French and Scots.

Feb. 3.

The French Queen Mary's the Duke of Suffolk. March.

1515. he told our King, how much better she was be-
flow'd on him, than on some Person of Quality
in France.

Thus having prepared all things for their de-
parture, they took their leave of the French Court;
the Queen carrying with her, of the Jewels, Plate,
and Tapestry of Louis XII. to the value of two
hundred thousand Crowns, as the French have it.
Among which a great Diamond, call'd *le Miroir*
de Naples (as I find by our Records) was one;
though not without much reluctance of Francis,
who would fain have redeem'd it at a great
Price. Order also was taken for the payment of
her Jointure, being sixty thousand Crowns year-
ly. Whereupon the Queen and Duke with all
her Train (save Mrs. Anne Bolen, who staid in
the French Court) * began their Journey; to the
satisfaction of Francis, as hoping by their means
to confirm his so much desir'd Peace and Treaty
with our King. Thus arriving at Calais the
25th of April, and from thence coming to Dover,
and after to Greenwich, they were publickly mar-
ried the 13th of May. Thus our King's two Si-
sters, after their being join'd with great Princes,
did not disdain to accept inferiour Persons for
their Husbands.

Mrs. Bolen
stays in
France.
April 19.

April 25.
The Fr.
Queen ar-
rives in
England.
May 13.

Feb. 5.
1515.
Reg. 6.
Laws
made in
the Par-
liament,
6 Hen 8th.
about Ap-
parel.
Archery.

Wages
for Me-
chanicks,
Prices of
Water-
men.
About
Tillage.
Cloth.

Commis-
sions of
Sewers.

Against
Expor-
ta-
tion of
Wooll.

But that I may return to my proposed Method
in this History, I shall set down the Laws en-
acted in the Parliament (sixth of this King) be-
ginning February quinto; where I find one of their
chief cares was, to put into better order the for-
mer Laws concerning Apparel; which yet was
not so well digested, but that the Year following,
even the Law it self chang'd fashion. Howso-
ever, that of Archery, made before, was not on-
ly confirm'd, but made perpetual; so that, not-
withstanding the use of *Caleevs* or Hand-guns
(for Muskets were not yet known) it was
thought fit to continue the Bow. Wherein I
cannot but commend the Constancy, if not Wis-
dom of those Times; it being certain, that, when
he that carries the *Caleever* goes unarm'd, the
Arrow will have the same effect within its dis-
tance that the Bullet, and can, again, for one
shot return two. Besides, as they used their Hal-
berts, with their Bow, they could fall to execu-
tion on the Enemy with great advantage. I
cannot deny yet but against the Pike they were
of less force than the *Caleevs*: Therefore I be-
lieve the meaning of these Times was, to com-
mand it as an Exercise to the common People,
and for the rest reserve it for those Occasions,
where they might be of use. Howsoever, Hand-
guns and Cross-bows were forbidden under cer-
tain Penalties, to all Men that had less than five
hundred Marks *per Annum*. The Wages for Ar-
tificers also was settled, and the Price of Water-
men. A Penalty also was impos'd on those who
changed Tillage into Pasture. And very good
Order taken, concerning deceit in Cloth, as be-
ing the only cause they had not so good vent
abroad. The Commission of Sewers extending
to the making up of the Sea-walls, &c. in Eng-
land, the Marches of Calais, Guisnes, and Hames,
(begun sexto Henrici sexti, and continued quarto
Henrici septimi, for twenty five Years) being now
upon expiration, was continued also for ten
Years more. It was commanded also, that the
River of Canterbury should be deepned. It was
provided also, that Wooll should not be carried
beyond Sea; which was to the benefit of Clo-
thiers. No second Letters Patents also might
be taken, without mentioning the first: Which
was very equal, both for the King and Subject.
And because divers now, being weary with sit-
ting so long in Parliament, did depart home
without License, (they only remaining who
factiously combined themselves, with intention

to gain the major part of Voices, in any thing
they desired to obtain) it was order'd they should
lose their Wages, if they went without the leave
of the Speaker, and Common House, to be en-
tered in the Book of the Clerk of the Parlia-
ment.

During the stay of the French Dowager and
her Husband, a Treaty also pass concerning the
restitution of Tournay, upon a Sum of Money of-
fer'd. Howbeit, as our King demanded in ex-
change thereof, the County of Guisnes, or Ardes,
Francis, who desir'd not any enlarging of the En-
glish Pale, fell off, so that our King provided for
defence. For which purpose, as well as dimi-
nishing his charge in keeping an excessive Gar-
ison, he rais'd a Citadel there; without that Fran-
cis thought fit either to interrupt the Design, or
otherwise to offend our King; as hoping, by the
means of Woolsey, (to whom, together with the
unusefulness of Tournay, he represented a Cardi-
nal's Hat) to obtain his desire. And it was the
true Bait to take him; he being extremely am-
bitious of that Dignity, both as he thought it
would secure his Greatness, and as it enabled
him to serve his King and Master's Turn. There-
fore he had many ways attempted it, and parti-
cularly by the intervention of Cardinal Hadrian
de Castello an Italian (Bishop of Bath, and the
Pope's Collector in England) not omitting toge-
ther to use the help of Sylvester (Italian likewise)
Bishoprick of Worcester; and the rather, that they
were both at Rome, where Cardinal Bambridge also
on our King's part resided: But this Cardinal dy-
ing July 14. 1514. not without suspicion of Poy-
son, our King having lately * given Woolsey the
Bishoprick of Lincoln, he surrendred it now, and
† took the Arch-Bishoprick of York; and, not sa-
tisfied herewith, aspir'd also to be Successor in
the Cardinalship; wherein, because it seems, he
conceiv'd that Adrian Bishop of Bath had not ser-
ved him faithfully, he oppos'd him in the Col-
lectorship, and put Polydore Virgil (his Sub-col-
lector) in the Tower (from whence he came
not * suddainly, nor without the Pope's media-
tion) he used therefore, besides his ordinary
Means and Friends in Rome, the help of Francis;
who, for the more obliging of him, sent first
News, that, in September this Year, his Suit was
granted, and the Title of *Sanctæ Cæcilie trans*
Tiberim * conferr'd on him; for the main-
taining of the Charges whereof, he had at this
time in Farm at very easie Rates the Bishopricks
of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, in regard the Bi-
shops of these Places liv'd beyond Sea; he got
also successively the Bishopricks of * Bath, † Dur-
ham, and † Winchester, which he so exchang'd, as
he held ever one of them with his Arch-Bishop-
rick; he held also in Commendation the * Abby of
St. Alban's, and many other Ecclesiastical Prefer-
ments, and had the disposing of most of the Pen-
sions that fell void. Also, shortly after his being
constituted Arch-Bishop of York, William Warham,
Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, resigning to the King
voluntarily the place of Lord Chancellor, and
retiring himself from Court, by reason of his
Age, (or perchance some Discontent) to a pri-
vate Life, that Place was conferr'd on him. Thus
were Dignities and Wealth heaped so fast on
Woolsey, that, being in his Nature insolent, he
grew at length intolerable. Neither could those
excellent Parts, wherewith he was endowed, ex-
empt him; insomuch, that not only much Arro-
gance, but extream Vanity was observed in him,
whereas yet nothing commends Church-men so
much as a pious Modesty: All Degrees of Persons,
but especially theirs, being like Coins or Me-
dals; to which, howsoever Vertue give the stamp
and impresson, Humility must give the weight.
Yet

1515.
Parlia-
ment Men
lose their
Wages, if
they went
home
without
leave of
the House

March 4.
1514.
Nov. 6.
1514.

Polydore
Virgil im-
prison'd
by Woolsey.
* 1515.

Sept. 7.
Woolsey
made Car-
nal.
* Nov.

* 1518.
† 1522.
|| 1528.

His Bene-
fices,

and Dignities.

His Pride.

1515. Yet this Cardinal, contrary to all Example, is noted by Polydore to have used Silk and Gold in his outward Vestments, and even Saddles: He caused also the Cardinal's Hat to be born by some principal Person before him, on a great height, as it were an Idol to be worshipped, (*Loco cuiusdam Idoli sacri*;) and, when he came to the King's Chappel, would admit no place to rest it on, but the very Altar; he had besides, his Serjeant at Arms and Mace, and two Gentlemen carrying two Pillars of Silver, besides his Cross-bearer; concerning which it is observed, that he did bear the Cross of York, somewhat to the prejudice of that of Canterbury, which perchance might be some cause of Discontentment to the Arch Bishop Warham. In conclusion, all his Actions were such as argued a haughtier Spirit than could become his Place (as Polydore will have it.)

The Pope, being intente now to a War against the Turk, * requires Aid from the English Clergy, desiring our King to give his assistance therein; which they yet (in their † Synod) deprecated, alledging (by Letter to the Pope, dated November 25. 1515.) that they were exhausted through their Contribution to the War of France, at the instigation of Julius II. remonstrating further, that by a Decree of the Council of Constance, the Pope could impose no Tributes on the Church, but in case of necessity, and by a General Council.

The twelfth of this Month the Parliament sat again; wherein, among other Acts, further Order was given, for preventing Tillage to be turned into Pasture. A repeal of Licenses also to Strangers for carrying in of Gascoigne and Guyenne Wines, or Tholouse Woad was enacted. Which was much to the increase of our Shipping. A time was also prefixt, without which all Motions, Suits, Bills, Indictments or Informations popular shall be sued, either for the King or Party; and this settled a great deal of quietness. The Act concerning Labourers Wages, made the Year preceeding, was also repealed, forasmuch as concerned certain Labourers in London.

Towards the end of this Parliament, Sir Edward Poyning's desiring to be discharg'd from his Government in Tournay, and the adjoining places of Mortaigne and St. Amand, Sir William Blunt, Lord Mountjoy was substituted; who appointing Sir Sampson Norton to be his Marshal, so offended the People, that they rose in Arms: Neither would they be quieted, till the said Sir Sampson was banish'd for ever. But, if Poyning's return'd to his Counsellor's place, divers others went away from it. For, besides the Arch-Bishop Warham, Bishop Fox, offended with the Cardinal, retir'd himself; desiring this only of the King, that he would not suffer the Servant to be greater than his Master. To which the King answer'd presently, That it should be his Care, that those who were his Subjects should obey and not command. Then Thomas Duke of Norfolk craved leave to go to his Country-House. For, as the King's Coffers were much exhausted by his late Wars and Triumphs, so not finding it easie to supply those vast Expences, which (in Pageants and Devices) increased daily, he wisely withdrew himself: Charles Duke of Suffolk also, not long after, following them. For, having borrowed Money of the King for his Journey into France, and being unable (through the Cardinal's opposition) to obtain remission thereof, or otherwise to pay it presently, he retir'd into the Country; so that the Cardinal had his free scope and liberty to sway all things, under colour of doing the King Service. For, whatsoever he went about, that was his Pretence; though (for the most part) in labouring to reform, he did nothing but inno-

vate. Hence many Clamours arose among the People; who being capable of almost nothing but their own ancient Customs, seldom indure a change, though for their bettering and advantage. Hence was it, that they thought none so true among them, as those who traduced the present Government; nor so wise, as those who suspected most, though beyond all probability. There was yet occasion enough to fear Woolsey, being observed to have that Ascendant over the King's Disposition, as he knew not how to be serious, or almost merry, without him: In either of which ways he still introduced something for his own ends; for no Man studied them more. One Example whereof I will here insert. The Cardinal, having for his first Bishoprick, that of Tournay, was not yet without an ancient Competitor, one Louis Guillart a French Man, to whom it formerly appertained: This Man, grudging to be thus dispossest, obtains from the Pope a Bull, whereby he was restor'd to that place, (as far as words could carry it,) with a Clause of *Usque ad Invocationem Brachii Secularis*, if denied admission, to call in the assistance of the Civil Magistrate, both in the City and without. So that the French and Flemmings seem'd equally interested thereby to procure his Conservation. Our King understanding hereof, and knowing well the dangerous Consequence, * writes to the Bishops of Bath and Worcester, his Agents then at Rome, to protest against this strange and inordinate Bull, (as he terms it in his Letter;) commanding them withal (not without some Threats) to labour that it might be recall'd, as tending not only to the raising of Sedition in that City, and Quarrels betwixt him and the confining Princes, but to the wrongful displacing of the Cardinal, who, being subrogated to the other as well in conformity to the right of his King, as upon the contumacy or negligence of the other (who had not as then done his Homage and Fealty for his Temporalities) could not now be remov'd without much scandal. Before this, the Cardinal had desired Francis to bestow on Guillart some other Bishoprick: But Francis delaying to give satisfaction herein, so incensed the Cardinal, that he became his secret Enemy afterward, (as Polydore hath it.) Hereupon he intimates to Maximilian, that, notwithstanding the * late League betwixt England and France, there was probability, the King would not suffer France to grow greater by the acquisition of Milan † (Maximilian therefore sent, in the name of Sforza Duke of Milan, one Anichetus Vis-Conte, a Milanese, to implore our King's assistance against Francis, in Men or Money: Of which also there was some hope secretly given by Woolsey.) However, our King (in so great a Cause) would resolve nothing, without communicating the business first to the ancientest and wisest of his Counsellors. Therefore recalling Warham, Fox, the Duke of Norfolk, Lovell, and divers others, he demanded their Opinion in full Counsel; where Woolsey speaking first, alledged, that Francis had already broken the Treaty, by favouring Richard de la Pole, a Fugitive and Traytor; in assisting those Scots, which oppos'd his Sister Queen Margaret; and in contriving a secret League with that Nation, to the prejudice of that into which they lately entred with England. Besides, that Francis with-held some Goods and Jewels of Queen Mary. That when all this were otherwise, yet it stood not with reason of State to suffer France to grow any greater. Lastly, he said all this might be done warily, and without effusion of English Blood, only when he would but privately assist Maximilian. This was no sooner uttered, but Thomas Bishop of Durham riseth up, and not only confirms the Cardinal's Speech, but extols it with some palpable Flat-

1515.

His ascendant over the King.

A French Man procures a Bull for the Bishoprick of Tournay. 1513.

1517. March. K. Henry writes to his Agents at Rome, in favour of Card. Woolsey.

Polydore. Virg. Woolsey incens'd against the French King about it. Apr. 5. 1515.

† 1516.

Fox and Norfolk recall'd. Novemb.

A consultation about breaking with Fr. Woolsey speaks for it first.

The Bp. of Durham confirms his Speech. Flat-

Polyd. His State.

The Clergy refuse to give the Pope a Supply. Aug. † Nov. 12. Nov. 25.

Nov. 12. Regn. 7. A Session of Parliament. Laws concerning Husbandry & Trade.

To regulate Indictments.

Bishop Fox retires from Court. His Saying to the King. The King's Answer.

The Duke of Norfolk retires, & the Duke of Suffolk.

Cardinal Woolsey left to do what he pleas'd.

1515. flatteries. Neither must it seem strange, that the Churchmen concurr'd in this Vote; it being likely that (besides Cardinal Woolsey's particular animosity against Francis the First) Leo the Tenth had a hand herein, as knowing how much safer it was for Italy, that a single Duke should govern Milan, than such a Potent Prince as Francis the First; all the others at the Table yet were of another Opinion. Among whom therefore a reply was made to this effect.

The Answer to it. That to break a Treaty or League (solemnly sworn) did seem a strange Council in any, but especially in a Divine. That, for their parts, they conceiv'd the violating of publick Faith, was to call God and Man in judgment against them. They would not deny yet, but just cause of dissolving Leagues might be given. But then that the wrong'd Party ought both to protest the fault and denounce War, That, if any other Course should be allow'd among Princes, and Estates, there were no ground for upholding Truth and Justice; without which yet the Law of Nations, and even Mankind it self could not subsist. That therefore it were good to examine the grounds of the proceedings mention'd. In which though it could not be deny'd but Richard de la Pole was admitted still in France; yet, whether as Traytor to his Country, or a Person that came thither only for safety of his Life, might be question'd. That if the Spies, they had on Richard, said true, his design was only to go into Italy with Francis the First, and then there could be no danger on his part. And for the other Point, which was assisting the Scottish Faction against Queen Margaret, or contriving a secret League which might be a prejudice to the former, much might be said; yet if businesses were well examin'd, both the Treaties of Francis might consist; This latter with Scotland being provisionally only, in case we should come to a Rupture with France. They would not deny yet, but herein an advantage was taken by the French, somewhat against the Laws of Honour. But that we might make a benefit thereof. For, while Francis was in Italy, and far remote from Scotland, it was easie for his Majesty, under colour of resisting the new Faction set up by the French in Scotland, to be more than reveng'd. For, whether in his Sister's name or his own, it was not hard to reduce a divided Country to his Devotion. And that this might be thought a greater Addition to him, than Milan to the French, when yet they could obtain it; that to take any other course, was to seek causes of quarrel, without colour, either of Reason or Justice; to draw the French on himself; to interrupt his way to Scotland, which now lay open; and lastly, to make him loose credit both at Home and Abroad. The King, who knew the opposition among his Counsellors, seem'd to temper the diversity of Opinions in a middle way; yet so, as in effect, he inclin'd to the Cardinal.

The King inclines to the Cardinals Opinion. * April.

Sept. 13. Therefore he said, he would hinder the designs of Francis, without coming yet to a manifest Rupture; whereof also occasion was given. For as Francis being * Confederate with Charles, (now sixteen years old, and taking on him the Government of the Low-Countries) as also with the Venetians, had renew'd a War in Italy, and after a bloody Battel at Marignan, had compell'd Maximilian Sforza to resign his Right to Milan, and accept a Pension in France; so our King, who suspected this great Addition to Francis might be damageable to him, resolv'd secretly to assist the Emperor, with whom also the Pope and Ferdinand joyn'd, for the defence of Italy, and opposition of the Invaders. Returning for this purpose by Richard Pace (late Servant to Cardinal Bambridge, and, for the present Secretary of State) not only a huge Sum of Money; but giving him Commission to treat both with the Emperor and

Novemb. Francisco Sforza, Brother to the late Duke of Milan, concerning the Loan thereof, and a strict

K. Henry agrees to

League upon certain Conditions. Among which it was agreed, That, if Milan were recover'd, such a yearly Tribute or Pension should be paid our King, as this supply of Money did deserve; Woolsey not forgetting also, (after his usual manner) to capitulate for an Annual payment of ten thousand Ducats to himself. Hereupon, Pace, levying for the Emperors Service certain Regiments of Swiss, (who willingly entred this War, both as they were oblig'd to the Conservation of Sforza's Interest, and as they desir'd to revenge their loss at Marignan,) the Emperor in Person marcheth towards Milan. Neither did it hinder him, that the Pope was fallen away to Francis, and had appointed an interview at Bononia, for the accommodating of their Mutual Affairs; the Pope promising Parma and Piacenza to Francis; and he, on the other side, stipulating to recover Urbino for the Pope (as indeed follow'd the next year.) Where also an Agreement call'd the Concordat was made, which the French Writers observe as Derogatory to the Pragmatick Sanction, and the Liberties of the Gallicane Church. Being thus upon his way, Charles Duke of Bourbon, who was appointed by Francis to defend his Acquisitions in Italy, sends to his King for Relief, preparing in the mean time to defend himself the best he could. But Maximilian being now in a fair way of obtaining his desires, retires suddenly into Germany; neither could he alledge other cause of it, than a simple diffidence of the Swiss, (as Polydore hath it;) tho' Guicciardine tells another Reason; which was, that Maximilian receiving no supply of Money from England, and being not provided himself to pay them, was forc'd to desist. This encourag'd the French and Venetian to proceed in their designs of besieging Brescia, which they got; but being repuls'd at Verona, Maximilian takes heart again, and sends Matteo Cardinal of Sedun (or Sitten) into England, to negotiate for a supply of Money, and withal to excuse his late Retreat, both for his distrust of the Swiss, as also because they openly refus'd to fight against some of their Countrymen, who were under Bourbon. Besides, as he had long entertain'd our King with a hope that he would resign the Empire to him, so on this occasion (as I find by an Original from Sir Robert Wingfield, dated 17 May 1516.) he renews the Propositions; offering, besides to give him the Duchy of Milan; for the more assurance whereof, desiring our King to pass the Seas to Calais, and so to take his way through the Low-Countries, till he came to the City of Triers; where he, together with the Electors would meet, for performance of the aforesaid Resignation of the Empire; which also being done, he propos'd that an Army from thence should invade France, while our King with one thousand Horse, and one thousand Archers should pass through Germany to Coyre, and so over the Lake of Como to the State and City of Milan; where having repos'd a while, Maximilian promis'd to go along with him to Rome, to see him receive the Imperial Crown; which being done, he said, our King might choose whether he would make an honourable Peace with France, or War, for recovering his Right; which, he said, the Pope and all Christian Princes could not but like well of. And thus far Wingfield; to whose relation though our King gave as much Credit, as a Profession often made by Maximilian could Merit; yet as he consider'd withal, that there was much improbability in the offer, and the Action it self in a manner without Precedent; and, howsoever, that he should engage his Kingdom for the Affair of the Empire, (it being then so scant of Moneys, as Maximilian was nick-nam'd Pochi-Dinari.) So by his Answer in June following,

Vol. II.

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1515. he wish'd Wingfield to tell Maximilian, that though he thankfully accepted those Offers, yet that he desir'd they might be kept secret until the French were driven out of Italy. For which purpose, (as well as the Reasons before set down) I find he promis'd Maximilian some more Money, executing together the former defect of Payment, with laying the fault on some Genovia Merchants. Besides, at the Cardinal of Seduns intreaty in the

Nov. 2. Emperor's Name, he entred into a strict League with Maximilian; which yet, because it lasted not, I shall not particularly mention. For Maximilian, considering how little trust he could repose in our Cardinal for the obtaining of Money, and (for the rest) being wearied with the Wars, first makes a Truce with his Adversaries, and particularly the Venetians; after which, for

Makes his Peace with the Venetians. Decemb. Jan. 23. 1516. a Sum of Money being two hundred thousand Ducats, he restores Verona unto them, and then makes a Peace. To which purpose the Death of Ferdinand did serve; who departing this Life in the beginning of Anno 1516, did free himself rather than the World, from not a few Troubles, whereof he was the first Procurer and Author. This Prince (leaving to his Successors the Stile of Catholicus) was thought the most active and

The Death and Character of Ferdinand King of Spain. Carita. politick of his time. Insomuch that he hardly took rest, or suffer'd it in others. No Man knew better how to serve his turn on every body, or to make their ends conduce to his. But while he escap'd not the Opinion and the Name of False, (which yet his Country Writers palliate, no otherwise than with calling it *Saber-raynar*) he neither comply'd with his Dignity, nor indeed the Rules of Wisdom; true Reason of State consisting of such solid Maxims, that it hath as little need of Deceit, as a sure Game at Chess of a false Draught; there is no use of it, therefore, among the wiser sort; as being only a supply of Ignorance among the ruder and worse kind of Statesmen. Besides, it appears so much worse in Publick Affairs than Private, as it is never almost hid or unreveng'd. Reputation again is still lost thereby; which yet how much it concerns Princes, none can better tell than such as imagine them without it. This is strange of him, that being of vast Possessions, enrich'd much from the Indies, prosperous in almost all his Attempts, of a frugal Disposition, and long Life; (for he attain'd sixty three) there was hardly yet found in his Coffers, enough to discharge his Interring, though not very Sumptuous; that I may say nothing of his Debts. His Will and Testament declar'd his Daughter Juana of Castile to be his Heir. Only, because of her defect of Wisdom, and her Sons young Age, He appointed the Cardinal Ximenes Archbishop of Toledo to govern, till the said Charles came to Castilla. He left also to Fernando, Brother to Charles, great Possessions and Legacies, as loving him inwardly best; both that

1503.

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Feb. 18.

being born at Alcala 1503, he was a Native of Spain, (which his Brother was not,) and that he gave much hope of Towardliness, and besides bore his Name. Insomuch that, could he have contriv'd it handsomly, it is thought he would have made him his Heir in Spain: Sundry Particularities whereof, concurring much with the Spanish History, being advertis'd to our King by Sir John Stile his Ambassador there; Our King and Queen (as they had before done for Louis the Twelfth) caus'd a solemn Obsequy for him to be kept in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London. But they mourn'd not long; the Birth of our Princess Mary following shortly after, upon the eighteenth of February 1511.

Ferdinand thus dead, Charles, who thought himself as capable of governing Castilla, as he was

of the Low-Countries (which Maximilian the last year put into his hands) sends immediately to Spain, to claim the Right and Title; which also was acknowledg'd; yet so, as it was thought fit to publish it together with his Mothers; so that it ran thus, Donna Juana, and Don Carlos, Queen and King of Castilla, Leon, and Arragon, &c. Navarre (which was now incorporated to them) being not forgotten; He determin'd also in Person to go thither. For which purpose, as well as the better securing the Low-Countries in his Absence, he past several Treaties with Francis and our King; The former was concluded at Noyon, Aug. 15. where it was agreed, That within six Months following Henry d' Albret (Jean d' Albret, and Catherine his Wife being newly dead) of Spain, should be restor'd to the Kingdom of Navarre, or at least sufficient content given him otherwise; and if not, that it should be lawful for Francis to assist him. That Charles should marry Louïse Daughter of Francis, (then not a year old) who in Consideration thereof should renounce his Claim to Naples, and accept a Pension of one hundred thousand Crowns yearly. That the Venetians giving the Emperor two hundred thousand Ducats, he should deliver them Verona. Besides which, their Orders of Chevalry were sent to each other, and an Interview appointed, which yet took no more effect than the Treaty it self. The latter League was form'd at London, October 29. betwixt Joan and Charles of Castile, the Emperor Maximilian, and our King to this effect.

That the Confederates should defend one another, and bring Aid by Land at their own Costs, (being requir'd) within a Month after complaint, against the Enemy.

If the Enemy have Port-Towns, &c. then the War shall be also made by Sea, by them both, and the Fleet supply'd if it be diminish'd, &c.

That no Peace shall be made with the Enemy, or Truce, but by mutual consent.

Place also was left for other Princes whatsoever, to come into this League within eight Months, by the consent of all the Confederates.

That Leo the Tenth shall be comprehended in this League, if he will Excommunicate the Persons and States that shall molest the Confederates, and that he enter within six Months.

That the Swifs shall be admitted, if they will; so that they bind themselves to serve under the Confederates, and not under any other Prince; And, on those Conditions to have Pensions.

I must now return to the business of Scotland, The Scot. (intermitted a while, that I might not break the Affairs. context of my History,) and therein call to mind, how John Stewart Duke of Albany, having been recall'd home, was presently upon his Arrival (which was May 20. 1515.) declar'd Vice-Roy, May 20. till the King came to full Age. Neither did it hinder, that he was born in the time of his Father's Banishment; and, for the rest, such a Stranger, that he could not speak the Country Language. For as a singular Opinion of his worth went before, and the Recommendation of the French accompany'd him, so was he saluted with that universal Applause, wherewith new comers that have given hope of themselves, are usually welcom'd. The businesses of the Country were yet so strange to him, that he was inforc'd to use the directions of others. In this number, one John Hepburne did much appear. His first advice was, that he should not punish the Delinquents, both as they were many, and well ally'd; and as it would gain him strong Enemies. That he had more use of the Peoples Affections, than to alter them at his first Entrance. That therefore his chief endeavour should be, to make good his Authority, neither should he oppress any, but those who were in estate to oppose him; amongst

1516.

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Octob. 29.

1516. amongst which three were most considerable, *Archibald Douglass* was one, who, besides that he had marry'd the Queen, was a Person much in favour with the People. Secondly, *Alexander Humes*, a busie, potent, and able Lord. Thirdly, *Andrew Forman*, whose Riches were such, as alone would suffice for a great Design. The Vice-Roy, taking this Advice into consideration, thought not fit yet to begin with *Douglass*, lest the Queen, for protecting him should draw the English into Scotland, which he most doubted. Besides, he was so gracious with the greatest part of the Kingdom, that he was to be undermin'd rather than assaulted. And for *Forman*, he thought it was nothing but his Wealth that made him envy'd. Only *Humes* he thought it not amiss to question; as having between vehement Suspensions, and some Proofs, not a little matter against him. *Humes* having some notice thereof, changes his Party, and now strives to combine with *Douglass*, and the Queen. Therefore he laments to them the fortune of the King, who was fallen into the hands of one, who besides that he was a stranger to his Country, might be suspected for attempting on his Person, as being next Heir to the Crown, after the King and his Brother. That this was the more probable, because his Father *Alexander* (as the Scottish Writers have it) had taken the like course with his eldest Brother *James* the Third, whom he would have dispossess'd of the Kingdom. That there was no way to avoid these Dangers, but to fly with her Son into England, (to which also our King had perswaded her privately,) and recommended the rest to his care. This Advice (whether spoken by *Humes* to discover the Queens Designs, and thereupon to make his Advantage with the Vice-Roy, or that he did indeed think this to be the best way for the Kings safety,) was brought beforehand to the Vice-Roy, who believing it easily, thought fit to seize on *Sterling-Castle*, in which the young King and his Mother were, and to put a Guard on them; yet admits some, who were of great Credit, to give by turns their Directions for the young Kings Education, and useth briefly some such Providences, as might argue all was done with a good Intention; among which the taking an Oath of Fidelity to the young King, was most remarkable. This while *Humes*, with his Brother *William*, refusing to obey a Citation to the Parliament, and being thereupon proscrib'd, fled to England; *Douglass* also taking the Queen with him follow'd shortly after, staying yet at *Harbottle-Castle* in *Northumberland*, by our Kings Command, till further Order was given. It appear'd not yet, whether this were an escape in them, or that the Vice-Roy were under-hand consenting to their departure, only to be freer for his Designs. Howsoever, he sent instantly to our King, to clear himself from all Sinister Practices against the Queen. He also labours with the friends of *Douglass* and *Humes* to draw them home, promising for this purpose all the good Conditions that could be requir'd. *Humes* takes the Invitation, and returns; *Douglass* also (considering the Queen was with Child, and near her Time, and therefore unable to remove any way far) makes use of this occasion to settle his Affairs at home. The Queen, in the mean while, being * brought to bed of a Daughter, (whom she call'd *Margaret*) by easie Journeys comes to the English Court in the next Spring 1516. Yet were not businesses in Scotland so quieted; for *Alexander Humes* having submitted himself (as aforesaid) to the Vice-Roy, who gave him to the custody of his Brother-in-Law, *James Hamilton* Earl of *Arran*, upon pain of Death if he suffer'd him to depart; shortly after by re-

presenting to *Hamilton* some nearrels of Blood on his part, which might enable him to be Vice-Roy, perswaded the Earl to escape away together with him; while the Vice-Roy being not griev'd (perchance) thus to be quit of those he suspected most, seems now to be at rest. Only he would not omit to take this Advantage against *Hamilton*; therefore he batter'd and took his Castle; *Humes* in the mean time ravaging the Country about *Dunbar*. The Vice-Roy hearing this, returns to his wonted Invitations of both him and *Hamilton* to come back. *Hamilton* accepts it first, and *Humes* after; but *Humes* being summon'd again to come to the Parliament, Sept. 24. thinks fit (for redeeming his former fault when he last absented himself) to appear. He perswades his Brother *William* also to go with him, though many of the friends oppos'd it; for as his Brother was equal with him in Power and Authority, so the keeping him back would have conduc'd perchance to the securing of both. But he, confident of good Usage, neglects the Advice, and comes with his Brother to Court; where being seiz'd on, they were committed to divers Prisons, for crimes objected against them; and particularly against *Alexander*, who was thought to have used some Treachery in *Flodden-Battel*, if not to have kill'd the King. All which though he conceiv'd either suggested maliciously against him, or at least by a long intermission to have been antiquated and forgiven, yet prevail'd not; his Head and his Brothers being struck off in October 1516. Shortly after which (as *Lesleus* hath it) the Kings younger Brother dying, the Duke of *Albany* obtain'd in Parliament to be declar'd next Heir. Which being done, he enters (in January following) into a League with *Francis*, and so * return'd to that Country; only that he might manifest his pretences were without any Ambition which might derogate from his Loyalty. The Queen of Scots coming to London, May 3. 1516. was much welcom'd by the King, the Queen, and her Sister Queen *Mary*, who all enjoy'd therein a happiness rare for Princes in that kind, which was to see one another after they had been once dispos'd of abroad; the King for the more honour of her coming, commanded a Jufts, in which Sir *William Kingstone* was, both himself and Horse, overthrown by him. This year also those who manag'd any Money for the King in the Wars, or otherwise, were by the Cardinals command call'd in question. Among whom some by Bribery, and some by Cunning escap'd; others being condemn'd in great Sums; so that the Cardinal might be said to have in him so much of a good Servant, as he willingly suffer'd none other to deceive his Master. To accompany this severity also, he caus'd Perjury to be rigorously punish'd; wherein I can never enough commend him; all other Treacheries extending for the most part, but to the depriving of Life, Possessions, or good Name; but this such a one, as without much labour may take away all together. Some Courts also were erected in the favour of poor People, against the oppression of the Great; which at the beginning were much frequented; but at last, the People receiving many delays and unsatisfactions in their Suits, every one left them, and went to the Common-Law: As fearing, under this pretence, an Innovation. I must not deny unto the Cardinal yet, the attribute of Just, in all Affairs of publick Judicature; whereof, (if we may believe Authors) he was ever apparently studious. Therefore, where Disorders were committed, he severely punish'd, unless the Parties found means to make their private Peace.

1517. I will conclude this year with a Passage out of our Records. *Leo*, continuing still the Council of *Lateran*, among other Reformati- ons, propos'd that of the *Calendar*, inviting (for this purpose) our King, to send some of our most learn'd Divines and Astronomers thither; but as it appears not what answer our King return'd to this Breve, dated July 10. 1516, so neither should I have inserted any thing hereof, but that it seems they were not sufficiently satisfy'd concerning the Principles from which the Calculation should be deduc'd.

1517. About this time a Riot and Sedition in England hapned in this manner. Some Citizens and Apprentices of *London* of the poorer sort, being offended that all their chief Customers were won from them by the diligence and industry of *Strangers*, and (for the rest) pretending to have receiv'd from them divers Contempts, Affronts and Injuries, found some occasions, and took others, to make an Insurrection against them; and the rather, that the Seditious Sermons of one Doctor *Bele*, by the Instigation of *John Lincolne* a Broker, had not a little incited them: Who taking Texts (as near as he could find in the Scriptures) to this purpose, traduced the fence thereof even to encouraging the People to a Commotion. The beginning of this yet was not so witty as the last, neither ended it so well. For two Apprentices playing only at Buckers in the Street, late on

April 30. May-Eve, contrary to the Lord Mayors Command, (who upon notice taken of the Citizens intent, was charg'd by the King's Council to require, under great Penalties, all Housholders to keep themselves and their Servants within doors from nine over-night, till seven of the Clock the next Morning) an Alderman came to arrest one of them; but the said Apprentice thinking therein that an Ancient Custom for taking liberty at that time more than any other, was infring'd, cry'd *Clubs*. Hereupon, they came forth in so great Numbers, that the Alderman fled. The Apprentices being encourag'd herewith, and for the rest finding themselves in a greater Multitude, than to do nothing, break open some Prisons, and took out divers Persons, committed thither for abusing and hurting of *Strangers*. Neither could the Mayor or Sheriffs then present, hinder this; nor Sir *Thomas Moore*, (late Judge of the Sheriffs Court in *London*, but now of the Kings Council,) though much respected by them, as being a Native of that City. The Prisoners being now set loose, advise the Multitude to run to the House of one *Meutas* a Picard, much hated by them: Where they kill'd some, chas'd the rest, and rifled his Goods. Hence they went again to other *Strangers* Houses, which they spoil'd in like manner. The Cardinal hearing this, and being not much more in the Peoples favour than the *Strangers*, fortifies his House with Men and Ordnance. But the Lieutenant of the Tower proceeding otherwise, discharg'd some of the great Pieces among them. Howbeit, this made them not so much desist, as that having reveng'd themselves as far as the offence taken seem'd to require, they thought good about three in the

May 1. Morning to scatter and go home. But in their way, they were apprehended by the City-Officers first, and afterwards by some followers of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Surrey*, who hearing of this Disorder, and taking the Inns-of-Court Men with them, clear'd the Streets of this unruly Company. The beginning of the Riot was hereupon examin'd, and Doctor *Bele* and *John Lincolne* sent to the Tower. About three days after the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey* his Son, and divers others, with about 1300 arm'd Men came into the City, and joyning with

the Lord Mayor, proceeded legally against the chief Offenders; to the terror of the Citizens, who were the more affraid, that the Duke of *Norfolk* upon the killing of a Priest of his in *Cheape*, was reported to have said (as our Historians have it) in some Passion, I pray God I *may once have the Citizens in my Danger*. This (though perchance a Calumny, forg'd against the Duke) wrought so, that they thought themselves over-rigorously dealt with, in that the Statute *Secundo Henry* the 5. Chap. 6. (which makes breakers of Truce, and safe-Conducts guilty of High Treason) was extended against them, tho' repeal'd afterward, 20 *Henrici Sexti*. Howsoever, much mercy was shew'd; for, of two hundred seventy eight Persons which were Prisoners, *Lincoln* only, who was thought the most Seditious, and three or four more were Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd; the rest, who were about ten, suffer'd nothing extraordinary in their Death, but that for the more example they were hang'd on Gibbets erected in the Streets. All the others were thus pardon'd; the Recorder of *London*, May 11. and divers Aldermen coming in Black to Court, and desiring most humbly to be heard, the King, after some Admonition and Check, as if the better sort had conniv'd at this Riot, refers the rest to the Cardinal, then Lord Chancellor. In Conclusion, the King sitting in *Westminster*, and being attended with his principal Nobility and Officers, and the Lord Mayor; all the Prisoners in white Shirts, and Halters about their Necks (into which Habit divers also, (not yet discover'd) put themselves, to be capable of the King's Pardon) did, upon their Knees, crave Mercy. Which the King graciously accorded, permitting also the Gibbets, which much scandaliz'd the Citizens, to be taken down.

Shortly after, the Sweating Sickness (call'd for the propriety by which it seiz'd on the English Nation chiefly, *Sudor Anglicus*;) did much infect the Kingdom, being of that Malignity, as within the space of three hours it kill'd. This caus'd the King to leave *London*, and adjourning three Terms 1517, to remove *Trinity* Term, 1518. to *Oxford*, where yet it continu'd but one day, and was adjourn'd again to *Westminster*. Nevertheless divers Knights, Gentlemen and Officers in the Kings Court dy'd thereof; as the Lord *Clinton*, Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, and others of Quality, the vulgar sort so commonly perishing, as in some Towns it took away half the People, in others the third part.

Let us look now a while on foreign Business. *Maximilian* continuing the foremention'd Treaties with our King, concerning divers publick Affairs, and particularly that of rendring the Empire, was desir'd by King *Henry*, to give him a meeting in the Low-Countries. But *Maximilian* returning Answer, That to excuse that labour he would come over into *England*, King *Henry* sent the Earl of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Cuthbert Tonsall* to him, * lately then come into *Flanders*. * Jan. But as *Maximilian* was a Prince of great Dissimulation, they observ'd in him, that while on the one side he entertain'd our King with the offer of the Empire, &c. on the other he continu'd his Treaty (begun in *December* last) with the *French*. Besides, his Grand-Child *Charles* refus'd to confirm the late League with our King. So that our Agents thought fit to represent to his Grace how little was to be expected; because the Emperor vary'd so much in his Offers; sometimes saying, he would resign the Empire to *Henry* the Eighth, and himself remain King of the *Romans*; which Honour his Posterity should inherit. Sometimes, that he would resign the Empire to *Charles* of *Castile*, and make *Henry* King of the

1517.

May 11.

May 12.

The Kings Clemency to the Rioters.

Sweating Sickness. July. Hall.

Maximilian's double dealings with King Henry.

* Jan.

Octob. 29. 1516.

1517. the Romans, and his Grand-Child *Ferdinand* King of *Austria*, and himself *Marshal* of the Empire, that so he may be equal to the *Electors*. But as Doctor *Tunstal* advertis'd the King, that the Emperor must be Elect out of the *German Nation*: That King *Henry* in accepting the Empire, must confess *England* to be under the Empire; Lastly, that he must be first King of the *Romans*, when yet the Emperor had declar'd he meant to hold that Title still: So our King rejected these Propositions, as Vain, and Artificial only to draw Money from him; and our Agents return'd having only obtain'd, at last, an Oath from *Charles* and Queen *Foane*, his Mother, for performance of the late Treaty at *London*, with some small Alterations. *Maximilian* also, about the same time * departed out of *Flanders*, having † first concluded a League at *Cambray* betwixt himself, *Francis*, and his Grand-child *Charles*, by which they confirm'd the League at † *Noyon*, and * *Bruxells*, resolv'd on a War against the *Turk*; (as it was now projected in the Council of *Late-ran*;) and appointed an interview for all three in *April* or *May* following. Place also was left for the Pope to enter as *Protector* thereof, and for King *Henry*. This being advertis'd to our King, made him think how to defend *Tournay*, and therefore caus'd a *Citadel* to be built there; not neglecting together to prevail himself of the Pope's Mediation for a General Peace. Which, as it was willingly embrac'd, so our King was intreated to send him two hundred thousand *Ducats* (on security) for that War, which yet it was thought the Pope would employ for some Affairs in *Italy*. Who also sent a *Croisade* and *Indulgences* into *Germany*, *England*, and many other places: The Conditions of which were, That, *whosoever perform'd certain Religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, should have their Sins forgiven*. Neither was there, in the use of these *Indulgences*, that distinction of Persons or Sins made, which from so grave a Pastor might be expected, so that (promiscuously) all Men, who would come to the price, (as some Authors have it) were not only promis'd everlasting bliss, but made capable of delivering the Souls of others out of *Purgatory*. When those *Indulgences* first came forth, no divine Worship in the West parts of *Europe*, but what the Church of *Rome* prescrib'd, was publickly known. For though some opposers of the Papal Authority had appear'd long since, yet wanting those supporters who might establish and uphold their Doctrine, it quickly fail'd. Some of their impressions yet were deriv'd to Posterity; though in so obscure and perplex'd a manner, that they serv'd rather to shew Errors, than rectifie them; forming (for the rest) no eminent and visible Body, or at least no other than such as quickly disappear'd. So that all those, who for the present dissented inwardly from any Opinion commonly taught, kept yet the unity of the Church. Of which kind though (I doubt not) there were many, yet by distinguishing in private only the good Doctrines from the ill, they both conserv'd their Consciences, avoided *Schism*, and maintain'd towards God, and among themselves, an Uniformity; being therein not unaptly compar'd to Sheep, and other Creatures, who in Pastures; where both wholesom, and hurtful Herbs grow, choose yet only the better sort. While thus, they might not only reach to Antiquity in all times, but universality in all places; since not the Men (who may err) but the Doctrine giveth the true denomination unto the Church. It will be enough therefore that there was always a *Catholick*, and a visible Doctrine in the more important parts thereof. And thus were all Controversies (save those

which the subtilties of the *Schoolmen* brought forth) declin'd. Neither did Men think themselves bound to study the *Intricacies* and *Sophisms* of Authors, in matters impertinent to Salvation; but were contented with a single faith in God, the comfort of a good Life, and hope of a better upon true Repentance; taking the rest for the most part upon the faith of the Church. By which means as Peace was generally conserv'd, so it was not doubted by those who search'd into the Primitive times, but that together divers new Doctrines (if not Errors) were crept into the Church Discipline. Among which some, yet, might have been more excusable, had not they not been so severely commanded, that the common sort understood them for little less than necessary Articles of Faith. While thus they were held in much subjection, as being not able sufficiently to distinguish the true and essential Parts from those that were added only for Convenience or Ornament. But as Learning now (the benefit of Printing) became publick, so almost all Men, either through Reading or Conversation, were Literate. Infomuch, that they durst look into the Principles of Religion, and take upon them to discuss the parts thereof. Among these, none was more famous than one *Martin Luther*, an Hermit Fryer about thirty two years old, living about this time at *Wittenberg* upon the *Elbe*, within the Dominions of *Frederick Duke of Saxony*. This Man, having observ'd divers things, not mention'd in the Belief, call'd *Symbolum Apostolorum*, to be introduc'd lately, examines all; beginning first with the *Indulgences* that came out this year; though so modestly, as he advertis'd only his Superior the Arch-Bishop of *Miyentz*, of some abuse therein, and pray'd Reformation; not omitting together, as he was of an acute, but vehement Wit, to set forth ninety five Conclusions, and preach publickly against them; (which yet he submitted to the Pope by Letter dated in June 1518.) *Maximilian* also, foreseeing whether these Divisions might tend, (and the rather, that he found them favour'd not only by *Frederick Duke of Saxony*, but divers other great Personages) wrote to the Pope, desiring him to moderate things so, as all cause might be taken away, not only of Disputations, but concerning impertinent Points of Religion. But as the Pope, about those times, had, (betwixt publick Affairs and private Liberties) so exhausted the Ecclesiastical Revenue, as it was necessary to supply the wants thereof by extraordinary means, he pursu'd his Design, using therein much the help of *Lorenzo Pucci Cardinal Sanctorum* the Fourth; who, finding the Schism of the Council of *Pisa* so far extinguish'd, as the *Roman Church* needed not fear to reassume her former Authority, confirm'd the Pope therein. So that, though for not above four hundred years, they had taken on them this and divers Authorities, not known before, he perswaded their Continuance, left any thing of that kind should seem invalid, or usurp'd; Especially, where the pretence was, if not the same, yet of a like Condition. Whereupon looking further into Records, and finding that *Urban* the Second, had not only given *Indulgences* to those, who went Personally to the War of the Holy Land; but that his Successors had bestowed them on such, who being not able to go, would maintain a Soldier there; And lastly, having discover'd that they were granted even against those that were disobedient to the *Roman Church*, and also to those who gave Money for building or repairing Churches in *Rome*, &c. He neither question'd their Right, nor *Leo* contradicted it; both as he had many needy Kinsmen and Favorites, and as it maintain'd his Authority.

The King rejects his Offers about resigning the Empire.

Octob. 29.
* May.
† March 11.
† Aug.
* Decem. 1516.
March 25.
1517.

An extravagant Indulgence sent into England by the Pope.

The rise of the Reformation

1517.

Learning the benefit of Printing.

Martin Luther opposes Indulgences. *J. Sleidan*, l. 1. Comment.

At first of Modesty.

He writes to the Pope.

Aug 18. 1518. *Maximilian* writes also to the Pope. Concil. Trid. l. 1.

The Pope persists in the point of Indulgences.

1517. *thority. Whereupon, a War against the Turks being projected, he sent forth these Indulgences, granting besides, the liberty of eating Eggs and White-meats on Fasting-days, of choosing their Confessor, and some such Habilities. Had this yet been all, less scandal had follow'd. But without regard to the end for which they were given, He, by way of Anticipation, bestow'd on several Persons the Money to be levy'd; assigning, among others, to Magdalen his Sister, and Wife to Francesco Cibo (Natural Son to Pope Innocent the Eighth) all that quarter from Saxony to the Sea side. And the rather, that in Contemplation of this Marriage, himself had been made Cardinal at fourteen years old, 1489, and therein given a beginning to the Ecclesiastical Greatness of the House of Medici. Besides, he was indebted to Cibo for his Entertainment at Geneva, at what time he was forc'd to fly the Persecution of Alexander the Sixth. They again committing this business to Arembaldo a Bishop, but a covetous Person, much Rapine was us'd: The Indulgences (as is said) being generally granted to such as gave most for them. And as this caus'd much Offence, so again the Fryars Hermits, (by whom they were ordinarily dispenc'd) were not a little troubl'd, that the Dominicans had now charge thereof. All which, together with the sinful and inordinate life of certain Commissioners deputed under Arembaldo, for those Levies, together with the so notorious a Sale of twenty Cardinalships (as Sandaval himself dissembles it not) Anno 1517. being notified, occasion'd these following Revolutions, which take up a great part of this History. For, as these Indulgences (upon further examination,) were found to be no elder than is above-mention'd, nor much confirm'd but by a Bull of Clement VI. 1350. (who abridg'd Jubilees from every hundredth year to the fiftieth) nor anciently practis'd at all, but for relaxation of Pennances, or Ecclesiastical Discipline (without that they were said to deliver from any thing towards God) many exceptions were taken against them; so that, though to the Merits of such Saints as did works of Supererogation (being a Treasure which might be consumed) they had added the Merits of Christ, by way of supply; yet Luther and others after him, vexed all this again, with that success which shall be told hereafter. Neither did there want such as opposed them in England, amongst whom, one who was zealous of God's Honour and the publick Good, observing that not only Sins towards God, were pardoned for Money, but Offences towards the Law compounded for at no great Rates (as shall be told more particularly in its place, where it will appear to what excess this Abuse grew) spake after this manner to some of the principal Clergy. That Punishments might have been left to God, but that they serve to deter others. But who would be afraid now, when he knows at what he may put away his Crimes? Of what use would our Threatnings for Sins be, if they grow so contemptible as a little Sum of Money would discharge them, is not this to make Heaven venal, doth not this reflect so much on Christian Faith, that it makes a new Price for Sin? Believe me, my Lords, to make our Faults cheap, is to multiply them, and to take away not only that reverence is due to Vertue, but to dissolve those Bonds which knit and hold together both Civil and Religious Worship. For when Men see what they are to pay for their Faults, what will they care for other Redemption? I would I could say we were not already fallen under some disesteem, when by our enjoying of easie Fasting, Prayer, and some little Alms, Men find they suffer no more than what they would gladly endure to sin again; for who is the leaner or poorer for our Penances? Let us not then make the Mysteries of*

Sand

1350.

Indul-
gences
oppos'd
in EnglandA Speech
to the Bi-
shops a-
gainst
them.

Salvation mercenary, or propose everlasting Happiness on those terms, that it may be obtain'd for Money, which we find so seldom yet without deceit or mischief. Let Mens Sins rather lie against them still than open such easie ways to remit them: And take this Advice in good part, since it so much concerns us all. What effect yet this Advice took will appear hereafter.

The Dissentions of Italy being for the present compos'd, Francis first thought himself at leisure, now to resent our King's assisting of Maximilian. But (saith Polydore) because he consider'd as well, that he should get nothing that way, and that withal he was inform'd this business cost our King so much, that the loss thereof might be taken for a reasonable Revenge; (for I find in our Records, that in one Year it cost our King five hundred thousand or six hundred thousand Ducats,) he dissembled the matter. Therefore converting Malice into Guile, his only labour was how to corrupt the Cardinal; whom at length, between Bribes and Flatteries, he so dextously won, that he durst commit his Designs to him. These yet were such, as the Cardinal would not abruptly disclose to the King. Therefore he said not much at a time of them, nor without making the King first some Present; which yet (saith Polydore) was but part of that which Francis gave him; so that while the King consider'd the workmanship or rarity of the Gift, he would convey his meaning, and give those Impressions he most desir'd should remain in the King's mind. At these opportunities, he made no difficulty to say, That Francis sought to him by Letters earnestly (concealing in the mean while his large Bribes) and that all this did reflect on his Majesty, whom that King did address himself to, by his Mediation. That others perchance would suppress and hide these things, as being enough to breed suspicion, but that he would ever proceed clearly and openly with his Majesty. According to which liberty he would take the boldness to advise, That, since the French King did sue to his Majesty in so submissive a way, as to begin at his Servants, that he could not but think he was in earnest: And for Maximilian (as being often disoblig'd) little help, or indeed trust could be expected. Our King also considering that so-much hereof was true, that if he could not make friendship with Francis, it were not amiss yet to avoid War, embraces the motion. Of which Woolsey makes his advantage, and brings again another Message from Francis, to such effect, that our King said openly, that he saw well now Woolsey would govern them both. The French King, having obtain'd this Interest in the Cardinal, besides new Gifts, sends him divers Letters, terming him therein Dominus and Pater, and his Advices Oracles, till at last he thought he might open unto him his Design of having Tournay re-deliver'd for a certain Sum of Money. Woolsey promiseth his assistance, and hereupon brings the business to the King, and from thence, by his Command, to the Council: Where he openly declares, what vast Sums it had cost the King to win Therouene and Tournay; in the former of which yet he had got nothing but the gratifying of an unthankful Person, which was Maximilian; in the other little else but a number of useless and suspected Subjects; who, that they might be kept in Order and Obedience, would cost more than they were worth. The charge of the Garrison alone being above twelve thousand Pound yearly; besides that of Convoies and Ammunition. That, after all this Expence, yet we could hold it no longer than it pleas'd either of the two Princes, between whose Dominions it stood; since being so remote from the English Pale, it was improbable that from thence we could succour it; so that it were better to let it go fairly, as for a Sum of Money, or the like, than to strive to hold it under so weak and dangerous a Title, as the sufferance of his Enemies;

1518.

Francis I.
bribes the
Cardinal
again to
his In-
terest.Woolsey's
Speech to
the King
in his fa-
vour.K. Henry's
Saying of
Woolsey's
Conduct
Polyd. Virg.Woolsey
gain'd by
Francis to
consent
that Tour-
nay should
be re-
stor'd.His rea-
sons for it.

one

1518. one of which, being Francis, he thought by the restitution thereof might be oblig'd to be his Friend, and the Affront he might receive through the taking it by force, avoided. Neither could Maximilian take it ill in point of Justice, if we restor'd to Francis a Town formerly in his possession. This being done, that it were most expedient for all Christendom to join in League with one another, and against the Turk, who lately had made himself formidable. These Reasons were valid enough, had they not come from so false a ground as the corruption of the Cardinal; (which Polydore continually inculcates:) therefore they were embrac'd by all, but especially the Bishop of Durham, now Lord Privy-Seal; only it was requir'd, how much that Money was, and of what kind those Conditions were? Whereupon it was declar'd, that if it pleas'd the King to hear the Ambassadors of Francis, he had already demanded leave for them to come over, which also he had reason to endeavour; for as I find by our Records, he and Nicolas de Villeroy the French Resident, had in a manner concluded the business in private already. This being granted, Guillaume Gouffier Seigneur de Bonivet and Admiral of France, and Estienne de Poncher Bishop of Paris* came, with an unruly number for an Ambassade, (their Train being twelve hundred) unto Greenwich; the French yet, betwixt Pride and Diffimulation, thought fit not to begin at the Business they most desir'd to effect. Therefore their first Overture was a Proposition for a League in general betwixt all Christian Princes against the Turk, projected by the Pope the Year before. That the Authors hereof should be both their Majesties. That the Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain should be admitted hereunto, as principal Contractors, (if they desired it) within a certain time, and their Allies and Confederates as comprehended only. This being taken into consideration, upon the second of October 1518. a League was concluded; which, for being singular in its kind, and an excellent Precedent for Peace to the future Ages, I shall more at large recite, both out of our own and the French Records; and the rather that it seems to have been the Rule by which our King framed his Actions many Years after, as will appear in this History.

That perfect Friendship and Amity should continue for ever betwixt them, and their Successors, by Land and Sea; (wherein likewise all their Subjects and Allies were to be comprised.) That they should be the Friends of the Friends, and the Enemies of the Enemies of each other; inasmuch, that, if any of the said Confederates, or other being a stranger to them, should invade any of the said Confederates present Dominions, they should give the said Assailant an Admonition to desist and make reparation; which if he did not, within the space of a Month accept, they should declare themselves his Enemies, and two Months after, both by Sea and Land, make War against him, at an equal charge; allowing for this purpose free passage through each others Dominions, paying only for what was taken. That if Civil Wars did arise in any of their said Countries, none of the Confederates should meddle, unless the said Civil Wars were kindled and maintain'd by some Foreign Prince. That no one of the Confederates should suffer their Subjects to bear Arms against the other, or should levy any Forces of Strangers, to be employ'd against the said Confederates, upon pain of being held a Violator of the said League; which notwithstanding should hold firm among the rest. That none of the said Confederates should take the Vassal or Subject of the other into protection, without the consent of the King, to whom formerly he owed Obedience: That all Rebels, Traytors, or suspected of High-Treason, and Fugitives should not be receiv'd, entertain'd or favour'd, in any of the Dominions of the said Confederates; but that, after twenty days warning and requisition, they should be remanded. That the Pope should have notice

of this League; upon condition yet, that if he accepted these Articles within four Months after, he should be a principal Contractor in this League, and name his Allies also. That all the Princes before-named should, within the space of four Months, be receiv'd as principal Contractors, if they desire it, otherwise not, without declaration and request to the said two Kings. That any other King, Potentate, or chief Lord, might upon his suit be admitted to have the benefit of this Confederation, but not as a principal Contractor. Lastly, That, howsoever other Princes should observe or accept the said Treaty, that yet it should remain inviolable betwixt them two.

Leo X. hereupon, though more desirous of a General Confederacy against the Turk, accepted this League, as an Introduction thereunto upon the last of December following, naming together some lesser Allies whom he desired might be compris'd; the Venetians having been nominated already both by Henry and Francis; upon mature deliberation also, Charles King of Spain enter'd into it, and the rather that Maximilian the Emperor, conceiv'd that all Christian Princes might the sooner be dispos'd thereby to war against the Turk. Though as he died shortly after, the League seem'd restrain'd chiefly to Henry, Francis, and Charles, and particularly to the first Contractors, though not with such confidence and fervency as it first began. To reinforce this Treaty also, (which was but an Introduction to another) Francis did propose a Match betwixt the Dauphin his Son, and the Princess Mary, which accordingly was* concluded two Days after, upon these Conditions.

That our King should give with his Daughter 333000 Crowns, and Francis as great a Joynture as any King of that Country ever gave. That within four Months the Sponsals should be made by the two Kings in their Childrens name. That if the Dauphin died before this Marriage, the next Son of Francis should take the Princess on the same Conditions. And if the Princess died first, the King's next Daughter (if he had any) should be given. For further Testimony of this desired Alliance, our King condescended also to restore Tournay, Mortaigne, and St. Amand, and the Territories adjacent, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns, at certain terms. For which Payment, as also performing of the Marriage, sufficient Hostages should be deliver'd to the said Francis. That yet out of this Sum the said Francis might detain 333000 Crowns, for the aforesaid Dowry of the said Princess Mary, in case she did not inherit the Crown of England. That the said French King should pardon, and take into his favour all the Inhabitants of the said City of Tournay, and Places adjacent, reserving to them all ancient Privileges; and that King Henry should thereupon release the Oath of Obedience they had made him. That whereas the Citizens of Tournay did yet owe to King Henry twenty three thousand Livres, which now the French King had stipulated to pay, he should substitute the French King to receive it of them again. That King Henry might carry from Tournay all the Artillery, Munition, and Instruments of War, either Offensive, or Defensive, Victuals, &c. That in case the Marriage intended should take no effect by the default of Francis, that then Tournay should be deliver'd back again to King Henry or his Heirs, together with the Profits receiv'd in the mean while, without any deduction for reparation of the said Place. And that the Inhabitants thereof should be discharged from all Superiority or Oath of Obedience made or acknowledg'd to the said French King: Upon condition that the said King Henry should restore the said French King the Sum of six hundred thousand Crowns, or so much as he should receive thereof. But if the Impediment for Marriage should happen on the part of King Henry, that then, upon payment of the intire Sum of six hundred thousand Crowns, Tournay should

Dec. 31.

Jan. 12. 1519.

A Match concluded between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary of England Octob. 4.

Tournay to be restor'd,

Tillett.

On payment of 600000 Crowns, should

July 9. Records. * Sept. 30. 1200 Men in the Fr. Ambassadors Train.

Their Proposition. 1517. Mar. 16.

Octob. 2. A League concluded between England & France against the Turk.

The Articles of it.

1518. should remain to the French King. And herein our Records and *du Gillet* do so concur, as the chief Difference seems to be only about the Sum of 500000 Crowns, which our Records say was the Penalty on either side, for non-performance of the Marriage. There was also at the same time a Treaty concerning the Admiralties in both Kingdoms, having relation to one made the Year precedent July 16. and that of April 5. 1515. By which it was agreed, That all Suits, upon occasion of depredation by Sea, might from the ordinary Judge be removed to London before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, or their Deputies, and the Master of the Rolls of England; and at Rouen before the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of France, their Lieutenants, and the first President of the Parliament in Normandy; who, upon appeal of the Parties on either side, were bound to give a definitive Sentence within the space of one Year; which, in case of necessity, might be executed by strong hand, or main force. The said Appeals yet might be brought before the King's Council on either side, there to be determin'd definitively within the space of six Months, &c. All things being thus settled for future quietness, the Princess Mary was promised and * betrothed to the Dauphin in St. Paul's in London. And the Earl of Worcester, with Nicolas Wyl now Bishop of Ely, and a Train equal to that of Bonivet, were sent to require performance from Francis, who thereupon * took his Oath, gave eight Hostages for payment on the Rendition of Tournay, and contracted the Sponsals in the name of his Son. In sequence whereof, Feb. 8. following the Earl of Worcester delivered Tournay, though not unwillingly, since it was the King's pleasure, yet with so much scruple (having been by the name of Lord Herbert at the taking thereof) as he would not suffer the *Marschal de Chastillon* to enter it with Banner display'd, but rolled up, it being (as he said) voluntarily yielded, and not gotten by Conquest. Our Writers add, that by Francis four hundred thousand Crowns were allowed our King, for the building of the Citadel; but because neither the French nor our Records (from whom I have taken the effect of these Treaties) mention it, I leave it to the discretion of the Reader. Only I must not forget what I find concerning the Cardinal's satisfaction in this particular, who had twelve thousand *Livres Tournais* yearly, for relinquishing the Bishoprick of Tournay. As for the other chief Counsellors, Polydore saith, a certain Sum of Money should be distributed among them by the French King, *ita ut consuevisset facere olim ejus Majores; as had been customary amongst his Ancestors.*

Thus was Tournay restor'd again to the French, however divers concurrent Articles were not perform'd afterwards, as will appear.

Howbeit, it was agreed betwixt them, that John Duke of Albany should not be permitted to return to Scotland any more; it being not thought fit by our King, that one who was next in succession to James his Nephew, should have charge over him. Moreover, it was agreed that this young King should be comprehended in the League. This particular being resolv'd a good while since, though not fully signed till now, was the cause that Queen Margaret * return'd to Scotland, where her Husband met her at Barwick; yet so, as there was not thenceforth that intire Love formerly observ'd betwixt them. Our Ambassadors being still in France, the Bishop of Ely went to see the Queen at Amboise, from whence he certified our King, that he saw the Dauphin (now almost a Year old) and imbraced and kiss'd him. Four days after the above-mention'd Treaty, being the eighth of October 1518. another was concluded for an interview betwixt

the Kings, accompanied with their Queens, and Madam Louise the Mother of Francis, and their Household Officers. The time appointed was the last of July 1519, at Sandfield in Picardy, or some other Neutral place, according as their Deputies on either side should advise; which upon the first of April following were to meet together for this purpose.

While Affairs past thus with France and Scotland, the Pope sent Laurentius Campejus Cardinal as Legate, hither; to procure a general League among Christian Princes (or at least a quinquennial Truce) for a War against the Turk. Besides, he gave him Authority to demand a Tenth from our Clergy, as also a Commission (specified in a Bull) wherein Cardinal Woolsey and himself had Legatine power to visit Monasteries. This Legate (called by Polydore, *Inter Jurisconsultos Jureconsultissimus*; the most a Lawyer of all the Lawyers) coming to Calais was desired by our Cardinal to stay there, as our * Historians write, till he had procured from Rome that Woolsey might be join'd in the aforesaid Commission with him; but, as I find in our Records and Polydore, until he had obtain'd from the Pope, that Hadrian de Castello, the Cardinal (now in Prison for a Conspiracy against the Pope) might be devested from the Bishoprick of Bath, and the Dignity conferred on him; of which also he had the greater hope, that the Pope (as I find by our Records) had condemn'd him for the said Conspiracy. Besides, it was the care of our Cardinal, to suffer none to have access to our King, whom he had not first oblig'd. Therefore our Cardinal presented him, together with a promise to assist him for the Bishoprick of Salisbury when it should fall, some red Cloth to apparel his Train, which otherwise were but poorly cloath'd. To suit this also the * night before his coming to London, he sent him twelve Mules, with empty Coffers fairly covered; some of which yet were overturn'd and broken in his passage through the City, to the great shame of Campejus; who finding at last his demand for a Tenth rejected by our Clergy, advertises the Pope, and proceeds to the other point of visiting Monasteries. But our cunning Cardinal thinking himself able enough to discharge this Office alone, (while Campejus staid in England) dispatches John Clarke Doctor of Law to the Pope, both to give account of this business, and to obtain the whole Power for himself. This Clarke coming to Rome, negotiated by our King's commandment, so well on the Cardinal's behalf, that he obtained from the Pope a * Bull, whereby (Campejus being now revoked.) he was made Legat a Latere, and enabled to visit not only Monasteries, but all the Clergy of England, and dispence with Church-Laws for one Year next ensuing the date thereof: Which though it gave him great Power, ministred much Offence; as abridging the Bishops Power, and scandalizing the whole Clergy, who were so defam'd by the Cardinal's Information, that they were termed *Dati in reprobum sensum, given up to a reprobate sense*, and the like, in the original Bull among our Records, which I should have insert'd in *to contextu* intire, but that it is too long and infamous to the Hierarchy, and all religious Persons. And now (saith Polydore) the Cardinal's Pride did so prodigiously increase, that on solemn Feast Days, he would say Mass after the manner of the Pope himself, not only Bishops and Abbots serving him therein, but even Dukes and Earls giving him Water and the Towel. Besides, not contented with the Cross of York to be carried before him, he added another of his Legacy, which two of the tallest Priests that could be found, carried on great Horses before him.

Infomuch

Woolsey has 1200 Livres a Year, in compensation for the Bishoprick. The Engl. Counsellors have Money given them by the Fr. K.

May 18. 1517.

Octob. 8. An Interview between the two Kings agreed on.

1518.

June 29. Hall. Antiq. Brit.

Polyd.

Cardinal Campejus's poor Attendance and

July 28. Publick Entry.

† July 29.

* Dat. June 10. 1519.

Cardinal Woolsey's Power.

His prodigious Pride.

1518. Infomuch (as Polydore saith) it grew to a Jest, as if one Cross did not suffice for the expiation of his Sins. All this yet was but a kind of prelude to that which follow'd. For, erecting a particular Court of Jurisdiction, which he call'd the *Legats Court*, and placing in it as Judge one *John Allen* Doctor of Law, thought to be a perjur'd wicked Person, all manner of Rapines and Extortions were committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every Body, no offence escap'd Censure and Punishment, unless privately they gave Money; of which they found two Commodities: One that it did cost less, the other that it exempted them from shame. Thus as the Rules of Conscience are in many cases of a greater extent, than those of the Law, so he found means to search even into their secretest corners. Besides, under this colour he arrogated power to call in question the Executors of Wills, and the like. He summon'd also all Religious Persons of what sort soever before him; who, casting themselves at his feet, were grievously chidden, and terrifi'd with Expulsion, till they had compounded. Besides, all Spiritual Livings that fell were conferr'd on his Creatures. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* understanding how all Orders were thus ransack'd by the Cardinal, goes to the King, and acquaints him with it. The King replies, that he should not have heard hereof but by him; adding, that no Man is so blind any where, as in his own House; Therefore, I pray you, said he, Father, go to *Woolsey*, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it. This grave Person hereupon admonishes him, and afterwards particularly told him, that in meddling with the last Wills and Testament of the dead, he assum'd a Power, not so much as claim'd by the Pope himself, and for disposing some Benefices in the gift of the Nobility, and other great Persons, he thought he usurp'd too much upon them. All the use *Woolsey* made thereof was to hate the Archbishop, with whom he was formerly offended; only because (as Polydore hath it) he styl'd himself in the Subscription of his Letter *Gulielmus Frater Cantuariensis, your Brother William Cant.* Yet lest the Archbishop should do him ill Offices, he temper'd his Speech for the time. But shortly after his Agent *John Allen* being accus'd by one *John London* a Priest, it appear'd sufficiently that all the former Allegations against *Woolsey* were true; which made our King rebuke the Cardinal so sharply, that after that time, he became, if not better, yet more wary than before: at this time also certain abuses about *Sanctuaries* were taken away by the King's Authority in sequence of a Bull granted to that purpose by *Julius* the Second 1504. June 19. to King Henry the Seventh.

1517. Let us turn our Eyes on foreign Busineses, now somewhat intermitted. *Charles* intending a journey into *Spain*, the French King offer'd him the convenience of passing through *France*, and Hostages for security, together with the Keys of the Cities he should go thorough; but *Charles* (as our Ambassadors write) refus'd, saying, if he landed any where it should be in *England*. According to which Resolution, taking Ship, he came to *Spain* Aug. 25. 1517. as *Sandoval* hath it, (our Records say he set not to Sea till Sept. 8.) where he found things much discompos'd, through the severity of the Cardinal *Ximenes*. Besides, there wanted not suspicion that many would have set up his Brother *Ferdinand* against him, whom therefore he shortly after sent to *Flanders*. Howsoever *Ximenes* dy'd, not without probability that he was poyson'd, though by whom is uncertain. *Charles* his first Art was calling a *Cortes* or Parliament in *Castilla* and *Leon*,

which pass'd not without trouble; there being no little contention whether the People should first swear Obedience to *Charles*, or he the observance of their ancient Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges, which yet at last was so temper'd, as they came near in time together; though, for conserving the Royal Dignity, some particular Persons were induc'd to swear first. He also caus'd Jufts and Tourneys to be held according to the manner of that Age: Into which *Sandoval* saith, sixty Cavaliers enter'd, their Lances pointed with Diamonds, who also encountred so roughly, that most of them were overthrownd and fore hurt, and twelve Horses kill'd; though yet this was little in regard of a Jufts that follow'd, at which seven of the Actors were kill'd outright; wherein nevertheless *Charles*, though very young, appear'd, breaking three Lances in four Carriers. After this, establishing some Laws, and obtaining some Money from his People, he went to *Aragon*, where he call'd a *Cortes* likewise; and shortly after, (hearing, that since the death of *Horruce Barbarossa* (who from a low fortune and birth, made himself first a formidable Pirat, then * King of *Argier*) *Hariadin Barbarossa* his Brother, succeeded in that Kingdom; and in the exercise of Piracy,) sent *Don Hugo de Moncada* Vice-roy of *Sicily* to *Argier*, with as ill success as their Expeditions thither have commonly prov'd. Not long after which, news was brought him of the death of *Louise* of *France*, whom by the Treaty of *Noyon* he should have marry'd, and of the sickness of *Maximilian*; who, now growing old and infirm, determin'd to make one of his Grand-children Emperor: Assembling for this purpose a Diet at *Augsburgh*, and proposing particularly *Ferdinand*; as believing the Electors would sooner choose him, than greaten any other Prince with that Accession. But as he alone could not dispose this business, so both *Francis* and *Charles* were earnest in it. Our King also not omitting to discover how *Germany* stood affected to him; and the rather, that the Pope, as I find by our Records, did encourage him thereunto. *Maximilians* death upon a dysentery *January 12. 1519*, ensuing this while, *Richard Pace* and Death. was * sent to *Germany* by our King; who, in * May 20. his † Dispatches certifi'd with what Ambition † June 20. *Francis* and *Charles* aspir'd to this Dignity; saying nevertheless, that the Electors of *Mayentz*, *Colem.* *K. Henry*, and *Triers* stood so affected, that if our King had put in sooner, and before they were engag'd, he thought his Majesty might have carry'd it, since the Popes Nuncio there affirm'd still he had Commission from his Holiness to assist him; as being desirous it were bestow'd on any rather than either *Charles* or *Francis*, but especially on *Charles*. Though at last, finding that betwixt Money given, and Forces rais'd by *Charles*, he would prevail, his Holiness thought fit to comply, and give his assent: and the rather, that the Duke of *Saxony*, whom the Electors once nominated, refus'd it. Whereupon June 28, 1519. *Charles* was publicly chosen at *Francfort*; News whereof being brought to *Barcelona*, at first rejoyc'd, but afterwards troubled him; as considering what a burden he had undertaken, especially in a time when the Turk made his approaches against Christendom. Yet, were not these all his Cares; for, as his Clergy in *Spain* was so offended at the demand of a tenth of their Revenue towards a War against Infidels, that there was Cessatio a Sandoval. Divinis, no Divine Service, (as *Sandoval* hath it) for above four Months in all the Kingdom; and as the People again began a dangerous Inturrection for the conservation of their Liberties (which endur'd some years following, with more method than in such popular Commotions are ordinarily

ordinarily found) so he had much to do at home. Besides the People in *Austria* began another no less dangerous in those parts, and of little less Continuance. Again, *Francis*, who was now in good correspondence with our King, press'd the restitution of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*, and rais'd him troubles in *Naples* and *Sicily*. All which important Affairs yet were pretermitted, only to comply with the Ceremony (for it was no more) of receiving the Imperial Crown, so secure was he of all things but his Title; only in the midst of these Afflictions, the happy news of the Discovery, and begun Conquest of *Mexico*, and *Nueva Espana* arriv'd; which though worthy a particular Relation, I shall not insert, lest I should too much increase the bulk of this History. Though for giving a taste thereunto, I shall not omit to tell my Reader, that *Hernando Cortes*, undertaker thereof, going with about four hundred Spanish Foot, and fifteen Horse, and seven little Field-Pieces, into many populous, but diversly affected Kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that, playing the part sometimes of an Ambassador, and sometimes of a Soldier, he prevail'd himself of all. And, in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition both of his Country-men and Enemies, laid a foundation of a greater Dominion than any Man before him did. Before yet I come to the Actions of the New Emperor, I shall exhibit the Description of *Maximilian* I have collected out of several Authors.

This *Maximilian*, being King of the *Romans*, and call'd Emperor, though never Crown'd by that Title, gave much occasion of discourse concerning the reason thereof; some saying, he declin'd the charge and hazard of going into *Italy* for receiving the Imperial Crown at the Popes hands; others believing, that according to his often profession, he meant first to be Emperor of *Constantinople*, which he said was his most lawful Title. As for his Education, he was a Prince brought up in much Ignorance, yet studious to repair that defect by Conversation with the more learned fort. His bounty was observ'd such, that it extended even to the disabling him in the pursuit of his Designs; wherein he made a Royal virtue Criminal. He had treated with the Princes of his time, with so ill success, that he knew not in what posture to keep himself; being in the same danger for the most part, whether his faith were broken or theirs. This made him devout even to Superstition. For his Enterprises in the War, as they were many, so they ended differently, he getting sometimes more by a bad Peace, than a just War. His spare time he employ'd in Poetry, writing the History of his Life in Dutch Verse, which Book by *Pedro Mexia* is call'd *Tuur denck*, and another call'd *Puerto de la Honra*. One of his chiefest happinesses was, that his Posterity came to enjoy some of the greatest and best parts of Europe. He was of the Order of the Garter, and his Obsequy was solemnly kept in *St. Pauls*, by our King and the Knights of that Fellowship.

I must remember now, that at the conclusion of the Treaty with *France*, October 8. 1518. it was agreed betwixt both Princes, that there should be an Interview in July 1519, which yet took not effect, because of the death of *Maximilian*, and the occasions ensuing formerly mentioned; therefore it was put off till 1520; both Kings in the mean while agreeing not to cut off their Beards, till they saw each other. *Francis* having also now a second Son, desir'd our King to give him his Name; which our King accepted kindly, calling him *Henry*, (afterwards King, and second of that name.) Neither did he omit any thing,

which might argue his respect. Therefore he solicited our Cardinal (whom he call'd his Father and Cousin) still with Gifts, sends Presents to the Princess *Mary*, and leaves nothing unattempted which might secure him on that side, knowing well how puissant an Enemy he had provok'd. *Charles* on the other side, considering how much it concern'd him to keep the Cardinal at his Devotion, countermines *Francis* in his own way. On which occasion I shall observe, that, as since the discoveries of the *Indies*, Coin hath been much more plentiful, so greater matters have been done in these later times by Bribes, than by the Sword; those who have Money (that is to say, a Seed which will spring any thing in corrupt Minds) finding means, either in the Authors or the Actors in businesses, to dispose them to their ends, or at least to make advantage of the intelligence they receive from them. *Francis* suspecting what might follow hereupon, provides betimes to keep the Scots his friends; therefore though it was his motion formerly to comprise the young King and that Nation in general within his League with *England*, yet now he strives as much to withdraw them: Therefore when our King sent to require their Oath thereunto, they refus'd; so that all that business ended in a Truce only for one year. And here I must not omit to relate the Cardinal's extream Ambition; who having a design to make himself Pope, did ever comply with those, who he thought might be his best Assistants. Therefore now that *Charles* was grown the more Potent, and that, besides it was manifest, that, to which Party soever our King inclin'd, he would turn the Ballance, he hop'd by favouring *Charles* to obtain his desire. Neither wanted he continual Presents on his part equal to, if not exceeding the others; so that now he rejected the assistance of *Francis*, though offering him the Voices of fourteen Cardinals (as I find by our Records) and applies himself to *Charles*; Nevertheless the design for the Interview with *Francis* continu'd; which being minuted by our Ambassador Sir *Thomas Bolen*, was continu'd by his Successor in *France* Sir *Richard Wingfield*; among whose Dispatches (extant in our Records) I find this passage in a Letter to the King, March 16. I have presented to the French King the Sword, for the nimble handling whereof, he hath nor knoweth no fear, but thought it not maniable: And call'd the Admiral to him, and caus'd him to feel the weight thereof, who shew'd him that he had seen your Grace weild one more weighty. But for such promise as he had made your Highness, he might not discover it; saving that it was by means of a Gantlet. The French King desires one of those Gantlets, and he will send your Grace such a pair of Cuirasses, as your Grace hath not seen, the secret whereof is for the easie bearing of such weight, as rests upon the Cuirasses, which is commonly born by the Shoulders, and in this Cuirass the Shoulder bears no burden. All which I have set down, to awaken the industry of these times in such Inventions. I will come now to the order of the Interview, remitted both by our King and *Francis* unto the Cardinal's direction. Who accordingly, upon the 12th of March 1520, declar'd this Order. That, in regard his King was to pass the Seas, to his Danger and Cost, and should leave his Kingdom, only to do *Francis* Honour: Therefore that the Interview should not be in a Neutral place, but that King *Henry*, his Queen, and the Queen Dowager of *France* should come to *Guines*, and the French King, his Queen, and *Madam Louise* his Mother to *Ardres*, before the end of May next; and then that, before 4 of June following, King *Henry* should go half a League towards *Ardres*, without passing yet the limits of *Guines* or the English Pale, and

Mexico discovered.

The Character of Maximilian Emperor of Germany. He was never Crown'd Emperor.

He wrote his own History in Verse.

Had.

The Interview between the Kings of England and France put off. Records. June.

1519.

Charles the V. bribes the Cardinal.

Left.

Who aims at the Papacy.

And sides with Charles.

March 16.

The Interview regoes forward. March 12.

1520. and there, in some open place, near the Confines of the French, (which should be declar'd by Deputies on either side) the said French King parting from Ardres the same day, and hour, and coming to the said place (where no Tent was to be pitch'd) should meet the said King Henry within his own Territories, and there should salute one another, and speak together on Horseback, as long as they pleas'd. This being done, that the French King should return to Ardres, and King Henry to Guisnes. The next day that the said Kings should meet in some Neutral place, to be nominated by their Deputies; where, after Salutations on both sides, King Henry should go to Ardres to see and dine with the Queen of France, and his Mother, and the French King to Guisnes, to see and dine with the Queen of England, and Dowager of France. That the said Interview should be celebrated with Tournneys and Juits, and Exercises of Arms, as well on Foot, as on Horseback, in some place chosen by the said Deputies, betwixt Guisnes and Ardres; which should be ditch'd, fortified, and guarded by an equal number of Persons to be appointed by the said Kings. And that, during the said Exercises of Arms, the Queen's and their Train might familiarly converse together, in the Evening still returning to their several Lodgings of Ardres and Guisnes. That the honour and precedence, should be given to them still, who came to see the other. That the number of the Persons and Horses permitted to be at this Interview, should be sign'd in certain Rolls by the said Kings, and should not be increas'd without mutual Consent. That two Gentlemen with an equal number of followers should watch continually upon the Highways, as well for surety of the said King's Persons, as for the safer conducting the Victuals. And that these every night should give account, to their several Kings and Councillors, of their Charge. That the Soldiers of the Garrisons of Boulogne and Calais should not come near, without express license of both Kings. I find also that it was agreed, that the number of strokes at Tournney should be determin'd by the Ladies; who therefore were requir'd to come thither from all places, that could furnish Beauty, and worth enough to deserve so much Honour. This being concluded, the Earl of Worcester, on our Kings part, and Monsieur de Chastillon on the part of Francis, laid out the ground for these Triumphs, betwixt Guisnes and Ardres, but within the English Pale. While these Magnificences were preparing, much discourse pass'd betwixt both Princes, and the Ambassadors resident in either Court, concerning the Ancient forms us'd at great Solemnities. Among which it appears, in a dispatch of Wingfield's, that Francis told him, how he had heard that our Edward, (I think he meant Edward the Third,) was us'd at such times to have his meat carry'd up by Cavaliers on Horse-back; But to let these things pass, and come to our History, I find Francis purpos'd still his Point, and is so confident now of the Cardinals favour, that he durst make an overture to him, for restoring Calais, and all the other Towns in the English Pale, for a certain Sum of Money. Neither was it ill entertain'd by the Cardinal; though the difficulty of effecting it did somewhat deter him. For as the narrow Seas have been (time out of mind) under the Jurisdiction of the English, and that our Ships, in making and keeping the passage over, were a kind of Bridge, so it could not but seem strange, to every Man well-affected to his Country, that any Motion should be made, whereby we might loose the further end thereof, and therein deprive our selves of a Landing-place. Therefore the Cardinal did not think fit to propose the business at once, nor without discovering first, how it would take with the general sort. For this purpose, then, he would cast out these words in his ordinary Speech, and at his Table; whensoever there was question of foreign Business.

The Order of it.

April. To be within the English Pale.

The French K. treats with Woolsey about the rendition of Calais, &c.

What have we to do with this Calais, that lies in the Continent, and costs us more than it is worth? I would we were honestly rid of it. ¶ The time now drew near, when, according to the Agreement, the two Kings were to meet betwixt Guisnes and Ardres. This also was seconded much by the Cardinal, who between Pride and Vanity, desir'd to see these two together; whom he was generally thought to govern. He knew also his Presents would not be little; therefore he perswaded our King to build some such House near Guisnes, as might be worthy the Reception of two so great Princes. To perform this, two thousand Artificers were appointed. The Model whereof is still extant in Greenwich, among those many rare Pictures, which the most vertuous Prince, King Charles my good King and Master hath. The Cardinal also summons the prime Nobility to attend the King this Journey, with that splendor which might become Persons of their Dignity. Some of the more thrifty sort yet, and especially the Duke of Buckingham repin'd hereat, laying the fault of this expence on the Cardinal chiefly, who hearing thereof, for this as well as some other causes, hereafter mention'd, resolv'd his ruine.

Charles the Emperor hearing now of these preparations for the Interview, thought fit personally to treat with our King, concerning the breaking it off, as well as all other friendship with Francis. For those Ambassadors whom he had sent before to the English Court for this purpose, had fail'd, our King alledging to them for all other Reasons, his Promise given. Neither could they deny, but the engagement was deep; for a King of Arms had been in the English Court on the part of Francis, with a Proclamation, declaring that, in June next, the two Kings, Henry and Francis, with fourteen Aids, would, in a Camp betwixt Ardres and Guisnes, answer all Comers that were Gentlemen, at Tilt, Tournney, and Barriers. The like Proclamation was made by Clarenceaux in the French Court. And yet these Defies stopt not there, for they were sent by our King to the Low-Countries, Burgundy, Germany, and by Francis into Spain, and Italy. And now our principal Noblemen had made themselves ready to attend the King. Among whom, none was so gorgeous as the Duke of Buckingham; who, finding the King yet not ready to set forth, went before to see some Lands he had in Kent. But his Tenants exclaiming there against one Charles Knevet his Steward or Surveyor, for exacting on them, the Duke discharg'd him. This piece of Justice yet prov'd afterwards the cause of his Overthrow, as shall be declar'd in his place, so fatal was it to that House of the Staffords to suffer by their Servants. Our King finding now the time of meeting to grow near, comes to Canterbury May 25, intending there to pass his Whitsonide. This while Charles the Emperor had so laid his journey from Spain, that the day following, himself accompany'd with divers, not only Lords but fair Ladies comes unexpectedly to Dover. Our Cardinal hearing this, posted away presently, to assure him of his welcome. Our King also the next day after, very early, came to Dover Castle, where the Emperor was lodg'd, who met him on the Stairs, where being saluted by our King, and afterwards conducted to his Chamber, Charles continues his Design to break this Interview, as well, as all other Correspondence with Francis: for both Charles and Francis had great designs at that time; Francis desir'd to hold the Territory of Milan, and to recover Naples, (which the French having * once got under Charles the Eighth, did again so suddenly † loose, that it seem'd no place there was

Preparations for the Interview.

v. 1. Rich. 3.

May 25. Charles the V. comes to Dover.

May 16.

* 1494.

† 1495.

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strong

strong enough, either to hold them out or keep them in) besides, he purpos'd to re-establish *Henry d'Albret* in the Kingdom of *Navarre*, according to the Treaty of *Noyon*. Again, the Duke of *Geldres*, being taken under his Protection, he could do no less than defend him against *Charles*, who laboured to bring that Province into subjection: But especially, the right he conceived to have in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, he desired to conserve, against the pretences of *Charles*; who, on the other side, endeavour'd to oppose him in all these Places; and was, besides, offended that *Francis*, declining an Accord made before in * *Paris*, had extorted from him new Conditions in the Treaty at † *Noyon*. Therefore, knowing no Prince could so much help or hinder him in these Affairs, as our King, he offers more advantageous Conditions than *Francis* did. And to make this the more acceptable yet, he had largely both presented the Cardinal, and promis'd (if ever occasion happen'd) to make him Pope. And that he might the better in Gifts exceed his Competitor *Francis*, a great part of the Spoils of *Mexico* had been brought him. In the first part our King excus'd himself, as being far engag'd in honour to meet *Francis*; but for the latter, he bid him be confident, as soon as this Interview was past. From thence then, our King invited him to *Canterbury*, where he gladly saw his Aunt Queen *Katherine*; the Queen Dowager of *France* also (once proposed for his Wife) seem'd very considerable, as being for her Beauty much celebrated by the *English* and *French* Writers. And, if we may believe *Polydore*, his Passion in seeing of her was sad, as he could not be persuaded to dance, and not that *Spanish* gravity, which, in his Age, and amongst such Company, might well have been laid aside. Therefore, having pass'd over the *Whitsontide* Holy-Days in those Sports and Entertainments, which our King gave him, he * departs to *Sandwich*, whence † taking Ship he arriv'd in his native Country of *Flanders*, while our King the same day pass'd to *Dover*; and thence * with all his Train and Company to *Calais*. The 4th of *June*, the King, two Queens, and all the rest, who were assign'd in his Roll or List, remov'd to his Princely Lodging near *Guines*, being a Square of Timber, whereof every side contain'd three hundred twenty eight Foot, with a Savage before it, carrying a Bow and Arrows, and the words *Cui adhæreo præest; he governs with whom I side*: The parts of which great Building, having been artificially framed in *England*, were now put together, and afterwards taken asunder, and brought home. This, again, was most sumptuously furnish'd, especially the Chappel; from which a private Gallery reached to the strong Castle of *Guines*. The House for *Francis* (near *Ardes*) was a Building rather great than costly, as being erected with such Materials, as could be gotten in haste; his first Intention being to lodge in a rich Pavilion of Cloth of Gold, until the Wind threw it down. Before yet these Kings met together, the Cardinal went to see *Francis*, and treat with him concerning some particulars, about the Marriage betwixt the Dauphin and Princess *Mary*: The substance whereof was, (as I find by the *French* Records) That after the Million of Crowns (agreed on in *May* 1515.) were satisfied, *Francis* should pay at *Calais* one hundred thousand *Livres Tournois* yearly to our King, until the Marriage were solemnized in the face of the Church; and so, during the life of the said *Henry*; after which if the Dauphin should in Right of his Wife, be King of *England*, to her and her Heirs. But if the Marriage were not accomplished, then the said payment should

cease. As for the Differences betwixt *England* 1520. and *Scotland*, That Madam, the King's Mother, and the Cardinal of *Tork* should determine them: All which were concluded the 6th of *June* 1520. June 6. The day following the Interview began. The The Interview. Signal of departing was a warning Piece, to be shot, when either of the Kings were ready. This being given, they both issued forth royally attended. There was some stay yet, upon a report, that the Numbers exceeded the Lists agreed on. *Francis* stopp'd first, and our King afterwards; it being told him by the Lord *Abergavenny*, the *French* were twice as many. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury* affirming, the *French* were more afraid of the *English*, than the *English* of them, they went on, our King (being thought the goodliest Prince of his time) appearing somewhat before the rest. The *French* King beholding the demeanour of the *English* a while, rode himself also before his Train, the Duke of *Bourbon* bearing a naked Sword before him, and his Admiral and Master of the Horse following him. Our King observing this, caus'd the Marquis *Dorset*, who bare the Sword of Estate, to draw it, and go on likewise. At last coming near, and the Trumpets sounding on both sides, they both alighted in the Valley of *Arden*, and saluted each other, passing from thence Arm in Arm to a Tent of Cloth of Gold erected there (the first Agreement concerning these Points, being it seems so much alter'd.) Where, Compliments being pass'd on both sides, they took leave, and return'd to their several Lodgings. Upon the 9th both Kings came to view the Camp, or June 9. Place of Exercise, being 300 Yards long and 106 broad, well ditch'd and fenc'd, save at the entries; having on the side Scaffolds erected for the Beholders. There were also set up two artificial Trees (the one a Hawthorne for *Henry* our King, the other a Frambousier or Rasp-bush for *Francis*) with the Arms of the two Kings and their several Aids, on which also the Articles of Jufts, Tourney and Barriers were fastned. The Aiders on the *English* side were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Mr. *Nicholas Carewe*, and Mr. *Anthony Knevet*. On the *French* Party were Monsieur le Duc de *Vendosme*, Mr. de *Saint Pol*, Mr. de *Montmorancy*, Mr. de *Bryon*, Mr. de *Saint Mesme*, Maister de *Brucall*, and Maister *Tabanes*. To encounter these again, divers noble Persons, and good Cavaliers came from Foreign Countries; who, presenting their Arms to the Herald, were thereupon admitted to the Exercise, being appointed upon Monday the 11th. when June 11. the Queens on both sides and Ladies coming to the place, the Kings armed themselves, with their Aids, who did wear suitable Liveries on either side. I will not here particularly set down the courses of these Champions, since *Hall*, who seems to have been an Eye-witness, relates them at large. And less shall I recount their Devices, approaching much to the *Rebus* of *Picardie*; according (perchance) to the manner of that time. Let it suffice that, among all, none did better (if so well) as the two Kings, and especially ours; who disabled Monsieur de *Grandeville* at the second Course to run any more that Day. Monsieur de *Montmorancy* held him yet better to it, yet so, as to get no advantage. This Exercise continued four Days together: The next Day, the *French* King came early to *Guines*, with a small Train; our King also (after giving him his *bien-venu*) departing with the like Equipage to *Ardes*; so that they pass'd that Day with feasting and dancing with the Queens, and other Ladies on either side. Only I observe our King's manner was more genteel than that of *Francis*: For,

* 1515.
† 1516.

May 17.

* May 19.
† May 20.

* May 21.
June 4.

K. Henry goes to the place of Interview.

A Description of it.

212.

The Jufts.

E. Hall.

June 16.

1520. For, coming disguis'd in Masking Clothes, he not only prevented Treachery against his Person, when any was intended, but avoided contestation for Precedence in his return home, that night, when he met *Francis* by the way. On Sunday * they repos'd, for the honour of that Day; and on Monday for foul Weather. On Tuesday they continued their Courses with a like honour: On Wednesday, being the twentieth, the *Tourney* began; where with Swords was a rude *Chamailis*; yet the Kings and their Aids beat the Counter-party to a disarming: Where our King, particularly, got that honour, that a brave French noble Man with whom he fought, presented him his Horse as a gage of his being overcome. The next Day our King in *Tourney* likewise broke the Poldron of *Monsi. de Fluranges*, and made him depart the Camp. But this Sport was so rough, that four of the Aids being hurt, others were substituted in their places. The 22d. the Barriers began; and, after it, the casting of Hand-spears or Darts, with the Target, and fighting with the two-handed Sword. At which Exercise likewise much Commendations was given to either King. For celebrating these Magnificences also, the Cardinal solemnly sung an high *Mass*, being attended in the most Pontifical manner. At the close whereof, he dispensed the Treasure of the *Roman Church* (being the Indulgences granted by *Leo X.*) unto the two Kings, who that Day din'd together by themselves, their Queens eating together also in an other Room: This being done, they both turn'd to Barriers, where our King, with a few strokes, disarm'd his Adversary. The next Day our King, with his Sister Queen *Mary*, went in Masking Apparel to see the French Queen at *Ardres*, *Francis* likewise going to the English Queen. At the return they alighted, and after many Compliments, Embraces, and rich Presents to each other, bid Adieu the twenty fourth of June. *Polydore* observes yet, that there was some abruptness in the farewell; and saith *Francis* told our King, that our Nation did not well comply with the French in their mutual Visits. But our King putting this off discreetly, their discourse passed no further. And perchance the occasion of this *Mal-entendu*, was, that the French gave forth, *Calais* should be deliver'd up for Money. The next Day the King and all his Train departed to *Calais*, giving license unto many there to return unto England. Upon the 10th of July, the Emperor being at *Graveling*, (with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*) our King (at their Request) admits another Interview. To this purpose going towards *Graveling*, the Emperor met him on the way, and conducted him thither, giving for the rest to the English all that good Entertainment so little a Place could afford. The next Day, the Emperor and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* went with our King to *Calais*, where much Maskings, and Magnificences passing, Business yet were not forgot. For our King (together with *Monsieur de-la-Roche*, employ'd for *Francis*) read and offer'd to *Charles* (now Emperor) the *Tripartite League*, sign'd betwixt them formerly; requiring him to enter thereunto by the name of Emperor (as I conceive it.) But the Emperor having formerly sign'd the League by the name of *Charles*, and besides desiring more the accomplishing of his Designs in *Italy*, and else-where, than to confirm that Agreement, so deferr'd or avoided this Proposition; that I find not what effect it presently took. But it is probable he was not willing to engage our King any further in the affairs, betwixt himself and *Francis*, as thinking that he was alone too strong for his adversary. He would also have gone out of Town that night,

being, the third after his coming; but our King using a courteous kind of violence to make him stay, the rumour went among the Emperor's Servants, that he was detain'd; but the next day clear'd this: for the Emperor, being conducted some part of his way towards *Graveling*, was courteously bid farewell, and presented with a brave Courser richly trapped. The French King hearing of these kind passages, and remembring particularly that *Charles*, by his first agreement had constituted our King, Arbiter of all emergent differences, took this Interview extremely ill; and the rather that he heard some muttering of a Match propos'd by the Lady *Margaret*, betwixt the Emperor and the Princess *Mary*, though a Child. Which yet was a mistake, it being not treated of seriously (as the Spanish writers have it) till near two Years after; and not before the French had both broken the common League, and given new provocations by their practices in Scotland. Our King having now no more to do at *Calais*, took the first fair wind, and, with all his Train, came safely into England.

I shall return now to the business of *Luther*, whom *Leo* cited to *Rome*, 1518, giving * order also to Cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat in Germany, to oppose his Doctrine, not omitting Letters to this purpose, both to *Fredericke Duke of Saxony*, and to the Superior of the *Augustines* in Germany: Whereupon *Cajetan*, in divers Conferences at the Diet of *Augsburg*, labours to convert him, but in vain. At last *Luther*, being threatned by *Cajetan* in the Pope's name, he appeals to him, in the form usual in these Cases, *tantum a Pontifice minus edocto ad eundem rectius edocendum*; from the Pope under misinformation, to the same Pope better informed; but desires, withal, he might answer for himself in Germany, and that caution might be given for his safety; since what was controverted by him, did not appear as yet to be positively defin'd any way by the Church. *Leo*, this while, to make good his Authority * grants new Indulgences, which no Man should reject unless he would be excommunicate, &c. *Luther* finding, thus, no hope of alteration, and besides that he was branded with the name of *Heretick*, * appeals from *Leo* to a General Council; yet writes to the Pope, (1519) a very submissive Letter, wherein he protests, That he was never intended to fall away from the Church. That all he said, was chiefly intended against those who abused the Power of Indulgences; concerning which therefore he would speak no more, so that his Adversaries were likewise silenced; briefly, that he would omit nothing, which might concern Peace in Religion.

Maximilian dying about this time, *Luther* had some respite. Mens Eyes being turned more on him, who was to succeed *Maximilian*, than any other Argument. Besides, he seem'd now unwilling any longer to dispute the Pope's Authority, to which his Adversaries enviously reduced all the controverted Points. Yet as *Ulricus Zuinglius* appeared about this time at *Zurich*, to consent with *Luther* in many things, and that a Letter of *Erasmus* also, dated 1519, did much encourage him, so he began to recover force. That of *Erasmus* (extant l. 6. Epistol.) telling him, he had some Favourers in the Low-Countries, but many in England, and among them divers principal Persons; that yet he should do well to use Modesty and Discretion; Christ having thereby both instituted his Doctrine, and his Apostle Paul destroyed the Jewish Law, only by referring the Doctrine and Precepts contained therein unto Allegorie. That he should do well to speak against those rather who abused the Papal Authority, than against the Pope himself. In conclusion, that he should take heed of doing any thing out of Anger, Hate, or Vain-glory.

1520.

The King returns to England.

Luther cited to *Rome*.

Aug. 27.

1518.

1518.

Oct. 19.

1518.

Nov. 11.

Slaid G. 1. 1.

1518.

Nov. 28.

1519.

March 3.

Luther's second Letter to the Pope.

Zuinglius appears in *Switzerland*

and *Erasmus* in *Holland*.

His Letter to *Luther*.

Philip

June 17.

June 20.

June 22.

June 24.

The two Kings part. E. Hall.

July 10.

An Interview between *Charles V.* and King *Henry*. July 11.

1520. Philip Melancthon also, a Learned, Pious, and Charitable Man, did many ways second Luther. Concerning all whom, and many more famous Scholars, who liv'd at that time, it may be observ'd, that had they agreed among themselves, and not ambitiously affected Singularity in some one Point or other, they might have found more followers of their Doctrine, and consequently have oblig'd the Pope either to cut off some points as superfluous, or to have recommended them with more indifferency to the People. However, all these Persons concurring with Luther in great part, gave him that Courage, that whereas at first he disputed chiefly concerning Purgatory, true Penitency, (or Penance) the Office or Duty of Charity, and Indulgencies and Pardons, he began now to question the Popes Authority, Images in Churches, the Celibate of Priests, and some other points tending hereunto. As this yet got him great fame, so it procur'd him many Enemies; before whom, that he might give an account of his Doctrine, he comes to Conference at Lipsick, 1519. accompany'd with Philip Melancthon, where John Eccius oppos'd him, desiring to begin his Disputation at the Popes Authority; but Luther, conceiving this was to make him odious, labours to decline the Question; for the rest, thinking fit only to send unto the Pope; to whom, about the beginning of 1520, he writes to this effect. That, though he

shid.

Luther carries his opposition to the Church of Rome higher. 1519. July 4.

April 6. He writes a treatise to the Pope.

shid. l. 2. Would have the Pope leave his Throne for a Parsonage.

1512. Some Cardinals for accommodating matters with Luther.

appeal'd from him heretofore to a General Council, it was not with an ill mind, as having in his continual Prayers solicited the Almighty for him. That he could not deny himself to be sharp and censorious enough, when offence was given; yet that he ever thought well of his Holiness in particular, only it griev'd him that he liv'd in so wicked a Court as that of his at Rome, which he said was now become another Babylon or Sodom; that he being amidst such People, as a Lamb amongst Wolves, it were pitty he should any longer reside there. That it were better for him therefore to leave all, and descend to some simple Parsonage or Living, or otherwise to maintain himself with what he had gotten already, than to hazard himself to such Pestilencies and Infections; That, in this Advice, he did but imitate Bernard, who did deplore the estate of Eugenius, when Rome was far purer than at this day. In conclusion, he recommends to him his late Book entituled, De libertate Christiana. But whatsoever Luthers advice was, I cannot believe him so simple, as to suppose his words had either the Power or Spells to call the Pope from his Seat, or that tendernefs of Conscience to live among wicked Persons, was enough to make him forsake, together with his charge, all his Dignities and Honours; therefore I believe he meant this, as the Pope himself understood it, only for a Pasquil, or Satyr; which made him also assemble the Cardinals, and consult with them herein, who all condemn'd Luther; yet not so, but it was wish'd by some, a Reformation of divers abuses had either preceded Luthers Admonition, or at least accompany'd it at that time, when in humble and modest terms he submitted himself to the Church. That their arrogating supreme power in temporal things, had made divers Princes disaffect their Government, who yet embrac'd their Doctrine. That, therefore, it was not safe to suffer them to have an Author for deserting the Church, who had already sought occasions for it, in the late Council of Pisa, and elsewhere; Neither was it a good Argument, to say that Luther was a dangerous Person; since, the more hurt he could do, the less he was to be forc'd to extremities; as having betwixt his Wit and Favourers, enough to trouble all things: Briefly, that, to avoid his venomous Doctrine, the best way was not to urge him to cast it forth,

but rather (if it could be done handsomly) to quiet him by bestowing some Ecclesiastical Pre-ferment. But so haughty were the major part of the Spirits in this Assembly, that rejecting this Politick Advice, they condemn'd Luthers Books to the Fire; but Luther growing hereupon but more fierce, was at length Excommunicated, and his Books burnt. He, on the other side, striving to revenge this, at Wittenburg in a full Assembly of Scholars burns * the Book call'd *Jus Pontificum*; warning Men besides to take heed of the Papal Government, and Doctrines, appealing again to a Council. Charles, understanding these Passages, was much troubled, as foreseeing the following Dissentions. Nevertheless, he temper'd business so, as he held the Pope thereby in some suspense; therefore he would not precipitate his sentence against Luther, or so much as censure him, till he were publicly heard. For which purpose, (after his being * Crown'd solemnly at Aix.) He assembled a Dyet at Worms, whether he call'd Luther, giving him a safe Conduct also, to go and return. Whereupon Luther * came in his Fryers Habit, but refusing to retract his Opinions, he and his favourers were † pro-scrib'd by Decree or Edict. Howbeit, as this did rather punish than convince him; our King (being at leisure now from Wars, and for the rest delighting much in Learning) thought he could not give better proof either of his Zeal or Education, than to write against Luther. To this also he was exasperated, that Luther had oftentimes spoken contemptuously of the learned Thomas of Aquine, who yet was so much in request with the King, and especially the Cardinal, that (as Polydore hath it) he was therefore call'd Thomisticus. Our King hereupon compiles a Book, wherein he strenuously opposes Luther in the point of Indulgences, number of Sacraments, the Papal Authority, and other particulars, to be seen in that his work, entituled *De sept. Sacramentis*; a principal Copy whereof, richly bound, being sent to Leo, I remember my self to have seen in the Vatican Library. The manner of delivery whereof (as I find it in our * Record) was thus; Doctor John Clarke Dean of Windsor our Kings Ambassador, appearing in full Consistory, the Pope, knowing the glorious Present he brought, first gave him his Foot, and then his Cheeks to kiss; then receiving the Book, he promis'd to do as much for Approbation thereof to all Christian Princes (which our King much desir'd) as ever was done for Saint Augustin's or Saint Hierom's Works; assuring him withal, that the next Consistory he would bestow a publick Title on our King: Which having been * heretofore privately debated among the Cardinals, and those of Protector or Defender of the Roman Church, or of the Apostolical Chair; or Apostolical, or Orthodox King. Protector, or Defensor Romanæ Ecclesiæ, or Sedis Apostolicæ, or Rex Apostolicus, or Orthodoxus, produc'd, they at last agreed on DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. DEFENSOR FIDEI. A Transcript of which Bull (out of an Original sub Plumbo in our Records) I have here inserted.

LEO Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo The Bull in Christo filio, Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, salutem & amplissimam ben. Ex supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Universalis Ecclesiæ Regimini præsidentes, ad hoc cordis nostri longe lateque diffundimus cogitatus, ut Fides Catholica, sine qua nemo proficit ad salutem, continuum suscipiat incrementum; & ut ea, quæ pro cobibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravus mendacibusque commentis pervertere & denigrare molientium, sanctæ Christi fidelium præsertim dignitate regali fulgentium doctrinæ sunt

1520. The major part against it. June 15.

Luthers Books condemn'd to be burnt. He is Excommunicated. * Dec. 10. He burns the Book call'd *Jus Pontificum* at Wittenburg.

* Oct. 23.

† Jan. 6. 1521.

Charles V. Summons him to a Dyet at Worms. * Apr. 16. † May 8. He is pro-scrib'd.

K. Henry writes against him.

K. Henry call'd Thomisticus for his Veneration of Thomas Aquinas.

Octob. 10. The manner of delivering K. Henry's Book to the Pope.

* 1515. 1516. He has the Title of Defensor Fidei bestowed on him.

1521. sunt disposita, continuis proficiant incrementis, partes nostri ministerii & operam impendimus efficaces. Et sicut alii Romani Pontifices prædecessores nostri Catholicos Principes, prout rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, specialibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, illos præsertim qui, procellosis temporibus, & rabida Schismaticorum & Hereticorum fervente perfidia, non solum in fidei serenitate & devotione illibata, sacro-sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt, verum etiam tanquam ipsius Ecclesiæ legitimi filii, ac fortissimi Athletæ Schismaticorum & Hereticorum insanis furoribus spiritualiter & temporaliter se opposuerunt: Ita etiam nos Majestatem tuam, propter excelsa & immortalia ejus erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divinâ sedemus, opera & gesta condignis & immortalibus præconiis & laudibus efferre desideramus, ac ea sibi concedere, Propter quæ invigilare debeat, a grege Dominico Lupos arcere, & putrida membra, quæ mysticum Christi Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abscindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in fidei soliditate confirmare. Sanè cum nuper dilectus filius Johannes Clarke, Majestatis tuæ apud nos Orator, in Consistorio nostro coram Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & Compluribus aliis Romanæ Curie Prælatiis, Librum, quem Majestas Tua Charitate, quæ omnia sedulo & nihil perperam agit, fideique Catholice zelo accensa & devotionis erga nos & hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra erroris diversorum hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperque per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos tanquam nobile, & salutare quoddam Antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, & deinde auctoritate nostra approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta Oratione sua exposuisset Majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse, ut, quemadmodum veris rationibus & irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum auctoritatibus, notorios errores ejusdem Martini Lutheri confutaverit, ita etiam omnes eos sequi & defendere præsumentes totius Regni viribus & armis persequatur; Nosque ejus libri admirabilem quandam & celestis gratiæ rore conspersam doctrinam diligenter accurateque introspexissemus; Omnipotenti Deo, a quo omne datum optimum & omne donum perfectum est, immensas gratias egimus, qui optinam & ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inspirare, eique tantam gratiam supernè infundere dignatus fuit, ut ea scriberes, quibus sanctam ejus fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum hujusmodi suscitatore defenderes, ac reliquos Reges & Principes Christianos tuo exemplo invitares, ut ipsi etiam Orthodoxæ fidei & Evangelicæ veritati in periculum & discrimen adductæ, omni ope sua adesse opportuneque favere velint. Equum autem esse censentes, eos, qui pro fidei Christi hujusmodi defensione pios labores susceperint, omni laude & honore afficere, volentesque non solum ea quæ Majestas tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum absolutissima doctrina nec minori eloquentia scripsit, condignis laudibus extollere ac magnificare, auctoritateque nostra approbare & confirmare, sed etiam Majestatem ipsam tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut nostris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Christi fideles omnes intelligant, quàm gratum acceptumque nobis fuerit Majestatis tuæ Munus, hoc præsertim tempore, nobis oblatum: Nos, qui, Petri, quem Christus in Cælum ascensus vicarium suum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam gregis sui commisit, veri Successores sumus, & in hac sancta sede, qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant, sedemus, habita super his cum eisdem fratribus nostris matura deliberatione, de eorum unanimi consilio & assensu, Majestati tuæ titulum hunc, (viz.) Fidei Defensorem donare decrevimus, prout Te tali titulo per præsentem insignimus; mandantes omnibus Christi fidelibus, ut Majestatem tuam hoc titulo nominent, & cum ad eam scribent, post dictionem, Regi, adjungant, Fidei Defensori. Et profectò, hujus tituli excellentia & dignitate ac singularibus meritis tuis diligenter perpensis & consideratis, nullum neque dignius neque Majestati tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuissimus:

1521. Quod quoties audies & leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimique meriti tui recordaberis; nec hujusmodi titulo intumesces vel in superbiam elevaberis, sed solita tua prudentia humilior, & in fide Christi, ac devotione hujus sanctæ sedis à quâ exaltatus fueris, fortior & constantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium largitore lætaberis, perpetuum hoc & immortale gloriæ tuæ monumentum posteris tuis relinquere, illisque viam ostendere, ut, si tali titulo ipsi quoque insigniri optabunt, talia etiam opera efficere præclaraque Majestatis tuæ vestigia sequi studeant; quam, prout de nobis & dominica sede optimè merita est, unâ cum uxore ac filiis, ac omnibus qui à te & ab illis nascentur, nostra benedictione, in nomine illius à quo illam concedendi potestas nobis data est, largâ & liberali manu benedicentes, Altissimum illum, qui dixit per me Reges Regnant, & Principes imperant, & in cujus manu corda sunt Regum, rogamus & obsecramus, ut eam in suo sancto proposito confirmet, ejusque devotionem multiplicet, ac præclaris pro sancta fide gestis ita illustret, ac toti Orbi terrarum conspicuam reddat, ut judicium quod de ipsa fecimus, eam tam insigni titulo decorantes, à nemine falsum aut vanum judicari possit; demùm, Mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo, sempiternæ illius gloriæ consortem atque participem reddat.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Primo. Quinto Id. Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno Nono.

-[- Ego Leo X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus s. Ego P. tt. S. Eusebii Presb. Cardinalis s. Ego A. tt. Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim Presb. Cardinalis Bonon. s. Ego laus. Scop. quatuor Coronatorum Presb. Cardinalis ma. propr. s. &c. (24. alii Cardinales.

LEO Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our most dearly beloved Son in Christ, Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We, by Divine permission, the chief Overseer for the Government of the Universal Church, though unsufficient for so great a Work, do pour forth the cogitations of our Heart, that the Catholick Faith, without which no Man can attain to Salvation, may receive continual Increase, and that those good Laws and Constitutions decreed, by the wisdom and learning of such as are in Authority, especially the faithful in Christ, for restraining the attempts of all that labour to oppress the same, or by wicked lies and fictions seek to pervert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetual Increase, we do bestow our pains and utmost endeavour in our Office and Ministry. And like as the Roman Bishops our Predecessors were wont to shew especial favour to the Catholick Princes (according as the quality of matters and times requir'd) especially to them that in troublesome times, when the madness and perfidious dealings of Schismatics and Hereticks most of all abound, did abide constant and immovable not only in the soundness of Faith, and pure Devotion to the holy Roman Church, but also as the most Legitimate Sons and valiant Champions of the same, oppos'd themselves both with Mind and Body against the furious madness of Schismatics and Hereticks. So also do we desire to extol your Majesty with worthy and immortal Praises, for your high and immortal deserts and labour toward us and this Holy See, wherein by God's permission we sit, to grant unto it those things for which it ought to watch, and drive away the Wolves from the Lord's Flock, and to cut off with the Material Sword, rotten Members which infect the Mystical Body of Christ, and to confirm the hearts of the faithful in soundness of Belief. Now whereas of late our beloved Son John Clerk, your Majesties Orator with us, being in our Consistory before our venerable Brethren of the Holy Roman Church, the Cardinals and

1521. and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a Book unto us to be examined and allowed of us, which Book your Majesty, (who doth all things with diligence, and nothing amiss) enflamed with Charity and Zeal to the Catholick Faith, and with ardent devotion towards us and this Holy See, hath composed, as a most worthy and sovereign antidote against the errors of divers Hereticks, often condemned by this Holy See, and of late stirred up and brought in by Martin Luther: And your said Orator hath also largely declared unto us, that your Majesty is ready and purposeth, like as you have confuted the notorious Errors of the said Martin, by true Reason and invincible Authority of Sacred Scripture and ancient Fathers; so you will punish to the uttermost of your Power all those of your whole Kingdom, that shall presume to follow or defend them: And we have diligently and exactly perused and viewed the admirable Doctrine of your said Book, watered with the Dew of heavenly Grace, and do heartily thank Almighty God, from whom every good and perfect Gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to inspire your noble Mind, inclined to every good thing, and to endue you with so great Grace from Heaven, as to write those things, whereby you are able to defend his holy Faith, against such a new Innovator of damned Errors: And also invite by your Example all other Christian Kings and Princes to be willing to favour and to further, with all their best Aids, the Orthodox Faith, and Evangelical Truth, whencesoever it be brought into danger or doubt. And we think it also meet, that they who have undertaken such godly Labours for us, should meet their due and just Commendations: And we are desirous that not only the things themselves which your Majesty hath written, being both of most sound Doctrine, and no less Eloquence, should be extolled and magnified with candid Commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our Authority; but also that your Majesty should be graced with such an Honour, and such a Title, as that both for our time and ever hereafter, all Men may perceive how grateful and acceptable this Gift of your Majesty's hath been unto us, especially offered unto us at this time. We who be the true Successors of Peter, whom Christ at his Ascension into Heaven left his Vicar on Earth, and to whom he committed the care of his Flock: We, I say, who sit in this holy See, from which all Dignities and Titles do flow, upon mature deliberation had with our said Brethren about these things, have by the general Agreement and Consent of them decreed to bestow upon your Majesty this Title, namely, The Defender of the Faith. And accordingly by these Presents do inscribe you with such a Title; commanding all faithful Christians that they name your Majesty with this Title; and when they write to you, that after the word King, they adjoyn Defender of the Faith. And truly, we diligently considering and weighing your singular Merits, were not able to bethink us of a Name more worthy and convenient for your Majesty, than the excellency and dignity of this Title; which so often as you shall hear and read, so often you may call to mind this your singular Virtue and great Desert: Nor may you by this Title puff up your self with Pride; but according to your wonted Prudence become more humble, and be more valiant and constant in the Faith of Christ, and in Devotion to this holy See, by which you have been exalted, rejoicing in the Lord the Giver of all good things, leaving this as a perpetual and immortal Monument of your glory to your Children, shewing them the way unto the like; that if they shall desire to be graced also with such a Title, they must labour to do such Works, and to follow the excellent Steps of your Majesty, whom, accordingly as you have well deserved of us, and of this said See, together with your Wife and all your Children that shall be born of you or of them, We bestow on you our Benediction with a large and liberal Hand, in the name of him from whom the Power of granting this Blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty One, who saith, By me

Kings reign and Princes rule, and in whose hand 1521. are the Hearts of Kings, that he will confirm your Majesty in your holy Purpose, and encrease your Devotion, and by your worthy Endeavours for the sacred Faith, so to illustrate your Renown, and make you glorious through all the World; that this our Testimony which we have given of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may never be judged by any to be false or vain. Lastly, we desire God, that after this Life ended he would make you Partakers of his eternal Glory.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord God, 1521. the fifth of the Ides of October, the ninth Year of our Papacy.

Ego Leo X. Catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus S. &c.

Such was the covetousness of the richer sort at this time in England, that they converted many large Corn-fields into Pasture; hereof ensued a general decay not only of Houses, but of Persons, which should do their King and Country service. Besides, Sheep, Cattel, and Clothes being thus within the hands of a few, the price was much inhaunted. To remedy this mischief, the King caused the ancient Statutes, provided on that behalf, to be looked into. And accordingly directed his Commission to the Justices of Peace, to restore all the Tillage ground that had been enclosed any time within fifty years last past, and to cause the Houses anciently upon them to be re-edified; yet (as Polydore hath it) divers by compounding secretly with the Cardinal, exempted themselves.

About this time Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, eminent for his high Blood, and large Revenue, drew on himself a dangerous suspicion; which though it was again fomented by the Cardinal, who disaffected him for some speeches he had cast forth, yet, could not have overthrown him, but that some indiscretion of his own concurred. Besides, he suffered much through the ill offices of Charles Knevet, formerly mentioned; who yet durst not appear, till he saw the Duke not only discountenanced, but weakened in his Friends and Allies. And of these I find two principally; One, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, whose Daughter the Duke had married; the other Thomas Earl of Surrey, who had married the Dukes Daughter. Against Northumberland, cause was taken for claiming certain Wards; which, after close commitment, yet, he was forced to relinquish. Against Surrey the Cardinal proceeded otherwise: For, though he hated him for drawing his Dagger at him on some occasion; yet as the Earl was more wary than to give new Offence, he thought fit to send him away upon some honourable Employment for which he found this Overture.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, made Deputy in Ireland to Henry Duke of York, (now King, who at * four Years old was by his Father made Lieutenant of that Country) having done divers good Services against the Rebels, was made † Knight of the Garter, and enjoy'd that Place till his death; when his Son Gerald being substitute therein, so behaved himself, as he likewise got much Credit: Though, as he had the House of Ormond his Enemy, and particularly Sir Pierce Butler Earl of Ossory, secret ill offices were done him; nor did it avail, that he had given his Sister in Marriage to the said Butler, and help'd him to recover the Earldom of Ormond, detained wrongfully since the death of James, by a Bastard of that Family; For it was impossible to oblige him; especially, where he found so advantageous an occasion to dissent. For as he watch'd over the Earl of Desmond, his perpetual

Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, hated by the Cardinal.

Camp. Hist. of Ireland. * 1495.

† 1504. 1513.

Campton. Hist. Ir.

1521. perpetual Adversary, since the division of Lancaster and York, (in which his Ancestors were on the side of Lancaster, and the Kildares and Desmonds on that of York,) he discovered more favours done the present Earl of Desmond, (whom he called a Traytor) than he thought due to him; Insomuch that he complain'd to the Cardinal, who thereupon sent for Kildare. Though Polydore saith, he came voluntarily into England to match with some English Lady, and there behaved himself so unrespectfully to the Cardinal, that he was cast into Prison. But whatsoever the cause was, his charge was bestowed on the Earl of Surrey, who going to Ireland in April 1520, reduced the Earl of Desmond and others to obedience.

The Earl of Kildare imprisoned for his disrespectful Carriage to the Cardinal.

1520. April.

Buckingham accus'd by his Servant.

The Articles against him.

* 1512.

April 24.

& July 22.

& 1513.

April 26.

& 1517.

July 20.

† 1515.

April 16.

* 1518.

March 20.

* Feb. 20.

1513.

† Feb. 20.

1513.

* 1519.

Sept. 10.

The Duke of Buckingham being thus exposed and unfriended, the Cardinal treats secretly with Knevet, concerning him; who thereupon discovers his late Masters life; Confessing that the Duke, by way of discourse, was accustomed to say, how he meant so to use the matter, that, if King Henry died without Issue, he would attain the Crown, and that he would punish the Cardinal. Besides, that he had spoken hereof unto George Nevill Lord Abergavenny, who married the said Dukes Daughter. By what means yet the Duke intended particularly to effect these Designs, I do not find exactly set down by Charles Knevet. Neither do the Authors, who write hereof relate his Pedegree. Only our Heralds say, he was descended from Anne Plantagenet, Daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Son to King Edward the Third. How far this yet might entitle him to the Crown in case King Henry should have no issue, I have neither leisure nor disposition to examine. I shall only therefore, for satisfaction of the Reader, select some principal points out of his Indictment; leaving the Reader, for the rest, unto the search of the Record: In which, the points that in my opinion made most against the Duke, were; First, That at * several times he had sent to one Hopkins, a Monk, in the Priory of Henton, to be informed by him, concerning the matters he imagined; and that the Monk should return answer, The Duke should have all; and therefore should labour to procure the love of the People. 2. That the Duke † afterwards should go in person to the said Hopkins, who confirmed the said prediction, adding, that he knew it by Revelation. Whereupon the said Duke should give him several Rewards. 3. That he should * speak to Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland; (his Son-in-law) that, if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of Buckingham should be next in blood to the Crown, the King having as yet no issue. That, to comply herewith, he did many things which argued Ambition, and desire to make himself popular. That he † said to one Gilbert, his Chancellor, that whatsoever was done by the Kings Father, was done by wrong; murmuring withal against the present Government. 4. And to the said Charles Knevet, that if he had been committed to the Tower, (whereof he was in danger upon occasion of one Sir William Bulmer) he would have so wrought, that the principal doers thereof should not have cause of great rejoicing. For he would have plaid the part which his Father intended to have put in practice against King Richard the Third at Salisbury, who made earnest suit to come into the presence of the said King; which suit if he might have obtained, he having a Knife secretly about him, would have thrust it into the body of King Richard, as he had made semblance to kneel down before him. And that, in speaking these words, he maliciously laid hands on his Dagger; swearing, that, if he were so evil us'd, he would do his best to accomplish his intended purpose. 5. That * being in speech with Sir George Nevill Knight, Lord Abergavenny, he said, that if the King died, he would have the Rule of the Realm, in spite of whosoever said the contrary; swearing, that

if the Lord Abergavenny reveal'd this he would fight with him. This I conceive to be the substance of the most special Articles in the Evidence; which the Courteous Reader yet may do well to consider more at large, as they are extant on Record. How far yet these particulars were proved, and in what sort, my Authors deliver not. Only I find (out of our Records) that the Duke of Buckingham being committed to the Tower, April 16. did under his own hand declare to Sir Thomas Lovell, Constable of the Tower, the passages betwixt him and Hopkins, in this manner: That is to say, that the Summer before our King made War in France, Hopkins sent for him; but, not being able to go, he commanded one Delacour, his Chaplain, to repair thither; howbeit, that Hopkins said nought to him; yet that himself came the next * Lent; where, in Shrift the said Monk told him, that our King should win great honour in his journey to France; and that if the King of Scots came to England then, he should never go home again. And that, when he asked Hopkins how he knew this, he said ex deo habeo: It is reveal'd to me of God. And that Hopkins demanding afterward, what Children the King had had, He told the number; and that Hopkins should say thereupon, I pray God his issue continue; for that he feared God was not contented, because he made no restitution according to his Father's Will, charging the Duke further to advise the King's Council to make restitution. Further, That he told his Chancellor those words, and at his return out of France, came to Hopkins again, and said, he had told him true: Also, that (another time) he came to Hopkins, together with his Son Stafford, and the Earl of Westmorland; and that Hopkins asked who he was, and thereupon should say, that some of his Blood or Name should prove Great Men. And that, after this, Hopkins should send to the Duke, to pray him, according to his Promise, to help their House (being at Henton in Somersetshire) to make their Conduit; the ten Pounds, formerly given by him, being spent. And more than this he confess'd not. Notwithstanding which, when the Indictment was openly read, the Duke said it was false, untrue, conspir'd, and forg'd, to bring him to his death; alledging (as he was an eloquent Person) many Reasons to falsifie the Indictment: The King's Attorney on the other side, producing the Examinations, Confessions, and Proofs of Witnesses. The Duke hereupon desired the Witnesses, which were Knevet, Gilbert, Delacour, and Hopkins, to be brought forth. These confirming their Depositions, the Duke was tried by his Peers, (being a Duke, a Marquis, seven Earls, and twelve Barons) before the Duke of Norfolk, who was for the time made Lord High Steward of England. They condemning him, the Duke of Norfolk deliver'd his Sentence, not without Tears: To which he reply'd, My Lord of Norfolk, you have said as a Traytor should be said unto, but I was never one. But, my Lords, I nothing malign for what you have done to me; but the eternal God forgive you my death, and I do. I shall never sue to the King for Life: Howbeit, he is a gracious Prince, and more Grace may come from him, than I desire. And so I desire you, my Lords, and all my Fellows, to pray for me. Whereupon he was brought back to the Tower. Where all the favour he received was a Message from the King, declaring his Sentence was mitigated so far, that, instead of receiving the death of a Traytor, he should have only his Head * cut off. Thus ended the Duke of Buckingham, much lamented by the People, (who libell'd the Cardinal for it, calling him Carnificis filium, Son of a Butcher,) as being thought rather Criminal through folly and rash words, than any intention declar'd by Overt Act against the King's Person; and therefore not incapable of his Mercy; which also it was thought would not have been

1521.

April 16.

1512.

His Confession to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

Hall. Hollinshed.

E. Hall.

He is try'd by his Peers. May 13.

He is condemn'd.

His Speech.

May 17. He is beheaded.

1521. been deny'd, had he su'd for it in fitting terms. But since at his Arraignment, he did, as it were, disclaim his Life, he would not obtrude it; and therefore only caus'd a Letter of comfort to be written to the Dutchess, and Lord Stafford. Yet the Tragedy ended not so; for though George Lord Abergavenny, after a few Months Imprisonment, was, through the Kings favour, deliver'd; yet Hopkins, after a serious Repentance that he had been an Author of so much mischief, dy'd of grief. And here I must observe that together with this Duke, that great place of High-Constable of England remains extinguish'd, unless some extraordinary occasion revive it.

I shall return here to speak of Charles the Fifth, who having, as is said, kept a Diet at Wormes, did now levy Forces. And the rather, that he heard War was intended against him by Soliman; who, being a Martial Prince, and Crown'd the very same day at Constantinople, that Charles was at Abo, seem'd to have somewhat of the same Ascendant; however they differ'd in their Interests. Besides, it was observ'd, that as Charles the Fifth was the eleventh Emperor from Albericus, in whose time the House of the Ottomans began; so Sueliman (or Soliman) was the eleventh Prince of his Race. Howsoever, on their occasion much of their Subjects blood was spilt, and more would have been, had not Francis turn'd the Arms of Charles upon himself. The causes of Dissention betwixt Charles and Francis, were, first, that Claude eldest Daughter of Louis the Twelfth, and Anne of Bretagne having by a solemn * Treaty been accorded to Charles, Francis yet † obtain'd her, and thereby eluded his hopes of Bretagne. Secondly, their mutual ambition for the Empire. Thirdly, ill Offices done by their Courtiers betwixt them. Fourthly, but chiefly, the incompatibility of their demands for their ancient Right; whereof I find these most urg'd. Homage for Flanders, and Artois, requir'd by Francis, as being held anciently of the Crown of France; which Charles yet refus'd, saying, that, since that Estate was devolv'd to an Emperor, it was in a higher Dignity, than could be submitted to any Inferior. But to this again Francis reply'd, that it derogated from no body to give what was due. Besides, that the Title of a King was greater and more August than that of an Emperor; both as the power is more absolute in it self, and that it depends not on the Election of others; for which purpose a passage was alledg'd out of Matth. Paris, when the Empire having been offer'd to Robert, Brother of Saint Louis, the Council of State refus'd it, for this reason; saying further, it was enough that Robert was Brother to so great a King. For which cause also, the French observe, that none ever aspir'd to it of the Line of the Capet's, but Francis. Again, they differ'd about Milan, of which Louis the Twelfth having gotten the * Investiture, Francis did in pursuit of his Right, expel Maximilian Sforza; whose Brother and Successor yet was protected by Charles, and reinplac'd. Moreover the Dutchy of Burgundy was question'd by Charles. For though Louis the Eleventh had united it to his Crown, and that, for Title thereunto, it was alledg'd, that John King of France had given it to his younger Son Philip, to hold to him and his Heirs Males only; and that Charles last Duke of Burgundy, having but one only Daughter, it therefore reverted; yet Charles understanding the business otherwise, claim'd it by a long succession of his Ancestors in Burgundy. These so many pretences on either side engag'd the two Princes into perpetual Wars, which began this year. For Francis, insisting still upon the Treaty of Noyon, prepar'd to re-

cover Navarre; and to this he thought the Commu- 1521. nidades or Insurrections in Spain (began 1519, and continued still) would conduce. For as the People held their Junta or Assembly for redress of their Grievances, he conceiv'd some might be drawn to his Party. But he was deceiv'd; for they mutined not for his sake, but their own, as appear'd; pretending for their chief grievances only, that their King liv'd in foreign parts, and transported their Money for his occasions there, and bestow'd divers great Places in Spain on Strangers. So that, though they continu'd their demands with much insolency and boldness, they persisted nevertheless in their love to their Prince and Country, without admitting a Treaty with Francis. All which yet could not preserve them. For, though they proceeded with more Sobriety and Correspondence, than hath been observ'd in any popular Insurrections, (as Sandoval relates it at large) they were divided at last, and overthrown by the name of Rebels; their Actions being so bad and dangerous, as their Intentions could not excuse them. Howsoever, Francis thought fit to make use of this occasion, and therefore, before their defeat, he levy'd Forces; and, not long after, sent Andre de Foix, Seigneur de Asperant, and Brother of the famous Lautrech, to Navarre. Where a War began, that, in divers places, lasted 38 years following (as Sandoval observes it) and cost the lives of above five hundred thousand Men; the French speak of a far greater number. Their first Progress was happy; for, in less than 15 days, they took Navarre. But as they would go farther to Catalonia, and besiege Logronno (or Groyne,) the Spanish Commanders, attended now with many of the Comunidades, gave Battel and overthrew them, taking de Foix Prisoner; whereupon also Navarre was regain'd in less time than it was lost, and Pamplona thenceforth better fortify'd. But not on this part only did the French shew their Mal-Talent, but discover'd it on this occasion also towards another Coast. The Prince of Chimay contesting in Law with the Seigneur d'Aymeries concerning a Castle or Town in the Forest of Ardennes, and County of Luxemburg, call'd Hierge, gain'd his cause by the judgment of the Peers of the Dutchy of Bouillon, who determin'd businesses in chief; and accordingly enjoy'd possession thereof, for many years. Howbeit Aymeries (being not contented herewith) appeal'd to the Chancellor of Brabant, and prevail'd so far, that the Heirs of Chimay were summon'd to give accompt of their Title unto the Emperor. But, because the Sovereignty of Robert de la Mark Duc de Bouillon was most concern'd herein, they, for their best refuge, made complaint to him; he again addresseth himself to the Emperor, and remonstrates his Right: yet, finding the cause of Aymeries likely to prevail, secretly treats with Francis, for Assistance and Protection. Being assur'd hereof, he (though a small Prince) sends a publick defiance to Charles, being then at the Diet in Wormes. The Emperor, judging quickly from whence this audaciousness proceeded, prepares for War. Neither wanted he a seeming occasion. For though he ever suspected that Robert de la Mark, (as one who had serv'd heretofore the French in Italy, had his chief dependance on Francis) yet now being inform'd that Fleuranges (Son unto the said Robert de la Mark) having rais'd in France about three thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, (all Voluntiers) had besieg'd Vireton, a little place in Luxemburg, appertaining to the Emperor; he nothing doubted, but that the French had assisted him herein. Howbeit, Francis, considering it was not convenient to begin a War so near home, and

The causes of the Wars between Charles V. and Francis I.
* 1501.
† 1514.
May 18.
1519.

* 1500.
* 1515.

March.
The War breaks out in which 500000 Men lost their Lives.

The Duke of Bouillon defies the Emperor Charles V.

1521. and besides, being advis'd by our King to keep the Peace, signifies his dislike to *Fleuranges*, who thereupon * dismiss'd his Forces. Notwithstanding which, *Charles* commands *Henry* Count of *Nassau* to go with an Army against *Robert de la Mark*, not omitting withal to dispatch an Ambassador to *Francis*, with Instructions, to protest, that *Francis* had first broken the Treaty of 1518, by aiding *Robert de la Mark*. He sent word to our King also of this proceeding. Who taking the matter into Consideration, pronounc'd sentence against *Francis*, as the first Infractor of their Tripartite League: Which being maturely ponder'd by *Francis*, (who knew well, how much it concern'd him not to provoke our King, who (by an expresse Article of the said Treaty) was to fall on the first that contraven'd) made him afterwards excuse the matter, and undertake that *Robert* should desist from Hostility. This was not yet so accepted by *Charles*, as to delay the sending of his Army, under *Henry* of *Nassau* (and not *Francisco Sicilino* as *Jovius* hath it) to seize on the Dominions of *Robert*, who accordingly took divers places. But *Robert* going to the Emperor hereupon, obtain'd a Truce for six Weeks, *Henry* of *Nassau* in the mean time putting Garrisons in the places he had won. The Emperor yet, not dismissing his Forces, but proceeding hostilely, our King takes notice hereof, and offers *Woolsey*, as his Lieutenant, to compose their Differences. For *Francis* had now arm'd; as finding that, under colour of private Quarrels, *Tournaisis* was invaded; howbeit, *Woolsey* was not thought by *Francis* a competent Judge; both as some jealousies had past formerly betwixt our King and him (as is above related) and that he knew *Woolsey* depended wholly upon *Charles* for the Papacy. Therefore he not only declin'd (as much as he could) the Arbitrement of *Woolsey*, but shortly after dispatch'd the Duke of *Albany* into Scotland. Howsoever, *Woolsey* came 2 August 1521. to *Calais*, and treated of an Accommodation; not neglecting together to write of *Charles*, to make no Peace with *Francis* during the Treaty. And I doubt not but our King did gladly arbitrate this business; both as it argued his Authority, and gave him means to choose his friend, when otherwise he could not reconcile them. Upon the part of *Francis* came the Chancellor of France (*Antoine du Prat*) *John de Selve*, and *Monsieur de Palisse* Marechal of France, with four hundred Horse. The Emperor not failing on his part likewise to send proper Agents, being *Mercurinus Conde de Gattinara* his Chancellor, and *Monsieur de Bergbes*, and others. The Pope had likewise a particular and conceal'd Nuntio there, being *Hieronymo de Ghinnucciis* Bishop of *Ascoli*; though, as he pretended to be without Authority, his business it seem'd was for the present rather to espy and observe the proceedings there, than to advance the Peace, as did appear afterwards. Many things were represented to the Cardinal on both sides. The Emperor demanded, among other things, Restitution of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, and abolition of the homage he ow'd to the Crown of France for the Low-Countries. *Francis* again not only refus'd this, but requir'd that *Navarre* might be restor'd to *Henry* Son of King *John*; and a Pension of one hundred thousand Ducats paid him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, according to the former Contract at *Noyon*. But to this again *Charles* his Minority was alledg'd as an excuse; though a weak one in Princes; they being not consider'd under the notion of their Age but Dignity. Furthermore, *Charles* ground his Title to *Naples* by his Mother Queen *Joan*, Daughter and Heir of *Ferdinand*, so that to have paid this Money would have weaken'd

his Claim; and for *Navarre*, it was too commodious for him to leave it; especially when he thought *Francis* did no less in with-holding *Burgundy*. Howsoever, that *Francis* himself had first broken the said Treaty of *Noyon*, by protecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, an Ancient Enemy of the House of *Flanders*. And for the abolition of Homage, the French Chancellor on the other side, particularly said, it was not the work of a Treaty, but a Petition, and therefore not to be handled at this time, when there was question of right only. Besides this, the Duchy of *Milan* bred no little contest among them. In conclusion, their demands were so obstinate, and minds so averse from Peace on either side, that the Cardinal could or would do no good. Hereunto, also, did concur a close and private Convention betwixt *Leo* and *Charles*, mediated by the Nuntio; and a confidence that *Charles* had, (by the Cardinal's means) that, in case of Rupture our King would incline to him, as having more pretence to his ancient Dominions of France, than to any thing in the Low-Countries. Again, *Charles* renew'd his promise to give him his best assistance to be elected Pope, when *Leo* should dye; which prevail'd more than any other gift. Although (to use *Polydore's* words) speaking of both Princes, at this time, *Uterque ejus favorem certatim largitionibus quaeritabat*, Both sought to obtain his favour by Presents. This hope of the Papacy therefore comforted our Cardinal, now it was likely he should lose one of his Customers. ¶ The King of Hungary at this time, finding that *Solyman* (who inherited his Father's Malice) did much gain upon *Christendom* (as having lately gotten *Belgrade* in Hungary) and knowing there was no way to defend himself, without an Union betwixt Christian Princes, sends an Ambassador, so opportunely, as to find our Cardinal at *Calais*, treating of this Universal Peace. But such was the animosity of these two great Princes, that the pious consideration of repelling the Turk could not prevail with them. So that the Cardinal, by this time, finding small hope of Reconciliation, advertis'd our King thereof, and crav'd his Resolution; unto which he much prepar'd him by giving intelligence of what had past. To gain this space also, he told the French, he would go in Person to *Bruges*, and Negotiate by word of mouth with the Emperor. Our Cardinal departing hereupon, the Emperor met him by the way, (a mile out of Town,) accompanying this Honour with all other Demonstrations of Affection to him and our Nation. After thirteen days Treaty, and agreement what was to be done in case of Rupture, (which our Cardinal perceiv'd now could not be avoided,) he returns to *Calais*, where the French Ambassadors impatiently attended him, he doth not yet discover his despair of Success to them, and much less discloseth his private Treaty with the Emperor, but mediates still a Peace, yet so, as to promise less hope of it than before, since matters were come to such extremities on both sides. For not only *le Seigneur de Liques*, a Subject of the Emperors, upon private quarrel with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, had now surpris'd *Amand* and *Mortagne* in *Picardy*, and the *Bourgonians* *Ardres*, (which they raz'd,) but the Count of *Nassau* taken *Mouzon*, and besieg'd *Mezières*; which yet *Anne de Montmorency*, and *Pierre de Terrail*, commonly call'd *le Chevalier Bayard*, defended, until *Francis* coming with a great Army, the Imperialists retir'd, and *Mouzon* was retaken, while the Emperor, who was at *Valenciennes* kept himself more covert than was expected; since *Francis* proceed- ed still: Though as he discontented *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, who in the quality of *Constable de France*, thought

Bayly.

* Mar. 22.

K. Henry declares that Francis I. broke the Peace. Octob. 2. 1518.

Record.

de Serres.

The difference refer'd to Woolsey.

Aug. 2.

A Meeting to adjust them.

1521.

Dupless.

Proves ineffectual.

Aug.

Sept.

Octob.

thought to have the leading of the Avantguard (rather than the Duke de Alanzon, Brother-in-Law to the King) an Error was committed which cost him dear, as shall be told in its place. Notwithstanding which, *Woolsey*, that he might leave nothing unattempted, sends to the Emperor, the Lord of Saint Johns, and Sir Tho. Bolen, and to the French King (lying then with a great Army near Cambray) the Earl of Worcester, and Bishop of Eli; by whom he obtain'd that the Emperor should raise the Siege of Tournay, before which his Forces now were, and that he should recall his Army in the Milanese, and that Francis should likewise retire his, and the rest should be referr'd to our King. But the taking of Feuentarabie by *Boissier* intervening, Francis refus'd to render it, and so the Treaty brake off. Whereupon our Cardinal (who now had heard from our King) gives a kind of sentence, in the business. The effect hereof was, that the French King being guilty of the first breach, our King was bound by the Common Treaty to assist the Emperor; to which also he was the more dispos'd that the secret practices of the French in Scotland had disoblig'd him, some hopes of Accommodation yet were represented, in case the Emperor and Francis might be reconcil'd; but small appearance hereof being given, the Cardinal concluded a Treaty with the Emperor and Pope against the French, the Pope entering it on condition that the Emperor should restore to him Parma and Piacenza, and aid him, afterwards, against the Duke of Ferrara. The effect of the Treaty was this.

Nov. 22.
A Treaty
between
the Empe-
ror, the
King of
England
and the
Pope.
Nov. 24.

Because the Expedition against the Turk cannot be undertaken, until the Pride and Injury of the French be suppress'd; therefore between the Pope, Emperor, and King of England, by their several Ambassadors, these following Articles are concluded.

I. This Treaty shall not derogate from any former, and it shall extend not only to the present possessions of the Contractants, but their future Acquisitions.

II. That, when the Emperor shall pass over into Spain to provide himself of Men and Money, and order his People (which shall be the next Spring) the King of England (upon a month's warning) shall give him a Convoy of Ships through the Channel, with at least three thousand fighting-men, with Artillery, &c. together with leave to land at Dover, or Sandwich; and after honourable Entertainment, shall conduct him himself to Falmouth, or some other such place. In regard whereof, if the King of England shall have occasion to pass over to France, the Emperor shall do the like for him, till the charge be equal on both sides.

III. The Contractants shall declare themselves Enemies to the French in March 1523, and by May shall be in Arms, (viz.) The Pope in Italy, with a strong Army; without Italy, Censuris Ecclesiasticis. Secondly, the Emperor with ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot, or more, on the Confines of Spain; at which time the Low-Countries and other Dominions of the Emperor, shall declare themselves Enemies to the French, and Commerce cease. Thirdly, the King of England shall pass the Sea, with ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot or more, to invade France on the Coasts next to him. And he hath liberty given to hire Horse-men out of Germany, and Foot (if he will) of the Emperor's Subjects. And, if the King of England, upon a Battle to be fought, shall stand in need of aid, the Emperor's Lieutenant, being inform'd of it, shall (if it be possible) help him.

IV. That, before the Month of March abovesaid, the King of England, and the Emperor shall by Sea infest the French, each with three thousand fighting-men, and other Provisions proportionable; joyning their Forces upon occasion, and not recalling their Fleets, but by common consent; which if they chance to be impair'd by Fight, or foul Weather, they are to repair

within a Month. Neither shall one make any Appointment, or Treaty, or Truce, with the common Enemy, but by the consent of the other.

V. That, if, by the end of this present November, there be no Peace made, between the Pope, Emperor and King of France, or that the French King shall a fresh begin the War: Then the King of England shall, at the coming of the Emperor into England, declare himself Enemy to the French, and within a Month after certify it to the French King. In which case the Fleet prepar'd by the King of England, for the Convoy of the Emperor, after his landing in Spain, shall, together with the Emperor's Fleet, turn themselves against the French, so infesting him by Sea. Also by land each Prince shall have Forces against all Invasion both of the French, and other Princes; wherein they shall aid one another.

VI. To facilitate these designs, as soon as ever the War shall be begun against the French, the Pope shall send out his Censures against him, subjecting all his Dominions to the Interdict; and calling the Secular Arm against him, shall warn the Emperor (as the Protector and Advocate of the Church) and also the King of England to war against him, as Enemy of the Church.

VII. That the Emperor and King of England take on them the Protection of the Pope, and Family of Medicis, against all whatsoever. And, on the other side, that the Pope undertake the Protection of them with their Confederates. So that it be not permitted that one of them shall name for his Confederates the Enemy of the other.

VIII. The Swifs are nam'd Confederates on all sides, and are to be dispos'd either to enter this League, or hold themselves Neutral.

IX. That the Emperor and King of England shall in their Dominions, as they have begun, proceed against those, qui de fide Catholica male sentire videntur, who differ in their Opinions from the Catholick Faith; or that seek to wrong the Authority of the Apostolick See. And that, in the Lands and Possessions which the Emperor, and King of England shall gain from the French, the Pope shall enjoy all Priviledges, Rights, and Authority, due to the See Apostolick.

X. That, after the War with the French they shall invade the Turk.

XI. They shall not treat from this time apart with any Prince in prejudice of this League.

XII. That, notwithstanding the Emperor hath agreed Marriage with the King of France's Daughter; and the Dauphin with the King of England's, yet, for the publick good of Christendom, the Emperor may marry the Princess Mary; to which end the Pope shall dispence; seeing they are Cousin-Germans, their Mothers being two Sisters.

XIII. That this Convention shall be kept most secret, until it be publish'd by common consent.

XIV. That the Contractors are to give their Letters Patents in confirmation of this Treaty, within three Months.

XV. That this Agreement shall not derogate from any Treaty that hath been between the King of England and the Emperor; so they be not contrary to this Treaty.

Thus was War resolv'd against France, to begin at the appointed time. In the mean while, fishing in the narrow Seas, and use of English Ports was allow'd the French till February following. While these great affairs were in agitation, our Chroniclers observe, that the Great Seal of England being with the Cardinal at Calais, many English repair'd to him to receive their Dispatches, and at home the constituting of Sheriffs was suspended, &c. which I remember the rather, that it was afterwards urg'd against him. And now all foreign businesses being done, the Cardinal *Woolsey's* returns to England. Where, to magnifie his State.

Negoti- Nov. 27.

1521. Negotiation, he presents our King with the Bull of his Title of *Defensor Fidei*, which the Pope had put into his hands, together with a † continuation of his *Legantine* Power, only to gratifie him for his assistance against *Francis*; the King on the other side * bestowing on him the Ab-
 † Aug. bacy of Saint *Albans*, towards his charges in this
 * Nov. 13. Journey. The War thus continu'd the Emperor
 Dec. 19. took *Tournay*, to the no little scandal of *Francis*, who was yet oblig'd to continue his payments for it to our King. On the other side, *Francis* prepares an Army for *Italy*; for though the Mar-
 The War in Italy. schal *Thomas de Foix* (*Seigneur de Lescun*, and Brother to *Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech*) had now for some time commanded *Milan*; yet as he grew odious, through his manifold Oppressions, the People sought occasion to revolt. Which the Imperialists under *Ferdinand d'Avalos* Mar-
 Quis of *Pescara* understanding, requir'd the Popes assistance; who, in conformity to his League, sent Forces, whereof *Prospero Colonna* was chief. His first action was the besieging of *Parma*, which *Lescun* defended, until his Brother *Lautrech* com-
 Octob. ing with an Army of twenty thousand *Swiss*, seven or eight thousand *Venetians*, besides *French*, to relieve him; the Army of the League rose, and retir'd. But *Lautrech* afterwards remaining idle for some few days, sixteen hundred of the *Swiss* being not well paid; and for the rest gain'd by the Cardinal *de Medicis* to the contrary Par-
 Nov. 23. ty, forsook him and serv'd *Colonna*, (who there- upon marching to *Milan* (whether *Lautrech* had retir'd himself) took it easily, the Castle yet holding out;) howbeit, *Lautrech* escaping to *Como* with four thousand *Swiss*, and some *Venetians*, and from thence to the Territories of the Re- publick; whereupon *Pavia* and *Parma* yielded, and *Cremona*, all save the Castle. When the *Ven- etians*, fearing the Storm might fall on them- selves, desir'd *Lautrech* to depart; who being al- so forsaken of his four thousand *Swiss*, got into the Castle of *Cremona*, and sent his King word of the ill Success. Which the Pope also hearing, and being assur'd together that *Sforza* should be re- stor'd to *Milan*, was so overjoy'd, that he * dy'd thereof: (so can every Passion in his turn kill) though some suspected he might die of Poy- son.

I will conclude this year with the invention of Muskets; which *Bellay* saith were first us'd in this War.
 The Cardinal of York finding occasion now fair, sends Doctor *Richard Pace*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to *Rome*, to essay if by any means it were possi- ble to make him Pope. He writes also to *Charles*, remembring him first of his promise; next it was represented how unjust it would be in him, openly to have a Pope of his own nominating; there being so many businesses of his to be de- termin'd in the Consistory; that the particular utility which would redound to him thereby, ought not to be lay'd in ballance against the u- niversal dishonour that both he and the whole *Christian Church* would suffer in such a factious and scandalous Election: especially, when his bu- siness might be done in a more decent and safe way. For if the *Papacy* were conferr'd on him, his Imperial Majesty might be confident he should find the same faithfulness he had experience of in the last Treaty. Since therefore this was the best expedient for giving himself Reputation, and securing his Affairs, that he should not fail herein. For as it was the place of *Henry* the Eighth to be *Arbiter* of *Christendom*, it would be his to be the chief Instrument thereof. For which purpose also, he should be ready ever to dispose King *Henry* to hold good Correspondence with his Imperial Majesty. Neither must he

think that being Pope, he would alter this Lan- guage; it being manifest, that the keeping up of the Authority of *Charles* in *Italy*, was the on- ly way to conserve peace in it, which our King desir'd. Some of these Reasons also *Pace* was de- sir'd to scatter amongst the Cardinals at *Rome*, to whom he was charg'd to represent how much occasion of Calumny, the *Lutherans* and other Enemies of their Religion would find, if an un- fitting choice were made at this time. That this must follow if any belonging either to *Charles* or *Francis* were elected; besides that it would make their differences irreconcilable. Or when otherwise the *Papacy* fell into the hands of one who could not uphold and maintain the Au- thority of the See, as an *Italian* or some other not strongly supported Person; that then it must become a prey to the strongest. That the sole way to remedy these Inconveniencies was to choose him, who had a King able and well affected to maintain Religion and Peace in these dangerous times. Our Cardinal also did not for- get *Francis*; to whom, if not favour, yet at least indifferency was promis'd, in case he were Pope; and that this was more than he could hope for any other way. But before *Pace* could come to *Rome*, *Adrian* Cardinal of *Tortosa*, heretofore Tu- tor to *Charles*, and for the present residing in *Spain*, (where he had the quality of *Governador de Castilla*) was * chosen Pope, though not with such an universal consent; but that (as I find by our Records) our Cardinal had sometimes nine, and sometimes twelve, and sometimes nineteen Voices. *Guiccardine* seems much to wonder at this Election, scurrilously terming him not only *Pontifice Barbaro*, because he was a *Fleming*, but alledging divers other incapacities in him for that place. But the wiser sort did not think so; *Charles* having given those testimonies of his good affection to the Peace of *Italy* (especially by his generous restoring of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*) that they nothing doubted but he would prove their best Patron and Help for the expulsion of all Strangers. Howsoever, that *Adrian*, being of a moderate and calm Disposition, would prove no Incendiary. *Pace*, though he heard by the way that *Adrian* was chosen, yet holds on his Journey, as having second Instructions to coun- tenance his Employment, when the first succeed- ed not; therefore, departing from *Rome* to *Ve- nice* about July this year, he mediated a Peace be- twixt *Charles* and the *Venetians*, (who had hi- therto held with the *French*; remonstrating to them the many Reasons which they had to join with the Emperor and King of *England* against *Francis*, who had first broken the common Peace made 1518, wherein the said State of *Venice* was compris'd, and thereby bound to fall on the In- fractor thereof, &c. But the *Venetians* being en- gag'd to *Francis*, took time only to advise there- of.

Adrian being thus chosen, *Julio Cardinal de Me- dicis*, who aspir'd to the *Papacy*, was highly dis- contented; insomuch that forsaking the Imperi- al Party, he joyn'd himself with three thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, to the *French*. *Francisco Matia* also, who (upon *Leo's* Death) had recover'd *Urbino*, adhering to them; so that, with the addition of sixteen thousand *Swiss* new- ly levy'd, and some Troops *Lautrech* the Mar- schal de *Foix* brought, the *French* had a considera- ble Army, with which he besieg'd *Pavia*. But *Prospero Colonna* coming with the Imperial Forces to relieve it, *Lautrech* raising the Siege offer'd Battel; which yet the Imperialists would not accept. This while *Montmorency* having taken *Novara*, return'd; so that the *French* now pursu- ing their Point, the Imperialists were forc'd to get

And is disap- pointed.

Jan. 9. *Adrian* chosen Pope.

1522. get themselves within a strong Retrenchment at *Bicocca*. And here either side attended their Advantage, the *French* hoping to drive the Imperialists away by Famine, and they again, that the *Swiss* for want of pay would desert the *French*. That of the *Swiss* succeeded first; for demanding either to have their Pay, or leave to depart, or at least order to fight, the *French*, who wanted Money, chose this latter, as the less inconvenience, and so gave * on. But being repuls'd with great loss, the next day the *Swiss* return'd, and the rest of the Army retir'd towards *Lodi* and *Cremona*, and lastly to the *Venetian* Territories; while the Imperialists, making use of their Victory, got both these places, the Castle of *Cremona* only excepted, which held out for the space of one whole year, though the Castle of *Milan* yielded presently. *Lautrech* thus finding all things desperate, retires to *France*, laying the fault upon his not receiving pay for his Soldiers; which yet, the *French* say, was not for want of order from the King, but through the covetousness of his Mother *Louise*, or the default of some Officers. And now the Imperialists, losing no time, march'd to *Genoia*; in which were two Factions, those of the Family of the *Fieschi*, *Adorni*, and *Spinola*, being Imperialists, and those of the *Fregosi* and *Doria*, *French*. That of the *Fregosi* govern'd now. Howsoever the Imperialists * enter'd and sack'd that rich City; which yet they quitted, when they had depos'd the *Fregosi*, and set up the *Adorni*. *Francisco Sforza* was restor'd also to that of *Milan*, the Emperor not reserving to himself so much as one place in that Country. And so *Colonna* concluded the War for this year of 1522. Nevertheless the Treaties with the *Venetians* proceeded, which at last took effect, as shall be more particularly related.

The proceedings betwixt our King and *Charles* were not kept so secret, but that they became sufficiently known to *Francis*, who would not yet instantly take notice of them, as being more unprovided than suddenly to bring matters to extremity. Therefore he continu'd a while his smooth Letters to the Cardinal. At last, betwixt impatience, and the order he hop'd to give in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to find our King enough to do, he began to declare himself. Therefore, his Subjects having made some Depredations on the *English* Merchants, and satisfaction thereupon being requir'd, he delay'd if not deny'd Reparation. These particular Offences were accompany'd with a main breach of Treaty, as our King conceiv'd. For the Duke of *Albany*, who should have continu'd in *France*, was now after five years absence, return'd to his charge of *Scotland*, as shall be told more largely hereafter. Our *English* foreseeing thus a storm likely to ensue, retire themselves betimes from *France*; the Merchants withdrawing their Goods from the Port-Towns, and the Scholars their Persons and Studies from *Paris*. *Anne Boleyn* also (who is said by the *French* * Writers to have liv'd in that Court ever since she † came over with our Kings Sister until this time) quitted it now, and return'd to *England*; where she did partake afterwards more good and ill fortune than she could reasonably imagine. Our King also writ to *Francis* sharply, telling him that howsoever he excus'd himself for sending over the Duke of *Albany*; yet that he knew well, nothing was done therein without his Direction; and that it was the manner of his Country, aliud clam moliri, aliud specie simulationis ostentare, to lock one way and row another, (as *Polydore* hath it,) reproaching him also with breach of his Oath. *Francis* much mov'd with this rough Expostulation, objecteth to King *Henry* the secret Treaty at *Bruges* with the Emperor

1521, requiring King *Henry* to declare himself. Besides, he caus'd all the *English* Mens Goods that remain'd to be seiz'd on, through his Kingdom, and especially those at *Bordeaux*; which seem'd so much the unjust, that divers of our Merchants had not only bought Wines there with ready Money, but paid Custom for it. Our King hearing this, confin'd the *French* Ambassador to his House, seizeth on all other *French* and *Scots* here, and commits the better Persons for a time, or until they had paid a pecuniary Mult, the poorer sort being exempt yet upon ten Days imprisonment. The Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-Williams* (being in *January* last recall'd from his Ambassage in *France*, and Sir *Thomas Cheney* sent in his place) also was commanded to Sea with a strong Fleet, to secure our Merchants and take what *French* he could. Moreover, because the *French* denied the rest of the Money due, and detain'd the *French* Queens Dower, our King caus'd the *French* Hostages to be kept under an honourable, yet somewhat stricter Guard, than before, without using further Rigour. And, whereas *Francis* had desir'd him to declare himself, King *Henry* sent over *Clarenceaux* his Herald, in the end of *March*, with his Declaration; whereby it was shew'd, that because *Francis* was the Infractor of the common Peace, the King of *England* must take the Emperor's part against him. Upon this, Ambassadors were recall'd on both sides, and War expected. Howbeit, as the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings*, Sir *John Peachy*, and Sir *Edward Belknap*, all brave Captains, did about this time, (not of Poison given at * *Ardes* (when the Interview was) as some would have it; but of a Pestilential Air, as *Hall* relates;) so our King left those whose Service he now most needed.

And because King *Henry* meant to put to Sea a Royal Fleet, the Earl of *Surrey* (as being Admiral of *England*) was recall'd from his Charge in *Ireland*; where having, among other Services, repress'd the Irruptions of the *O-Neale's* and *O-Carrol's*, he so govern'd the Land, that he both did his Prince an acceptable Service, and gain'd the love of the civil People of that Country, leaving (after a Parliament he held there from *June* 1521, to the end of *March* 1522,) *Pierce Butler* Lord Deputy, who yet kept not long possession of this Honour, as shall be shew'd in its due place.

The Cardinal about this time, whether for ostentation of his Power, or redeeming the Peoples favour, caus'd the Preachers at *St. Paul's* Cross in *London* to publish, that all those who would eat White-meats that Lent ensuing, should without paying any thing, be exempt from Punishment and Sin. But the People unwilling to be caught by those Baits, so contemptuously rejected this offer, that the Cardinal might easily judge how ungracious he was with them. But as the manner of the most subtle sort of Favourites hath been not to study so much good as great Actions, as hoping thereby to amuse and entertain their Princes; so this Cardinal, by the perpetual variation (he seem'd to cause) in the Affairs of *Christendom*, held not only the Minds of the People in attention and suspense, but made his Counsels more considerable to the King, than if he had pursued any one way. The last change, whereof he was Author, had its chief Overture at *Bruges*, where, among other things, the Emperor resolv'd to repair to *England* to speak with our King more particularly, concerning the general Affairs of *Christendom*, and to treat of a March betwixt himself and the Princess *Mary*, Daughter to our King. And finally (which our King took for a singular honour) to be install'd personally

* *Willel. R. caecil. Scip. Duplex. Tom. 3. † 1514. Anne Boleyn returns to England.*

1522. A Rupture between England & France. March 6

April.

March.

May.

1520.

Jan.

Card. Wolsey's Policy.

1522. Finally of the Order of the Garter at Windsor, while himself sat there as Chief. For after his
 * retaining Maximilian the Emperor in pay, the next great testimony of respect this World could give him (he thought) was, that so brave and great an Emperor as Charles, should, in so busie and difficult Times undertake a Voyage, to be admitted into that most noble Fellowship. Into which also Ferdinand his Brother, afterwards Emperor, was elected the last St. George's Day, (viz.) April 23. 1522, and had the Order and Habits sent him to Noremberg, where, being the Emperor's Lieutenant, he held a Diet that Year. And now, for the more magnificent reception of the Emperor, the Marquis Dorset was sent to Calais, and the Cardinal to Dover; whither, upon the 26th of May, 1522, (being about the time his Forces enter'd and sack'd Genoa) the Emperor arriv'd. The Cardinal first assur'd him of his welcome; which our King following * presently afterwards, confirm'd. From hence the King conducted him to † Greenwich, where the Queen (his Aunt) with much Joy attended him. June 6. Hence again the King, riding in great pomp through London, conducted him to his Lodging in Black-Fryers: His Train being plac'd in the † new beautified Palace at Bridewell. To relate the Jufts and other Solemnities on this occasion, or to tell how often Dukes, Earls, and Lords gave Water to the Cardinal at an high Mass in Paul's, (where the Princes were on Whit Sunday) is not my intention. Only for the rarity I cannot omit that on June 19. the Emperor wearing the Robes of the Order, and sitting in his Stall at Windsor, accompani'd the other Knights in all his Ceremonies and Rites usual at that time: Which being done, both he and our King receiv'd the Sacrament together, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe the League concluded betwixt them, which was to this effect, as appears by an Original, subscrib'd and seal'd by Charles.

Record. The Treaty of Windsor. 1518. Whereas there was lately War begun betwixt us Charles, and the King of France, and (by Virtue of a League concluded between us and King Henry, and the said King of France) both we and Francis, by our Letters, required Aid of the said King Henry, one against the other; and the said King of England in the beginning of this War, to compose these Differences, sent to Calais the most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cardinal of York, as his Lieutenant, before whom when many Disputes had been on both sides, who first began the War, and it was found that the fault was in the French King, and that he first began with us, not in Luxemburgh only; by Robert de la March, suborn'd by him, but by his Captains also in Navarre, and hir'd Foreign Soldiers which were not his Subjects to break the publick Peace, contrary to the Treaty of London; wherefore, when the most Reverend Father aforesaid could not effect at Calais either Peace or Truce under any honourable Conditions, the said King of England understanding, as well by the relation of the said most Reverend Father, as by the Letter of Francis King of France, written to his Orators and Captains (which were shew'd to the said King of England) that the said Francis had broken both the Treaty of London, and all other Treaties and Agreements of Affinity concluded between them; not only by sending the Duke of Albany into Scotland (which was against his Oath given) but also denying the King of England his Pensions, and violating his Subjects against the League: The said King of England hath resolved hereupon to lend us Aid against him, according as he is bound by the Treaty of London. And therefore upon Treaty of a perpetual and stricter Confederacy between us and the said King Henry, as also of a Marriage with the Princess Mary, (we being on both sides free from all Agreement made heretofore in this kind with

the French) have concluded both League and Alliance in manner following:

I. The said Emperor shall not contract any Marriage with any Woman, while the said Princess Mary is under Age, but shall tarry for her, and when she is ripe marry her; as soon as she is twelve Years old, he shall send a Proxy to contract with her a Marriage *per verba de presenti*, and she shall send a Proxy to him to the same purpose.

II. The King of England during this time shall not give her to any else.

III. As soon as this League is publish'd, both Princes shall (at common costs) send Orators to the Pope, and obtain of him a Dispensation sufficient for the performance of the said Marriage in its due time; notwithstanding that they are in the second degree of Consanguinity and Affinity; so that the Issue may be legitimate.

IV. The Princess shall be transported at the King of England's charge, with all Equipage and Furniture fitting her Dignity, within four Months next following the Contract *per verba de presenti* aforesaid. And she shall be transported to Bruges, if Charles be in the Low-Countries; if in Spain, then to the Town of Bilboa; whom within four Days next ensuing, Charles shall marry publickly in the face of the Church; and, till that time, she shall remain in the hands of the Commissioners of King Henry, who transport her.

V. Her Dowry, which King Henry shall give with her, shall be 400000 Crowns; whereof shall be paid the first half the Day of Marriage, or within eight Days after; and the other half within a Year following, Charles giving Acquittances. Yet, if the said Princess (for want of Issue Male left by King Henry) shall succeed in the Kingdom of England, then nothing shall be paid for Dowry with her; and whatsoever shall have been paid, shall be restored to the Executors of the King of England. It is also agreed, that out of the second payment of the latter Moneys (as above-said) of the Dowry, the King of England may deduct all Monies which are due to him, and formerly borrowed of him by the said now Emperor or his Grand-Father Maximilian, if they shall not be paid before. And the said King of England shall restore to the said Emperor the Deeds of Obligation, and the Pledges for the same. But if the King of England have a Son, then the whole Dowry (above-assign'd) shall be paid, and shall be increas'd to a Million of Crowns, by the addition of 600000; which 600000 shall be paid (after the 400000 are paid) yearly by 200000 Crowns per Annum. For her Jointure, the Emperor shall assign her in Lands and Cities 50000 Crowns of yearly Rent clear; and particularly for a part thereof, such Towns as the late Lady Margaret of England had for Jointure in the Low-Countries, the rest in Spain, to enjoy as long as she lives. If she die before the Emperor her Husband without Children, then all her Jewels, &c. shall remain to the Emperor.

VI. The Emperor binds himself, his Heirs, and his Dominions, unto the King of England, his Heirs and Successors, under the pain of 400000 Crowns, that this Treaty of Marriage shall not be hindred on his part. In like manner the King of England binds himself.

That this Matrimony may be more firm and certain, a Treaty of League is renew'd.

I. That all former Treaties shall remain in force.

II. They shall be Confederate strictly for the conservation of all their Dignities, Titles, Rights, &c. howsoever, and by whomsoever impeached: To have the same Friends and Enemies,

1522

The Treaty of Peace and Confederation.

1522. mies, &c. And, when one is invaded, the other shall aid him *totis viribus*, as he would defend himself.

III. And because the King of England hath entertained the Emperor, and given him leave to pass through his Country into Spain, to provide the better for recovery of his Rights against Francis, and hath transported him over into England by a Fleet of 3000 Men; therefore, in requital, the Emperor, when King Henry shall pass over to Calais, or any other Port, in expedition against the French, will provide and lend him at his own cost a number of Ships or Vessels to transport his Soldiers, Horse, and Munition, till the Charge equal the Costs which King Henry bestow'd on the Emperor in this kind.

IV. To recover such Lands as the French King detains from both, each Prince, before the end of May 1524. or sooner, shall levy Armies thus; *viz.* the Emperor in Person with ten thousand Horse, and thirty thousand Foot or more, with competent Ammunition, shall invade France on the Coast of Spain. And, at the same time, all the Dominions of the Emperor shall declare and wage War against Francis. Also, the King of England by the same time (May 1524.) shall pass the Sea in Person, and, with ten thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot, or more, and Ammunition, &c. shall fall on France, on what part he shall see most convenient. And because the King of England hath not of his own so many Horse, the Emperor will provide him Horse (so he pay them) and Foot (if he need.) If the King of England be coming to Battel with the Enemy, and fend to the Emperor's Forces, being near at hand, to assist him, they shall come and aid him, unless there be a just Impediment.

V. War shall be made by Sea, (*viz.*) the Emperor in his Navy shall furnish three thousand fighting Men; the King of England so many likewise to infect Francis's Dominions severally, or jointly. They shall not revoke or diminish their Fleet without consent, but reinforce it, if impaired.

VI. Neither shall desist from Hostility without consent of the other.

VII. Each shall give the other free passage through his Country.

VIII. The King of England shall maintain and keep two thousand Soldiers in the Borders of Calais, and the Emperor as many in Artois, which shall make Inroads into France, and repel the Invasions of the French, either singly or jointly.

IX. Because the French use much the German Soldiers, therefore each Prince, to divert them from the French, shall entertain as many German Foot as he can; and within two Months next following, the Emperor shall renew and publish the Imperial Edicts, whereby all Germans are (under pain of being accounted Rebels, and confiscation of their Goods) forbidden to serve under the French. And the Duke of Lorraine shall be admonish'd not to suffer any Germans to pass through his Country to aid the King of France; if he do, then these two Princes will account him their Enemy.

X. If either of the two, recover from France Places belonging to the other, he shall, upon requisition, restore them, within a Month: And, to prevent Ambiguities and Quarrels, each Prince before May 1524. shall declare his Pretences.

XI. Also, if either Prince have an intention to recover any other Rights, against other with-holders; as if the King of England will subject Scotland unto the Kingdom of England, or reduce Ireland to due Obedience; or the Emperor recover Gueldres or Frise, or punish any Rebel; or, if either the Scots trouble and invade Eng-

land, or the Gueldres the Dominions of Charles; 1522. each shall give Aid to other.

XII. To confirm this Treaty; It is agreed, there shall be mutual Intelligence between the two Princes, and all things done by common Consent; so that neither shall Treat with Francis or any other Prince, without the knowledge and consent of the other, to the prejudice of this Treaty. And, if any former Treaty made, be prejudicial to this, they shall be counted of less value and force than this.

XIII. Both Princes, appearing before the Cardinal of York as Judge, in what place he shall chuse, shall voluntarily submit to his Jurisdiction as Legate, and confessing themselves to be bound to observe this Treaty, shall require the said Legate to pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against them, if they violate the Articles thereof.

XIV. If the Princess Mary die, and so this Marriage take no effect, and it happen that the King of England have a Son, and the Emperor by some other Wife have a Daughter, *vel e Converso*; then Affinity shall be contracted by means of those two.

XV. This Treaty, till it take its effect, and be put in execution, shall be kept secret from the French.

It was agreed also, that this Treaty shall be signified to the Pope Adrian VI. and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principal Contrahent, if he accept it within three Months. The Venetians, if they will accept this Treaty 1518. within three Months, so, as (according as they ought by the Treaty of London) they will forsake the French, and declare themselves against him, shall be comprehended. The Swiss shall have this Treaty signified to them, and be pra-ctised to renounce the French, or, at least, to be Neutral. None shall be comprised in this Treaty, which is Enemy to either of the two principal Contrahents: For the rest, each may name his Friends.

The same day that this Treaty was sworn, Charles gave his Oath also to another Agreement, call'd June 19. the Indemnity; which was an Obligation, whereby he bound himself to save King Henry harmless for all the Sums of Money and Pensions, which were or should be due to King Henry from Francis, (upon former Agreements betwixt them) and now were or should be with-held by the said Francis, upon denunciation of War against him.

This was sworn in the presence of, Thomas Cardinalis Eborac. Legate and Chancellor of England. Mercurinus Comes Gattinaciae. Baro Ozane & Terrugie. Petrus de Moca Episcopus Palentin. Johannes Aleman. Thomas Bishop of Duresme. Lord Privy-Seal. Cuthbert Tonsall Doctor of both Laws, elect Bishop of London, Vice-Chancellor of England.

Lastly, Charles wanting Money for his present Occasions, our King supplied him abundantly, upon assurance given him of repayment. Charles having dispatch'd his Affairs here, and commanded his Fleet, consisting of 180 Sail, to meet him at Southampton is * accompani'd by our King to * June 22. Winchester. Before, yet, they departed, it was resolv'd betwixt them, to make use of some Venetian Gallies (then riding in our Ports) upon pretence of conveying the Emperor to Spain. Which proceeding yet, lest it should be thought abrupt, and prejudicial to our League with that State, was by Instructions from hence to Pace (his Majesty's Ambassador resident there) excused in great part, by alledging, that if they would make good the Confederacy enter'd into, 1518,

1522. 1518, they must not take it ill, that their Gallies were imploy'd against the French, as the first Violaters and Disturbers of the publick Peace. And when they would not join, it was but a just Punishment for their falling off. Which yet was not to be understood in that Rigour, but they should be restor'd in due time; as in effect I find they were shortly after. This being done, Charles having taken * leave of our King, goes to Southampton, and attends a Wind and the Convoy of our Admiral, who for better complying with the common Cause, according to the League 1518, was likewise constituted his; the Patent whereof for the rareness as well as honour of the Person, I have caus'd to be set down.

The Earl of Surry's Patent to be the Emperor's Admiral.

CAROLUS Quintus, Divina favente Clementia electus Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, Utriusque Siciliæ, Jerusalem, Hungariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatia, &c. Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Brabantia, Comes Habsburgi, Flandriæ, Tirolis, &c. Cum ita sit quod Serenissimus & potentissimus Princeps Henricus Octavus Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Frater, Avunculus, & Confœderatus noster charissimus, pro ejus Jure Fœderis quod cum eo nobis inter-cedebar, nuper Francisco Francorum Regi, tanquam Fœderum quæ cum nobis ambobus habebat violatori, Bellum justè indixerit, causamque suam cum nostrâ, qui ab eodem Rege Gallo invasi fuimus, conjunxerit, Classemque ob id maritimam inter ceteros Belli apparatus instruxerit, cui præfecit Illustrissimum Consanguineum nostrum charissimum Thomam Comitem Surrium, Ordinis sui Garterii Militem, Admiraldum Angliæ, Walliæ, Hiberniæ, Normaniæ, Vasconiæ, & Aquitaniæ; nosque pariter eundem communem hostem Gallum armis etiam maritimis urgere (ut par est) decreverimus, juncta ipsa nostra cum præfati Serenissimi Avunculi nostri Classis, reputantesque tum jam dicti ejus Admiraldi insignem Bello peritiam, fortitudinem, atque alias singulares virtutes, cui merito multa majora onera committi possent, tum quæ Conjunctis viribus armisque geruntur multo melius uno duce, uno Capite regi quàm pluribus: Eapropter non abs re duximus, si & nostræ ipsius Classis onus, Bellique maritimi provinciam eidem Angliæ Admiraldo destinaremus. Itaque in vim præsentium Literarum nostrarum, prædicto Illustrissimo Thomæ Comiti & Admiraldo, ac Classis prædicti Regis Avunculi nostri Capitaneo Generali eandem damus & concedimus auctoritatem, plenamque & omnimodam potestatem super Classem nostram maritimam, omnesque ejus Capitaneos, Milites, & Classarios, cujusque Tituli sunt gradusve & conditionis, quam ipse Admiraldus super Regis sui Classem habet, tam in honorandis Militibus. Equestrique dignitate quos dignos censuerit insigniendis, è contra verò malefactoribus puniendis, quas eis voluerit legibus statuendis, eorumque Causis cognoscendis, quàm in cæteris omnibus & singulis faciendis & executioni mandandis, juxta auctoritatem eidem à prædicto Rege suo concessam, ac quemadmodum alias spectat ad officium unius maritimæ Classis Capitanei seu Generalis præfecti, ipsiusve prædicti Admi-

raldi singulari prudentiæ convenire in omnibus visum fuerit, atque expedire. Mandantes ob id, atque expresse committentes universis & singulis Capitaneis, Vice-Capitaneis, Locumtenentibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Militibus, Magistris, Navicatoribus, Classariis, cæterisque Militibus omnibus tam equitibus quàm peditibus, in Classe ipsa nostra existentibus, aut futuris, quòd eidem Comiti Admiraldo & Capitaneo generali ac ejus in hac parte sufficienter Deputato intendentes, auxiliantes, & obedientes sint, in omnibus prout decet, contrasacientibus debitâ pœnâ non caricuri. Harum Testimonio Literarum manu nostrâ subscriptarum, nostrique Sigilli appensione munitarum. Dat. in Urbe Londinensi. Die VIII. Mensis Junii, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicesimo Secundo, Regnorum nostrorum, Romani tertio, Cæterorum verò omnium Septimo.

Per Imperatorem

CHARLES.

J. ALEMAND.

CHARLES V. by the Divine Favour and Clemency elected, most August Emperor of the Romans; King of Germany, Spain, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, &c. Arch-Duke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Earl of Habsperg, Flanders, Tirol, &c. Since it is so that the most serene and powerful Prince Henry the Eighth, King of England and France, our most dear Brother, Uncle and Confederate, according to the Tenor of the League enter'd into with us, hath most justly proclaimed War against Francis King of France, for his breach and violation of the Treaty concluded with either of us; joining herein with us who have been invaded by the said King of France: and to carry this on more effectually, hath among other warlike Preparations fitted out a Fleet, which he hath put under the Command of the most Illustrious Thomas Earl of Surry, our most dear Cousin, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gasconne and Aquitain: We likewise with the same reason have decreed to infect and invade the said common Enemy the King of France with our Forces at Sea, by joining our Fleet with that of our aforesaid most serene Uncle, both in consideration of the Valour, Skill and Courage, and other singular Vertues of the said Admiral, whereby he is rendered capable not only of this but even of a greater Trust, as also because whatsoever is undertaken by Confederate Forces and united Arms may be better executed by being under the Conduct of one Captain-General than many: Therefore we judged it not unfit likewise to place the charge of our Fleet, and the conduct of this War by Sea under the Command of the said Admiral of England. By these therefore our Letters Patents We grant and give to the said most Illustrious Thomas Earl of Surry, Lord High Admiral and Captain-General of the Navy of the aforesaid King our most serene Uncle, the same Authority, full and plenary Power over Our Royal Navy, the Captains, Soldiers and Seamen thereof, of what Degree, Title or Rank soever, which the said Admiral hath in the King his Master's Fleet: Both in promoting the Officers, in conferring the Honour of Knighthood on Persons of Merit, in punishing Malefactors, in giving out fitting Orders, judging and trying all Causes, as also in executing and appointing all and every thing under his Command, according to the Authority by the aforesaid King to him granted, and as the singular Skill and Prudence of him, as Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, shall on all Occasions judge needful or expedient

1522. to be done. To this end hereby strictly commanding and enjoining all our Flags, Captains, Lieutenants, Barons, Noble-Men, Officers, Masters, Pilots, Seamen and all our Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, that either now are or shall be in our Fleet; that they pay all Obedience, Duty and Respect to the said Earl their Admiral and Captain-General, or to any Person by him lawfully deputed, in all things as is fitting, as they shall at their Peril answer the contrary. In witness whereof We have subscribed this our Commission with our own Hand, and thereto affixed our Seal.

Given in London, June 8. 1522. in the third Year of our Reign over the Romans, and seventh over the rest of our Dominions.

By the Emperor

CHARLES.

J. ALEMAND.

June 11. The Earl, having accepted hereof by our King's consent, did, upon June 13. land his Men in Normandy near Cherbourg, and after having destroyed the adjoining Country, (sparing only Religious Houses) he return'd to Portland; whence setting sail again, he lands, July 1. at a place near Morlais in Bretagne, and with seven thousand Men marcheth thither; where our Master-Gunner having discharg'd a Piece so fortunately, that he broke the Wicket, some of our Men enter'd in the Smoak and open'd the Gate; whereupon the rest following, the Town was quickly sack'd, and burnt, and a rich Booty carry'd to our Navy. After which the Earl commanded sixteen or seventeen French Ships (he found on that Coast) to be burnt: And so, leaving his Vice-Admiral to scowre the Seas, he made certain Knights for their good Service, and return'd to Southampton, whence he conducted the Emperor to Spain, who taking Ship July 6. arrived July 16. at Saint-André. ¶ The English Garrison, this while, in Calais and Guisnes, and the French in Ardres and Boulogne were not idle, but took many occasions of invading each others Frontiers, among which one, related by Hall and Hollinshead, seems so memorable, that I have thought fit to insert it. Three hundred French Horse lying in Ambuscade near Guisnes, and sending some Horse before to draw out the English: A little Band of eight Archers issued forth, and maintain'd a Skirmish; at last twelve Demy-Lances (which Hall saith were all Welch-men) came to their rescue; the French perceiving this, issue forth with all their Horse; but our Demy-Lances charg'd them with that Courage, that, killing and hurting divers, they open'd their way to the Town: ¶ These so many occasions of making War, enforc'd the King to make use of his Subjects Affections; whereof that he might take the better notice, he caus'd a general Muster or Description to be made (this Summer) of all his Kingdom, commanding (as Stow hath it) out of a * Warrant directed to a Constable of a Hundred) that they should certify the Names of all above sixteen Years old; and that they should repair to a certain place assign'd, with their Arms, and declare what their Names are, and to whom they belong, and who is Lord of every Town or Hamlet, and who be Stewards, as also who be Parsons of the Town, and what their Benefice is worth, and who be Owners of every parcel of Land within the said Precincts, and what is the yearly value of every Man's Land, as also the Stock on the Lands, and who is Owner thereof; also, what Strangers dwell there, and of what Occupation they are; also the value and substance of every Person being above sixteen Years old, as well Spiritual as Temporal; also, what Pensions go thence to Religi-

ous or Spiritual Men. Which being certified again, the King (as Polydore saith) rejoyc'd, as finding his Kingdom so Wealthy: Howbeit, as he was not ready yet for a Parliament, he * borrow'd of the Citizens of London twenty thousand Pound, and sent Privy-Seals to divers other rich Persons of the Kingdom; in sequence whereof, he demanded a Loan (as I take it) of the tenth of the Temporality, according to the true value of their Estates, to be employ'd in the Wars, and a fourth of the Spirituality. But as this caus'd much grudging, so the Londoners (particularly) * alledg'd so many Reasons why they could not, upon Oath, give account of their Goods, and Wealth, especially as long as so much of their Stock was in other Mens Hands, that the Cardinal at last accepted their valuation of themselves, upon their simple Honesties. All which extraordinary ways of furnishing the present Necessities yet ended in a Parliament the next Year, as shall be told in its place. The King having thus yet gotten some Money, denounc'd open War to Francis, unless he made Peace with the Pope and Emperor. In sequence thereof commanding the Earl of Surrey (and not the Duke of Suffolk, as the French have it) after his attempts by Sea, to go over to Calais, and with convenient Forces to join with Horence d'Egmond, Count de Bure, General of the Emperor's Troops. These meeting together betwixt Ardres (lately demolish'd) and St. Omar, spoil'd and burnt all the Villages in their way till they came to Hesdin, in which Odoart Seigneur de Biez, with a strong Garison, commanded. But Autumn being now far come on, and the Weather very unreasonable, they could only take the Town, the Castle being stronger, than that it was thought fit to attempt it. They march'd therefore towards Dourlans, which they took, and burnt, with all the adjoining Villages. The Season continuing still very foul, and our Men falling generally sick, the Army separated, and the rather, that the two Generals could not agree about their Designs. Before yet the Earl of Surrey departed, he burnt Marquise, and some other places near the English Pale; which being done, he came home, and gave our King account of his Journey. Whereupon also Sir Thomas Bolen, and Richard Sampson Doctor of Law were sent to Charles in Spain, to advise what further was to be done.

The Duke of Albany, whom we left in France, was now recall'd by more than one Voice. For he was not only sent for by the vote of the Nobility and People of Scotland, but Queen Margaret her self invited him. Besides, it is probable, that Francis did not unwillingly connive at his departure, as hoping he would find our King enough to do at home. The cause why the State desir'd his return was, that their King was so young, and some of their Affairs were compos'd. But Queen Margaret had also her Reason: For being offended with the Earl of Angus for forsaking her at Harbottle 1516, and scandaliz'd much at the love he now bore to a certain Scotch Lady, she had endeavour'd, by the Duke of Albany's means, to procure a Divorce at Rome, alledging, among other Causes, that she heard, her Husband James the Fourth was living three years after Floddenfield, and therefore not dead when she marry'd him, (so much did that report prevail.) But because our King again oppos'd this, (as I find by our Records, whence I have the whole passage) nothing was presently done, though afterwards, new Motives appearing, she was divorc'd from him, as will appear in its place. The Duke, being now generally * welcom'd, banish'd the Earl of Angus with his Brother George into France, and caus'd his

Morlais taken by the Eng-lish

The Emperor sails to Spain. July 16.

A Skirmish between the English and French in Picardy.

A general Muster in England. Mar. 27.

1522.

May.

Aug. 20.

Aug.

An Expedition of the English into Picardy.

The Scotch Affairs. 1521.

1521. Octob 19.

1522. his Uncle *Garvin* the Learned Bishop of *Dunkel-*
den to be cited to *Rome*, for the rest summoning
January. a Parliament to begin 1522. whether our King
1522. sent *Clarenceaux* Herald, to require and command
The King the Duke to avoid the Realm, and if he would
sends *Cl-* not, to desie him. And that he might have
at Arms just cause to use this Language, he was to al-
into *Scot-* ledge unto the Duke, that he had broken an
land to de- expresse Article of the Treaty in coming over;
fie the neither could he pretend to have any Commis-
Duke of sion from *Francis*; who in a Letter to our King,
Albany in had disavow'd this Action so far, as he profess'd
full Parli- to be neither privy nor consenting to his Jour-
ament. ney. Besides, that there was danger of his aspi-
ring to the Crown, and that the Divorce he pro-
cur'd for Queen *Margaret*, was not without de-
sign to obtain her for himself. And this is the
substance of that wherewith *Clarenceaux* was to
charge him (as I gather out of several Collec-
tions;) howsoever, our Records tell us, that the
Duke of *Albany* reply'd, that, since his Recall
came from the Nobility and States of the Land,
he would retain it against all Kings. As for his
being suspected of Ambition to the Crown, he
answer'd, that he had rather enjoy his Means
in *France*, than pretend to that Regality. And
for Queen *Margaret*, he said he had indeed ne-
gotiated a Divorce in *Rome*, but with no inten-
tion to marry her himself, when he could; as
having a Wife of his own. Letters also were
sent by our King to the Parliament, whereby he
perswad'd them to reject the Duke. But they
answer'd that they would defend him against all.
Lastly I find, by an Original of Queen *Marga-*
ret, that our King writ to her also; for she
there expostulates sharply with him, for believing
those reports concerning the Duke of *Albany* and
her; defending nevertheless the said Duke's be-
ing in *Scotland*; adding, that, if he had not been
an unkind Brother, she should not have needed
to provide for her self, by the Duke of *Albany's*
assistance.

Feb. Our King finding this took no effect, in *Fe-*
bruary sent the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the West-
Marches, into *Scotland*, with about five hundred
Men, to Proclaim that the *Scots* should come in
to the King's Peace by the first of *March* fol-
lowing, or to stand to their Perils, which the
Duke of *Albany* suspecting would prove a War,
had provided by this time a great Army in the
Borders; unwilling yet to do more than to shew
his power to offend. For, besides that many of
the better sort judg'd wisely, that if matters
succeeded ill, they might be call'd in question,
when their King came to full Age: they were
not ignorant, how puissant an Enemy they pro-
vok'd; especially, at a time, when their Confe-
derates the *French* had so much to do elsewhere.
Therefore, although the Lord *Dacres* made some
Inroads into *Scotland*, and burnt divers Villages,

* July 30. joyning himself with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*,
Constituted Lieutenant General for the North
Parts; and that the Duke of *Albany* himself was
advanc'd so far as *Carlisle*, yet he retir'd; the in-
tercession of Queen *Margaret* prevailing for a
Conference to be had betwixt the Duke and the
Lord *Dacres*, wherein, all for the present was
quieted, whereof the Lord *Dacres* was glad, as
being somewhat surpris'd at that time. This

* Sept. 11. Conference yet brought forth a * Truce only,
for a few Days, upon condition that the *Scots*
should send Ambassadors into *England*, to desire
a Peace. But when they requir'd the *French*
might be comprehended, King *Henry* would not
consent, howbeit, the Truce was prorogu'd:
Whereupon the Governor, as finding the *Scotch*
Nobility unwilling to invade *England* on those
Octob. Terms, in *October* departs to *France*, to crave aid

of *Francis*, the event whereof we shall see the
next year.

But while these *Christian* Princes were in War
thus one against the other, the *Turk* who had
now long experience what harm the Knights
of Saint *John* of *Jerusalem* had done him in the
Archipelago, thought fit to invade the Isle of
Rhodes, (their chief Strength and Fortrefs at that
time.) Hereunto concurr'd a request which *Se-*
lim upon his Death-bed made unto his Son *Soly-*
man, wherein he not only exhorted him to re-
venge the Affront his Grandfather *Mahomet* suf-
fer'd, when he was repuls'd thence, but even as
a pious and devout Act recommended this En-
terprise to him. Such mischiefs hath Religion,
(which should be a new bond of Peace) autho-
riz'd unto Mankind, in more than one Age or
Country. It was not yet without much danger
that *Solyman* made this Attempt. For as he
brought near two hundred thousand Men into
a little and barren Island, so, if ever his Shipping
had through firing or ill weather been cast a-
way or destroy'd, he must have perish'd there
before the Town could be forc'd. But such was
the disunion of the *Christian* Princes, that they
lost their fair occasion; thus, upon Saint *John*
Baptist's * day (the more to despight the Knights)
this great Army enter'd the Island, (the *Turk*
himself following in Person a Month after) and
continuing the Siege till *Christmas*, upon which
day *Solyman* with great pomp enter'd *Rhodes*, be-
ing yielded upon composition by *Philip de Villi-*
ers a *French*-man, Great Master of that Religion.
Shortly after which, he, together with those
Knights that remain'd, sail'd towards *Rome*, and
other parts of *Italy*, where comfortless and er-
rant they continu'd, till by the intercession of
Clement the Seventh (sometimes Knight of that
Order) and the favour of *Charles*, they * obtain'd
Malta, where they now reside.

In November this year, a Diet being held at
Noremberg, *Adrian* sends to the Princes of *Germany*,
requiring them passionately to suppress *Luther*,
according to the Decree at *Worms*; confessing ne-
vertheless many abuses in Ecclesiastical Govern-
ment, inso much, that he doubted not to give
Cheregat his Nuncio Instructions to say, *In hac*
sancta sede aliquot jam Annis multa abominanda fuisse,
In these later years many abominable things had crept
into the Church, which he therefore promis'd, by
degrees to redress. But the message pleas'd nei-
ther side: The Cardinals at *Rome* disliking *Adri-*
an's free Declaration; and the Princes there, as
little approving the slow and indirect Courses ta-
ken for reforming the many Enormities then us'd
in the *Roman* Church, as may appear by their
Centum Gravamina; the particulars of which hun-
dred Grievances, I have thought fit to insert, not
with desire to affront any, but only that, pursu-
ing my Intentions, the Reader may find briefly a
true History of the times.

The Substance of the *Centum Gravamina*, of-
fer'd to Pope *Adrian* by the *German*s, was to this
effect:

I. That the Church hath both commanded
and forbidden divers things the Scripture did not:
As certain Obstacles of Marriage, Differences of
Meat, &c. all yet to be redeem'd for Money.

II. That People, who otherwise might justly
Marry, were yet forbidden it at certain times,
when yet both Ecclesiastics and Layics took then
their Carnal Liberty. Nevertheless that for Mo-
ney this restraint might be dispenc'd with.

III. That Indulgences (call'd there *Imposturae*)
and pardon for Sins, not only past but future,
did cause all Impiety and Wickedness, while Men
believ'd, *Modò tinniat dextra, while they brought*
Money

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A bold Re-
flection.

* June 24.
Dec. 25.
The *Turks*
take *Rhodes*
from the
Knights of
St. *John*.

* 1525.
Malta giv-
en them.
Novemb.
1521.

A free
Confession
of Pope
Adrian
VI.

The hun-
dred Grie-
vances
offer'd to
the Pope
by the
German
Princes to
be re-
dress'd.

1522. Money in their Hands, they shall have perfect freedom from all.

Articles in the Roman Church.

IV. That the Money for Indulgences, &c. was not employ'd the way it was promis'd, that is to say against the *Turk*, but towards their Friends and Kindreds Expence and Luxury.

V. That yet the Pope, Bishops, and other principal Persons of the Clergy reserv'd some cases to themselves, which none other can dispence with, and that this again cost them much.

VI. That the pardon of Sins for future times, brought in all mischief, as Perjury, Homicide, Adultery, and the like.

VII. That certain Preachers (call'd *Stationarii*) went up and down the Country, preaching the Lives of some holy Men or Saints, as *Valentine*, *Habert*, &c. promising the simple People, that if they vow'd themselves to those Saints, and pay'd such an yearly Tribute, they should be free from such Diseases, as they nam'd.

VIII. That the *Fratres Mendicantes*, call'd *Terminarii*, consum'd the Alms that the poor should have.

IX. That, at the instance of Ecclesiastical Persons, divers Layics were cited to *Rome*, to answer concerning businesses not belonging to that Court, as namely matters of Inheritance, Gages, and Pawns, &c.

X. That even Layics, upon their Oath that they cannot hope for Justice in *Germany* before their ordinary Judge, might bring their Cause to *Rome*, though otherwise it were prov'd that Justice were done, and the Party perjurd.

XI. That certain Judges call'd *Conservatores*, which were appointed by the Pope to determine the Causes of certain Ecclesiastics, did under colour thereof trouble all other places of Judicature, and derogate from the Temporal Authority, Excommunicating all that would not obey them.

XII. That certain Delegates and Commissaries of the Pope were often appointed to determine the secular Causes of any Person whatsoever, and to denounce Excommunication if they disobey'd.

XIII. That the Pope, by exempting certain Monasteries from the jurisdiction of their Bishops and Ordinaries, went about to draw an immediate dependance upon the Church of *Rome*, to the diminution of the Imperial Power.

XIV. That the right of Patronage belonging to divers Lay and Ecclesiastical Persons was (under colour of prevention) usurp'd by the Pope and his Legats, when Benefices were vacant, and that they did confer them usually upon Courtiers and their Favourites.

XV. That these Men either dying at *Rome*, or in their way thither, their Offices and Benefices were confer'd usually by the Pope, to the detriment of the true Patrons.

XVI. That divers undue means were practis'd to prove Men amply benefic'd to be Courtiers, and dependants on Cardinals.

XVII. The great Benefices or Ecclesiastical Promotions could not be confer'd on able Persons, unless Pensions were first given out of them to the Courtiers and Officers of the Pope.

XVIII. That, under pretences of making Benefices litigious, the said Courtiers and Officers drew thence great Pensions; and if the ordinary Statutes of *Chancery* serv'd not, they form'd and reform'd them as they pleas'd; also the Incumbent dying during this pretended Controversy, the said Pretenders invaded the Benefice, to the wrong of the Patron.

XIX. That the Collation of Deaneries, and other Ecclesiastical Promotions was often taken from the right Patrons by the Pope, especially if the former possessors were Courtiers.

XX. That in granting Benefices they us'd many Arts to get Money, under the names of Reservations, Permutations, Surrogations, &c. to the damage of the Patron.

XXI. That Courtiers often having Benefices in *Germany* confer'd on them, farm'd them out to Strangers who cannot speak the Language.

XXII. That Archbishops and Bishops were bound by their Chapters to bestow the best vacant Benefices, with Cure or without it, among themselves only, to the frustrating of many able Persons.

XXIII. That the Houses belonging to such Benefices were suffer'd to fall, and the People untaught, and the Statutes of Founders not observ'd.

XXIV. That divers Abbeyes, and Religious Houses, being deliver'd in *commendam* to Cardinals, and Bishops, did not feed now above five or six Persons, whereas heretofore they nourish'd forty or fifty.

XXV. That, whereas there were divers Collegiate Churches in *Germany*, into which none but Princes, Earls, Barons, or at least Gentlemen ought to be admitted; that now Courtiers, though inferior Persons, were receiv'd into them for Money.

XXVI. That, whereas in the bestowing of Benefices divers ancient Privileges and Immunities belong'd both to Ecclesiastical and Lay Persons, they were now by the policy of the *Roman* See, eluded or infring'd.

XXVII. That, whereas Annats were paid to the Pope by Ecclesiastics, and whereas the Princes of *Germany* did also pay them for divers years, upon condition the Money might be employ'd in War against the *Turk*; now because they understood the Money was otherwise dispos'd of, they desir'd henceforth to be eas'd of this great burden.

XXVIII, XXIX, XXX. That Ecclesiastics do not pay their due parts, either for a War against the *Turk*, or other publick Affairs; whereas having so great a portion of Revenue in *Germany*, they should furnish their reasonable share; and in this case the Church-Ornaments and Treasure are not to be spar'd, lest they come all together into the hands of the *Turk*.

XXXI. That, whereas Ecclesiastical Persons, being by taking Orders exempt from secular Justice; do thereupon take more freedom to commit Adultery, Murders, Rapine, and even Coining Moneys, to the no little scandal of Religion, and derogation of the secular Authority; and that their Superiors likewise never punish them, but being first degraded, (to which yet much Ceremony and Time is requir'd,) and that the said Superiors by their Chapters, are bound not to punish them otherwise.

XXXII. And whereas the leaving these Crimes unpunish'd, may cause Sedition and Tumult in the Laity, as finding the Ecclesiastics have not parity of punishment with them:

XXXIII. Therefore, they desir'd that Ecclesiastics and Layics may equally suffer for crimes of the same nature; and that no Order may privilege them from the Magistrate.

XXXIV. That whereas Banns and Excommunications ought to be us'd only when Men are convicted of Heresy; that yet Layics incur'd this punishment for small faults, and so were driv'n to desperation, and excluded from Divine Service.

XXXV. That divers also, who were not properly interest'd in the Crime of the Excommunicated Person, did yet suffer as Complices; and all this only that more Money might be gotten.

XXXVI. That when the Priest or Ecclesiastical

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cal Person was kill'd by chance, the whole Town or Village was interdicted, till compensation was made, and no regard taken of the occasion given.

XXXVII. That Holidays were in such number in Harvest-time, that People could not get in their Corn in due season; whereas, yet innumerable mischiefs were then done, rather than Gods Service frequented according to the first Institution.

XXXVIII. That the Revenues of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, destin'd for War against the Turk, were apply'd to Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, which were neither Germans, nor of the said Order, contrary to the first Institution.

XXXIX. That Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Prelats obtain'd from Rome Conservators and Delegates, whence so many grievances follow to the Layics.

XL. That Layics Goods and Inheritance might come to Ecclesiastical hands by purchase, or otherwise; but that Ecclesiastical Goods and Inheritance might never return to the Layics.

XLI. That when Ecclesiastical Persons, having Inheritance descended upon them, did die Intestate, divers Bishops did claim that Inheritance themselves, to the prejudice of the next right Heirs.

XLII. That, whereas the profits of certain Lands and Possessions Temporal, were sometimes casually transferr'd by Layics to Ecclesiastical Persons, they labour'd to retain the said Lands as their own for ever, by submitting them to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

XLIII. That Bishops would not confirm the Foundations of Ecclesiastical Benefices, unless the Founders gave them the first bestowing thereof.

XLIV. That they were forc'd to purchase the confirmation of them for great Sums of Money.

XLV. That, when by a Lay Person any Man were presented to a Benefice, he could not be invested therein, till he had paid as much as a years Profit, or two, to the Bishop and his Officers.

XLVI. That Bishops raise extraordinary Subsidies on the Priest under them, so that they cannot live unless they get Money again from the People. Insomuch that they will administer no Sacrament unless some Money be given.

XLVII. That many are made Priests who have not means to maintain the Charge, to the derogation of their Dignity, while they exercise some fordid Trades; and that they who can get six Voices for a Certificate, obtain Orders, when yet those Attestations were corruptly gotten.

XLVIII, XLIX. That more is exacted from the People for the Consecration of Churches than is needful; and that, though Layics bestow divers Gifts on the Church, as Altar-pieces, &c. yet Money is requir'd for their Consecration.

L. That if two or more fight in the Church-yard with their Fists, to the drawing of never so little Blood, the Town must pay for the new Consecrating thereof.

LI. That Suffragans us'd to baptize Bells, under pretence of driving away Devils and Tempests; and, for this purpose, did invite many rich Godfathers, who were to touch the Rope while the Bell was exorcis'd, and its name invoked, (unto which all the People must answer.) And that a Banquet was us'd to be made hereupon, at the cost of the Layics, amounting in little Towns to a hundred Florens, whither the Godfathers were to come and bring great Gifts, &c. whereas they desir'd that the said Bells might be baptiz'd, not only by Suffragans, but by any

Priest, with Holy-water, Salt, and Herbs, without such Costs.

LII. That, if in any Diocese a Solemnity for a new Saint were frequented, the Bishop us'd to take to himself a third or fourth part of the Offering, which yet ought to have been employ'd in War against the Turk.

LIII. That whereas some Nunneries were govern'd by Provosts, the Bishops refus'd to accept the said Provosts till the Nuns had given them Money.

LIV. That when any Abbot or Abbess was chosen, they must be Consecrated anew by the Suffragans, (though otherwise they were capable of the charge) and Feasts made, and great Sums paid. That also many Offices were invented in the Court of Rome, so that Bishops could not enter their charge without paying great Fees, which again they were forc'd to get of the People as they could.

LV. That Ecclesiastical Judges commonly were Persons of an idle Life, and intentive wholly to Gain.

LVI. That though the Plaintiff be Ecclesiastic, and the Defendant Layic, and that by the Law, *Aktor Rei Forum sequi debet*, the Cause is to be heard in the Defendants Court, yet the Cause was revok'd still to the Ecclesiastical Court.

LVII. That though Justice be neither delay'd nor deny'd in Civil Courts, yet the Ecclesiastical Persons drew matters of debt into their Courts, and oppress'd Men by their rigid Censures.

LVIII. That, whereas Citations and Monitories are granted against Layics, in many cases, which are known not to belong to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, yet that the Persons so cited, either can get no remedy herein, or that, before the Civil Magistrate can avoke the cause, so much Time and Money is spent, as is intolerable to the poor Suitor.

LIX. That Ecclesiastical Judges drew many causes to their Court, which belong'd not to it, as Ravishments of Virgins, some cases concerning Bastardy, &c. which yet they could not be drawn to remit to the ordinary jurisdiction.

IX. That, when a Man were wrongfully call'd before the Ecclesiastical Judges, and at last, after much charges dismiss'd, yet unless his Adversaries Proctor were satisfi'd to the full, he ran the danger of Excommunication.

LXI. That Layics, though by long prescription they paid neither great nor small Tenths, out of certain of their Lands, yet receiv'd Citations from Ecclesiastical Judges, and were constrain'd to pay, under the penalty of Excommunication; not daring to appeal to Rome, for fear of more excessive charges.

LXII. That all belonging to Ecclesiastical Persons labour'd also to take the advantage of the Ecclesiastical Courts, when they had any Suit against Layics.

LXIII. That, on occasion of injurious words only, Ecclesiastical Persons drew the Suit to their Courts, and suffer'd not the lawful Judge to determine it.

LXIV. That in all Causes where Oaths are interpos'd, Ecclesiastical Judges us'd to avoke them, upon pretence that matter of Oaths were not otherwise to be decided: which at last yet would wholly frustrate Secular Courts; there being so many Cases wherein Oaths intervene.

LXV. That, when their Judgments concern'd their Ecclesiastical Superiors, they dare not exercise it, but only let them run against the poorer sort.

LXVI. That they have invented many Re-formations, Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes wholly differing from the usual and Common Law; which

1522. which yet tend not so much to the good of the People, as their own private gain.

Abuses in
the Roman
Church.

LXVII. That, it being agreed by the Canons of the Fathers, that Spiritual Punishments should be inflicted for Spiritual and manifest Sins, Ecclesiastical Judges and Officers yet did extend and aggravate these punishments so far, that Layics were forc'd to redeem them with Money.

LXVIII. That Men and Women, being falsely accus'd, yet upon their purgation, they were so far from receiving satisfaction, that they were forc'd to pay for Letters of Absolution; and Oaths, besides, taken of malicious and wicked Women, upon words spoken when they revile each other; which made them often incur Perjury, and occasion'd much Offence.

LXIX. That, when business of Matrimony hath proceeded so far, that one of the Parties pretended a Contract, which the other deny'd, and that some Gifts, as Earnests of Marriage had pass'd betwixt them, the Ecclesiastical Judges yet separating the Parties, keep the Gifts for themselves, as forfeit or escheated.

LXX. That, whereas there are certain Causes so belonging to both Jurisdictions, as they are determinable by that Court which first questions them (as manifest Perjuries, Adulteries, &c.) yet the Ecclesiastical Judges forbid the Civil to meddle herein.

LXXI. That, upon pretences of Layics, that they cannot obtain of the Secular Magistrate execution of Justice, Citations were usually granted from the Ecclesiastical Court, or Breves to the Secular Judges, warning them in the space of a Month to end the said Cause, or otherwise that they would take Order; when, yet, the Cause being brought before them, depended often the space of three years, without that they would grant the like power to Secular Judges.

LXXII. That Ecclesiastical Judges, under colour of prescription, arrogated much to themselves, when as yet no prescription can avail against the Pope and Emperor.

LXXIII. That Offenders, after private Confession, being requir'd to do publick Penance before all the People, are compell'd also to pay Money to Ecclesiastical Officers.

LXXIV. That, instead of forbidding Usury, they permit it for Money given them; and that for an Annual Revenue paid, they permit Clerks, Religious and Secular Persons to live publicly with their Harlots and get Children.

LXXV. That, if one of the Marry'd Couple take a Journey either to the Wars, or to perform a Vow, to a far Countrey, they permit the party remaining at Home, if the other stay long away, upon a Sum of Money pay'd, to cohabit with another, not examining sufficiently whether the absent Party were dead.

LXXVI, LXXVII. That Synodal Judges, going to poor Towns and Villages every where, draw Annual Tribute thence or Excommunicate them, when they cannot pay: And that they draw Money weekly in many places, from Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, &c. under the same penalty.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. That they send Inhibitory Letters to Layics, forbidding them to proceed in their Suit, before the Secular Judge; whereby they are forc'd to submit to the Ecclesiastical Court, or otherwise to appeal to Rome.

LXXX. That many, not being able to endure the charges of Law in these kinds, are forc'd to make some bad bargain and composition, being not able to stand out.

LXXXI. That whereas Ecclesiastical Judges, by giving Oaths to the Advocates and Proctors attending in their Courts, did make them obnoxious, it was manifest their Clients could have

little hope of Assistance, when the Cause any way concern'd the said Judges or their Superiors. Neither was there any remedy for this, but by their admission of foreign Advocates, to whom yet so short a time was allow'd for bringing them to the Bar as they could not easily come.

LXXXII. That the poorer sort, being not able to pay their Duties to the Parson, were often deny'd the Communion.

LXXXIII. That Labourers in time of Vintage were Excommunicated, unless they took such Seasons as the Ecclesiastics prescrib'd, upon pretence that their Tenths might suffer damage thereby.

LXXXIV. That Synodal Judges, going Progress yearly under pretext of Visitation, and inflicting punishment on Offenders, took only occasion to exact Money.

LXXXV. That the Canons of the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, who had power to choose a Prelate or Superior, would not elect him, until he first promis'd and bound himself not to contradict them in any business, (how foul soever, and dishonest) and that if they offended, he should not punish them.

LXXXVI. That Livings belonging to Bishops, Monasteries, &c. were let forth to Vicars, at so dear rates, that they were forc'd to get Money again from the poor for Confessions, Anniversaries, Obits, &c.

LXXXVII. That, though Priests by their Foundation ought to sing such a Mass on such a day, yet they will have Money therefore. Besides, with one Mass they think to serve divers Benefices.

LXXXVIII. That if any of their Parishioners, for Marriage or other occasion quitted his House or Dwelling, he must pay so much to the Priest for Testimonials, or be Excommunicated.

LXXXIX. That whereas, by the Popes Canons, they only are deny'd Christian Burial, who without taking the Communion, died in any notorious and mortal Sin, yet their Ecclesiastics extended the Law further, and deny'd burial to Men deceas'd by chance, as drown'd or kill'd, until such Money were paid.

XC. That many Priests, and other Ecclesiastical Persons mixt themselves with the Multitude, dancing and disguising themselves, wearing Swords, with which they made Quarrels, and hurt People, and yet constrain'd them to pay.

XCI. That in most places, Bishops, and their Officials not only tolerated Concubinage, upon paying Money in the more dissolute sort of Monks, but exacted it also in the more continent; saying, it was now at their choice whether they would have Concubines or no.

XCII. That at the Dedications of Churches, permission was given to the Chaplains and Priests to set up Taverns, Dice, Cards, &c.

XCIII. That, at the point of Death, they perswaded Men by flattery and fictions, to give their Goods from their Children unto them.

XCIV. That Mendicant Friars, drew many Causes to Rome unjustly, to the grievance of the Layics, getting also so much Money, that they had lately bought three Cardinals Hatts for their Generals at a huge rate, and that they much molested Nunneries.

XCV. That the Legats and Orators of Popes made Bastards, and others born *ex damnato coitu*, from Marriages within the degrees forbidden, to be legitimate, to the no little wrong of the right Heirs.

XCVI. And that they made also certain Viscount Palatines as their Substitutes, having power also to legitimate and admit Bastards to Succession; and to make Notaries, when yet some of them are so ignorant, as they know not what

1522. what belongs to a Notaries place. Besides, the said Legats go about to absolve Men from their Oaths, Pacts, and Obligations, with permission to treat *de novo*; than which nothing yet was more contrary to Equity and Justice.

XCVII. Besides, that they endeavour'd to take Livings from the true Patrons, and bestow them as they pleas'd.

XCVIII. That, because Religious Persons succeeded Secular Men in their Inheritance, and not *vice versa*; there could be no equality, unless that before any enter'd into a Religious Life, they renounc'd their Succession in Temporal Estates.

XCIX. That the chief part of these Grievances having been represented in the late Diet at Worms, to the Emperor by the Lay-States, against Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, that yet no remedy ensu'd. And that therefore all the Secular States of the Roman Empire renew'd now their Petition to the Pope, that his Holiness would reform these Abuses.

C. That there are many Grievances more intolerable than these, which the said Secular States of the Roman Empire could shew, but (for brevity) did forbear, as hoping that when those were taken away, the rest would follow.

Wherefore, by way of final Petition, the said Secular States of the Roman Empire, both of the higher and lower sort, did beseech his Holiness to take away, amend and abrogate the said Grievances; or otherwise that themselves would take such course as should be expedient for the remedy thereof.

While, that his Holiness might take the better notice thereof, they thought fit to digest their Grievances into these Heads, and send them to his Holiness.

These Abuses and Grievances (which, as much as through the obscurity of some terms us'd there, was possible, I have endeavour'd faithfully to abbreviate) being publish'd; Luther became more obstinate, repenting now his Submission at Worms; insomuch that at Wittenberg, he doubted not to abolish the old Mass, and to frame a new Liturgy, &c. Of which more hereafter.

1523. Our King finding now his extraordinary ways for levying Money to fail, or at least having resolv'd to determine them in a Parliament, summon'd it to be held in the Black-Friars in London upon the fifteenth of April, in the fourteenth year of his Reign. And here the Cardinal took order that the Spirituality should lead. The business of Subsidy, therefore, being brought into the Convocation-House, found a fair way for the most part. Yet Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and one Philips oppos'd it. But the Cardinal, silencing some, and causing others to absent themselves, prevail'd at last. Insomuch that one half of the Revenues Spiritual for one year, was granted payable in five years following. Hence the Cardinal went to the House of Commons, where in an elegant Oration, breach of Faith was laid to the charge of Francis the First, upon the League sworn for the general Peace of Christendom. Besides, default of payment for Tournay, and other things were objected; so that the King could do no less in this publick Cause, than joyn in War with Charles the Emperor against him. And because the charge thereof was cast up to Eight hundred thousand pounds, it was requir'd, that the aforesaid Sum might be rais'd out of the fifth part of every Mans Goods and Lands to be paid in four years.

This being said, the Cardinal departed. The

next day Sir Thomas More, (Speaker of the House) inforc'd this demand, demonstrating how it was not much on this occasion, to pay four shillings in the pound. But the House of Commons answer'd, that though some were well Money'd, yet in general the fifth part of Mens Goods was not in Plate or Money, but in Stock or Cattel. And that to pay away all their Coin, would alter the whole frame, and inter-course of things. For, if Tenants came to pay their Landlords in Corn and Cattel only; and the Landlord again could not put them off for those things he had need of, there would be a stop in all Traffick and Merchandize, and consequently the Shipping of the Kingdom must decay; and the Nation it self for want of Money, grow in a sort barbarous and ignoble. To this was answer'd.

That the Money demanded ought not to be accounted as lost, or taken away, but only to be transfer'd into others hands of their Kindred or Nation; herein therefore, that no more was done, than that we see ordinarily in Markets; where, though the Money change Masters, yet every one is accommodated. Howsoever, that no Man ought to refuse unto him that fighteth for the honour and safety of his Country, so much as will maintain him; since he denies it not even to his Labourer. That those who are employ'd, must have been fed when they staid idle at home, and yet that they ask'd no more now, to give the uttermost proof of well-deserving Patriots. Howbeit, you may reply, this will exhaust the Coin from the poorer sort; but, to avoid this Objection, let the richer go themselves. Let them shew, in defending their Country, that they merit the better and greater parts thereof. Our King will not deny them this Honour. Or, when they would desire to be exempt, and lay the burthen and hazard upon others, let them not grudge yet the giving so poor a Stipend, as some of their Servants, at home, would scarcely take to stand bare-headed to them. Neither are they to value themselves more than others, because they have larger Possessions, unless they employ it to the publick Good; since, in ancient times, and even true Reason of State, they deserv'd not so much, who till'd and manur'd a Country, as they who defended it. Nor is it well said of you, when you object that this will carry the Money out of England, and leave it in France; for doth it not carry the Men too, and so in effect prove but the same Expence? Notwithstanding, if you be so obstinate, as to believe that making War in a Country brings Money to it, do but conceive a while, that, the French had invaded us, would the Money they brought over, think you, enrich our Country? Should any of us be the better for it? Let us therefore lay aside those poor Scruples, and do what may be worthy the Dignity and Honour of our Nation. When you did conceive the worst that can fall out, you should yet eat your Beef and Mutton here, and wear your Country Cloth; while others, upon a short allowance, fought only that you might enjoy your Families and Liberty. But I say confidently you need not fear this penury or scarceness of Money; the intercourse of things being so establish'd throughout the whole World, that there is a perpetual Circulation of all that can be necessary to Mankind. Thus your Commodities will ever find out Money; while, not to go far, I shall produce our own Merchants only, who, (let me assure you,) will be always as glad of your Corn and Cattel, as you can be of any thing they bring you. Let us therefore (in God's Name) do what becomes us, and for the rest, entertain so good an Opinion of our Soldiers, as to believe, that in stead of leaving our Country bare, they will add new Provinces to it, or, at least, bring rich Spoils and Triumphs home.

At last, after some debate and contention, it was agreed by the Commons, that every Man of Estate of twenty pound yearly and upwards, should pay two shillings in the pound; and from twenty pound a year downward to forty shillings, one shilling in the pound; and under forty shillings every Head of sixteen years

1523. Sir Thomas More Speaker of the House of Commons argues for it.

He is answer'd.

Argu-ments for the Tax.

That Money paid to the K. is not lost.

That such as serve the King ought to be paid.

That Gentlemen ought to serve.

Carrying out of Money in time of War excus'd.

April 19.

Cardinal Woolley demands 800000 pounds for the French War.

1523. years old or more should pay four pence, in two years. The Cardinal hearing no more intended, seem'd much troubled, and therefore, coming to the Lower House of Parliament, He told them, that he desired to reason with those who oppos'd his Demands; but being answer'd, that it was the Order of that House to hear, and not to reason, but among themselves, the Cardinal departed. Yet by the liberal motion of some of the Lower House, those of fifty pound Land and upwards, were induced to give one shilling more, (being three shillings in the pound) for three years to come, which at length being continu'd to the fourth year, and extended to those who were worth five pound in Goods, was all that could be obtain'd.

The more famous Statutes enacted this Parliament, fourteen, and fifteen Reg. Henry the Eighth, were these.

Laws pass'd in this Parliament about Blackwell-Hall Market in favour of Denizens. Concerning Aliens. That our Merchants might have eight days preference before Strangers, for buying of broad white-woollen Cloths, brought to Blackwell-Hall in London; unless in Fairs, Ports, Creeks, &c. That Strangers using a Handy-Craft, should take no Apprentices, nor above two Journey-Men, unless they were the King's Subjects. That they should be under the search and reformation of the Wardens and Fellowship of Handy-Crafts, and one Substantial Stranger, to be chosen by the said Wardens. That they should cause a Mark to be put on the Wares, and Workmanship, to be known thereby. That, if they were falsely and deceitfully made, they should be forfeit. That this Provision should extend to Strangers, living in other Towns than London. That, if Strangers were wrong'd, they might seek their remedy from the Lord-Chancellor and Treasurer of England, or the Justices of Assize in the Counties where they liv'd. That, during this Parliament, their Apprentices or Journey-Men might continue as before, and so to endure till the last day of the next Parliament. This Act yet was not to extend to Strangers of Oxford, Cambridge, and the Sanctuary of Saint Martins le Grand in London. That, if the Officers refus'd to put a Mark on the Wares, or Workmanship of Joyners, Black-Smiths, &c. being Strangers; that then it was lawful for the Strangers to sell them without the said Mark. That Lords and others the Kings Subjects of an hundred pounds yearly might take and retain Strangers being Joyners, and Glaziers, for their private Service, this Act notwithstanding. That English-Men living under Foreign Princes, and being sworn to them, should pay such Custom to our King, Subsidy and Toll, as other Strangers of those parts do. And that the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, or the King's Ambassadors in Foreign Countries, shall certify their Names to the Chancery, to the intent that Order may be given therein to the Kings Officers in Havens, Ports, and Creeks. Yet if any such English-man, did return to inhabit here, that then he should be restor'd to all liberties of a Subject.

A Colledge of Physicians (among whom was that famous and learned Linacer, chief Physician to the King) was erected, and certain Authorities and Privileges granted to them.

Moreover the Statute of 6 Hen. VIII. 13. for shooting in Cross-Bows, or Hand-Guns was dispenc'd with in Men of one hundred pound per Annum. That Coiners who make Money in any Mint in England, should coin of every hundred pounds of Gold, twenty pound into half Angels or pieces of xl. pence, and of every hundred pounds worth of Bullion, Plate or Silver, a certain portion into Groats, Two-pences, Pence, Half-pence, and Farthings (the Farthings to have a Mark different from the Half-pence.) That they who bring less than 100 pounds in Bullion or Plate

to the Mint, shall have the tenth part thereof in Half-pence and Farthings. That this yet shall not extend to the Mint-masters of York, Durham, or Canterbury. Concerning which Law, it is worth the noting, that though it was for the benefit of the Subjects, to have so much of the smallest sort of Coin, yet by reason of their liteness, it is all worn out.

That they which be in the Kings Service in Wars may aliene their Lands, for performance of their Wills, without any fine for Alienation. And, if any of them die in the Kings Service in War, his Feoffees or Executors shall have the Wardship of his Heir and Lands.

I find also in this Parliament, an Act for Attainder of the Duke of Buckingham. And another for the restitution of Henry Lord Stafford, Son to the said Duke.

Also an Act pass'd that the King shall, for his life have Authority by his Letters Patents at his pleasure to Reverse, Repeal, and Annul, all attainders of High Treason, and to restore their Heirs, &c.

While these Affairs at home were in agitation, the Cardinal * sending Thomas Anniball (Doctor of Law) to Pope Adrian then in Spain, obtain'd the continuance of his Legantine Power for five years more, which yet (saith Polydore) he made so venal, as if, to recompence the heavy Loans and Payments he had impos'd on the People, he would take order to discharge them of their Sins at an easie rate.

The King having sent divers times into Scotland, to require that his Nephew James, might have exercise of that Regal Authority which was due unto him, and the Duke of Albany discharg'd from his place of Vice-Roy, receiv'd so uncertain and dilatory Answers, that he thought fit to desist a while from his designs in France, and to pursue this. Therefore he makes a particular dispatch to Sir Thomas Bolen, Treasurer of his Household, and Mr. Richard Sampson Dean of his Chappel, resident then in Spain, requiring them to excuse him, if he did not proceed so roundly to the execution of the Treaty at Windsor, (formerly mention'd) since, for defence of his Nephew, he was constrain'd to take in hand the business of Scotland; yet that he would, in good time, perform all that could be requir'd on his part. Together with which they were charg'd, to intimate some jealousies he had of a near Alliance propos'd betwixt Charles and Francis; whereof he would gladly be clear'd. Presently after which, he sent the Earl of Surrey (Lieutenant of the Borders) commanding him to join with Marquis Dorset, (Warden of the East and middle Marches) and Lord Dacres Warden of the West Borders of Scotland. These Lords, having gather'd together convenient Forces, took Jedworth; and, making frequent Incursions, did great harm to that Country; without other intention yet (as the Scots have it) than to reduce that Nation to a better intelligence with England. Hereupon, the Duke of Albany, who was in France, prepares to return to Scotland. Our King, advertis'd hereof, sends out his Navy to intercept him. Sir William Fitzwilliams with 36 great Ships, cruising on the Coasts of France, and Anthony Pointz with a convenient Navy, guarding the Western Seas. While Fitzwilliams attended this occasion, he discover'd twelve French Ships, in which the Arch-Bishop of Glasgow and divers others of quality were, whom the Duke of Albany had sent before him into Scotland. Giving Chase to these, two of them were cast away near the Havens of Diepe and Boulogne. After which, Fitzwilliams, leaving part of his Fleet to shut up the French Ships, (which were

1523.

The Money coin'd in such little pieces, it soon were out.

Privileges to Soldiers.

M. S.

The King has Authority for his life to Repeal, and annul all Acts of Attainder. M. S. Mar. 9. Pol. Virg.

March.

April. A War with Scotland.

1523. were fled into those Havens) proceeded himself along the French Coasts, landing in divers places and wasting the Country; till at last he came to Treport, a Town strongly situated and Garrison'd with three thousand Men; which Fortifications our Men (though a far less number) gain'd, together with divers pieces of Ordnance, chasing the French that remain'd to the Town, yet finding it was not their business to lay a Siege at this time, they only burnt the Suburbs, and the Ships they met in the Haven, and so return'd. The Duke of Albany, knowing how narrowly he was watch'd by the English, had caus'd all provision for his return unto Scotland to be conceal'd, and made it to be rumor'd abroad, that he had no purpose to stir out of France this year: Which our King understanding, call'd home his Fleet. But it was no sooner in Harbour, than Albany halting together his Men and Ships, set sail at Brest; and, passing along the West Coast of England, landed in the Island of Arrain Sept. 24. to the great joy of the Scots, and with him came Richard de la Pole, and three thousand French. When Albany came, the minds of the Nobility were divided, some favour'd the English, some the French: It being disputed much before the coming of the Governor, to whether side it were best to adhere.

The Arguments of the English Party in Scotland for a League with England. The favourers of the English Party, which were many, alledg'd the conformity in Person, Manners, Language, and Laws betwixt the two Nations; their Living and Neighbourhood within the same Island; the Power the English had, not only to do more good or hurt, but sooner than the French could prevent them: That the English were Masters of the Seas, and thereby, able to stop, and interclude all succour that could come to them from any other place. Lastly, divers Letters were produc'd, written from our King to the Nobility of Scotland, wherein he did offer both to maintain Peace there, and to confirm it, by giving the Princess Mary his Daughter in Marriage unto James his Nephew, since he had vehement suspicions that Charles intended a March elsewhere.

Buch. The French Parties Answer. Those who favour'd the French (whereof many (saith the same Author) were gain'd with large Gifts, and Pensions, or were such, as, being of mean Fortune, desir'd to make their advantage in the publick Troubles) reply'd hereto, That credit was not easily to be given to the specious pretext of a new Alliance, the former having succeeded no better; especially, when all things in England were order'd chiefly Ex Arbitrio Thomae Woolsey Cardinalis pravi & ambiciosi, according to the Will of the ambitious and corrupt Cardinal Woolsey, (as Buchanan hath it.) That, the occasions of falling out betwixt potent Neighbours, being frequent; friends were to be fought out in any other place. Howsoever, their ancient Ally, (the French) was to be acquainted herewith, and no time to be lost for preparations to defend themselves.

These, though but cavils of the more tumultuous sort, being join'd to the rancor of others, prevail'd so with the heady Multitude, that, in the Parliament which the Governor summon'd as soon as he came to Scotland, it was presently resolv'd, that he should raise a puissant Army. These being gather'd, march to a Wooden Bridge over Twede, near Mul-Rosse, which leads to England; here the Duke pass'd over the greatest part of his Forces, intending the rest should follow; but because divers muttered against the causelessness and danger of this Attempt, he thought it his best Course, presently to bring them back again. Passing thence, he commanded Siege to be laid to the Castle of Werke, lately fortified

by the Earl of Surrey. Some French here, that, serv'd on the Scotch side, found means to enter the outer Court, in which the Cattel and Corn of the Neighbour-hood in dangerous times were usually kept. But the English, using no other manner of Repulse, set fire only to the Hay and Straw there, and smoak'd out the French: Hereupon a Battery was planted against the Walls, and a sufficient breach made; wherewith an Assault was given by the French and others, but being beaten back with the loss of many, and the Earl of Surrey being with a great Army not far off, the Duke desisted and retir'd, doing no more with his Army for that year, shortly after which by the mediation of Queen Margaret, a Truce was concluded. And thus our King quit- ted himself of the troubles which Francis stirr'd against him, in Scotland. Let us now look on Ireland, for there also Francis had his Projects. And Tillet sets down a Treaty between Francis and James, Earl of Desmond in June 1523. But, as it took no effect, by reason of Francis his business in other parts, so it hasten'd the second troubles of the Earl of Kildare, who though he had freed himself of his Imprisonment in England, by the favour he got upon his Match with Elizabeth Gray, Sister to the Marquis Dorset, and so was remitted home to his former charge, (Pierce Butler being upon some Accusations put out) yet, being Kinman to Desmond, he could not so behave himself, but that his Enemies found Arguments to traduce him; but of this in its place.

While these things were doing, the Kingdom of Denmark suffer'd a great change. For Christiern the Second succeeding his Father John, Anno 1514. the Swedes not long after rebell'd, making Steno Stura their Head, who yet being slain in Battel, and the Swedes overcome, Christiern commands his Body to be taken up and burnt; which with other Cruelties, made the Swedes take Arms again, under Gustavus Erixon, whom they made their King, and separated themselves wholly, from the Crown of Denmark: Christiern having thus lost Sweden, and incurr'd the hate of the Danes by his Tyrannical Government, fearing Conspiracy at home, and War from abroad, left his Kingdom to be invaded and taken by his Uncle Frederick, Duke of Holst; (whom the Lubeckers aided in the Enterprize) and, flying together with Isabell, Sister to Charles the Emperor and his three Children, (one Son and two Daughters) as voluntary Exiles from their own Country, went first to Flanders, and from Flanders with a small Train came hither. This Misfortune yet did not hinder them from finding a reception worthy their Degree; our Queen, being Aunt to his, taking particular compassion on them. After all manner of Royal Entertainment, therefore, for the space of about three Weeks that they stay'd, and divers rich Presents bestow'd upon them, they thought fit, upon some hopes given them of recovering their Kingdom, to depart hence again into Flanders.

The Duke of Suffolk, being attended by the Lord Montacute, Lord Herbert, Lord Ferrers, Lord Morney, Lord Sands, Lord Berkley, Lord Powys, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army of six hundred Demilances, two hundred Archers on Horseback, three thousand Archers on Foot, and five thousand Bill-men, besides two thousand and six hundred Prisoners came to Calais. To these again the Duke added one thousand and seven hundred more, taken out of the Garrisons thereabouts. With this little Army he march'd into the Enemies Country, taking all places that resisted him by the way. At last Florence d'Egmond Count de Bure General

1523

A Truce between the two Nations.

June.

Cambrian Hist.

Slaid. Com.

1514. The Swedes recover their Liberty.

Christiern K. of Denmark driv'n out of both the Kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark.

Comes into England.

The Duke of Suffolk passes over to Calais with an Army.

Sept. 20.

1523. to the Emperor, joyn'd his Forces; so that in all they made about twenty thousand Men, yet as it was now about the latter end of September, and the weather prov'd very unseasonable, it was difficult to perform any great Action. King Henry yet would have them begin with *Boulogne*; but the Imperialists said it was impregnable, and that for entering *France*, it were better to coast the River of *Soam*, which they did, their design being to come to a Battel, as being advertis'd that the *French* had long since attended their coming. But finding no Forces in the Field, they belieg'd *Bray* on the River *Soam*. In this Town, *Monsieur Antoine de Crequi, Seigneur de Pont-Dormy* commanded, with a strong Garrison; but a breach being made by our Men, and violently assaulted, *Antoine de Crequi*, having set fire on the Town, fled over the Bridge, with the Men that remain'd, drawing some Boards after him; but our Men laying on other Planks, and getting over, chas'd him, and kill'd divers of his Men. When they return'd, they found little sav'd from the Fire, but some Cellars of Wine, which, in that cold and wet time, was a great Relief. From hence, passing over *Soam*, they march'd towards *Roye*, taking by the way some lesser places. This Town being summon'd, and promising to yield, *Sir Richard Cornwall* with four hundred Men was sent to take possession of it. Thence the Army march'd towards *Montdidier*, where by the way *Monsieur de Pont-Dormy* meeting with some of our Horse scatter'd, put them to the worst. But at last, more of our Men coming, his Horse was kill'd under him, and he, mounting on an other, was constrain'd to flee. *Monsieur de Barniuelles* and *de-Canaples* yet stood the Shock, to favour the retreat of the rest; which part while they perform'd bravely, our Men overthrew and took them Prisoners, with some others of Note. From hence then they went to *Montdidier*, in which *Monsieur de Rochebaron*, with about 1200 Men, commanded. But, after some four hours battery of our Cannon, they capitulated and yielded. The Duke with his Army had now pass'd the River of *Oyse*, and was come within eleven Leagues of *Paris*, without that he met with any notable Encounter. The *Parisians* hereupon were much troubled. Neither could the coming of *Monsieur de Vendosme*, with some Forces, exempt them altogether from fear. But the time of year being far spent, and the weather falling out to be so extream cold, that almost all the Corn in *France* was frozen and spoil'd that year, (as the *French* confess,) our Men were forc'd to return. Besides, the Lady Regent in the *Low-Countries* withdrew pay from her Soldiers, and let all the charge fall upon our King Henry.

Is within
11 Leagues
of Paris.

By this
His Re-
treat.

It was not therefore misdoubt of any attempt of the *French*, (whatsoever they brag) they having no Army in the Field, but only the cause formerly alledg'd that made them retire. They took yet the Castle of *Bouchain* near the Emperor's Territories, before they departed, which yet together with the other places, was presently recover'd by the *French*. Our King, hearing now the Armies were dissolv'd, seem'd to be much incens'd: His intention being to keep and fortifie the places that were taken. Therefore he had commanded the Lord *Montjoy* with six thousand Men to reinforce the Troops. But, before the Kings pleasure could be certified to *France*, the Duke (who by reason of the foul ways left his great Ordnance in the Town of *Valenciennes*) was come, with the rest of his Army, to *Calais*; where he thought good to stay, till the Kings Anger were appeas'd, by the representing of those important and necessary Cau-

ses, that made him desist from any other Enterprize this year, wherewith therefore the King at last being intirely satisfied, he was receiv'd into his former grace and favour.

Francis finding now two of his Armies dissolv'd and ruin'd, resolves in Person to bring a third. For as he found his Auxiliaries more than the *French* Forces could command, and that, together, they had not their pay in due time, he intended now to remedy these faults. But this Voyage succeeded worst of all. So little can intervening Accidents, but especially those of War, be prevented by Human Wisdom. Being on his way now as far as *Lyons*, he hears three Armies were preparing against him; one on the part of our King, for *Picardy*; an other on the Emperors part, for *Burgundy* and *Champaigne*; and a third on the Spanish side for *Fuentarabie*. That on the English side yet astonish'd him most, as suspecting he had given our King enough to do in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Therefore, he stay's at *Lyons*, and sends *Bonivet* before with the greatest part of his Forces, consisting of the flower of the Nobility of *France*; in which also *Richard de la Pole* (return'd now from *Scotland*) was; and reserves the rest for the most urgent occasions. Only, he wanted *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, whom I find so considerable a Person at this time, both with our King and the Emperor, as I have thought fit to speak of him, with much particularity. The causes of Discontentment (as the *French* Writers have it) were many.

1523.

Charles D.
of *Bourbon*
deserts to
the Empe-
roi.

That, being of great Blood and excellent Parts, he was excluded from the Kings secret Counsel.

Dupleix.
The Cau-
ses of his
Desertion.

That, having done ill Offices to *Francis* in the time of *Louis XII.* *Francis* challeng'd him to a Duel, (which unkindness yet, *Francis* coming to the Crown effaced by giving him the Place of Constable.)

That he was deny'd to have *Renee*, Sister to Queen *Claude*, when yet she desir'd to marry him.

That (as is before mention'd) the King gave the Vantguard from him, being Constable, to the Duke of *Alencon*.

That having lay'd out much Money for the Wars of *Italy* out of his purse, the King not only refus'd to pay him, but detain'd some Pensions and Rents, which were due to him for divers years.

That a Procefs or Law-Suit was brought against him, about the Dutchy of *Bourbon*, being inheritance devolv'd to him, in right of *Susan* his Wife lately dead.

That *Louise* the Kings Mother, persecuted him, because he refus'd to marry her, and was a Suitor to *Renee*.

That the Chancellor and others oppos'd him, for the sake of *Louise*, who was in greatest Authority.

These again being industriously fomented by *Adrian de Croy, Seigneur de Beaurain*, on the Emperors part, and *William Knight*, Doctor of the Law, Resident for our King with the Lady *Margaret*, and lastly by *Sir John Russell*, who in disguis'd Habit often treated with him, (as I find by our Records) made him finally Revolt. Neither did our King make difficulty to appear herein. *Francis* having not only supported *Richard de la Pole*, but treated with *Desmond*; so that finally, Conditions were agreed on with *Bourbon*, to this effect;

Mari.

That he should marry *Leonora*, Sister to the Emperor, and Wife to *Emanuel King of Portugal* lately dead.

The Arti-
cles be-
tween the
Emperot
and him.

That he should be King of some part of *France*, as soon as *Francis* was outed.

That

1523. That the Emperor should have Burgundy, and Artois, and our King Normandy and Guyenne, and the Title of King of France; and that, besides, he should renounce all the Claim the French pretend to Italy.

Francis Visits him. This yet was not kept so close, but some notice of it came to Francis, who thereupon with a singular freedom, did visit him, at Molins, fain- ing then to be Sick, and discover'd the Intelli- gence given him; promising yet that all should be forgotten upon his Confession, and assurance to serve him faithfully in his Wars; giving fur- thermore his Royal Word, that the Inheritance now in question should be restor'd, when it were by Law evicted. Bourbon thus surpris'd, and counterfeiting his weakness still, confess'd he was indeed fought to, but would never condescend to any Disloyalty. The King hereupon de- parted well satisfi'd in appearance; but as the Process or Law-suit went on, and some secret Guards were put on him; Bourbon, offended, escapes in a disguis'd Habit to Genoua: Whither the Seigneur de Beaurain came from the Emperor to offer him his choice, whether he would com- mand the Imperial Army in Italy, or come to Spain (where Charles had newly extinguish'd a Rebellion in Majorca, and given order to besiege Fuentarabie.) But Bourbon chose to command the Army, both as it was more generous, and as he did thereby comply best with both Princes; to whom he was oblig'd (as I find by our Records,) to furnish five hundred Men at Arms, and ten thousand Foot, for performing the Agreement betwixt them. But Francis had also other strong oppositions; for though he labour'd to retain the Venetians; yet as that State consider'd Italy would be quieter when Francisco Sforza held Milan, than if it came under the domination of the French, they easily abandoned Francis.

Aug. 3. A League against France. Whereupon a League was enter'd into, be- twixt the Pope, the Emperor, Ferdinand, Fran- cisco Sforza, Julio de Medicis, the Florentines, those of Siena, Lucca, and Genoua; and the Vene- tians; place being left also for our King; by which it was concluded, among other things, that the Venetians should furnish six thousand Foot, and one thousand two hundred Horse, when Francisco Sforza in Milan, or the Emperor in Na- ples, were invaded.

Aug. 11. That the Emperor should do as much for them, in the like case. All parts thus tending to War, Bonivet using much diligence, march'd strait to Milan, where Colonna had retir'd himself; the Army of the League being not yet joyn'd. But Galeazzo Vis- count of Milan, meeting and desiring him to stay, till he had rais'd a Tumult in the City (where- of he assur'd him in two or three days) Bonivet lost his opportunity; Colonna using that space to put the Town in such defence, as Bonivet re- tir'd. Yet so, as he forgot not to relieve the Castle of Cremona, the Garrison whereof was reduc'd only to eight Persons. Neither did he more of Importance (though Colonna now dy'd) but attended six thousand Grisons, and eight thou- sand Swisses; but as the Grisons, finding their passage seiz'd on, return'd; so the Swisses, be- cause they wanted only four hundred Horse to convoy them, (according to the Agreement made) refus'd to come to the French, when the Imperi- al Army, now united, was approaching. This made the French wade through the Water, to joyn with them. But Bourbon, and the Imperia- lists passing also, charg'd the French so, as Boni- vet being hurt escap'd, and the Count de Saint Poll and Bayard sustain'd the Shock. When Bay- ard having receiv'd a Mortal hurt, (whereof he dy'd, leaning on a Tree, with his face turn'd to

the Enemy) all the Army was routed, and the Ordnance and Baggage taken. Whereupon also Alessandria, Rhodes, and other places were ren- dred. At Fuentarabie, Francis had no better for- tune. For Frauget Governor thereof, being de- sirous to save his Goods, yielded the place with- out much constraint, towards the end of Sept. 1523. for which he was degraded upon a Scaffold at Lyons publicly.

Notwithstanding all these Oppositions, yet Francis lost not his Native Courage, but proceed- ed in his design for Italy. For as he knew the Army of the League had different designs, he hop'd some occasion or other would disunite them; neither did it trouble him that Sforza was put in the possession of Milan: For he knew the Imperialists would hold a hand high and hard enough to disoblige him. Besides, he found that a design the Emperor had on Burgundy, fail'd, for want of Money to pay certain Lam- quenets, who thereupon were drawn to his Ser- vice.

Adrian's Death this while intervening, through Poyson, (as some have it,) Cardinal Woolsey hearing thereof, by a Letter dated 30 September 1523. adviseth the King hereof; adding fur- ther, that his not being at Rome, was the only obstacle that could hinder him from obtaining that Dignity. Yet, that he thought none there present would be Elected, by reason of the Fa- ction among them. Therefore he humbly in- treated his Highness, that, since heretofore he thought him worthy of that Charge, he would now assist him. This Letter also was seconded by an other, dated October the first, desiring the King to write with his own Hand to the Empe- ror, to this purpose. Notwithstanding all which endeavours, he being, about two Months after, inform'd that Julio de Medicis was made Pope, by the name of Clement the Seventh, thought fit, for justification of his Merit, to write again to our King, that the business was not yet so clear- ly carry'd, but that many of the Cardinals con- curr'd on him; though, by reason of his Ab- sence, and the dangerous state of Italy, (which requir'd present remedies,) they insist'd on the other. Whereupon it was thought fit by the King and Cardinal to send to John Clerk, now Bi- shop of Bath, Secretary Pace, and Thomas Annibal, Doctor of Law, and Master of the Rolls then Resident at Rome, a dispatch, requiring them to congratulate his Election, and together intreat him, not only to continue the disaffection he had ever shew'd to the French, but to give pub- lick Testimonies thereof according to the great- ness of that power which now was in him. The Cardinal, also by a particular dispatch, desir'd Richard Pace to procure, that his Legantine Pow- er might be amplified; protesting that, by rea- son of the Kings Prerogative, and other Causes, it was not a thousand Ducats yearly to him: Yet, if that his Authority and Faculties might be en- larg'd, that it should be thankfully acknowledg'd. All which Clement condescended unto, and the Legantine Power, which Adrian granted only from five years to five years; was now (by a new ex- ample) given him for term of Life, Jan. 9. 1524.

Thus had Woolsey (to comfort him for his re- pulse in Rome,) a kind of Papal Authority in England; whereof, also, he made the uttermost use. Though, while amongst other Visitations, he would needs visit the Freres Observants, he found himself resisted; which yet he could not take ill, the Pope having desir'd him particularly to spare them.

Vol. II.

I 2

While

1523.

Sept. 14. Pope Ari- an dies, suppos'd to be poy- son'd. Sept. 30.

Octob. 1. Woolsey dis- appointed of the Pa- pacy a se- cond time. Nov. 19.

Decemb.

Woolsey made Le- gate for Life. March 22. 1522.

Aug. 31.

1523.
Skirmish-
es in France
and Scot-
land.
Hall.

1524.

Decemb.
1514

Woolley
builds a
Colledge
at Ipswich
and Christ's
Church in
Oxford.

The Num-
ber of
Students
and Pro-
fessors.

While these greater Exploits in France and Scotland pass'd thus, many brave Actions with small numbers were perform'd in the Confines of the English and French Pale, insomuch that a company of Adventurers there, nick-nam'd the Crackers, grew very famous thereby; till, being at last oppress'd by the Count Dan-martine, who with one thousand five hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot, assail'd them, being only one hundred seventy five Foot, and twenty five Horse, they took their end: which happen'd not yet till they had fought it out, to the last Man. The like feats also were done, between the Borders of England and Scotland on either side, some of which our Chroniclers particularly relate. But as these Wars in several Countries, drave the King to an excessive charge, so, in October this year, it was requir'd, from all Men worth forty pound, that the whole Subsidy, granted in Parliament, and payable in four years, should be anticipated, and brought to the King in one entire payment.

This the Commons imputed to the Cardinal, but he apprehended it not, as thinking his Ecclesiastical Dignity would ever prove a sufficient protection for him against the hate of the People. Therefore, he doubted not to be the Author of many rash Counsels, upon pretence only of furnishing the Kings Necessities; neither did he believe, that, when he had precipitated the Royal Authority to violent and dangerous Courses, himself should fall: As thinking his place in the Church so high, as would give him leave ever to look securely upon any ruin, some Arguments whereof appear'd in his design to build two Colledges, one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich (where he was born) at the price of throwing down certain Monasteries, and appropriating the Revenues thereof to this use. The design for the Colledge of Ipswich, was to erect only a Grammar School, to train up the youth till they were ready for the University; but that in Oxford (call'd first Cardinal's, then King's Colledge, now Christ's Church) was nobler; for the building was intended most ample and magnificent, (as the Foundations and first Lines demonstrate,) the number of Students, Professors, &c. great; as appears by a Catalogue found among our Records, and inserted here.

Decanus.
Subdecanus.
Sexaginta Canonici primi Ordinis. — } Omnes Studiis
Quadragesima Canonici secundi Ordinis. — } incibituri.
Tresdecim Presbyteri Conducitii. — } Omnes Divinorum Ce-
Duodecim Clerici Conducitii. — } lebrationi quotidie
Sexdecim Choristæ. — } inservituri.

Professores Collegii & Academiae publici.
Sacrae Theologiae. — Medicina.
Juris Canonici. — Artium Liberalium.
Juris Civilis. — Humaniorum Literarum.

Professores Privati & Domestici.
Philosophiae. — Sophistriae.
Logices. — Humaniorum Literarum.
Censores Morum & Eruditionis, Quatuor.
Praefecti Aerarii, Tres.
Vacantes colligendis Reditibus, Quatuor.
Ministri Communes Collegii, Viginti, in re.
Oeconomica praedictis subservituri.

Summa totius numeri, Clxxxvi.

Assignantur item annuatim non mediocres pecuniarum Summae, Partim in excipiendis Convivio extraneis insumendae; Partim in Eleemosynas singulis anni quartis erogando. Praeter sumptus equitii, ac aliorum, quae in tanta familia in-dies occurrunt, & sunt necessaria.

The Dean.

Subdean.

Sixty Superior Canons. } all to reside at their Studies.
Forty Petty Canons. }
Thirteen Chaplains }
Twelve Singing-Men. } for the Chappel Service.
Sixteen Choristers.

Publick Professors of the College and University.
Of Divinity. — Physick.
Canon Law. — Liberal Arts.
Civil Law. — Critical Learning.

Private Lecturers and Tutors to read
Philosophy. — Sophistry.
Logick. — Critical Learning.
Four Censors to inquire into the Students Manners and Studies.
Three Bursers.
Four Rent-Gatherers.
Twenty Inferior Officers and College Servants.

In all 186.

Besides whose Salaries, a considerable Sum of Money was yearly to be allowed, partly for keeping Hospitality, and entertaining Strangers; partly for Charity to be quarterly distributed: As also for Horses, Travelling Charges, and other Necessaries, which in so large a Family, cannot but be very many every day.

I find also, that about 1524, he sought in Italy and elsewhere, for able Men to be his Readers. Among whom at this time the Excellent John Ludovicus Vives (a Spaniard) was sent to him to be Professor of Eloquence in Oxford. And, for Books, he sent to have the rarer sort copy'd out of the Popes Library.

These so great Preparations, made the Cardinal use many rigorous means of getting Monies, as by visitation of Religious Houses, &c. and at last by the ruin of divers. To perform this yet, he was to obtain the consent of the Pope and his King. The Reasons represented to the Pope, were I suppose of this nature.

That his Holiness could not be ignorant what divers effects this new Invention of Printing had produc'd. For as it had brought in and restor'd Books and Learning, so together it hath been the occasion of those Sects and Schisms which daily appear'd in the World, but chiefly in Germany; where Men began now to call in question the present Faith and Tenents of the Church, and to examine how far Religion is departed from its Primitive Institution. And, that which particularly was most to be lamented, they had exhorted Lay and Ordinary Men to read the Scriptures, and to pray in their vulgar Tongue. That, if this were suffer'd, besides all other Dangers, the common People at last might come to believe that there was not so much use of the Clergy. For if Men were perswaded once they could make their own way to God, and that Prayers in their Native and Ordinary Language might pierce Heaven, as well as Latin; how much would the Authority of the Mass fall? How prejudicial might this prove unto all our Ecclesiastical Orders?

That there were many things to be look'd to in these Innovators, but nothing so much as this; since it was clear, that the keeping of the Mysteries of Religion in the hands of Priests, had been a principal means in all Ages, of making the Priesthood Sacred and Venerable. That these Mysteries and Rites therefore, as the greatest Secret and Arcanum of Church-Government, should be preserv'd. Nay, that the Clergy should rather fly to Tropes and Allegories, if not to Cabala

1523.

He ruins several Religious Houses to answer the Expence.
The Reasons he gave the Pope for it.
Printing the occasion of Schism.

He laments that ordinary Men were exhorted to read the Scripture.

An Instance of Priest-Craft.

Religion should be kept a Mystery.

1523. *Cabala* it self, than permit that all the parts of Religious Worship, though so obvious, as to fall easily within common understandings, should be without their Explication; since it might be well question'd, whether the Essence of Religion, (consisting in the Doctrine of good Life and Repentance) might be held sufficient alone to exercise even the most vulgar Capacities; unless frequent Traditions concerning former times, and such obscure passages as need Interpretation, did concur. In which state of things therefore, nothing remain'd so much to be done, as to prevent further Apostacy. For this purpose, since *Printing* could not be put down, it were best to set up Learning against Learning; and, by introducing able Persons to dispute, to suspend the Layity, betwixt Fear and Controversies. This, at worst yet, would make them attentive to their Superiors and Teachers. All which being maturely weigh'd by his Holiness, it was not doubted but he would advise, and commend to all *Christian* Princes, the erecting of new *Colledges* and *Seminaries* for the advancement of Learning; and here in *England* particularly, where many favourers of *Luthers* Sect, but especially of *Zuinglius*, did appear. Yet because his Holiness by our Ambassadors at *Rome*, had divers times been inform'd of the great expences of his King in the Wars he had made with *France* and *Scotland*, he did not think it the best course to desire any Money out of his Purse. That therefore he had thought of another expedient; which he humbly offer'd to his Holiness; which was, that in regard the number of Monasteries was greater in this Kingdom, than that there could be found Learned Men to supply them; that it were not amiss to diminish the one a little, to increase the other. That as this would take away the objection of *Ignorance*, where-with the new *Seſtaries* in *Germany* had so much branded the *Clergy*, so it would furnish able Persons to resist their Doctrine, and uphold the Credit and Reputation of the *Roman* Church. Therefore he would be an humble suppliant to his Holiness, to give him leave to throw down a few superfluous Monasteries, and to imploy the Revenues of them to the building of two Colledges; one at *Oxford*, th' other at *Ipswich*; and to believe, that all things being rightly considered, the fall of those few, might be a means to keep up the rest, especially since, in this Kingdom the number of them was thought excessive.

Reasons for suppressing them to the King.

To the King; as he needed not to use those Motives, so he discreetly conceal'd such as might discover the secrets of Ecclesiastical Government. For certainly, what fault soever might be objected to the *Cardinal*, he seem'd still a devout Servant to his Religion, as aspiring thereby unto the *Papacy*. Therefore, he said little more unto the King, than that it was fit so learned a Prince should advance Learning, and maintain that *Faith*, whereof the Pope had made him the *Defender*. For this purpose, he should advise him to found more *Colledges*. Yet because his Wars and other Occasions had so exhausted his Treasury, he would ask no more, than that the care thereof should be committed to him; who, if his *Holiness* so thought fit, would only suppress some little and unnecessary Monasteries, and imploy the Revenues to this use. King *Henry* also considering, that if, for his urgent Occasions, he were necessitated at any time to seize on the other Religious Houses, he might this way discover how the People would take it, grants his Request. Our King thus concurring with the Pope, who, in favour of the *Cardinal* gave way to this Suppression, that Overture was first made,

K Henry approves of it as a good Example for him. The Pope consents to it.

1524. which being pursu'd afterwards by the Kings sole Authority, became the final ruin of all Monasteries.

Clement the Seventh hearing of the preparations of these great Princes, had sent in the beginning of this year an express *Legat*, which was an Archbishop of *Capua*, with Instructions to procure an *Union* betwixt them against the *Turk*. He had already been with *Francis* and the Emperor, without effecting any thing; and was now come to our King; but finding the same difficulties, he was forc'd to return, without other satisfaction, than a particular of the Demands by our King made, and the Reasons of them; which our Cardinal promis'd also to certify unto the Pope. Therefore, in a particular dispatch to *Rome*, he wish'd our Agents there, to shew an inclination to Peace; reserving, nevertheless, one ear open to the exploits of *Bourbon*; whose prosperous success in *France* (he said) might be such as to alter the case. Howsoever, that the place of the Treaty might be *Calais*, whither himself offered to come in Person.

This while (in the beginning of this year) the Princes of *Germany* held a Diet at *Noremburg*, whither *Clement* (the new Pope) sent as Legate Cardinal *Campegius*; much complaining of their *Peſtula* or *Gravamina* the last year, since many Points in it smelt of Heresy. About April also the Emperor from *Spain* sends to the Princes at the Diet, desiring them to see the Decree made at *Worms* against *Luther* (1521.) to be observ'd. (Thus to comply with the Pope it seems, whom he desir'd to retain on his side against *Francis*.) The Princes nevertheless at the conclusion of this Diet, made a Decree, that as soon as might be, the Pope by the consent of the Emperor should call a Council in *Germany*; and, in the meantime, things to be ripen'd for a peace in Religion, &c. This second urging of a Council (for it was press'd also the last year to *Adrian*) provok'd much Pope *Clement*; who, knowing our Kings zeal to the *Roman* See, and particular hate of *Luther*, sent a Letter to King *Henry*, complaining of this behaviour of the Princes of *Germany*; and to win our King the more, he sent him a Rose of Gold, (consecrated and curiously wrought) by *Thomas Hannibal*, (who now return'd) as also a Bull, seal'd with Gold (*Dat. tertio Non. Martii*) for Confirmation of his Title of *Defensor Fidei*.

In the mean time, by frequent dispatches, the Cardinal, in our Kings Name, urg'd *Bourbon* to undertake his Expedition into *France*; to which purpose our King was to allow him an hundred thousand Crowns a Month. *Bourbon*, on the other side, requir'd that our King, or his Lieutenant, should at the same time enter *Picardy* with an Army; which was promis'd. When (having giv'n Oath to acknowledge *Henry* the Eighth King of *France*) he advanceth towards *Provence*, June 24. (on the Emperors part *Monsieur de Beauvain* attending him; and on our Kings, *Richard Pace*;) and in the beginning of July enters *France*; where, proclaiming liberty to the Common People who willingly came in, he took divers Towns. Nevertheless, his course was staid. For, although he had a Fleet of the Emperors to second him, coasting along the Shoar, to bring Victuals to the Army: Yet the *French* Navy being too strong, kept them off, and so intercepted their Provision. The supplies also of Money to be sent him by the Emperor and King of *England* were slackned; for each of these Princes fear'd lest the other should reap the fruit of this Expedition; and *Charles de la Noy* the Viceroy of *Naples* was thought, besides, to be willing that *Bourbon* should be repuls'd, as one whom he envy'd for being made Lieutenant in his

1524.

March.

Jan. Pope Clement VII. says the Articles of Grievances sent from Germany smelt of Heresy. April. May 8. 1521.

April. 18. The German Diet decree that a Council should be call'd.

May 16.

May 19.

Bourbon owns K. Henry to be King of France.

June 24.

July 2.

He enters that Kingdom.

1524. his place. Yet, for all this, *Bourbon* lays siege
 Aug. 19. to *Marseilles*, but in vain; for it being stoutly
 defended by *Renzo de Ceri*, and *Philip Chabot*, *Francis*
 also with a great power coming to relieve
 it, at the same time *Bourbons* Soldiers mutined
 Heretires for want of pay, (although Sir *John Russel* had
 newly brought twenty thousand pound Sterling
 Sept. 27. from our King;) the Siege broke up, and the
 Duke embarking his Cannon, retir'd to *Genoia*
 with some loss, the Prince of *Aurange* being taken
 Prisoner there.

Octob. It was now mid-October, and a season, in all
 probability, not to begin any great Enterprize.
 Nevertheless *Francis* who had left *Claude* his Wife
 July in *July* last, and left *Louise* his Mother Regent
 of *France* during his absence, pursu'd his design
 to conquer *Milan*; contrary to the advice of the
 Pope (who perswaded Peace) and of his Coun-
 sellors; (who at least advis'd him not to go in
 Person.) *Charles de la Noy* hearing this, puts *An-*

Francis I. *tonio de Leyva* in *Pavia*, with twelve thousand *Span-*
 his Expe- *iards*, and six thousand *Lansquenets*; and with the
 dition in- rest of his Army hastens to *Milan*. But as he
 to Italy.

The French enter *Mi-* *lani*. *Francis* being presently inform'd hereof,
 advances his Army; yet so, as according to an
 ancient Military Rule, he would not leave so
 strong a place as *Pavia* behind him. But the ob-
 serving hereof cost him dear. While he laid
 siege to *Pavia*; the Imperialists were but in an
 ill Estate; the Pope at most standing as Neuter;
 the *Florentines* friends but in appearance only;
 the *Venetians* excusing themselves, as suspecting
 the Emperor, in that he would not sign the In-
 vestiture of *Milan* to *Francisco Sforza*; and our
 King, instead of giving more Money, requiring
 that which was due to him, (being 133000
 Crowns yearly, in regard of the Pension with-
 held by *Francis*;) which yet being refus'd by
Charles made him averse. Besides, he consider'd
 the designs of the Emperor were only on *Italy*.
Francis on the other side had a flourishing Ar-
 my, consisting of about thirty thousand, where-
 of yet the most part were Mercenaries and
 Volunteers; and therefore particularly mention'd
 by me, as not remembring to have read in any
 History, that so many of this kind (being irre-
 gular and properly under no command) should
 be admitted to the hazard of disordering a whole
 Army. And for the other part, being Mercen-
 aries, he had found them slow, wilfull, of small
 trust, and oftentimes venal; though it cannot
 be deny'd, that those whom *Francis* in particu-
 lar now us'd, have been reputed in all times a
 valiant constant Nation. All which I have the
 rather observ'd, that the success which *Francis*
 had not long after, might seem less strange un-
 to the Reader. The Nobility that came with
 him were indeed principal Persons, *Henry d'Al-*
bret, (the Titular King of *Navarre*) the Dukes
 of *Lorain*, *Longue-ville*, *Alencon* and *Albanie*, (who
 the Spring before had left *Scotland*, upon prom-
 ise made him by the Nobility, that nothing
 should be innovated there, till his return) The
 Counts of *St. Paul*, *Vaudemont*, *Laval*, the Mar-
 shals of *Foix*, *Chabanes*, and *Montmorency*, the Ad-
 miral de *Bonivet* (chief Author of this Counsel)
le Seigneur de Fleuranges, *le Vidame de Chartres*,
Buissy d'Ambois, *Richard de la Pole*, and many o-
 ther brave Gentlemen.

Novem. The manner which *Francis* us'd in besieging
Pavia, seem'd to take up more time than stood

1524. with the Season, (being now Winter) and the
 advantage he had over the Imperialists, who
 were neither in number nor vertue sufficient to
 repel him. This leasure the Pope made use of
 to mediate a Peace, by the means of the Bi-
 shop of *Verona*, and (when that could not be
 done) to keep *Francis* yet in good terms with
 him, promising him, therefore indifferency at
 least, both as he was *Communis Pater*, and as
 he conceiv'd him the stronger. But, finding
 that the Treaty of Accord took no effect, was
 perswaded by the French Ambassadors (Resident
 with him) to make a League with *Francis*. The
 perswasions the French us'd, were Promises, and
 certain Propositions of Peace, upon such Condi-
 tions as should be very advantageous to both.
 And thus at last the Pope by the secret inter-
 vention of *Jo. Matthei* the Bishop of *Verona*, made
 Peace with the French, encouraging them toge-
 ther (saith *Bellay*) to attempt *Naples*, which yet
 the Pope dissembled strenuously, both with our
 Kings and the Emperors Agents; though, when
 he could hide it no longer, he pretended he was
 forc'd to it by the French. Yet, it may be the
 Pope was not a little inclin'd hereunto by a
 Message which came from *England*; for I find
 in our Records, that not long after the time
 that *Francis* pass'd into *Italy*, there came from
France into *England*, on *Louise* the Regents part,
 one *John Joachin*, a *Genouese*, whose coming (as
 things then stood) was much suspected by the
 Imperialists. And the more, that he kept himself
 close, and repair'd every day to the Cardinal, and
 consulted with him only; but so much was dis-
 cover'd as the Popes Agent here, by a Letter,
 advis'd his Holiness to make Peace with *Francis*
 in time; which the Pope did (although to
 his loss, as will appear in its place.) And now
Francis, not fearing the Imperialists, sends the
 Duke of *Albany*, with *Renzo de Ceri*, and about
 twelve thousand Men, against them of *Lucca* and
Siena, for the Popes Service; and after, to at-
 tempt *Naples*, where all the places were unpro-
 vided of sufficient Garrison. Besides, he had
 sent the Marquis de *Saluces* with four thousand
 Men to *Savona*, from thence to attempt *Genoia*.
 Again, three thousand *Italians* (their Comman-
 der *Genovanni de Medicis* being hurt) disbanded,
 and six thousand *Grisons*, hearing of some trou-
 bles in their Country, return'd; so that his For-
 ces were much weaken'd. Which *Charles de la*
Noy understanding, took the less care to defend
Naples; as believing the French unable to second
 the Duke of *Albany*. And, therefore, gave order
 only to the Duke of *Trajetto* to defend the Coun-
 try the best he could; while *Bourbon*, pawning
 his Jewels to the Duke of *Savoy*, went to *Germany*,
 and rais'd twelve thousand Men.

During these passages in *Italy*, the affairs
 of *Scotland* seem'd to change form; for the
 Duke of *Albany* being now so far distant from
 them, the prime Nobility of *Scotland* (notwith-
 standing the promise exacted of them by the said
 Duke, when he departed, (which was in *May*
 1524,) promising to return in *September* next) May-
 inclin'd to the Queen's side. So that presently
 after they began to consult of making peace
 with *England*; which because they knew King
Henry would never grant, as long as they ac-
 knowledg'd the Duke of *Albany* Governor, (for
 so he had lately intimated) they agreed to abro-
 gate his Authority, and to invest the young
 King in the exercise of his Regal Power. To
 this purpose, the Queen of *Scots* wrote to her
 Brother King *Henry* to assist his Nephew herein;
 who sent to the Borders his Lieutenant, *Thomas*
 late Earl of *Surrey*, now (since his Fathers *Death
 much lamented, for his great Vertue) Duke of
 Norfolk,

1524.

Bellay.
 The Pope
 sides with
 the French.
 Decem.

Jan. 1525.

Hav.

The Af-
 fairs of
Scotland.

May.

Stow.

1524. Norfolk, and the Treasurer of England, to procure the liberty of the young King. Hereupon the Queen, assisted by the Earls of Arran, Lenox, and divers of the chief Nobility, brought the young King from Sterling (where the Governor had appointed him to reside till his return) to Edendurgh, where he undertook the Administration of the Kingdom, July 29. whereupon Allegiance was sworn to him, and the Duke of Albany was Excommunicate; yet not with so general a Vote, but that the two Bishops of St. Andrews and Aberdeen disslik'd it; alledging both the Non-age of the King, and the Promise of the Nobility to the Governor, of not Innovating till September. Upon this they are both confin'd, but shortly restor'd to their Liberty. Our King soon after sent Ambassadors, Thomas Magnus (a Civil Lawyer and a Priest,) and Rattcliffe (a Gentleman) to reside in Scotland; commanding from thenceforth all Hostility to cease. Whereupon a Truce was taken, during which the Scotch Ambassadors were to be sent into England, for the concluding of a firm Peace. Also (for establishing the young King's Power) he offer'd to maintain (a while) a Guard for him of two hundred Persons. But this good Correspondence was a little clouded; for while these things were in hand, the Earl of Angus and his Brother George Douglas formerly Banish'd (as we have shew'd) into France, found means to escape into England. The Earl desir'd our Kings aid, for his Restitution; but the Queen of Scots, who retain'd her old grudge to him, and (perchance) had newly cast an eye on Henry Stewart, (whom afterwards she marry'd) labour'd the contrary; reimonstrating to our King, by divers Letters, that his coming to Scotland at this time would trouble the State. For the Earl of Arran, whose Power and Reputation was great, being Enemy to the said Angus, she said would oppose him; but our King suspecting by some Actions that Arran was French, suffer'd about October the Earl to enter Scotland, to counterpoise him; taking of him at his departure, a Promise or Obligation; 1. To procure and maintain the young Kings Authority, to the exclusion of the Duke of Albany. 2. To seek to be reconcil'd to the Queen with all Humility. 3. To make friendship with Arran, as long as he maintains the the young King, and averts him from France; whereupon also our King promis'd, that if he did contrary, he would maintain Angus against the said Arran, &c. Thus was Angus restor'd to his Country for a while; but the Queen took it ill that he was come, and the Ambassadors appointed to be sent to King Henry for Peace, were in danger to be staid; yet I find that December 19. they came, being Gilbert Kenneth Earl of Cassilis, &c. and intreated Peace, and the Princess Mary as Wife for their King. Our King gave hope of both; (for I find that both the Emperor and Francis made overtures of Matches for King James at this time.) Howbeit, when our Commissioners in private conference treated of Peace, and the Princess, it was upon these Conditions, 1. That they should renounce the League with France, and instead thereof make the like with England. 2. That the young King till he be ripe for Marriage, shall be brought up in England. It seems yet the Scotch Ambassadors Commission was not large enough to treat these Points; so Decemb. 30. Cassilis (leaving his fellows here) goes to Scotland; and shortly after (March 19.) returns to King Henry with the resolution of the Nobility, and Letters from Queen Margaret, shewing, that the Lords of Scotland will be content to relinquish the French, so that the Match with the Princess Mary may be made sure; but they required that

the Promise, whereby she was engag'd to the Emperor, be first discharg'd. Our King hearing this, said he would confer with the Emperor about it; and so nothing being concluded, but a Truce for three years and a half, the Scotch Ambassadors departed in April.

The Emperor hearing of this Treaty, dispatched hither Adolpho de Borgona, Senior de Beures Adm. of Flanders, with the Presid. of Malmes to require that the Princess Mary might be delivered to him, promising hereupon to declare her Empress, and make her Governess of the Low Countries; her Dower also was requir'd to be paid presently, and that our King in Person would the next year invade France. But before our King could give a perfect Answer to these Particulars, News was brought of the Battel of Pavia, and the taking of Francis Prisoner, the manner whereof was thus.

Pavia was a place easie enough to take, had either the French press'd it roundly, or a less valiant Captain than Antonio de Leyva defended it. But while Francis, as being confident he was Master of the Field, drew the Siege out in length, he gave not only time to the Imperialists to join an Army, but at last fail'd miserably in his Enterprize. The Advice he approv'd, after a Breach and Assault made in vain, was to open a way to the Town, on the one side of the Tescin; for, as that River divided it self into two Channels, whereof one pass'd by the Walls, (which had no defence on that part, but the River, being not fordable) his intention was to divert this Current, and so to leave the Walls bare. But one rainy Night alone so swell'd the River, that all the Damms and Works which the French had rais'd, were carry'd away by the violence of the Stream. His ablest Counsellors hereupon wish'd him to raise the Siege, and give place to the Season. Besides, as the Imperialists, with a great Army, were now marching towards him, they thought it not fit he should be enclos'd betwixt the Town, (wherein was a strong Garrison,) and the Forces now approaching. It was the even of Saint Matthias in February 1525. (being the day of the Emperor's Nativity) when the Marquis de Gualto leading the Vantguard, the Marquis of Pescara the Battail, and Charles de la Noy, accompany'd with Bourbon, the Rereward, came in good order near the French Army. Their Resolution was to weary the French all Night with Alarms and Skirmishes, and towards Morning to fall on them with the whole Army; so that nothing of Importance was intended till full Day-light; when Francis, pointing his Ordnance against them, so pierc'd their Squadrons, that they were forc'd to retire to a more covert place. Francis, thinking this was a Flight, draws his Army out of his strong Intrenchments into an open place, with intention to pursue them. The Commanders of the Imperialists having thus obtain'd what they desir'd (for they wanted both Money and Victuals to subsist any long time,) encourag'd their Soldiers to fight, telling them, that though a King was present, there was not therefore more danger, but more Honours and Riches propos'd to them. That they should but follow their Commanders, who would lead them to an assur'd Victory. The Soldiers hereupon (being not ignorant of the necessity they were in,) resolutely promis'd to go on. The Marquis of Pescara having advanc'd a little to discover the Enemy, return'd; and, with a chearful Countenance, turning towards the Spaniards, told them that he must not conceal from them the cruel command the French King had given, that no Spaniard should be receiv'd into mercy. This being a meer Invention of the

1524. Truce for three years.

April.

March.

1525. The Emperor claims the Princess Mary.

The Battle of Pavia. Jan.

Feb. 24.

By Day.

Buch.

July 29.

Aug. 20.

Buch.

Sept.

July.

Octob. 4.

The Scots desire the Princess Mary in Marriage for their King.

Dec. 19.

Dec. 23.

On what Conditions to be allow'd.

Hall.

Left.

Dec. 30.

March 19.

1525.

1525. the Marquiss To kindled their Courage that they requir'd the Signal, promising for the rest, to sell their Lives as dear as they could. Herewith then a furious Battel began; in which yet because the Mercenaries, and especially the *Swiss*, did not shew their accustom'd Valour, all the charge fell on the few *French* that were present. None yet fought more bravely among them, than the King; insomuch that with his own hand (as his Enemies did afterwards confess) he kill'd the Marquiss of *Civita de St. Angelo*; which Example so encourag'd the rest of his Nobility, as they omitted nothing that could be done in so little number. During this brunt, *Antonio de Leyva*, throwing down some part of the Walls of *Pavia*, issued forth with the best of his Garrison, and fell on the backs of the *French* then fighting. This wholly routed the Army, insomuch that all now began to fly. The King had his Horse kill'd under him, whose fall so engag'd his Leg, that he could not recover himself. In this posture one *Juan de Urbieto*, a *Guipuscoan*, seiz'd on him. But the King declaring himself, and saying he yielded to the Emperor, *Urbieto* without offering any Violence, receiv'd him as his Prisoner. The Kings Leg yet lay under his Horse; *Urbieto* thinking by this means he was sure from escaping, runs to succour his *Alferes*, who was then in danger of being kill'd, desiring the King only to take notice that he wanted two Teeth before, and that he would remember it as a mark that he took him first. With that one *Diego de Avila* came, to whom the King also naming himself, and saying he was already yielded to the Emperor, *Diego* demanded, whether he had given any Gage thereof? The King saying, None was required, *Diego* laid hold on his Sword, (which was bloody) and his Gauntlet, and therewithal deliver'd him from his Horse, by the help of one *Pita*, who for his pains took his Order of *St. Michael* from him. This so much troubled the King, that, not knowing how to help himself, he offer'd a great reward to the Soldier to let it alone, which yet the Soldier deny'd, saying he would carry it to the Emperor. The King being now on foot, divers Soldiers came in, and as they observ'd some Contention among those that took him, would without further enquiry who he was, have kill'd him. But one *Monsieur de la Motte* (or *Pemperante*, as the *French* have it, a *French-man*) coming by chance thither, kneel'd to him, and kissing his Hand with all Reverence, made them know how rich a prize they had got amongst them; the King yet caus'd him to rise, saying only, that he should behave himself like that Man he had ever esteem'd him. Herewith, a great concourse flocking in, the King was perswaded to take off his Helmet, which was no sooner done, but every one took a part of a great Pennache (or Feather) he wore thereon; others more presumptuously, cut pieces out of a Coat of Arms or *Sobreveste* he wore over his Harness. At all which this magnanimous King shew'd no other Countenance, than that of Scorn, as knowing sufficiently, that in despite of Fortune, his Valour had made him comply with his Dignity. The chance of those who deserted the King was various; many were kill'd, others, thinking to pass the *Tessin*, were drown'd, among whom six thousand Mercenaries (the most part *Swiss*) are accounted. *Henry de Albret*, thinking to save himself by Flight, was taken. And now the report being general that the King was made Prisoner, divers *French*, who might have escap'd, out of a singular piety to their King, returned, and yielded themselves, saying, they would not return to France, and leave their King behind them. The first of the chief Commanders that came in,

was the Marquiss de *Pescara*; after him, *Guasto*, 1525. and others; at last *Bourbon* being Arm'd Cap a Pe, and with his Sword all bloody in his Hand, comes towards the King, who hereupon demanded his Name: Being told, he stept (if one may believe the *Spaniard* my Author) a little behind the Marquiss de *Pescara*. He also perceiving the King troubled, goes to *Bourbon*, and (after he had told him that the King was there) demanded his Sword; which *Bourbon* without more ado rendred, and thereupon, running to the King, and lifting up his Beaver, cast himself on his Knees, and humbly demanded his Royal Hand to kiss; which yet the King refus'd. Hereupon *Bourbon*, with tears in his Eyes, said, Sir, if you would have followed my Council, you should not have needed to be in this Estate, nor so much blood of the *French* Nobility shed as stains the Fields of Italy. The King hereupon turning his eyes to Heaven, now reply'd only, *Patience, since Fortune hath fail'd me*. Further Discourse was hindered by the Marquiss of *Pescara*, who, desiring the King to mount on Horse-back, conducted him towards *Pavia*. But the King intreating he might not be kept Prisoner in a Town before which he had lately so puissant Army, they brought him to a Monastery adjoining. *Henry de Albret*, the Comte of *St. Paul*, and divers other Prisoners being deliver'd to several Custodies. From hence the King was remov'd to a strong Castle call'd *Picquigon*, and there kept with a great Guard of *Spaniards* under *Hernando de Alancón*, till other order came from *Charles*; to whom, immediately after this Victory, a Messenger was sent, to acquaint him with the Success. In the mean time *Francis* was us'd with all respect. For more ostentation whereof, *Charles de la Noy* brought (before Supper) the Basen, the Marquiss of *Guasto* the Ewer, and *Bourbon* the Towel; which courtesie he requited, by inviting them to sit at the Table with him. After which, requiring some Money might be furnish'd to him for play, he pass'd away the time the most cheerfully he could.

Charles was at *Madrid* when this great News came to him. The fence he shew'd of it, was such as became a wise Prince, and one that was not himself exempted from a Quartan. He compar'd the afflictions of Fortune with those of Nature, and found the difference so little, that he thought himself to want even the advantages of Liberty as much as a Prisoner. For, if he consider'd *Francis* as in the custody of his Guards, he lookt upon himself as in the custody of his Physicians, and confin'd to his Chamber by a stronger hand than that which held *Francis*. Moreover, he said, it was not for Christians to rejoice for their Victories against each other, but only against Infidels.

Our King was not advertis'd hereof sooner than the Ninth of March. When a Messenger from the Princess *Margarite*, Governess of the Low-Countries, inform'd him of all the Particulars. *Charles de la Noy* not omitting also to write to him thereof (as I find by our Records.) This being brought to Council, it was thought fit the King should comply with his Confederate *Charles*, in giving some publick Demonstration of Joy. Therefore the King going to *St. Pauls*, and causing a Mass to be sung in a more solemn manner than ordinary, seem'd to celebrate the Victory, though inwardly not so well satisfy'd thereof. For, as he consider'd *Charles* grown now to more Greatness than stood either with reason of State, or due terms of Neighbourhood, he deliberated with his Council what was next to be done. Whereupon it was thought fit to send immediately Ambassadors into Spain, with

Francis I.
Esquary.

French
Routed.

Sandov.

Francis K.
taken Pri-
soner.

Bourbon
waits on
him.

March 10
Charles's
Behaviour
on this
News

March 9.
How it
was re-
ceiv'd in
England.

* Feb. 24

March 11

Ambassa-
dors sent
to Spain
with

1525.
Record.

His Inheritance in France demanded.

March.

But without effect.

with charge to represent unto the Emperor, how that this War being made at a Common charge, it was reasonable the fruit should redound to both. That the part his Highness pretended to, was Inheritance in France, which he desir'd (upon some fitting Treaty with Francis) might be restor'd. To which his Highness doubted not but the Emperor would afford his best Assistance; as well because it was just in it self, as that it was according to their late Treaty. Or, if this could not be obtain'd by fair means, to require the Emperor, by vertue of the said Treaty, to proceed in levying Forces to make War in France, wherein his Highness would likewise concur. Neither could his Highness doubt that the Emperor would refuse to embrace this Motion, since the benefit hereof would finally accrue to him; for as his Highness was purpos'd to ratifie and make good the intended Match betwixt the said Emperor and the Princess Mary, who was Heir not only to the Crown of England, but to his Titles in France, so all at last would devolve on him; which therefore might be thought so beneficial and advantageous, as he ought not to think it much to deliver up Francis to his Highness hands, upon consigning of the said Princess to his. Especially, since by an expresse Article of the foresaid Treaty, they were bound mutually to deliver all Usurpers upon each others Right. All which being founded upon a solemn Agreement, confirm'd by Oath, could not seem Insolent, what Indisposition soever might be found in the Emperor to accomplish it. Notwithstanding which, if (as it was most likely) this Proposition should take no effect, and that the Emperor would derive the total benefit of his prize upon himself; that his Highness yet might make so much use thereof, as with more justification to take that order which pertain'd to his present occasions, and the peace of Christendom. This Advice being approv'd by all, a Dispatch was made, and given to Cuthbert Tenshal (Bishop of London, and Lord Privy Seal) and Sir Richard Wingfield Knight, sent then to Spain; wherein also an Interview betwixt our King and the Emperor was propos'd. In which further it was offer'd, that the Princess Mary should be given into the Emperors hands upon fitting Conditions. Many other Particularities conducing to the ends above-mentioned were specified therein; though for the rest it seem'd not probable to some of our Councillors, that the Emperor would accept them, as being resolv'd (what Promise or Advantages soever was presented to him) to suffer none else to partake of the Profit or Honour he had acquir'd in his Victory. This Proposition finding no reception in Spain, but what was before imagin'd, our King returns to that brave and wise Resolution he had formerly taken, to make himself Arbitrer of Christendom, and to fall on him who interrupted the publick Peace. Many reasons also of great moment concurr'd to this Resolution. For the Lady Margarine (Regent of Flanders) who ought by the late League to have rais'd Forces against the French, began already to treat with them concerning an Accommodation. Besides, the Flemings being grown strong by Sea, had not only very insolently treated with divers of our Merchants; but, contrary to a Remonstrance made in that behalf, had rais'd the value of our Coin, and thereby secretly deriv'd great Sums into their Country. Again, when demand was made only for re-payment of that Money which was lent to the Emperor in his greatest necessity, nothing yet was return'd but a dilatory and frivolous excuse. Neither was our King ignorant of the Treaty which the Emperor had al-

ready begun for the ransoming of Francis. Nor of a Match purpos'd with Donna Isabella of Portugal; which reflected on his Daughters Reputation. Lastly, the Popes Breve, representing the danger of Christendom through the prosperity of the Turk, (who had now taken Belgrade, and Rhodes, and thereby open'd several ways to Italy and Germany) and, together, exhorting all Christian Princes to join against the Common Enemy, had so prevail'd with our King, that he thought fit to lay aside all Ambition to recover his Inheritance in France, and to endeavour an Universal Peace. In the furtherance of which good desire, as the remembrance of the kind Interview betwixt him and Francis did operate not a little, so the Reputation that Francis had gotten by his courage shew'd in this late Action, had kindled in the mind of our generous King a compassionate zeal for his Delivery. Therefore, at the request of the Kings Mother of France, (who by the mediation of Giovanni Joakim had much dispos'd our King to return to his ancient friendship with Francis) he sent to Cuthbert Tenshal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Wingfield Knight, his Ambassadors in Spain, to intercede for the delivery of Francis; who had begun the way already in a particular Letter to Charles; where, after an excuse of his not sooner Writing, because they who had charge of him, would not permit it, he said, that the greatest Comfort he found in this his miserable Condition, was, that he had fallen into the hands of so generous a Prince, who therefore would not force him to anything, which might be unjust to require, or impossible to perform. That he hop'd therefore sufficient security would be accepted for his Delivery, since thereby, instead of detaining an unuseful Prisoner, he should make a King his Slave. Howsoever, that it was more profit to have him a faithful friend, than to suffer him to die desperate. None yet was so vigilant and intente either for his Delivery, or the general good of the Kingdom, as Madam Louise his Mother (Regent of France) who, by many forcible and reiterated Ambassies and Treaties, drew most of the Christian Potentates, and Republicks to favour the deliverance of her Son. Thro' her care also Andrea Doria (General of the French King's Gallies) re-conducted the Duke of Albany, who, though far engag'd in the Enemies Country, did yet, without any considerable loss of his Men, return to Marseilles, April 25.

The Emperor now finding that all the chief Princes and Estates in Christendom would puissantly labour for the delivery of Francis, sent Adrian de Croy Seigneur de Beaurain, with certain Propositions dated March 25. 1525. unto him. Whereof this is the Sum.

That an universal Peace and League should be concluded betwixt all Christian Princes, and security on every side be given, for the continuance thereof.

That either of them two, with twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse should invade the Turk.

That, for further security, the Dauphin should marry with the Princess Maria (Daughter to the King of Portugal and the Queen Leonora) and the Dowry should be a mutual disclaim in each others Inheritance.

That the King of France should restore and leave the Dutchy of Burgundy in that estate and manner as it was in the time of Charles the last Duke thereof; and Theroüene, Hesdin, and all that was usurp'd in Artois should be re-deliver'd.

That Charles Duke of Bourbon should be restor'd to his former Estate; and (particularly) have the County of Provence conferr'd upon him, which thereupon he should hold under the Title of King thereof.

1525.

K. Henry endeavours after an universal Peace.

Endeavours to procure the delivery of Francis. French Kings Letter to Charles V.

April 25.

Charles's Propositions to him. Sandov's

1525. That the King of England should have all restor'd that appertain'd to him, or otherwise was agreed upon.

That all followers of the Duke of Bourbon should be reintegrated in their former possessions.

That the Prince of Aurange, Don Hugo de Moncada, the Seigneur de Bonze, and d' Antroy, should be set at liberty, and all restor'd to the Prince of Aurange, which was taken from him in the Wars of Bretagne.

That Madam Margerite, Aunt to the Emperor, and La Reyna Germana, second Wife to Ferdinand of Spain, with divers other Princes and great Persons, (particularly nominated in the said Articles) should be righted in their just demands, for restitution in all things taken since the War.

That all Commerce betwixt the Subjects should be renew'd hereupon.

That the chief Parliaments of Paris and elsewhere in France, should ratifie the Agreement.

That the King himself, being at liberty, should with all due Solemnity, confirm it, as also the Dauphin as soon as he came to the age of fourteen.

Greatly
dislik'd by
Francis.
Sandoz.

When these Articles were presented to Francis, some of them so displeas'd him, that he is said in a fury to have drawn his Dagger, and spoken these words, It is better for a King of France to die after this manner. Infomuch that Hernando de Alancón who was present, hastily took it from him. Yet, to gratifie the Emperor, he gave order that the Prince of Aurange, and Don Hugo de Moncada should be set at liberty. Moncada coming to Court, brought two Letters, one from the King, the other from Madam Louise, his Mother, by which (as also by the intervention of the Archbishop of Embrun, and Philip Chabot Seigneur de Brion, and others who were deputed Ambassadors upon this occasion) these Conditions following were offer'd.

Condi-
tions of
Peace of-
fer'd by
Francis.

That Donna Leonora (Sister to the Emperor, and Relict to the late King of Portugal) should not be given in Marriage to Bourbon, (howsoever promis'd him) but to the King of France, and the Infanta Donna Maria, her Daughter, unto the Dauphin.

That the Dukedom of Burgundy should be held by Francis, as the Dowry to the Queen Leonora, and should be left to the Heirs Males betwixt them. If no such Issue yet should happen, that the Dukedom should then descend to the second Son of the said Emperor; if the Emperor should have no Sons, but Daughters, that then the second Son of the King of France should marry one of the said Daughters, and have Burgundy for her Portion.

That Francis would renounce all the Right and Interest he had in Milan, Genouia, and Naples, together with all Debts and Pensions that could be demanded on that occasion.

That he would release the Superiority and Dominion that he pretended over Flanders, and Artois, and for this purpose would obtain the consent of all the Estates of France.

That he would restore Hesdin and Tournay.

That, for the Lands he held near the River of Soam, he would pay the Emperor a just price.

That, when the Emperor should go to his Coronation into Italy; or otherwise, that if he or his Brother Ferdinand should make War, he would pay half the charges of his Army, and go along in Person.

That, if the Emperor would pass into Italy by Sea, he would command all his Gallies and other Shipping to attend him at Barcellona.

That, if the Emperor would make War against the Infidels in Africa, or Greece, he would pay half the charges of the Army, and attend the Emperor in Person.

That all the Emperor had Capitulated with the King of England, and all that was due by way of borrowing or Pension to the said King, should be paid and

accomplish'd, in such manner that the Emperor might be altogether discharg'd, and free thereof.

That he would restore to the Duke of Bourbon, all his Estate, and pay him his Pensions, and moreover give his Daughter in Marriage to him, together with such a Portion as was fitting her Degree and Quality, and that when any Army should be rais'd by him for the Emperors Service, the said Duke should be General, in case the King went not himself in Person, and that all former Services, and unkindnesses should be forgotten.

That sufficient security by the Parliament of Paris should be given of these Particularities.

Upon mature Deliberation taken concerning these Propositions, the Emperor reply'd, that the The Em-
Dutchy of Burgundy was his Inheritance, and there- perors An-
fore not to be dispos'd of, or alienated according to any swer.
Mans fancy or abtirement. Concerning the Marriage propos'd between Francis and Leonora his Sister; that he could resolve nothing without the consent of Bourbon, to whom she was promis'd. That for the busineses of Italy, he would innovate nothing, but rather keep all quiet. As for Naples, since Francis had no right thereunto, there was no occasion to make use of his disclaimer. That it would content him much to have Burgundy restor'd in the same manner that his great Grand-Father Charles enjoy'd it. And that he accepted well of his Shipping, when he would think fit to go and receive his Crown in Italy. The French on the other side instead of Burgundy, offer'd great Sums of Money; but Charles insisting still upon Burgundy, nothing was concluded. So that, leaving Madrid, the Emperor went to hold his Cortes (or Parliament) at Toledo; where, among other things, it was petition'd by the Estates assembled, that the Emperor, being now of age to marry, should take to Wife Donna Isabella Infanta of Portugal, and not the Princess Mary our Kings Daughter.

Infanta of
Portugal
propos'd
by the
Cortes of
Spain to
Charles.

While affairs pass'd thus betwixt Charles and March. Francis, our King, who knew he might have use of Money on these occasions, and (howsoever) did well understand that the maintaining of a sure Peace at home, was almost as costly as the making of a War abroad, advis'd with his Council how to provide himself. Yet as the Cardinal had undertaken the King should never want, as long as he might manage the publick Affairs; so they gladly discharg'd themselves on him. But Princes ought to take heed, in whose hands they commit their extraordinary Power, lest it hazard their ordinary, it being the Clue of that Labyrinth of State, which ought not rashly to be put into anothers hand. Neither should they inforce any thus violently; when business may be done in a calm and gentle manner. The harmony of Government consisting in such a delicate proportion, that no one part can safely be strain'd higher, unless the rest may well be tun'd and accorded thereunto. This appear'd in the Actions of this year, (being the seventeenth of the Reign of our King,) when, Com-
missions being granted forth into all the Coun- April
ties of England, for the levying the sixth part of Commis-
every Lay-mans Goods, and the fourth of the sions for
Clergies; the People in general took it so ill, levying
that it was like to have grown to a Rebellion; Money.
alledging, First, that these Commissions were a-
gainst the Law. Secondly, their own Poverty, and that the King, since the fourteenth of his
Reign, had of them twenty Fifteens. But as this seem'd to be done, without that the King was
fully inform'd thereof, so when the sequence
appear'd, it was resolv'd to disavow the whole
proceeding. Our King therefore, by Letters
sent through all the Counties of England, de-
clar'd, he would have nothing of them but by way
of benevolence: This got the Cardinal many a
Curse,

Hal.

Pretended
to be rais'd
only by
free gift

1525. Curſe, and the King as many Bleſſings. Notwithſtanding, under this Title of *Benevolence*, he requir'd great Sums of all his Subjects, and particularly of the Citizens of London. But one of their Lawyers answer'd, that by the Statute, *primo Ric. tertii, Cap. ſecundo*, ſuch Benevolences were forbidden. But it was reply'd, That *Laws made by Uſurpers oblige not Legitimate Princes*, that Richard the Third, was not only a Tyrant, but a Murderer of his own Nephews, and therein more fit to ſuffer by the Law, than to make any. Therefore his Intentions were, only by popular and licentious ways, to obtain the favour of the Commonalty, as having no other means to ſubſiſt. That our King, being the true and undoubted Heir of the Crown, could be tyed hereby no further than it pleas'd himſelf; it being abſurd to think, that a Statute invented by a factious Aſſembly, and approv'd no otherwiſe than by a Criminal in the higheſt degree, ſhould bind an abſolute and lawful Monarch; wherefore if they had no better evaſion, it were not fit to mention this. Thereupon the Cardinal promiſing to examine them one by one, concerning what they would give, he begins with the Lord Mayor: But the Mayor deſiring leave not to declare himſelf fully, till he had ſpoken with the Common-Council of the City, the Cardinal wiſht him and the reſt of the Aldermen to come to him privately, and give what they would. In the Country yet, (where they ſeem'd more obſtinate,) ſome Ring-Leaders of the People (who had taken Arms) upon the perſwaſion of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk ſubmitted themſelves, and were brought to London, and there imprisond. The King yet, perſiſting in his Intention not to puniſh any on this occaſion, (as being advertiſ'd that the common ſort of his Subjects excus'd themſelves by their want of Means, and not of Affection, to ſupply his Majeſties Occaſions) brought the matter to the Council-Table, where the Cardinal, by way of Apology, ſaid, that he had done nothing herein, without adviſing firſt with the Judges, who affirm'd poſitively, the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council of State confirm'd this courſe. But the King ſaying that he was made believe, his Subjects were richer than indeed he found them by this Commiſſion, all the fault was laid on the falſe Informers, and Pardon given to all thoſe who had deny'd the former Benevolence. Hereupon the Offenders were brought to the Star-Chamber; where after a ſharp charge laid againſt them by the King's Council-Learned, the Cardinal ſaid, That, notwithstanding their grievous Offences, the King, in conſideration of their Poverty, had granted them his gracious Pardon, upon Condition, that they would give in ſureties for their good Behaviour henceforth. But they replying, that they had none; the Cardinal firſt, and after him the Duke of Norfolk, ſaid they would ſtand bound for them, wherewith they were diſcharg'd.

The Cardinal, who by a Concurrence of the Papal and Regal Authority, had ſuppreſs'd divers Monafteries, and given that Terror to the reſt, that he drew large Sums from them, would not yet deſiſt ſo, but continued ſtill his purpoſes of converting the profits of all thoſe, which by any colour might be reputed Supernumerary, unto other uſes; among which while he reduc'd the Monaftery of Beggam in Eſſex, a diſguiſ'd Company, in ſtrange Viſors, taking the Canons along with them, reimplac'd them, and ſo departed; promiſing, at the ringing of their Abbey-Bell, to come at all times to their Succours. But theſe Apparitions did not long haunt the Houſe; for the King's Council, underſtanding hereof, ſo examin'd the Canons, that they at laſt confeſs'd the Authors, who therefore were ſent for, and grievouſly puniſh'd. The Cardi-

nal thus every way eſtabliſhing his Authority, was thought by this time, between Viſitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Teſtaments, granting of Faculties, Licenſes, Diſpenſations, and many other ways, beſides the great Penſions he had from Foreign Princes, to have made his Treafury equal to the Kings (notwithſtanding the Sums he often tranſmitted to Rome;) in which way of enriching himſelf, one John Allen Doctor of Law, his Chaplain, accompany'd with a great Train, and riding from one Religious Houſe to another, in a kind of perpetual Progreſs, or Viſitation, did the Cardinal no little Service. But as this at laſt became a publick Grievance, ſo the King took notice of it, in ſo ſharp a manner, that the Cardinal was enforc'd, not only to excuſe himſelf with much ſubmiſſion, but to promiſe never to do ſo any more; proteſting withal, that he had made a laſt Will or Teſtament, wherein he had left a great part of his Eſtate unto his Highneſs. Upon which ſubmiſſion of the Cardinals (as I take it) the King ſent him this Letter, written all with his own hand, as we find it in our Records.

As touching the matter of Wilton, ſeeing it is in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your Servants) afraid, and troubled; I marvel not that it overſlipp'd you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your Letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the Election was but Conditional. Wherefore, my Lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad, that, according to mine intent, my Monitions and Warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you caus'd me thus to do. As touching the help of Religious Houſes to the building of your College, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the World, and the occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for, ſurely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the Realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill gotten is beſtow'd upon the College, but that the College is the Cloak for covering all miſchiefs. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken by him, which I ſo intirely love. Wherefore, me-thought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own Letter, which a little me-thinketh toucheth Conſcience, and that is, that you have receiv'd Money of the Exempts for having of their old Viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good Conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take Money? And if they were ill, it were a ſinful Act. Howbeit your Legacy herein might, peradventure, apud Homines be a Cloak, but not apud Deum. Wherefore, you, thus moniſh'd by him who ſo intirely loveth you, I doubt not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if Conſcience will not bear it) but from all other things, which ſhould tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, Te Laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Te Laudat Omnis Spiritus. And thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remaineth, at this hour, no ſpark of diſpleaſure towards you in my Heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving Sovereign and Friend,

HENRY R.

One of the liberties which our King took at his ſpare time, was to love. For, as all recommendable parts concurr'd in his Perſon, and they, again, were exalted in his high Dignity and Valour,

1525.
The Cardinals great Wealth.

The Kings Letter to the Cardinal.

1525. so it must seem less strange, if amid the fair Ladies, which liv'd in his Court, he both gave and receiv'd Temptation. Among whom, because Mistress Elizabeth Blunt, Daughter to Sir John Blunt Knight, was thought, for her rare Ornaments of Nature, and Education, to be the Beauty and Mistress-piece of her time, that intire affection pass betwixt them, as at last she bore him a Son. The Child, proving so equally like to both his Parents, that he became the first Emblem of their mutual Affection, was call'd *Henry Fitz-Roy* by the King, and so much avow'd by him, that having now attain'd the Age of six years, he was made Knight publicly, and the same day created Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and Lieutenant General beyond *Trent*, and Warden General of the borders of *Scotland*, and * shortly after Admiral of *England*. After which he was first bred up together with *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, in the Castle of *Windsor* (which the Earl elegantly describes in a Sonnet extant in his Works) from whence (November 1532.) they went both together to Study at *Paris*, which acquaintance and friendship was indear'd again by a Match of the said Duke with *Mary* the Earls Sister; by whom yet he had no Issue. Howbeit, I find, he was very personable and of great expectation, inasmuch that he was thought, not only for hability of Body but Mind, to be one of the rarest of his time, for which reason also he was much cherish'd by our King, as also because he had no Issue Male by his Queen, nor did, perchance, expect any.

The Cardinal builds Hampton-Court and gives it to the King. The Cardinal had now built his fair Palace at *Hampton-Court*. But as he wisely consider'd, that it would but add unto that envy for which he had already suffer'd so much, he gave it the King, who, in exchange, permitted him to live in *Richmond House*.

The Credit that *Luther*, at this time, had gotten among those *Germans*, who were either weary of their obedience to the stricter parts of Ecclesiastical Government, or desirous to reform the Errours and Abuses of it, (now so general, as even Pope *Adrian* himself confess'd that many were crept into *Rome*) had prevail'd far. Yet as others examin'd which way he took to make his Reformation, so they thought Religion yet not so exactly form'd, but that it might be cast in a better Mold. Therefore not only *Huldricus Zuinglius*, at *Zurich*, began a Reformation somewhat varying from that of *Luther*; but one *Muncer* in the confines of *Turingia*, having invented a Doctrine, opposite enough to the Church of *Rome*, yet differing from the other Reformers in many things, publish'd it with much applause of the inferior sort. For, as he said he had power from God to depose Princes, and substitute others, and that, again, he taught, all Goods should be Common; and divers other Articles tending to Popularity, he was follow'd by huge Multitudes. To temper yet this licentious Doctrine, he preach'd Austerity of Life; counselling Men to Prayers, Fastings, and all other Devotions, which might argue, his Intention was not so much to invade other Men's Possessions, as to establish a moderate Equality. Thus did he season Falshoods with Truths, and Ill with Good, while the vulgar sort, who could not distinguish betwixt them, admir'd, and follow'd all. To remedy these so dangerous Assemblies and Opinions, the chief Neighbouring Princes rais'd some Forces; and prevail'd so far, that, at last, they dissipat'd, and kill'd their whole Army. Neither was it difficult, they, for their best defence, singing only a Psalm, (whereby they invoc'd the Holy Ghost) while *Muncer* (who it

seems trusted least to his own Doctrine) fled away; yet being pursu'd and taken, together with his Companion *Phifer*, they shortly after lost their Heads. His Sect yet took not its end so; as being reviv'd again, in part, not many years after, by *John* of *Leyden* and *Knipperdoling*, who, to his other Impieties added this, that in a throng of People, being born upon Mens Shoulders, he would breath on them, and bid them receive the Holy Ghost.

Such was the generous Disposition of our King, that not only for *Francis* then a Prisoner, but the expelled King of *Denmark*, *Christiern*, he interceded with his best Offices. Therefore, this year, he sent *Henry Standish* Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, and Sir *Henry Baker* Knight, to perswade his Subjects to recall him home; whence yet nothing had chas'd him so much as the guilt and horror of shedding so much blood there (so great a persecutor is Cruelty of it self:) But the angry *Danes* obstinately deny'd. The next Instance then was, that at least his Son (who was Nephew to *Charles*) might succeed. But this also was refus'd; they alledging they durst not commit the Supream Power over themselves, into the hands of one, who, they thought would imitate and revenge his Father.

The French King being weary of his restraint in *Italy*, had desir'd he might be remov'd into *Spain*; both as he hop'd the Emperor might be perswaded to come to speech with him there, and as he reputed change of Prison to be a second Liberty. *Charles de la Noe* also concurr'd in this request, as fearing he might be taken out of his hand. Having obtain'd this favour, he found not yet the Emperor sufficiently dispos'd to see him, though otherwise he could not complain of being either debar'd the pleasure of hunting, or any other reasonable Exercise. Finding yet still that the Emperor did estrange himself so much, as not to vouchsafe him one Visit, he fell Sick; for he did not think that his Misfortunes had made him forfeit his Dignity; or that, for being a Prisoner of War, he had extinguish'd his Title to be a King. *Charles* understanding this, whether out of Compassion, or fear of losing *Francis*, resolves to go to him at the *Alcazar de Madrid*, where, coming to his Chamber he embrac'd *Francis*, who said presently, *Monsieur, veys aqui vuestro esclavo*; the Emperor answer'd again, *No Sino, buen hermano, y amigo libre*. The King reply'd, *No Sino, vuestro esclavo*. The Emperor answer'd again, *No Sino, libre amigo, y buen hermano*; and thereupon wisht him to have a care of his Health, which he much desir'd, and that his businesses would succeed well. The Emperor not thinking this courtesy sufficient, returns to see him the next day again; which so comforted *Francis*, that he amended suddenly. Whereupon the Emperor resolv'd to return to his businesses at *Toledo*. But Madam *Margarite* Dutcheß of *Alanca*, Sister to *Francis*, hearing of his Sickness, made hast to see him. Whom therefore the Emperor courteously entertain'd, and accompany'd to her Brothers Lodging; where, after many affectionate Protestations, he left them together, and so held on his Journey to *Toledo*, whither Madam de *Alanca*, not many days after, followed him, mediating still the delivery of her Brother, to whom she desir'd the Emperor to give his Sister *Leonora*, upon the conditions above-mentioned; and that the King, her Brother, would provide for *Bourbon* a Match equal to this; wherein she was thought to have intimated her self, as being newly made Widow by the death of her Husband, the Duke of *Alanca*. As for the right of *Burgundy*, she desir'd it might be determin'd by way

1525.

Taken and Beheaded.

1534.

John of Leyden's Blasphemy.

Francis I. desires to be remov'd to Spain.

June 7.

His Sickness.

Charles visits him.

Sept. Dutcheß of Alanca his Sister visits him.

De Serr.

1525. way of Justice before the 12 Peers of France; but the Emperor dislik'd this, saying, that he was contented that learned Persons in the Law on both sides should treat hereof, and that the Pope should be Umpire; but Madame also did not approve this. The French Writers add, that promise was made by Francis at this time also, that the King of England should receive intire Satisfaction. Madame de Alacon, finding at last how little her intreaties prevail'd, desir'd leave to return, and by the way to see her Brother, which was granted. Here then was propos'd how he might escape; which was at last resolv'd, by changing Cloaths with a Negro, who carry'd Wood and Coals to the Kings Chamber, and blacking his face with Cole-dust. Which Invention as it is like enough to be a Lady's, and somewhat better than the lending him her Mask, I have thought fit to give her the honour of. This Plot was kept secret, only betwixt the King, his Sister, one Clement Chappion his Chamberlain, and another Treasurer. But Monsieur de la Roche-pot striking this Chappion on some occasion, he, as being discontented and without remedy, flies to the Emperor, and discovers all. The Emperor yet would not suddenly believe it, nor without better enquiry into the business; as not thinking (if one may believe the Spaniard my Author) that the King of France would, in such an undecent and unworthy manner, procure his Liberty. Therefore, in favour of this conceit of the Emperor's, he so represents the Crime, as if Francis ought to believe, that it was more Honourable for him to stay in Prison, than escape it; howsoever it seems his ancient Courage was so far from being abated, as it increas'd rather by his close keeping. Therefore he sent Monsieur de Montmorency to tell Charles, that he was resolv'd to endure any thing sooner than to restore Burgundy, or yield through constraint that which did not become him, so that he desir'd only to know the place of his Imprisonment, and number of his Attendants. The Emperor answer'd, that he was content to appoint him a place, and to nominate those that should guard him; for the rest, protesting that it griev'd him much that Francis should refuse to do that for the Ransom of his Person, which he was bound to do, for the sake of Justice only. But ample Commission and consent being come from Madame the Regent and Parliament of Paris to transact a further Agreement, Francis demanded that he might have Donna Leonora, and, for her Portion, the Counties of Mascon and Auxerre, promising, in consideration thereof, to restore Burgundy. But to this demand of Leonora, Charles answer'd again, that being obliged to the Duke of Bourbon, he could do nothing therein without acquainting him first: Yet, to satisfy the King, he sent to Bourbon, to let him know how much it concern'd him, that Francis might have Leonora. But Bourbon (it is doubtful whether out of his former contumacy and stubbornness, or out of a violent affection to the Lady) answer'd, that he had lost great possessions in France, only to have the Honour to match in that nearness of blood to the Emperor. This seem'd much to trouble Charles: At last, sending for Bourbon, he offer'd him, in recompence of Leonora, the Investiture of Milan, which Bourbon accepted; the Writings or Patent for which my Author saith he saw in Simanca, not expressing in the mean while, how this concurr'd with the Investiture, which, a little before, he saith, the Emperor gave to Francisco Sforza. To reconcile which difficulty, I shall produce (out of a dispatch extant in our Records) the reason, as I conceive it; for though Charles had (together with the Possession) granted Sforza the Investiture of Milan, yet it was upon condition, that Sforza

should pay him twelve hundred thousand Crowns towards his charges, and that the said Investiture should remain in the hands of la Noy, till the War of Italy were ended. But Sforza finding this too hard, joyn'd with the adverse Party, and gave occasion to the Emperor to bestow the Investiture on Bourbon. And he had reason to be content herewith; for Donna Leonora, hearing of this competition about her, decided the controversy in favour of Francis; sending word to the Emperor, that she had rather be a Queen of France than Wife to Bourbon.

This while, the Pope, the Venetians, and Princes of Italy on the one side; leagu'd together for the defence of Italy against the Emperor, inviting also our King into the Treaty; our King on the other, mediated for Francis; neither did it diminish the suspicion entertain'd by them that Charles pretended to an universal Monarchy in Christendom, because, presently upon the making of Francis Prisoner at Pavie, he had written to our King, as well as to all other the said principal Persons, that he should take it well if they did not meddle with the Dominions and Estates of Francis, since, being his Prisoner, he could do no less than protect him against all others. While these Treaties proceed, Henry de Albret, King of Navarre, found a more compendious way to his Liberty, by corrupting his Guards. The Count de Saint Paul also devis'd means to escape without paying any Ransom.

Madame Louise the French Regent continuing her Messages and Ambassades, solicites our Kings assistance for the redeeming of her Son. To Aug 30. which purpose a Treaty was concluded at Moere, August 30. 1525. in this manner, as our Records have it.

That all Injuries, done and receiv'd in the late Treaty between England and France, shall be forgotten.

That confederation for mutual aid and intercourse of Merchandise shall be establish'd, together with free passage of Subjects through each others Dominions, so that they exceed not a hundred arm'd Men.

That all Taxes and Impositions laid by each of the Kings upon the Subjects or Merchants of the other, within these last 50 years, shall be extint, and no new ones impos'd.

That one shall not protect the disobedient Subjects of the other, nor entertain Rebels, Traytors, or Fugitives; but, within twenty days after due requisition made, shall deliver them up.

That no Letters of Reprisal (or Merk) shall be granted on either side, but only against the principal Delinquents, and that but in case of denial of Justice.

That, if the Subjects of the one or the other offend against this Treaty, they shall be punish'd, without that the Treaty shall, any way therefore, be infring'd.

That, presently upon the Ratification of this Treaty, the Prisoners of War on the one and the other side shall be releas'd, as also the French Hostages.

That, in this Treaty shall be comprehended the Friends and Allies of each Prince. That is to say, on the King of France his part, the Pope, the Kings of Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, and Portugal; the State of Venice; the Dukes of Savoy, Lorain, Gueldres, Ferrara; the Swits, the Marquiss of Montferrat and Saluzzo. On the King of England's part, the Pope, the Emperor Charles, the King of Denmark, of Hungary, of Portugal, Queen Mary Dowager of France, Lady Margaret Arch-Duchess of Austria; Ferdinand Brother to the Emperor, Arch-Duke of Austria: the State of Venice; the Bishop of Liege; the Dukes of Urbin, Cleve, Juilliers, the House of Medici, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara, the Hanliatick Towns; upon condition, that they accept it within six Months next ensuing. Whose violating of the League yet should

1525.

League against Charles in Italy.

Charles's Ambition.

Treaty between England and France.

And contrives a means for his Escape. Sander.

Discover'd to the Emperor.

Sander.

Bourbon made D. of Milan.

not

1525. not be understood as a Breach betwixt the principal Contractors.

That yet this Treaty shall not extend to the maintaining of any receiv'd into it, so, as it should hinder the principal Contractors to recover their Right and Lands whatsoever, with-held by any, since the Treaty of 1518.

The King of England shall do his best Endeavour to procure, as soon as may be, the Liberty of Francis, and to induce the Emperor to accept reasonable Conditions.

That this Treaty shall be sign'd and sworn to by Francis, within three Months, if he get his Liberty so soon; or otherwise he shall confirm it by his Letters, written with his own hand, and written to King Henry VIII. And that Madame la Regente shall renounce all Exceptions, which in Law (as by Senatûs-Consultum Velleianum, &c.) may be taken against this Treaty.

That the Cardinal of Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme, Duke of Longueville, Comte Saint Paul, Mr. de Lautrech, Mr. de Montmorency, Mr. de Pressi, Comte de Maleuse, and Comte de Bryan, as also the principal Cities, Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Tolosa, Amiens, Rouen, &c. shall, under the Obligation and Forfeit of all their Goods, swear hereunto, to observe this Treaty, within three Months after the date hereof, (in which also their Heirs and Successors shall be comprehended) giving, for this purpose, a Bond with their Seal annexed, to be sent to the King of England, within three Months. Moreover, certain Bonds were given for the Debts and Moneys hereafter specified, viz. Two Millions of Crowns, at the payment of Fifty thousand Crowns at a time in Calais. The first Payment to begin within forty days after the Treaty. The second the first of November next ensuing. The next the first of May following, and so from Term to Term, and Year to Year, till the whole be satisfy'd to King Henry or his Successors. After the Payment of which, the said King Henry shall, during his Life (and no longer) receive yearly the Sum of an Hundred thousand Crowns.

Aug. 30. This Treaty was concluded Aug. 30. by the Commissioners on both sides, viz. For our King, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cardinal Ebor. Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Henry Marquis of Exon, Charles Earl of Worcester, Nicholas Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas More. For the Regent of France were John Brinon Premier President de Rouen, and Giovanni Joachim Seigneur de Vaulx, Mr. de Hostel to Louise. And was * proclaim'd in September; and, in October, John Taylor Doctor of Law, and Sir William Fitz-William were sent into France, to take the Regents Oath. By another Treaty this Year at Lyons, I find the Regent obliged her self to pay all the Arrears due to Mary our King's Sister out of France, by reason of her Marriage with Louis XII. as also to suffer her to enjoy the Profits and Rents of all the Lands left her in Jointure, according to the Treaty Octob. 8.

Octob. 8. 1514.

1514. Francisco Sforza being inform'd now that a strong League was intended by the Pope, Venetians, and divers others, against the Emperor, was persuaded to enter into it, upon pretence that by their Assistance he might sufficiently defend his Country. But this was his Ruin; for the Marquis of Pescara understanding hereof, or (as others say) supposing it only, questions him: But Sforza denying constantly that ever he gave his Consent thereto, the Marquis demanded the Castle of Milan and Cremona for security. But Sforza utterly refusing this, the Marquis of Pescara took Milan, and laid siege to the Castle (which only remain'd to Sforza,) and after Pescara's Death (which happen'd by Sicknefs) the Duke of Bourbon. The conclusion hereof was, that Sforza (by constraint) yielded the Castle upon Conditions,

July 24.
1526.

and so retir'd at length to the Army, rais'd by the League against Charles the Year following. 1525.

The Emperor, who had now treated of Marriage in many places, * concluded it at last with his Niece, Donna Isabella the Infanta of Portugal, and Daughter of Manuel and Maria, Infanta of Castile, whom yet he married not till January 2. 1526. alledging for his Excuse to our King, that at the Request and Petition of his Cortes or States assembled at Toledo, he had preferr'd this Lady before our Princess Mary, which therefore he desir'd might be understood for no Breach of Friendship. Our King also considering the tender Age of his Daughter, not yet fit for Marriage; and that it was an Incongruity to ally himself with a Prince against whom he might have so soon occasion to draw his Sword, (as may appear by the League above-mention'd) seem'd very well content to relinquish the Match, upon this mutual Consent. After which time the Friendship betwixt them grew so remiss, that at last it dissolv'd wholly; insomuch that the Ambassadors of both sides were recalled home, and Charles, who before was accusom'd to sign his Letters to King Henry always Tuus Filius & Cognatus, from henceforth subscrib'd only Carlos.

But I the less wonder that the Emperor now began to take State upon him, since a richer Booty than that of Francis fell into his hands, that is to say Peru, where the Mines of Potosi (and many others, which for want of Labourers remain to this day buried and unuseful) were first discovered. Which began in this manner.

Vasco Nunez having first * discover'd from a high Rock near Darien, the Mer del Zur, † Her- † 1520. nando de Magellanes (a Portugeuze, but set forth by Charles V.) afterwards found out the Streights that bear his Name, and pass'd through them with two Ships to the Isle of Zebut, and others in that Sea; but * dying in the Voyage, his Companions went on to Borneo and the † Moluccaes, and many other places, whence one of the Ships * return'd to Spain by Capo de Buena Esperanca, and so first compassed the Globe, Juan Sebastian de Cano, a Biskainer, being Pilot. The other Ship was taken by the Portugeuze. Yet, as the Continent towards that Sea was unknown still, Francisco Picarro, a Spaniard living at Panama, (being the furthest part of Land, where it is narrowest, betwixt the North-Ocean and the Mer del Zur) first attempted the * Discovery of that Coast, bending at last to Peru, which afterwards he † ransack'd; for landing his Men at a time when there was Dissention betwixt Guancar the lawful Heir, and Atabaliva his younger Brother, he made his Advantage thereof, to the Overthrow of both, and of Atabaliva first, in this Pretext. Picarro having his Forces in a readiness, sent a Dominican Fryer, with a Cross in one hand, and a Breviary in another, who (as the Spanish Writers have it) told Atabaliva (then in the Head of his Army) That God was Three, and yet One, and that he made the World of nothing, and that he sent his Son down to be born of a Virgin, and to die for our Sins upon a Cross, like that he bore; and that he rose the Third Day, and left St. Peter his Vicar, and the Pope his Successor, who had given the Emperor that Country; if he wou'd not believe this, commanding him also to make War, and destroy him and his Religion. Atabaliva, who though full of superstitious Worship, did yet venerate a Supreme Deity (confessed in these Parts by the Name of Viracocha, or Baracocha, as in Mexico by that of Teutb, and in Guatimala by that of Cabovir, in Nueva Espanna by that of Yocabuwa-guamaorocoti) and together acknowledged Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, after this Life, as believing the Soul immortal, found this Ambassage

Rupture
between
Henry and
Charles.
Sandov.

Sandov.
* 1513.
† 1520.
Peru discovered.

* 1521.
April.
† Nov. 8.
* 1522.
Sep. 6.
The
Globe
first sail'd
round.

* 1525.
† 1533.
Endea-
vours to
make the
Emperor
of Peru a
Christian.
Sandov.

1525.
Emperor
of Peru's
Answer.

Historia de
los Incas,
by Garcilaso
de Vega.

Pizarro's
Cruelty
and Treachery.

1542.

1526.

Consultations
about settling
Francis at liberty.

Ambassage strange, and said, He believ'd no Power on Earth was superior to himself, yet that he would be glad to hold Friendship with the Emperor; and for the Pope, he wondred at him, because he gave that which was none of his. As for his Religion, he would not dispute it, since it was so ancient, and receiv'd in his Country. And, for worshipping Christ that died, he said, he thought he had done better in worshipping the Sun and Moon that never died, as believing (which I find by the History of the Incas, written by one of that Blood Royal) that the Sun did go about the World on God's Errand. Lastly, he demanded, Who told him that God had made the World on that fashion? To which the Dominican answering, The Breviary, and together putting it into his Hands; Atabaliva turning over a few Leaves (as if he expected some such Expression from thence) but finding he understood nothing, threw it away, where-with the Dominican exclaiming that the Gospel was on the Ground, and demanding Vengeance, Pizarro discharg'd some great Ordnance, and his Small-shot against him, wherewith the terrified Indians fled, and Atabaliva was taken Prisoner. Atabaliva hereupon offers for his Ransom as much Gold and Silver as would fill a great Sala or Room where they were, which being accorded and almost perform'd in effect, Pizarro upon false Pretences most cruelly put him to death, tho' baptiz'd; for which also the Conspirators and Pizarro himself at last came to ill Deaths, as the Spanish Writers observe. However, for the present, the Spaniards proceeded in their Cruelty to others, of all sorts, especially of the Blood-Royal, and got infinite Treasure, their Temples being plunked with Gold, and their Graves full of Treasure and Riches, which were buried with them. But I doubt I have insisted too long upon these Barbarisms.

The Year of our Lord 1526 was now entred, when Charles required his Council to advise him whether it were best to deliver Francis; and if so, upon what Terms? Charles de la Noy Viceroy of Naples did not think fit the Emperor should lose the Benefit of such a Prize; therefore, though he perswaded the delivery of Francis, yet he wili'd that the most advantageous Conditions that could be made thereof, should be taken suddenly, and before the League, which was now forming against him, could be concluded. That, this being done, the Emperor was more free to provide for the Business of Germany, to resist the Turk, and to surpress Barbarossa and other Pyrates that infested his Seas. Others, and among them Guattinara the Chancellor, said, that there was less danger of Francis being in Prison than abroad; especially, since it did not appear sufficiently, the new League would be broken off, when Francis had his Liberty, but rather strengthen'd and confirm'd, as being not directed so much for the delivery of Francis, as oppos'd to the Greatness of Charles. That many things might be done while Francis was unsetled, which would take no effect when he were restor'd to his former Estate. Therefore, his best course were to find some means to have the Children of his Prisoner, and other Affairs in France, within his Power, that so nothing might interrupt his Designs elsewhere. And that himself should undertake his Journey to Italy, before he let go so dangerous an Enemy, who if once loose, would rather make War for redeeming his Losses, than improve them by standing to any servile Conditions. Lastly, That his Imperial Majesty ought to believe, that if Francis being in Prison would not make restitution of Burgundy, he would much less do it when he were free. Hernando de Vega said, that Francis was very well in Madrid. To which Guattinara reply'd resolutely, There might be use both of detaining and letting him go; only, since he saw so little hope of per-

formance (what Security soever were given) he thought it best either to let him go freely, and therein put a perpetual Obligation upon him, or to keep him still where he was. This was a wise Advice. The Emperor yet chose rather to adhere to them who counselled him to prevail himself of the occasion. Therefore, considering Francis offered his two Sons for Hostages, while himself going to France, mediated with the Estates for restoring Burgundy; and that, without this personal Intercession there was little hope of any Satisfaction or Peace; he thought it best to deliver Francis, as that which at least would declare to the Christian World, that he desir'd the Quietness thereof. So that upon the fourteenth of January a Treaty (called the Concord of Madrid) was concluded, the Tenor whereof according to the most substantial Articles is here set down.

Charles the Emperor, and on his part Charles de la Noy Viceroy of Naples, Hugo de Moncada, and Juan Aleman: And Francis le Roy Tres-Christien, and on his part Francis Archbishop of Embrun, and Jean de Selue Premier President du Parlement de Paris, and Philip Chabot, having Commission from Madam Louise Regent of France, in Vertue of the Power given her by Francis, before his Imprisonment (thought therefore authentick) did upon the Day and Year above written, Treat, Accord, and Conclude these Articles following:

1. That there shall be a good and secure Peace and Confederacy established between the two Princes, so that they shall be Friends to the Friends, and Enemies to the Enemies of each other, for the mutual Defence of their Estates and Kingdoms.
2. That Traffick and Commerce shall be renew'd betwixt their Subjects on either side, upon payment only of their ancient Customs; and that the Sea shall be secur'd from Pyrates.
3. That the Dutchy of Burgundy, together with all the Rights, Members and Dependences, shall in the name of him, his Heirs, and Successors, be restor'd within the space of six Weeks after the delivery of Francis, notwithstanding any Decrees of Parliaments, Pretence of the Salick Law, or other Claim whatsoever.
4. Because yet, for better performance of these things which are requir'd, the French King alledgeth it is necessary that he should presently repair home; it is therefore concluded, that upon the tenth of March next, the said French King shall be set free in that part of France which adjoins to Fuentarabie; upon condition nevertheless, that at the same Hour and Instant (the number of Attendants on both sides being equal) the Dauphin his eldest Son, and Duke of Orleans his second Son, or (instead of the said Duke) Monsieur de Vendosme, John Duke of Albany, Monsieur de St. Pol, Monsieur de Guise, Monsieur de Lautrech, Monsieur de la Val, the Marquis de Saluzzo, Monsieur de Rieux, the Great Seneschal of Normandy, the Marechal de Montmorency, Monsieur de Brion, and Monsieur de Aubigny, should be deliver'd to Charles as Hostages, till all Conditions were perform'd; which being done, that within the space of four Weeks a Ratification by the Parliament of Paris, and all the other Parliaments of the said Kingdom, shall be deliver'd unto Charles; whereupon the said Charles doth swear and promise upon the Faith of a Prince, to return the said Hostages, upon condition yet that the third Son of Francis, being Duke de Angoulesme, should at the same time be given to Charles, to be kept and brought up in his Court, and with him. And the French King doth furthermore promise, in case these things were not perform'd (that is to say, the restitution of Burgundy, and the rest in six Weeks, and the Ratification in four more ensuing)

1526.

Francis delivered.

Jan. 14.

Treaty of Madrid.

1526. being) to return Prisoner to Charles. And, for this purpose, as he had sworn already, so when he is at liberty, he shall renew and confirm the said Oath, before such Commissioners as Charles shall appoint. And that upon his said return to Charles, his Hostages should be deliver'd.

5. That Francis for Himself, his Heirs, and Successors, shall renounce his whole Right, Claim, and Interest, in all the Kingdoms, Estates, Lands, and Seigneuries, which are now in the possession of Charles, and especially in the Kingdom of Naples, as well for all Propriety therein, as any Pension or Payment demanded for the same. And that the Investiture thereof, given by the Apostolick See to his Ancestors or him, as also all Capitulations made to this effect heretofore, shall not be available for the said Kingdom of Naples, or for the Estates of Milan, Genoua, Asti, and their Dependencies. And that the Grants or Writings to this purpose, whether Pontifical or Imperial, or only between him and Francisco Sferza, should be deliver'd to Charles. And that Francis shall, for Him, his Heirs, and Successors, renounce all his Demand or Claim to Flanders, and to all other Places thereabouts, now in Possession of Charles, together with all Superiority over them. In lieu whereof the said Charles promisseth to relinquish his Title to Perone, Montdidier, the Counties of Boulogne, Guisnes, Pontbieu, as also the Cities, Towns, Seigneuries on both sides of the River of Somme, now in the possession of Francis, reserving only the Counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and Bar sur la Seine, which shall be dispos'd of particularly hereafter. And that all other Lands, Towns, and Seigneuries not mention'd in these Presents, shall be restor'd to the Estate in which they were before the Wars.

6. That, in performance of the League defensive betwixt both Princes, they shall suffer no hostile Forces to pass through either of their Countries, to the Hurt or Prejudice of the other; and that either Prince being invaded, may have of the other five hundred Horse, and ten thousand Foot, with convenient Artillery (or any less number) at the Charges of the Demandant; and, for the Offensive League, that it shall extend no further than to their joint Enemies, and by the mutual Advice and Consent of both.

7. That a Marriage shall be had and made betwixt Francis and Leonora, a Dispensation for that purpose being first obtain'd; and that she shall be deliver'd to Francis at the same time that the Hostages shall be restor'd by Charles.

8. That her Dowry shall be Two hundred thousand Crowns de Soleil, besides her Arras (i. e. a Pledge given in Spain where Marriages are recorded) which did appertain to her upon her first Marriage.

9. That, besides the aforesaid Sum, the Emperor out of his abundant Love to his Sister Leonora, shall bestow the Counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and the Seigneury of Bar sur la Seine, on her, and her Heirs Male only.

10. That the Queen Leonora shall renounce all Rights of Goods, or Heritage, that might descend to her from the part of her Grandfather Maximilian, her Father King Philip, or Queen Joan her Mother, save only the Collateral Succession, in case the said Charles or his Brother Ferdinand should die without Issue.

11. That the said Queen Leonora shall receive from Francis Jewels to the value of Fifty thousand Crowns, to remain to her, her Heirs, and Successors.

12. That if the said Francis and Leonora shall have Issue Male betwixt them, the eldest Son shall be Duke of Alencon, and have in possession

the Dutchy thereof, conferr'd on him by Francis, 1526. and on his Mother's part the above-mentioned Counties of Masconois, Auxerrois, and Bar sur la Seine, and that his other Sons shall be provided for according to their degree, reserving still the Right belonging to the Dauphin. And that the Daughters shall have such Portions as the Kings of France usually give.

13. That, in case Francis die before Leonora, she shall have for Arras sixty thousand Livres Tournois of Rent, yearly to continue, during her life only.

14. That, in case Leonora survive Francis, it may be lawful for her to return to Spain, Flanders, or Burgundy, and carry with her all her Goods and Jewels; and that before the Solemnity of the said Marriage, the Seal of the said King and Dauphin, and of the Estates and principal Places of the said Kingdom of France, together with due Acknowledgments and Obligations shall be given, to the intent they may be forc'd to the Accomplishment thereof, both by way of Excommunication, and also by Arrests, and detaining of all Persons of the said Kingdom, of what quality soever.

15. That a Marriage shall be solemniz'd between Francis the Dauphin, Son and Heir to Francis, and Donna Maria Daughter to Leonora and her first Husband Manuel, in Words de futuro, when the said Lady shall attain to seven Years of Age, and by Words de presenti when she shall be twelve. And that her Brother Don Juan King of Portugal shall give his consent thereunto, with sufficient Provision for her Dowry.

16. That the said Infanta Maria shall at twelve Years of Age be conducted to France, and consign'd to Francis.

17. That Francis shall use his best means to dispose Henry d' Albret, together with his Brothers and Sisters, to renounce their Title to Navarre, or when they could not procure any such Disclaim, not to assist him or them in their Pretences. That Francis likewise shall use his best means to dispose the Duke of Gueldres to leave (after his life) the Dutchy of Gueldres and County of Zutphen to Charles; or when he could not procure this, to assist Charles with Three hundred Horse, and Four thousand Foot, to recover it.

18. That Francis shall not give assistance to Duke Ulrich of Wittenberg, nor to Robert de la Mark, or his Sons, against the said Charles, but rather help him to repress them, nor interpose himself by way of Treaty in favour of any Potentate of Italy.

19. That when Charles shall pass in Person to Italy, Francis shall lend the said Charles his Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, being well equipped, for the space of three Months, and no longer. And, whereas Francis promised to assist Charles, both with Men and Artillery for his Voyage, he should in lieu thereof, pay in Money Two hundred thousand Crowns, giving him good security for it; yet, if the Emperor demanded Five hundred great Horse, together with sufficient Artillery, Francis should furnish them at his own proper costs.

20. That because Charles, for the better drawing Henry King of England to his Party against Francis, had promis'd to pay unto the said Henry the Sum of One hundred thirty three thousand three hundred and five Crowns yearly, in lieu of those Pensions and Rents which the said Francis was bound to pay to Henry, and during such Terms as was agreed betwixt them; (as by a Treaty concluded at Windsor, June 19, 1522, more at large appeareth) and because, since that time until a late League betwixt Francis and Henry, all the said Money remains in Arrear: And because

1526. because Francis saith, he hath taken order with Henry for the payment of the said entire Sum; therefore it is agreed, that Francis shall save harmless the said Charles from all demands on the part of Henry; and furthermore, shall give an Authentick Copy of the said late Agreement betwixt him and Henry, sometime before the end of four Months next ensuing the date hereof; as also of the Acquittances he shall receive from Henry upon payment of the said Sums, which shall be such, as Charles, his Heirs and Successors may remain indemnify'd and discharg'd thereof for ever. So that, if Charles should be call'd upon for satisfaction in these Particulars, Francis shall take the business on himself, and defend it as his own, without that Charles shall be any way molested therein.

21. That, because this particular Treaty is made in the way of a General League, intended to be agreed on and concluded hereafter against Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks; therefore, that supplication should be made in both their Names unto his Holiness, that he would write unto all Christian Princes and Estates to joyn herein; as also to authorize a Cruzada for the said Enterprize; to endure at least for three years next ensuing, not exempting Ecclesiastical Persons from it. And, if need be that Charles and Francis should go in Person to this Holy War by Sea, that then they shall join and unite their Forces together with those of the great Master of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, and the Genouese; or, if the danger appear not so great, as to require their presence in the said War, that then a General for conducting the said Forces, shall be appointed by Charles; or, if otherwise it should be thought necessary themselves should go in Person, that then Ambassadors and Commissioners should be appointed to reside in each others Dominions, for the determining of all Differences that should arise in their absence.

22. That, because Charles Duke of Bourbon, together with divers of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, did for a while absent themselves from France, and the Service of Francis, and that for this cause the Duchies of Bourbon, Auvergne, Chastelleraut, the Counties of Clermont, &c. had been taken away from them, it is agreed, that Francis presently, or at farthest in six Weeks after his Delivery, shall restore unto the said Duke of Bourbon, as well as to all the rest of his Friends, Allies, and Servants, (whether Ecclesiastical or Secular) their former Possessions, together with the just value of all the Goods that have been taken from them, as also the Writings or Deeds by which the said Possessions were formerly held, and also the true profit of the said Lands and Possessions, during their absence, and to stay all Suits and Proceedings against them on this occasion. Furthermore, That the said Duke shall not be constrain'd personally to appear in the French Court, but that he may Administer, and dispose of all his Estate and Possessions, by sufficient Deputies and Officers appointed thereunto, and receive the Revenues thereof, in such place as himself shall chuse, when it were out of France, and that the said Officers shall not be molested in execution of their Charge. And, as for the Right the said Duke of Bourbon pretends to the County of Provence, and the Dependencies thereof, it is agreed that a just and equal hearing and decision thereof, shall be permitted and given before competent Judges, whensoever the said Duke shall re-commence his former Suit therein; and that the said Duke, his Friends, Allies, and Servants, may without prejudice to their Rights or Possessions stay or continue in the

Service of the Emperor. And that, for performing of all these particulars above mention'd, Francis shall give good and sufficient warrant and assurance, according to form of Law, and the terms usual in this case.

23. That, before the fifteenth of February next, all Prisoners on both sides, and particularly Philibert Prince of Orange shall (without paying any Ransom) be set free, and return to their several Countries, unless their Sovereigns by mutual consent do otherwise determin.

24. That all Rebels and Fugitives on either side shall be remanded, (only those in the Duchy of Milan, Genoua, and County of Asti excepted) who shall be freely pardon'd, and within six Months restor'd to their former Estates. As for those who are charg'd with heinous crimes of that Nature, as they cannot be return'd home, without Scandal and Inconvenience, it is agreed, that upon a Months warning they shall depart from those places to which they are restor'd, upon the penalty of being apprehended, and sent to their lawful Sovereign or Superior.

25. That all Prelates and Ecclesiastical Persons, as also all Subjects, of what condition soever, shall on either side return to their former Places, Estates, and Possessions, notwithstanding any Confiscation, Gift, or Alienation thereof whatsoever.

26. That, because in the Cortes of Castilla, the Consuls and University of Burgos had complain'd of divers losses they had receiv'd, contrary to some ancient Privileges, (both before and since these Wars) which they pretend to hold from the Ancestors of the most Christian King as Duke of Bretagne, it is therefore agreed, that upon verification of the Particulars, the said Privileges shall be confirm'd, and a friendly end made, or otherwise Justice done on the Offenders.

27. That, because the Cloths made in Catalonia, Roussillon, Cerdenna, and other places of the Crown of Arragon, are not permitted to be carry'd through the Territories of France into other Countries without danger of Confiscation; it is therefore agreed, that paying their ancient Customs, they shall have a free Way and Passage, both by Sea and Land, along all the French Dominions.

28. Because M^{adame} Marguerite, Aunt to Charles, hath much mediat^d this Peace; and because a certain Neutrality, by the consent of Charles, was accorded betwixt her and Francis, for the Countries in her possession, during their late Wars, according to which she ought to enjoy the County of Carthus, and certain Granaries of Salt, &c. notwithstanding which, they have by force been taken from her; it is agreed therefore, that they, together with the profits in arrears, shall be restor'd to her, during her life only. And, that afterwards they shall descend on Charles and his Heirs.

29. That, because the Queen Donna Germana de Foix, Widow of Arragon, saith, she had receiv'd a definitive Sentence in the Parliament of Paris, by which the Towns and Lands of Marcen, Turfen, Gavierdey, and Gavavere are adjudg'd to her; it is agreed, that Francis shall see the said Sentence executed by strong hand, if need be.

30. Item, Because Philibert de Chalon, Prince of Orange, since his service of the Emperor, hath had divers Places and Rights in Dauphine and Bretagne taken from him by Francis, and some Money's detain'd; it is agreed, that he shall be restor'd to his former Possessions, and the said Moneys paid, and good and speedy Justice done him in his other demands.

1526.

31. Item, Because Philip de Croy Marquis of Avescon, pretends to divers Lands, and other Rights in France, which since these Wars have been taken from him; it is agreed he shall be restor'd to them, and Justice done him in his other Demands.

32. Item, Because the Princess of Chimay pretends to certain Goods and Inheritance descended to her, as in the Right of the Seigneur de la Brit her Father, as also to some Goods of her Mother and Brethren; it is agreed that good and speedy Justice be done her.

33. Item, That Henry Count of Nassau shall have right done him by Francis for part of the Dowry of his Wife.

34. Item, That Adolpho of Burgundy, Seigneur de Beures, Admiral of Flanders, shall be restor'd to his right of the Castle and Lands of Crevecoeur en Cambrésis, in the manner he held it before the War.

35. Item, That Monsieur Charles de Pompet, Camarero to the Emperor, shall have the Money restor'd him, which contrary to the Privileges of the University of Paris, he was constrain'd to pay for the Ransom of his Children, Students there, when the late War began.

36. Item, That Guillaume de Vergi shall have right done him for the Seigneurie of San-de-fier en Perchois.

37. Item, That the Seigneurs de Frenes, Conde de Gaures, Monsieur Audriano de Croy, de Reulx, de Meleny, Conte de Spinay, and Sieur de Reulx, shall have the Goods restor'd which they enjoy'd before these late Wars.

38. Item, That the Marquis Antonio de Saluzzo his Mother and Sisters, as also Frederico de Baugy shall have those Goods restor'd, which were taken in these late Wars, and Justice done them.

39. Item, That the Seigneur de Monago Bishop of Graso shall be replac'd in his Bishoprick, and Justice done to him, and against those who kill'd his Brother.

40. Item, That the Seigneur de Luz shall be restor'd to his Possessions which he enjoy'd before he entred the Emperors Service; and good and speedy Justice done in certain Lands he pretends descended to him from his Ancestors during those Wars.

41. Item, That the Pope, the King of England, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Portugal, and Scotland, Don Ferdinando Brother to Charles, (and his Lieutenant-General of the Empire) Madam Marguerite Aunt to the Emperor, the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, (who are obedient to the Emperor) the Seigneurs of the Ancient Leagues and Cantons of High-Germany, may upon notification of their desire to be admitted into this League, (and not otherwise) be receiv'd there into at any time within the space of six Months next ensuing.

42. Item, That Francis being set at liberty, shall in the first Town he shall come to within his Kingdom, give Letters Patents for the ratification of this Accord, and send them to Charles. And that the Dauphin, when he shall attain the age of fourteen, shall likewise ratifie them with a solemn Oath, in which he shall renounce all Advantages, which by Minority of Age he might take hereafter to infringe the said Oath.

43. Item, That both Charles and Francis shall ratifie this present Capitulation and Agreement, and all that is contain'd therein (each for his part) before Ambassadors appointed for this purpose; and especially Francis, when he is free in his Kingdom, shall swear solemnly upon the Evangelists in the presence of the true Cross, to keep and hold all that is contain'd in the said Capitulation; and that both of them shall submit themselves herein to the Ecclesiastical Juris-

1526. diction and Censure, even to the Invocation of the Secular Power to constrain them; and that they shall appoint their several Proctors to appear for them in the Court of Rome, and before the Pope, where they shall voluntarily accept the Condition and Fulmination of the said Censures, in case of Contravention; and that neither of them shall demand or sue for absolution of this Oath or Censure; or if they do, that it shall not be available without the consent of the other.

44. Item, Because no Man may pretend Ignorance, it is agreed that this Peace shall be publish'd before the fifteenth of February next, both in the Dominions of Charles and Francis; and especially in the Frontiers, and such other places as have been accusom'd in the like case.

This was Signed: Francois, Charles de la Noy, Don Hugo de Moncada, Francois Archevesque de Ambrun, Jean de Selue, Chabot.

The Treaty betwixt them being concluded in the manner above-mention'd, the Archbishop of Ambrun, for the last Seal and Solemnization thereof, said Mass. This being done, Francis coming to the Altar, and putting his right hand upon the Book of the Evangelists, (which the said Archbishop held) did swear by the Sacrament, and the Holy Evangelists, not to break this Capitulation all the days of his Life, nor to give Counsel or Favour that any other should break it. The like Oath was taken by the Vice-Roy of Naples, Don Hugo de Moncada, and the Secretary Aleman in the Emperors Name. (For the Emperor in Person did not think fit to balance his free Oath, with that of Francis, then in restraint.) This being perform'd on both sides, the Vice-Roy took the Faith and Pleyto omenae (being a kind of homage) of Francis, who as a Prince and the most Christian King, promis'd and gave his Fidelity and Royal word to return into Spain a Prisoner within the space of six Months, in case he did not accomplish all that was there capitulated betwixt them, giving his hands thereupon to be held betwixt those of Charles de la Noy. This being ended with much seeming content on all parts, the Emperors Commissioners went to Toledo; where, upon relation to the Emperor of what was done, it was thought fit to send the Seigneur de Praet, Chevalier of the Toison d'Or, who had been in England, and was now his Ambassador in France, to meet with the French King at Bayonne, and there to require of him, according to the Articles, a new and more ample Ratification of his Oath.

Some few days after this Treaty (commonly call'd Concordia de Madrid) Charles de la Noy having Power and Commission from the Queen Donna Leonora, privately contracted a Marriage with Francis in her name, and then having Commission from him again, went to the Queen Leonora and contracted a Marriage with her in the name of Francis. After which time the Emperor treated no more with Francis as a Prisoner, but a near Ally; insomuch that at the next Visit, he offer'd him the right Hand. I observe yet the Emperor would not permit Francis to enjoy Leonora his Sister, till he had fully accomplish'd the Concord betwixt them. Neither did he, in his last words to Francis, (being then licens'd to depart) seem so sensible of any thing, as of her Honour. At which time also (for further obligation of Francis unto this Agreement) I find by Sandoval, he demanded of Francis, whether he remembred well all that was capitulated betwixt them? Francis answer'd, Yes; for further confirmation repeating the most particular

Sandoval, Jan 14.

Francis swears to this Treaty.

Emperor visits him with great Affection.

1526. *lar Articles. Charles then demanded, Are you willing to perform them? Francis answer'd again, Yes; adding, he knew no Man in his Kingdom would hinder him. And, when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wish and consent that you hold me for Lascche & Meschant, a Knaue and a Villain. Charles reply'd, and I wish you to say the like of me if I do not give you liberty. Whereupon they lovingly bid each other a long farewell. This being done, Charles return'd. There was much difficulty yet about the exchange betwixt Francis and his two Sons, neither could they (almost) devise how to secure it from jealousy on either side. At last these Articles were agreed.*

The manner how Francis was to be deliver'd.

1. That no Man at Arms, or other Soldier, might within ten days before or after the exchange and delivery be permitted to come within twenty Leagues of the place; and that those who were come already should retire.
2. That no Gentleman of the French Kings Household should pass Bayonne, till the King were come to St. Juan de Luz.
3. That the number of Foot-Garrisons in either Frontier should not exceed a thousand. And that when Madam Louise the Regent had declar'd whether she would give the two eldest Sons of Francis in Hostage, or the Dauphin only with the twelve others above mention'd, that then it should be advis'd whether the number were to be increas'd.
4. That at the day of the delivery neither Man nor Woman, Neighbour nor Stranger should be near the place.
5. That six days before the delivery, Charles should appoint twelve Persons to visit the Coast, on that side where the River of Fuentarabie joins with France: And that four Persons appointed by Madam Louise, should be ready there to do whatsoever was requir'd for performance of these Articles. And that for this purpose Madam Louise might also appoint twelve on the other side of the River, whom four on Charles his part should likewise attend.
6. That neither on one or other side of the said River (passing near Fuentarabie) there should be any Boats or Pinaces, but two (which must be of the same bigness) to pass Francis to the one, and the Hostages to the other side, and that the twelve Deputies on either part should take order herein.
7. That there should be no Gally, Ship, or Pinace in the Sea within five Leagues of the place appointed for the Delivery.

March 15.

In sequence of which Capitulation, it was further agreed, that Charles de la Noy, with twenty five arm'd Men, with Swords and Daggers only, for guarding of the French King, and as many with Monsieur de Lautrech, in like manner weapon'd, for conducting the two Hostages, should come to the sides of the above-mention'd River; in the middle of which a little Bridge, upon a Bark fastned with Anchors, should be built, on which yet no body should stand; and that two Boats of equal bigness, fitted for twenty Oars apiece, should be ready there, of which Francis should chuse one; which being done, twenty Rowers, all French and unarm'd, should enter his Boat, and bring it to the side of Spain, at the same time that the other with twenty Spaniards unarm'd likewise, should be brought to the French Coast. That thereupon Charles de la Noy conducting the King, and taking ten Persons only with him, should pass to one side of the said Bridge, at the same time that Monsieur de Lautrech with the Hostages, and ten Persons, should likewise come to the other. That none of the said Persons yet should put themselves upon the Bridge, but Charles de la Noy with the French King and one other, and Monsieur de Lau-

trech with the two Hostages, and Madam de Baisac and Chauvigny. That thereupon the exchange should be made in one instant. Before yet any thing was done the same day, that a Boat with four Rowers Spanish, and four French, and a Gentleman of either Nation, should visit the Coast on both sides, and take order that every thing should be prepar'd. For fear yet lest some supposititious Children should be rendred instead of the Dauphin and his Brother, it was agreed further, that the Seigneur de Praet, the Emperors Ambassador, should come along with them, while another Frenchman was allow'd to attend Francis in his passage.

Thus upon the eighteenth of March 1526. after one whole year and some days Imprisonment, was Francis deliver'd to his Boat, and by mutual consent at the same time accompanied with twelve Spaniards (whereof Charles de la Noy and Hernando de Alancon his Guardian were two) to the French shoar, while the Hostages, accompany'd with the like number, came to the Spanish Coast; neither was there any thing more that might be thought remarkable in the performance of all this, but that a stay was made while the two Children kiss'd their Fathers Hand, and that his last words to la Noy confirm'd again his promise to the Emperor. As soon as Francis came to his own ground, he got hastily upon a Turkish and swift Horse, and suddenly putting Spurs to him (if we may believe Sandoval) and casting one of his Arms over his Head, and crying *Je suis le Roy, Je suis le Roy*, posted to St. Juan de Luz, and the next day to Bayonne, where the Lady his Mother, and many other principal Persons with much anxiety attended him.

Francis's joy on his arrival in France.

I am the more particular in the Relation of these Passages, both as the Example is rare, and as it leads to the understanding of that which followeth in our History; and the rather, for that it was the Subject that chiefly took up the time, and thoughts of our King, whensoever his Prospect was turn'd on Foreign Affairs; insomuch that he might be truly said a principal Actor in them. And now he held it his part to relieve Francis. Therefore as he had sent Cuthbert Tonsal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Wingfield, long since into Spain to mediate his delivery with the Emperor, so now hearing he was in his way homewards, he dispatches Sir Thomas Cheyney to congratulate his safe return, and to take his Oath to the Treaty of Moore above-mention'd, which Francis accepting, sent a Messenger immediately to advertise our King of the Conditions of his Delivery, and to acknowledge that he ow'd him chiefly his liberty, as both Sandoval relates it, and our Records, under his own hand, confirm; which fair Terms produc'd, afterwards, a more firm Correspondency betwixt them.

Owens his liberty due to King Henry.

Charles de la Noy & Hernando de Alancon having in vain sollicitated Francis, at Bayonne, to accomplish that part of the late Concord and Agreement he was bound to there, seem'd yet to receive some satisfaction, that they were referr'd untill their coming to Paris. (The King pretending he could do nothing, effectually, till he had spoken with the principal Persons of the Estate and Parliament.) Here again they press'd Francis unto the performance of that he was bound to by so many Oaths and Promises. But Francis, for a Conclusion, positively answer'd, that it was not in his power to dismember any part from the Kingdom, without consent both of the same part, and the whole Kingdom; and therefore, with many loving words, desir'd that his Ransom might be chang'd to some equivalent sum of Money. But Charles would by no means hearken thereunto. Therefore, as he had by

May. Francis refuses to confirm the Treaty.

1526. Treaty happily detain'd the Queen *Leonora* from passing into *France*, so he determin'd rather (at what price soever) to take off the Pope, *Venetians*, and *Francisco Sforza*, and the *Florentines*, from a League they were entering into with *England* and *Francis* against him, than to decline any way the least Article of the late Concord and Agreement.

Tillet. This League (call'd *Clementina* & *Sanctissima*) was begun (as the *French* have it) by the instigation of our King, during the Imprisonment of *Francis*, but not perfectly concluded, till about two Months after his delivery. To give this a more auspicate beginning, the Pope (as the *Spanish History* hath it) sent to the *French King* a Relaxation of the Oath he made to observe the Concord and Treaty of *Madrid*, upon pretext alledg'd by *Francis*, that those of *Burgundy* would not consent, by any means, to be alienated from the *French Crown*. *Charles de la Noy* & *Hernando de Alancon* finding matters thus distemper'd, and unlike to sort to any good end, desir'd leave to return, which *Francis* granted, upon condition that they would go to *Spain* immediately, and not to *Italy*, whither (in regard of his Government) *la Noy* desir'd much to pass through the *French Territories*. Though others write, and our Records confirm it, that they departed not till the following Treaty was sworn, at *Cognac*, in their Presence. Which that they might make more specious to the Emperor, they offer'd him place to enter into it, upon certain Conditions. This Treaty, concluded between Pope *Clement VII*, *Francis* the *French King*, the *Venetians*, *Francisco Sforza*, and the *Florentines*, was to this effect.

The Pope absolves him from his Oath. May 22. *Sander.*

And heads a League made against Charles. May 22. The Articles of it.

1. That the Contractors of this League and Concord shall be Friends of the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies of each other. That this Clause yet shall not extend to the Dominions held by the Pope and *Venetians*, out of *Italy*. And that the said Contractors shall, particularly defend the Person and Dignity of the Pope against all his Adversaries.

2. That place shall be left for the Emperor *Charles* to enter hereinto, if he desire it, and for *Henry King of England*, not only as a Contractor but Protector of this most Holy League and Concord, as also for *Don Hernando*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and the rest of the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendom, provided yet, that the said *Charles* shall not be admitted hereunto, but upon these ensuing Conditions. That is to say, unless he first restore the two Sons of *Francis*, which he detains as Hostages, and take in lieu of them, some reasonable and fitting Recompence and Satisfaction. As also unless he leave the Dutchy of *Milan* freely unto *Francisco Sforza*, and the rest of the Estates and Dominions in *Italy*, in the form and manner they were before the late War; and unless, when he enters *Italy*, to be Crown'd there, he bring with him such Family and Train only, as the Pope and *Venetians* shall think fit; which yet is intended shall be such, as may take away suspicion of violent Attempt, and preserve together the Imperial Dignity; and unless within three Months, after the conclusion of the said Treaty, (the King of *England* entering into it) he pay unto the said King all the Money due to him.

3. That an Army shall be rais'd by the said Confederates, which shall consist of thirty thousand Foot, two thousand five hundred Men of Arms, and three thousand Light Horse, together with the Artillery and Munition fitting thereunto. Whereof, the Pope should furnish eight hundred Men at Arms, and seven hundred Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot: The

French King forty thousand Crowns the Month in Money, and five hundred Men at Arms (call'd *Maistres*) comprehending one thousand Light Horse: The *Venetians* eight hundred Men at Arms, and one thousand Light Horse, and eight thousand Foot; *Francisco Sforza*, the Duke of *Milan*, four hundred Men at Arms, three hundred Light Horse, and four thousand Foot. That certain *Swiss* should be rais'd for the said League, at the charge of the *French King*; who, besides the above mention'd, shall have a powerful Army to hinder the passage of any considerable Forces into *Italy*. All which, are to be employ'd against the Perturbators of the Peace of *Italy*, until they be reduc'd to the Estate of not being able to keep the Field.

1526.

4. That, when this Treaty shall be ratified by all the Confederates, they shall joyntly desire *Charles* the Emperor to restore the two Sons of the *French King*, and, in case he refuse, shall denounce War against him, till he restore them. For the execution whereof (the War of *Italy* being ended) the Confederates shall furnish to the said *French King* ten thousand Foot, one thousand Men at Arms, and a thousand Light-Horse, or Money for the raising and payment of them.

5. That the Confederates shall defend each others Estate against all Invasion; In which case those of *Italy* shall furnish ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse to the *French King*, and he as many to them again.

6. That the Confederates shall have an Armado of twenty eight Gallies at least, whereof the *French King* shall furnish twelve, the Pope three, and the *Venetians* thirteen, to be employ'd in this War, unless the *French King* have particular use of his part.

7. That, for removing all suspicion of Attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, the *French King* shall not only permit the present Duke to enjoy it, but shall defend him against all Adversaries, with the proportion of Forces above-mentioned, he paying, in consideration of the Claim and Expence of the *French King*, such a Pension (at *Lyons* in *France*) as the Pope and *Venetians* shall ordain; which yet shall not be less than five hundred thousand Ducats yearly.

8. That, because this Peace may be universal over *Italy*, all Goods taken away in these late occasions, shall be restor'd, and all Men re-inplac'd in their former Possessions.

9. That the *French King* shall give some Lady of the Blood-Royal of *France*, (by the nomination of the Pope) for Wife to the Duke of *Milan*, and shall procure the *Swiss* to defend his State on all occasions, as they were formerly accustomed. That the *Concado de Asti*, as being distinct from *Milan*, and anciently pertaining to the House of *Orleans*, shall be restor'd to the *French King*, or at least the Government thereof, to be administred by the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to the *French King*, or his Deputy.

10. That *Antonio Adorno* shall remain Duke of *Genoia*, if either he enter into this League, or, otherwise, alter the form of the City Government, in such sort as may be thought most for the security and quiet of *Italy*, reserving yet to the *French King* his Title and Right of Superiority, in the manner he held it when he was in possession of the said City.

11. That, if the Emperor deny or delay to perform what is requir'd in the second Article, that then presently after ending the War for the Pacification of *Italy*, the Confederates shall invade the Kingdom of *Naples*; and, if the Emperor be expuls'd thence, that then it shall remain at the disposition of the Pope, as being held

1526. held in feud of the Church; and that, in recompence of the pretence which the French King hath to it, the Pope, with consent of all the Cardinals, shall bind himself and Successors to pay yearly to the King of France a convenient Pension, which shall not be less than sixty five thousand Crowns de Soleil.

12. That in Case any of the Confederates should die or fail, yet the League should continue firm among the rest, and that the Successors of the dead may enter into his place.

13. That all the Confederates shall take upon them the defence and protection of the House of Medicis, even to the restitution of them to their former Greatness and Dignity.

Henry VIII. Protector of it, with an allowance of 30000 Ducats per Annum.

14. And because the most serene and powerful King of England, Defender of the Faith, hath always affected Peace, as appears by the good Offices done to the French King, and hath always imploy'd his Forces in service of the Catholick Church, as his Father did before him; and because no Authority, superior to his, can be interpos'd either for the conservation of good Men in Peace or repressing of those who are ill: Therefore, it is agreed, that his Majesty shall be Protector of the most Holy League and Concord. For which purpose, the said Confederates do offer to him and his Heirs an Estate in the Kingdom of Naples, with the Title of Duke or Prince, not less worth than the yearly Rent of thirty thousand Ducats. And to the Cardinal of York, for his great pains and service in this Business, they offer another Estate in Italy worth ten thousand Ducats yearly.

The Cardinal 10000.

15. That the Confederates shall make no Treaty with others than these who are mentioned in this present Concord: And that, if, before this time, they have made any, it be reputed as of no force and value.

16. That, before the ratification of this Concord, every one, who is contain'd in it, shall name his Friends, provided, that they be not Subjects, nor Vassals, or Enemies of the greater part. And so the Pope nominated the King of England, and the Marquis of Mantua, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed. The King of France naming the King of England, Scotland, Navarre, Portugal, Polonia, Hungaria, the Dukes of Savoy, Lorain, and Gueldres, and the thirteen Cantons of the Swiss. The Venetians nominated the King of England, reserving the naming of the rest within the time appointed.

17. That the French King send his Moneys within the space of a Month to Rome, or consign them to Venice or Florence, and give security for payment to the Bankers six days before every Month.

18. That all, who enter the League, shall, in the space of one Month, approve and confirm it. And if the Duke of Milan, because he is straitly besieged, cannot perform his part, that then the Pope and Venetians shall sign it for him.

And thus far I have follow'd the Spanish Relation. By the French I find only such a League was sign'd at Cognac in France, the two and twentieth of May 1526.

Our King finding himself thus chosen Protector of the League, advises what to do; which being accordingly debated by his Council, it was resolv'd, most prudently, that he should not be a Party, where he might be a Judge.

The Emperor also, inform'd hereof, protested against Clement VII, as an ungrateful Person; he having been by his favour first made Cardinal, and after Pope, in despite of Cardinal Soderino's Allegation, that he was a Bastard, and, therefore, incapable of either of the said Dig-

1526. nities: Neither had he other evasion to clear himself, but that he produc'd Witnesses, how his Father, Julian de Medicis, before his Death, (which he receiv'd by a stab as the Priest lift up the Host) had at length marry'd his Mother. Against the French King he exclaim'd, as perjur'd and false, and against the Venetians, as unconstant. Howsoever, his greatest care was how to divide them. Therefore, though in Italy, upon publishing of the League (July 8.) solemnly, by the Pope, July 8. they levy'd their appointed numbers, yet Francis, being put in hope of the restitution of his Children, delay'd so much on his part, that, at last, the Imperial Army constrain'd Sforza to yield Milan, reserving yet the Revenues thereof to July 24. his use, as hoping thereby to content him. But the despised and distrustful Duke, not satisfied herewith, fled to the Forces, which the League had then on Foot, in Italy, of which the Duke of Urbino was made General. This while the Emperor was advertis'd, how, in sequence of the Pope's Relaxation of Francis his Oath, the Parliament of Paris and Kings Council had disannull'd and annihilated the Concord of Madrid, as being concluded by a Person who was constrain'd, and in Prison. To colour yet this refusal, Francis sent Ambassadors to Granada, (where the Emperor was) to tell him again, Burgundy could not be alienated from the French Crown; and that, if he would return his Sons at a reasonable Ransom, (which I find by the French was two Millions of Crowns) he would take his Sister Leonora for his Queen; if not, that he would recover them by force. The several Ambassadors also of the Confederates, which were in his Court at that time, (and particularly the English) concurr'd herein; requiring further, that he should recal the Spaniards out of Lombardy, and restore Francisco Sforza; leave his pretence to Naples, and not go to Italy with an Army; and that he should pay the King of England, all the Contractors of the League, in case of refusal, denouncing War. The Emperor answered, That the French King should do ill, not to keep his Oath and Promise. Neither could he excuse himself sufficiently by laying the fault on his Parliament or Kingdom, they being privy and consenting to it. that he would detain the Hostages; and, for the Queen Leonora, she was not demanded in such terms as it was fit to send her. For Francisco Sforza, that he would chastise him as his Vassal. That he would hold his right in Naples. That he would go to Italy, when and how he list. And that, if all made War against him, he would, by the help of his good Subjects, defend himself against them all, and that he would pay the King of England with French Money.

Concord of Madrid declar'd Null.

Francis's Message to Charles.

Charles's Answer.

I must return now a while to speak of home Businesses, that the Reader may see wherefore our active King prevail'd himself no more nor otherwise of these great occasions. It was only for want of Money; the scarcity whereof also was the excuse his People made, for not furnishing those Contributions he demanded. Hereupon our King inquires into the Causes: Among which because secret transportation of Money was thought one of the greatest, he advises concerning the remedy. All his Counsellors yet did not concur in the same opinion; for some affirm'd, no Merchant would carry away Coin unless he found gain by it; and that this, returning home again, enrich'd the Country. Others said, there were subtleties yet, which, if order were not taken, would drain away our Monies insensibly; it being manifest to all, that would take the pains to consider it, that, unless the Commodities and Coin of our Country kept both Standard and proportion with those, with whom we Traffick, there would be loss. That the crafty Flemings, therefore, when they desir'd to raise the

Reasons against exporting Coin.

1526. the Price of their Commodities, inhauc'd likewise the Value of our Money, especially Gold; lest our Merchants should be discouraged to buy, when they find the Price of the Commodity so much rais'd. The consequence whereof was, that as our Merchants desir'd, by Stealth, to convey over their Money in *Specie*, as having, thereby, the benefit of the inhancing; whereas if they receiv'd it in the *Low-Countries* by Bill of Credit or Exchange, they should not only lose this benefit, but pay somewhat to those who furnish'd them. Again, that when our Merchants had occasion to return from the *Low-Countries*, they were not suffer'd to carry back their Monies in *Specie*, but were forc'd to take Letters of Exchange for them in *England*, by which they lost again. Thus, notwithstanding all Prohibitions and Searches, great Sums were convey'd over, to the impoverishing of the Kingdom. The only Remedy whereof therefore was, to cry up our Money at home, to the same rate that it passeth at abroad, which will both keep our Money from transporting, and make the Exchange without loss: Neither was there other means to prevent these Inconveniencies; which had now extended so far, that our Gold was as frequent and current among our Neighbours, almost, as at home; whereas yet, little, or none of their Gold was to be found in our ordinary Payments. Besides, they made another advantage hereof: For as their Standard was baser than ours, so they coin'd our Gold again, and made no little profit that way. Thus did our Neighbours many ways procure the Wealth of their Country, and Damage of ours; and would do more, when timely Order were not taken. Which our Historians have thought worth the setting down, and my self have the more insist'd on, both to shew the rate of Gold and Silver in those times, and to help the Reader to understand the second enhancing under this King, Anno 1544. Therefore thus I collect. The Angel-Noble of Gold was hitherto in weight of an Ounce, in estimation six Shillings eight Pence of Silver, which Silver was two Ounces. Thus the Proportion of Gold to Silver was Twelve to One. Again, an Ounce of Silver (or Half-angel) pass'd for three Shillings four Pence; so twelve Ounces (or a Pound) was just forty Shillings, which is two Pound, as we commonly count our Money.

Sept. But Henry VIII. now, by Proclamation, advancing the Value of both (one tenth part) the Angel was rais'd to seven Shillings four Pence (which was the rate at which it pass'd in the *Low-Countries*.) And, consequently, an Ounce of Gold estimated at Forty four Shillings, and an Ounce of Silver three Shillings eight Pence, and a Pound Weight at Forty four Shillings, the proportion being (ut supra) twelve to one. The sudden Benefit of this appear'd such, that, in Novemb. November following, there was another enhancing of one Forty fourth Part. So that the Angel was seven Shillings six Pence, the Ounce of Gold Forty five Shillings, and the Ounce of Silver three Shillings nine Pence. And, by these means, much of our Gold (as our Historians observe) was brought back again. But, Anno 1544. 1544. these Metals were again enhanced one fifteenth part. So Gold came (from Forty five Shillings) to Forty eight Shillings an Ounce; and Silver (from three Shillings nine Pence an Ounce) to four Shillings; and a Pound Weight of Silver was Forty eight Shillings.

The Turks beat the Hungarians. This while Solymán brought Two hundred thousand Men into Hungary, with which (near Buda) he wholly defeated the Army of Louis King thereof, being Forty thousand, and constrain'd him to fly away; till, by the fall of his Horse,

having his Leg engag'd, he was drown'd in less than a span-deep of Water and Mud, so that it concern'd all Christian Princes to make Peace, but chiefly the Emperor, whose Sister King Lewis had married; and whose Brother Ferdinand, in the Right of his Wife Anne, Sister and Heir to the said King of Hungary and Bohemia, claim'd to succeed in both Kingdoms. Francis, being not ignorant hereof, thought fit to prevail himself of the occasion: Therefore he sent in September, 1526, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux (with whom also the Nuntio and Venetian Ambassadors join'd Offices) to desire the Emperor to send back his Children, and to accept some honest Ransom in Money; promising, withal, his Love and Friendship. But Charles, now incens'd, told the Archbishop, that, if he would have his Children, he must according to his Oath and Promise, return Prisoner himself; (adding, that his Kingdom could not hinder him herein, however he pretended they would not consent to the restitution of Burgundy.) Wherein yet, he should but imitate the Example of King John his Predecessor; who, being Prisoner in England, and permitted to go home upon the like Terms, did (when he was not able to pay his Ransom) most faithfully return again, and yield his Body unto Custody, where he dy'd. Then, taking the Ambassador aside, (as Sandoval hath it) he bid him tell the French King his Master, that he had done *Laschement* and *Meschamment*, in breaking the Concord of Madrid, and that, if he deny'd it, he would make it good in Person against him. But Francis wanted not Courage to reply in the same Language, as will appear afterwards.

In the mean time, as he thought it concern'd him to defend his Reputation in any probable way, rather than to confess in himself so notable a Fallhood, he caus'd an Apology (penn'd by the Chancellor of France) to be publish'd, and sent to all Christian Princes, the Effect whereof was.

That the Emperor had first broke the Confederation of * Noyon, in denying the Tribute due for the Kingdom of Naples, the restitution of Navarre, and divers other Rights. Besides, that he had made War in Milan, which was his by Inheritance, the Concession of Popes, and Donation in Feud by Maximilian the Emperor. And, which was worst of all, had enticed his Vassal the Duke of Bourbon, to rebel against him, and invade Provence. That, thereupon, he had, indeed, drawn his Sword, and chased the Imperial Army from before Marseilles, and follow'd it to Italy, where he was unfortunately taken Prisoner; yet that he had protested to those who kept him there, that, if the Emperor requir'd unjust or impossible things, he would not perform them, but rather that he would revenge himself, when he was free. That, as he doubted lest through his absence, some Troubles might arise at home, he had procur'd his Liberty the best way he could. In the whole Frame whereof, if any thing were to be dislike'd, it must be rather imputed to the Emperor, who demanded unreasonable Conditions, than to him who found no other means to escape. Notwithstanding, that, at his return, he had for the satisfaction of his Honour, requir'd of his chief Nobility and Counsellors, what he ought to do, both according to Equity, and the maintenance of his Royal Dignity, who upon mature Deliberation, answer'd: That insolent Pactions and Contracts, which comprehend in them notable Damage and Detriment to the Contractor, as being impos'd on him from one more powerful, ought to be held as violent, and involuntary, and therefore in themselves void. Besides, that, when he was sacred at Rheims, he was then sworn not to alienate any Patrimony of the Crown, from which Oath therefore, as being formerly made, and more obligatory, he could by no means depart; especially, when the Inhabitants of Burgundy (which

Proportion of Gold to Silver.

Sept.

Value of Coin rais'd.

Novemb.

1544.

The Turks beat the Hungarians.

1526.

Sept.

Francis's second Message to Charles.

Charles's Answer.

Sandoval.

* 1516. Francis's Apology.

1526. (which was the Country demanded) would not consent thereunto. Wherefore, if the Emperor pressed him to any thing contrary to these Duties and Obligations, he must think it was not without a special Providence from above, that he recover'd his Liberty. For how could the Emperor be ignorant, that, he was ty'd by the greatest Bond of Religion not to violate the Right of his Crown? Or how could he believe, that the Presidents of the Parliaments of France would consent hereunto, when they had taken their Oaths to the contrary? Howsoever, that none could think him false or perjur'd as long as the Hostages (as the Counter-value of all that was capitulated) had been deliver'd to the Emperor. Neither was it enough to say, that, in demanding Burgundy, the Emperor did but require his own; since that Dutchy was (long since) annexed to Normandy, and incorporated into the Crown of France by King John, and consequently govern'd by the same Laws; among which the Salick being principal, the Emperor's Title, as being claim'd from a Daughter, was excluded. Furthermore, that this Affair had been communicated to some out of this Kingdom, who understood well what was to be done in such Cases, and that he had receiv'd much Comfort. In conclusion, as there remain'd nothing else for him to do, so he had offer'd a condign Ransom in Money, and other good Conditions, which might both redeem his dear Children, and testify the Desire he had to recover his lately married Wife, who was also detain'd from him; yet that he was still refus'd. All which Premises being duly consider'd, he appeal'd to all Christian Princes and Potentates, as his Judges and Protectors, whether the Fault was his, and not rather the Emperors, who, by his injurious and impossible Demands, had frustrated himself.

Charles answers it.

Sandoval.

Aug. 8. Treaty between K. Henry and Francis.

Thus (as many thought) did Francis strive to elude his Oath with Reason of State; and to cover the Breach of his Faith under a Pretext of Impossibility; without making any good Excuse at all (that is extant) for his not returning, (tho' more easily palliated than the rest;) both as suspicion of ill Usage might be held a kind of natural Defence and Evasion in this kind, and as his Kingdom would less consent hereunto, than to any other Condition. And certainly, had the Emperor sufficiently consider'd all these Circumstances, he would have follow'd their Counsel, who advis'd him, either to detain Francis till he had made some Advantage thereof, or else have let him go freely. Neither should the Clementine League (begun during the Imprisonment of Francis) have deterr'd him; as being not concluded so much in favour of Francis, as directed against him, whose Greatness did then many ways appear. So that to let Francis go, was but to fortifie his Adversaries against himself. He thought fit yet to command an Answer to this Apology; wherein the Title, by which he claim'd all his doubtful Possessions, (especially that of Naples and Provence) is set down, and the Fault laid on Francis, with as much Bitterness as the Cause requir'd; all which is set down by Sandoval.

Francis, finding now there was no other way to recover his Children, but by Force, makes all the Friends he can: Wherefore, about the end of July, sending some Ambassadors to our King, a League was concluded the eighth of August, Anno 1526, By which both Kings did oblige themselves reciprocally, not to Treat or Agree apart, or separately with the said Emperor, concerning the restitution of the two Children of Francis (when yet they were freely offer'd) nor the Money due from the Emperor to our King; but jointly and together. And, as for all other Businesses, they should pass without Derogation or Prejudice to their former Treaties, which were understood to remain entire. And that neither of the said Kings should, in any kind, assist the Emperor, when he were invaded by the other.

The Persons who chiefly procur'd this Treaty, 1526. were Giovanni Joachim (now call'd Monsieur de Vaulx) and Jean Brinon the Premier President of Rouen; who, being (as is before said) dispatch'd by Francis, came to King Henry, April 28, and, being admitted, the President, in an eloquent Oration in Latine, before our King, set in his Throne, and attended by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the Emperor, Venice and Florence, (who at this time labour'd to draw him into the League of Italy,) profess'd publicly, that it was the King's Goodness merely that made him abstain from France at this season, the occasion of invading it being so fair, during the Imprisonment of the King his Master. This being ended, Sir Thomas More, in the same Language, wittily answer'd him; concluding at last, that since they acknowledg'd this Goodness in the King, it should be an Obligation on him to continue it; wherewith the Ambassadors departed, much satisfied. Our King also, considering the Difficulties he found to procure Money, divided his time, betwixt Businesses at home and his Pleasures, not neglecting yet the Publick Weal of Christendom; for which purpose, he sent Sir John Wallop, not only to the Princes of Germany, exhorting them to join against the Turk, but to Mary Queen of Hungary, to comfort her for the loss of her Husband, adding withal such a supply of Money as might testify his Zeal to that Cause, was greater than theirs, who by Kindred and Neighbourhood to the Danger were more concern'd herein.

1526.

April 28.

Pope's Letter to the Emperor.

June 23.

The Army of the late League having now begun a War, with some doubtful success, in Italy, the Pope, for his Justification, thought fit to write unto the Emperor, June 23, 1526, a kind of Apology for his taking Arms; alledging, that, as he was Pater Communis, he thought himself bound, by all the ways he could, to procure a General Good before any Particular, exhorting him for the rest, to moderate his immense Ambition, to give Peace to Italy, Pardon to Francisco Sforza Duke of Milan, and Contentment to all the Confederates in their just Demands. To which Charles sharply answer'd, (by Letter dated the seventeenth of September following) laying the fault of that Dissention among Christian Princes (which had given occasion to the Turk to conquer so much in Hungary) from himself, and on the Pope chiefly; telling him, among other things, that, regularly, he ought not to draw his Sword, when even it were against the Enemies of our Faith. Then, taxing him, as if he were ungrateful, false, and an Incendiary, he declares how much he had done for the Peace of Italy, and the Christian World, and among others, for Francisco Sforza, proceeding thence to a bitter Expostulation with the Pope, as is more at large set down by Sandoval; by whom also I find, that Charles sollicitated all the Cardinals, openly, to call a General Council for the good of Christendom, (as of themselves) when, otherwise, the Pope would not consent thereto.

Emperor's Reply.

Sept. 17.

Sandoval, & Sleid.

This while Don Hugo de Moncada coming into Italy to offer some Conditions of Peace unto the Pope, and finding they took no effect, treated secretly with Pompeo, Cardinal de Colonna, and others of that Family; who suddenly, with three thousand Men only, or as others say, six thousand, enter'd Rome, sacking part of it, and causing that Terror to the Pope, that he fled to the Castle of St. Angelo: Neither could he free himself, till he had agreed with Moncada for a Truce of four Months with the Emperor, and the withdrawing his Forces out of Lombardy, and a Pardon to all the Colnnesi. Whereupon Moncada also withdrew his Forces out of Rome.

The Colnnesi take Rome.

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

Our King, being not yet inform'd hereof, had sent to Charles to offer his best Endeavours to the mediating of a Peace betwixt all Parties, protesting,

1526. ing, that if he accepted his Good-will herein, he would disclaim all Interest in the *Clementine* League, although that Ambassadors from all the Confederates were, at that instant, in his Court, sufficiently authorised to induce him into it. The Emperor hereupon sends Instructions to his Ambassadors resident in *England*, to treat accordingly of an end; to which purpose also he dispatches *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, who came to our Court *January 11*, to treat hereof. Howbeit, as matters were likely to be spun out into a greater length than flood with his Master's occasions, he shortly after broke off the Treaty. One Article whereof concerning the Spices of the *East-Indies*, I have thought fit to mention with particularity. For whereas by the decision of Pope *Alexander VI.* 1493, the *East-Indies* were given to the *Portugals*, and the *Western* to the *Spaniards*, so that the first Bound was a Line drawn from North to South, distant from the Islands of *Cape Verde* the space of four hundred Miles Westward, (all on this side being allotted to the *Portugals*, the other side being permitted to the *Spaniards*) this Line yet in favour of the *Portugals* (who by their Riches, Power at Sea, and Conquests in *Africa*, had made themselves much redoubted) was afterwards extended to eight hundred eighty eight Miles Westward; whereby betwixt these two neighbour Princes alone, a new World, with the immense Wealth belonging to it, was divided; yet with this Honour to the *Portugal*, that his Discoveries and Possessions gave denomination to both, the River *Indus* having occasion'd anciently the calling these Parts after its Name, and the New Conquests on the *Spanish* part, though hugely distant, following the *Stile*. Notwithstanding which large Empire, able to satisfy any exorbitant Ambition, there wanted not Emulation betwixt those Princes, inasmuch, that neither Alliance, Neighbourhood, nor the Danger they should incur, if other Princes prevail'd themselves of their Dissentions, could keep them in good Terms. Therefore I find by a Letter from *Edward Lee*, our King's Almoner, and now Ambassador in *Spain*, dat. at *Medina del Campo*, the twenty first of *January*, 1527, the Emperor laid claim to some Spices in the Eastern Parts, which I find, by *Sandoval*, to have been the *Moluccas*, lately discovered (as we have shew'd) by the Companions of *Magellanes*, to the no little prejudice of the *Portugal*, who, to buy out the King of *Spain*, offer'd two Millions of Ducats; which yet the Emperor accepted not for the present, but chose rather to offer a Treaty concerning them to our King; and, thereby, either to draw a great Sum of Money from him, and, together, to engage us in a Quarrel against the *Portugals*, while himself continued his Navigation securely to the *West-Indies*; or, at least, to detain him a while from a League he was now entering into with *Francis*. I do not find yet what Answer our King return'd thereto: But as no effect follow'd, I believe the Offer, though advantageous, was (out of ill Information concerning these Parts) rejected.

And now our King finding no good to be done by Treaty, and understanding, besides, what rough Usage the Pope had receiv'd from *Moncada*, resolves, according to his former League, to join against that Prince which appear'd most refractory. Therefore, conceiving the Fault to be in *Charles*, he enter'd presently into a strict League with *Francis*, chusing rather to concur with him particularly, than to embrace the *Clementine Accord*, as containing many Articles in it, that no way concern'd him. Therefore sending over Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, he proposes to *Francis* the Princess *Mary* in Marriage, (since

Charles had deny'd him *Leonora*;) and, besides, offers to enter an Offensive League with him (such as his Confederates in *Italy* had made) for the recovery of his Children, and forcing the Emperor to reasonable Conditions. *Francis*, gladly accepting this Motion, demands the Princess *Maria's* Picture, which, together with our King's, is granted, and the Match treated in *France* by our Agents, the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Fitz-Williams*. The *French* King, if he marry'd her, requir'd she should be presently given up into his hands: But our King not agreeing thereunto, (by reason his Daughter was yet but eleven Years old) *March* the second, the Bishop of *Tarbe*, the Viscount of *Tourenne*, and *Antoine Vescy*, the President of *Paris*, came into *England*; where, on the last of *April* (as I find by the *French*, and our Records) three Treaties were concluded, in which these are the most remarkable Articles.

I.

In the first the preceding Treaty betwixt them Aug. 8. was confirm'd. Besides, it was agreed, that the said Kings should send their several Ambassadors to the Emperor, with Instructions conformable to each other, (so that their Language might be the same) as well concerning a Ransom of the *Dauphin*, and the Duke of *Orleans* (then Hostages with *Charles*) as Payment of the Debts due from him unto *Henry*, and other satisfaction for his Rights.

II.

That they should propose also, in name of the said King, such decent Conditions and Offers, which should be by them advis'd, and pursue them instantly with the said *Charles*. And, if either he refus'd, or made no Answer within twenty days next following, or otherwise, detain'd or excluded the said Ambassadors from coming to his Presence; that then, by their Heralds (or Kings of Arms) they should denounce War against him, in such Form, Manner, and Order, as should be declar'd in the second Treaty.

III.

Furthermore, it was concluded, that an Alternative Marriage (for so the *French* and our Records call it) should be made, betwixt *Mary* Daughter of the said King of *England*, and the said *Francis*, or the Duke of *Orleans* his Son; and that the determination of the Alternative Marriage should be reserv'd to the Interview of both Kings, in the Town of *Calais*, (at a moderate Expence) which should be declar'd presently after the refusal of *Charles*: In which case *Henry* should send unto *Francis* some faithful Person, to advise concerning the Particularities thereof. Also, the Articles of the said Alternative Marriage were remitted until the aforesaid time. Howsoever, it was presently agreed, that, if the said Princess *Mary* or her Issue did not succeed to the Crown of *England*, and that the said War were not made against *Charles*, that then this Treaty of a more strait Alliance should be void. Notwithstanding which, if the said Alternative Marriage were broken off by the common Consent of both Kings, they should yet be oblig'd reciprocally unto the said War. Upon condition still, that *Francis* should re-imburse (at convenient days of Payment) unto King *Henry* the Expences he should be at; and, besides, should furnish unto the said *Henry*, as long as he liv'd, yearly, of the Salt of *Brouage*, the value of fifteen thousand Crowns. But if the said

Limits of the Portuguese and Spanish Dominions in the E and W Indies.

1527. Jan. 21.

1526. Dec. 24.

Princess Mary pre-

1527. posed to Francis in Marriage.

March 2. of Tarbe, the Viscount of Tourenne, and Antoine Vescy, the President of Paris, came into England; where, on the last of April (as I find by the French, and our Records) three Treaties were concluded, in which these are the most remarkable Articles.

1527. said Marriage were hindred on the part of Henry, the said Francis should not be bound to pay the aforefaid Expences of the War. On the other side, that he should pay them double, if the impediment proceeded from him.

2. By the second Treaty it was agreed, that presently after the refusal, delay, or non-admittance of their Ambassadors, the Intercourse, Commerce, and Traffick between their Subjects and those of the Emperor should be forbidden. Nevertheless, that, by their Ambassadors, they should offer the respite of forty days, to the intent that the Goods of their said Subjects, might be reciprocally withdrawn, if the said Emperor accepted it. That, for the making an actual War against him in the Low-Countries, an Army should be levy'd of thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand five hundred Men of Arms, à la Francoise, a Band of Artillery (so term'd then) and necessary Ammunition: Whereof Francis should furnish the aforefaid one thousand five hundred Men at Arms, and twenty thousand Foot; and Henry ten thousand Archers or Halberdiers, whom five hundred of the said Men at Arms should accompany and convey, whensoever, by the command of the said King, or their Generals, they should be divided from the Body of the Army. And that Victuals and other Provision should be deliver'd to them, at the same price that other Foot-men had it. That, for better keeping of the Narrow Seas, as well as for hindring all Intercourse and Traffick into the said Low-Countries, a Navy should be equipp'd of fifteen thousand Men, besides Mariners and Seamen. Whereof Francis should furnish ten thousand, and Henry five thousand, each of them at their proper cost and charges. That at Calais, Abbeville, or other the most commodious Towns, under the Obedience of the said Kings, certain Priviledg'd Marts or Fairs should be appointed; and that those Merchants which usually frequented the Low-Countries, should be drawn and invited thither, by all means possible. That the number of their said Armies, both by Sea and Land, should be kept intire, and that the Towns, and strong Places, which were conquer'd, and Prisoners taken, should be equally divided betwixt the said Kings. And that the Spices and other Merchandize of the Portugal Ships, passing by the narrow Seas, should not be permitted to be sold in the Low-Countries; but only in France and England, while the said War continued, according to the proportion of that use and necessity, that either of the said Kingdoms should have thereof; Provided yet, that if the King of Portugal did declare himself in favour of Charles, that, in this case, he should be held as their common Enemy, and his Goods and Subjects adjudg'd as good Prize. And that the like course should be held with all others who succour'd the Emperor in his said Wars; which neither of the said Kings should abandon or leave off, or otherwise treat of any Peace, Truce or other Cessation of Arms, without mutual consent. That place should be reserv'd for the Pope, Venetians, and Francisco Sforza, to be compris'd in the said Confederation; upon condition yet, they should continue the War begun by them in Italy, as long as the said Kings proceeded in their Wars in the Low-Countries. That the said Francis should dispose Henry de Albret King of Navarre, as also the Duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la March, Sieur de Sedan, to make War, on their part, upon the Countries of Charles next adjoining to them. That if John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvania, (pretending to the Kingdom of Hungary against Ferdinand King of Bohemia, and Brother of the said Charles) have not

yet allied himself with the Turk, and that the said King of Bohemia did any way assist the Emperor against the said Kings; that then, by their joint Letters, they should animate and comfort the said John Sepuse to the defence of his Cause, to the end he might both abstain from any dependency on the Turk, and that he might divert the Succour of the said King of Bohemia. That also, by their joint Letters, they should signifie to the Princes of Germany this Confederation, together with the causes thereof, to the end they might forbear giving assistance to the Emperor, and be excited to bring the said Emperor unto Reason, which whensoever the said Emperor would accept, Francis should condescend thereunto, by the Intervention of Henry.

3. By the third Treaty, true, solid, firm, perpetual, and inviolable Peace, Amity, Union, Confederation, League, Intelligence, and Concord between the said Kings, and their Posterity, even to the end of the World, was accorded, by Decree, and Law, obliging them, and all Kings their Successors, no less than the Oaths they take at their Sacrings and Coronations. According whereunto, they did respectively promise and agree, that the said Kings and their Successors, should never be inquieted or molested, by them or any of their Successors, being Kings, in the Lands, Countries and Seigneuries, which either of them held for the present; which therefore they and their Heirs should quietly possess for ever. In consideration whereof, the said Francis did bind himself, and his Successors, Kings of France, to pay, every year, at two several terms, after the decease of the said King Henry, to all the Kings of England his Successors, forty six thousand Crowns de Soleil, and twenty four Sols Tournois, without deduction or prejudice of the Sum of 1800736. Crowns de Soleil, xxxii. Sols, due to the said Henry, by Obligation, and Treaty of the xxx. August 1525. or of that which should remain to be paid after his Decease; moreover the said Francis bound himself, and his Successors, Kings of France, to give of the Salt of Broilage yearly, as well to the said Henry, as to his Successors, to the value of 15000 Crowns, as is above mentioned. Furthermore, it was agreed, that, if any thing were attempted by any Subject or Ally of the said Kings contrary to this third Treaty, that their Peace and Amity should not yet be broken, but that the Offenders and Delinquents only should be punish'd. And in every one of the said three Treaties, an express Article was inserted, that the precedent Treaty of August 30. 1525. should be by them confirm'd, and no ways infring'd, or diminish'd. Lastly, by Letter or Agreement apart, bearing Date likewise 1527. the said Kings declar'd, that they would have themselves held, understood, and reputed as one and the same, and that either of them should be still concern'd in the other. These Treaties being concluded and sworn, (yet so as the Bishop of Tarbe made not a few doubts concerning the Princess Mary's Legitimation, which we shall find afterward occasion'd the Divorce,) they were dismiss'd, and honourably rewarded, and afterwards (as I find) sent by Francis to Spain.

While these things pass'd, the Pope, as soon as the Imperialists had quitted Rome, and left him at his liberty, sends to our King a Letter, Septemb. 24. complaining of the Indignities offer'd to his Person by Moncada, and the Colonnefi, desiring his Grace to set his hand to the revenge of it, and defence of the Apostolick See. Moreover he told our Ambassadors, (as they write,) that if the King of England, by whose encouragement (he saith,) he enter'd this Labyrinth,

1527.

May 8. Ambassa-
dor of
France ob-
jects to
the Legi-
timacy of
the Prin-
cess Mary.

1527. will yet effectually assist him, and the French King amend his former slackness, &c. he will do as he did before, notwithstanding his late agreement with *Moncada*, to which he holds himself not bound, because he was forc'd to it. Whereupon our King in November, sent him about thirty thousand Ducats for a Present. The Pope being thus heartned, cites the Cardinal *Colonna* to appear at *Rome* upon pain of Deprivation of his Dignity: He, on the other side, threatening to call a Council against him, and depose him as a *Simoniac*; the Pope hereupon gathers an Army, and with about ten thousand Men, led by the *Comte de Vaudemont*, Brother to the Duke of *Lorain* (to whom the Pope now pretended to give *Naples* as the right of his Family,) enters the Kingdom of *Naples*, takes divers places belonging to the *Colonnese*, and approacheth the very Gates of *Naples*. But now new Succours coming from *Spain*, the Pope was distress'd and glad to treat again with *la Noy* the Vice-Roy, and to give the Imperialists sixty thousand Ducats; whereupon also it was agreed, that the Armies should retire on either side, and a Cessation of War should be accorded, for eight Months. But the Pope finding this accord also too disadvantageous (as having disarm'd himself thereby, and discontented both the French and our King,) intends to disavow it, and to provide himself of Money by creating 14 Cardinals, for which he had three hundred thousand Ducats; but *Bourbon* prevented his Attempts. For being actually General of the Imperialists (who for want of pay, were to be maintain'd with Pillage,) he takes a pretext to invade *Rome* it self; for (as the intelligence in our Records hath it) coming near that City, May 5. he sent to the Pope for leave to pass through it, and his Territories into the Realm of *Naples*, and to have Victuals for his Money; but the Pope denying it, *Bourbon* resolves to assault *Rome*, which *Renzo de Ceri*, an old Commander, defended. But *Bourbon* having an Army of thirty thousand Men, upon May 6. 1527. marches directly to the Walls; where carrying a Ladder before the rest of the Soldiers, with which he meant to Scale the Town, a shot kill'd him: Which kind of Death, some Writers say, he call'd upon himself by a kind of Imprecation, when the last year, being at *Milan*, he made the Citizens buy their quiet at a great price; wishing he might be shot to death the first time he went to the Field, if they should be oppress'd any more by such Payments, which yet he forc'd them unto soon after. *Bourbon* being thus dead, *Philibert de Chaalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, threw a Cloak over his Body, as fearing it might discourage his Soldiers. But they, whether out of Indignation for this loss, or greediness to sack the Town, enter'd it with fury; killing in the way divers Bishops, and surprizing some Cardinals that were flying to the Castle *Saint Angelo*; the Pope and *Renzo de Ceri* being already retir'd thither with seventeen Cardinals, and the Ambassadors of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, and about five hundred Soldiers. The Prince of *Aurange* (who now took upon him the charge of General) did all that was possible to restrain the Soldiers from their frequent Murthers and Pillage. Notwithstanding which, their impetuosity was such, that (without making difference, betwixt Holy places and Profane) they ransack'd the City for the space of six or seven days, killing above five thousand Men. Not content with this yet, they laid Siege to the Castle, and brought the Pope to such necessity, that to free himself from further danger, he and thirteen Cardinals, that now remain'd with him, agreed, that four hundred thousand Ducats should be paid to the Army within two Months, and the Castle of *Saint Angelo*, together with those of *Ostia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, and other places, should be deliver'd into the hands of the Imperialists. That the Pope with the said Cardinals should remain in the Castle, till part of the Money were paid, and good Hostages given for the rest. Which being done, that he should go to *Cajeta*, or some other place in the Kingdom of *Naples*, there to expect the Emperors pleasure.
- Hereupon the Guard and Service of the Popes Person was committed to *Hernando de Alanzon*, and Victuals put into the Castle; (where the Pope remain'd under some restraint, not free from danger, though otherwise reverenc'd in all appearance, according to his Dignity.) And now the Cardinal *Colonna*, and others that sided with the Emperor began to treat concerning a General Council, conformable to a late Bull of Pope *Julius II*, by which it was declar'd, that a Pope might be depriv'd from his Place, and another substituted, when there were cause for it; (and they pretended to prove this Pope a *Simoniac*.)
- It was now the beginning of June, 1527. when the Emperor being at *Valledolid* took notice of this Success, divulg'd already over all Christendom. Nevertheless he shew'd not any other sense thereof, than such as might be expected from one to whose Ambition and Power nothing could seem either great or new. Yet as he knew that all Christian Princes must needs be highly interested in the Imprisonment of the Head of their Church, so he thought fit to falsifie them herein. Among all which none seem'd so considerable as our King. To whom therefore in a Letter dated from *Valledolid*, Aug. 2. 1527. he made a kind of Apology for these proceedings; beginning first with giving an account thereof, then demanding our Kings Advice; thereupon declaring also the causes why his Army could not be withheld from invading of *Rome*. Yet so, as he disclaim'd any part, either the counselling or authorising thereof. Notwithstanding which (as God could draw good out of evil) so he hop'd a benefit might redound to Christendom thereby. Wherefore, that he should intreat him again, as his good Uncle and Brother, that he would send his Opinion what further was to be done in this case. And particularly, that he would assist him against the Enemies of our Faith; against whom, when their intestine Wars were compos'd, he resolv'd to imploy his Blood and Life. He forgot not also, upon the instance of ours and the French Ambassadors for the Popes liberty, to write gently unto his Holiness, offering his Love and Friendship in case he desir'd it. But to the chief Officers of his Army, by his Agents *Antonio Veyeley*, and *Francisco de les Angeles*, General of the *Franciscans*, he sent Instructions, which for some space amus'd them. For he commanded to set the Pope at liberty, yet so, as together they should provide, that from a Friend he should not become an Enemy. The Prince of *Aurange*, *Hernando de Alanzon*, and some other principal Commanders met hereupon; where, after a long Consultation, how to reconcile and interpret this Riddle, they resolv'd at last, that to despoil the Pope first of his Money, and then to deliver him, was the best way to comply with their Instructions. After therefore having extorted great Sums, not only for the Emperors Occasions, but their own; and forcing him to give Hostages for Security, he was dismiss'd out of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, as shall be told in its place. Yet so, as they suffer'd him not to depart out of

1527.

Grolier.
Hist. Rom.
dirept.
Guicciard.
l. 18.
June 5.Guicciard.
l. 18.Pope taken
Prisoner.

Sandov.

June.
Sandov.Emperor's
Apology
for thus
proceeding.July 20.
Aug. 2.Aug. 2.
Sandov.

Orob.

1527. of their reach; neither indeed did he think fit to do otherwise; so that although by the former Convention he was to be remov'd to Cajeta, ten Miles distant thence; or some other place belonging to the Kingdom of Naples, (whether not only the burning of his Palace, Library and Records did seem to compel him, but the Pestilence then raging in that City; whereof also Charles de la Noy Viceroy of Naples died; into whose charge therefore Hugo de Moncada, much against the Popes will, succeeded;) yet, faith Guiccardine, with much Diligence, Intreaty, and Art, he procur'd to stay in Rome. From whence upon the first surrender of the Castle he complain'd (as I find by our Records) to our King and Cardinal; protesting, that all the Help and Succour he could expect in this extremity, was from hence, and therefore implor'd his Assistance. Which Petition therefore he caus'd to be seconded by the thirteen Cardinals then with him, and to be dispatch'd hither by Gregory de Casalis, our Kings Agent in Rome, and now returning to England.

June 6. Clement implores the assistance of K. Henry.

This while the Ambassadors of our King in Spain, mediated potently for delivery of the Hostages upon more reasonable terms than had been hereunto propos'd; and in conclusion so prevail'd, that (as Sandoval hath it) Charles protested to our Ambassadors, that for his sake only he would relinquish his demand for the restitution of Burgundy, in which the difficulty of the Peace consisted. Adding further, that for the same reason, he would accept, as well for the Ransom of the two Sons of Francis, as for the Recompence of the great expences he was at for breach of the Concord of Madrid, the Sum only which Francis had offer'd voluntarily long before to Charles de la Noy (which were 2000000 Crowns;) upon Condition yet that Francis should observe the rest of the Articles in the said Concord. But all this again was interrupted by the continual intelligence of the Pope's Imprisonment, which so incens'd our King, that he would not so much as vouchsafe an answer to the above-mention'd Letter of Charles, but prepar'd to joyn in a stricter League with Francis, as judging that Charles would never in so insolent a manner have captivated the Pope, had he not pretended to Universal Monarchy.

K. Henry refuses to answer the Emperor's Letter.

Mar. 14. This while Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bobemia, sent Ambassadors hither to invite our King to joyn against the Turk. Notwithstanding which, as John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvania, pretending he was chosen King of Hungary by the greater part of the Nobility, had lately complain'd of Ferdinand's Usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King; so no other satisfaction was return'd, but a Protestation made by Sir Thomas More, that the fault was not our Kings if more were not done therein. All these miseries which he so much lamented, being occasion'd by the Ambition of Charles the Emperor, his Brother, who (notwithstanding his Mediation) could not be induc'd to accept the Overtures generally propos'd him for a Peace. And that till this were done, the Turk must needs prevail. Whereupon the Ambassadors were honourably rewarded and dismiss'd.

Mar. 14. as John Sepuse, Vayvod of Transylvania, pretending he was chosen King of Hungary by the greater part of the Nobility, had lately complain'd of Ferdinand's Usurpation to divers Christian Princes, and particularly to our King; so no other satisfaction was return'd, but a Protestation made by Sir Thomas More, that the fault was not our Kings if more were not done therein.

May 3. Our King at this time intended to proceed according to his Treaty with Francis; but as he now heard that Rome was sack'd, he made, May 29. a new Confederacy with him, by which they agreed mutually to desist from their War in the Low-Countries, and to transport it into Italy; according to which, Francis oblig'd himself to send an Army of 30000 Foot, and 1000 great Horse, to joyn with the Venetians, and others of the Clementine League. And that Henry should contribute thereunto

New League between Henry and Francis. May 29. Tillat.

Monthly 32222 Crowns de Soleil, to be deducted out of the Money which the said Francis ow'd him; and that this Contribution should be understood to be in lieu of those Forces which by the late Treaty he should have furnish'd for the Wars in the Low-Countries. And that therefore all the other Articles of the said Treaty should remain in full effect and virtue. It was agreed also that Henry might send a Commissary which should visit the Army in Italy, and advertise him of all Passages. For the better accomplishment of which Treaties, Sir Thomas Bolten, Knight, lately * made Viscount Rochfort, and Sir Anthony Brown, being joyn'd in Commission with the Bishop of Bath, (then Resident at Paris,) were commanded to see Francis sworn thereunto, which accordingly was perform'd. Sir Francis Pointz, Knight also, upon the tenth of May, 1527. was sent to Spain, where Doctor Edward Lee, and Hierome Bishop of Worcester, (lately come from Rome, and dispatch'd to the Emperor,) were Resident on the part of our King. To accompany him in which Journey and Negotiation, Clarenceaux King of Arms was sent to act his part, when the gentle persuasions of our Ambassadors could not prevail. The Proposition on their part to be made, was briefly this. That in regard our King was at half the charge of the War, Charles should send him half the Prize and Booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two Hostages; and that if he deny'd, Clarenceaux should denounce him War. To this rough Message Charles answer'd with much Gravity; That the Proposition made was of great moment on either part. So that whether he accepted or refus'd it, it was fit he took time to advise with himself, both that his good will to our King might be conserv'd, and Francis might be us'd according to his demerits, who had so perditionously behav'd himself, that he had broke his promise almost before he made it. Therefore that he would declare his resolution by Letters unto Henry; and that, till then, he would make them no absolute Answer. All which was done purposely by Charles, that he might gain time. Our King and Francis being advertis'd of this dilatory Reply, and together of the Popes distress, would no longer intermit to give order for their own, as well as the general Affairs of Christendom. Therefore our Cardinal was commanded to France, both for concluding the Marriage of our Princess Mary, either with Francis or the Duke of Orleans his Son, (as is before mention'd) as also for other occasions, which shall be hereafter declar'd. Though whatsoever they treated concerning her Marriage in so many places, and with Persons of so different Ages, her Husband Philip the Second, was now but newly born at Valledolid, May 21. 1527.

The Cardinal having kist the Kings Hand, July 3. and receiv'd his Instructions, arriv'd at Calais with a Noble Equipage, being near a thousand Horse, the eleventh of July, 1527. departing thence toward Boulogne, (leaving yet the Great Seal behind him in Calais with Doctor Taylor Master of the Rolls;) where he was met by Monsieur de Byron with a thousand Horse, and after by John Cardinal of Lorain, and the Chancellor of Alanzon, who accompany'd him in his way to Montreuil, and afterwards to Abbeville. Francis in the mean time assuring him by Letter, that Himself and Madame Louise his Mother would meet him at Amiens, as soon as he had confiscated the Lands of Bourbon, and extinguish'd his Title and Dignity. This occasion'd the Cardinals stay for some days, yet so as he wanted not a just exercise for that power which Francis had given him, wheresoever he went to release all those Prisoners he thought capable of Mercy. While he staid thus at Abbeville, the

1527.

June 18. 1525.

May 10. An Embassy from K. Henry to Charles V.

Emperor's answer to Henry's Demands.

July 11. July 22. Stow. Woolsey sent Ambassador to France.

July 23. July 24.

1527. Bishop of Worcester, and Edward Lee, our Kings Ambassadors in Spain, sent him the Emperor's Demands, in case the restitution of Francis his Children were propos'd; which, though high, were to be qualified by our King, if his Highness so thought fitting, hereof therefore, by a Letter dated the twenty ninth of July, 1527 he advis'd our King; adding moreover, that though the Emperor were determin'd to train the Pope to Spain, (to which also he heard the Pope was inclin'd) yet that the Project was so dangerous, as it was not by any means to be suffer'd; since thereby Charles might both establish the Imperial Authority in Rome, and seize on the Patrimony of the Church, or at least constrain him to furnish what Money he would, and together compel him to make so many Cardinals of the Spanish Faction, as when the Pope died, would enable him to elect what Successor he pleas'd. Neither did he see how this could be avoided, unless Andrea Doria were commanded to use the Fleet he had then at Sea, for intercepting of the Pope; who, what shew soever he made of willingness to come to the Emperor, complain'd yet of his Captivity, as by a Letter written by the Popes own Hand in Ciphers, to his Highness, and convey'd by Gregory de Casalis, might appear; which also was confirm'd by divers Cardinals then attending him. Besides, that it were convenient, that the Forces his Highness was bound to furnish for the Wars of Italy, should be joyn'd with Lautrecb, (who was now design'd by Francis to pursue the War there) and employ'd to hinder the Popes passage; in which affair also, some Princes of Italy might be drawn to concur, when his Highness would write to them; all which was the rather to be speeded, for that the Bishop of Worcester had written from Spain, that the Emperor went to sow division betwixt him and Francis. This Letter was seconded by another of the same date, which yet contain'd only an overture for a meeting betwixt Madame Louise and himself, on the one part, and the Emperor on the other at Perpignan; wherein all these difficulties should be resolv'd. Moreover, by a Letter dated from Abbeville the thirty first of July, he certifies the King, how Monsieur de Bouclans had propos'd on the Emperors part, a Match betwixt the Duke of Richmond, natural Son to our King, and the Daughter of Portugal, with Milan for Dowry; which yet (as being colourable only) he thought fit should not be much insisted on. Only, because it was necessary to keep good correspondence with the Emperor, he thought it not amiss to entertain speech thereof. And together, (by a Letter the first of August,) to desire our Ambassadors in Spain, to quench all Rumours concerning a Divorce bruited now betwixt our King and the Queen; and to assure the Emperor, that the first Original thereof arose only from the objection which the Bishop of Tarbe (when he was lately in England) made, concerning the Legitimation of the Princess Mary. At last, Francis, together with Madame Louise his Mother, coming to Amiens, the Cardinal with all his Train sets forth from Abbeville; whereof notice being given, Francis being Royally attended, meets him a Mile and half out of the Town; and after Protections that he ow'd his Liberty chiefly to our King, conducted him to his Lodging. Shortly after which, the Cardinal obtaining Audience, declar'd his business, consisting principally in three Points.

First, To require the Resolution of Francis concerning this Alternative of the Marriage a little before mentioned.

Secondly, To advise concerning the means of making Peace with the Emperor, upon such terms as the restitution of Francis his Children might be procur'd.

Thirdly, To determine how the Pope might be deliver'd out of Captivity; for which purpose our Historians say, that the Cardinal carry'd over with him 200000 l. of our Kings Treasure.

To the first, it was answer'd, That the Duke of Orleans (as more suiting in years) should be recommended to the Princess Mary.

To the second, That Francis for re-obtaining of his Children, would, among other things, renounce his claim in Milan.

To the third, little more was said, than That the Pope (as soon as possible) should be set free, by Mediation, or Force.

Besides which Points, an Interview was propos'd on our Kings part, betwixt him and Francis; but Francis excusing himself by reason of the great Charges he must be at till his Children were redeem'd, the matter was urg'd no farther.

After this, Francis brought our Cardinal to Compeigne; from whence he wrote to the King, that howsoever Francis did promise to renounce Milan, yet, that it was best not overstrictly to tie him to it, until his Highness discover'd whether the Emperor would really confer it in Dowry upon the Match formerly intimated. The King receiving thus much satisfaction by the Cardinals Negotiation, writ a Letter with his own Hand, acknowledging therein the good Service he had done him and the Kingdom divers ways; and particularly in three Treaties, concluded, Aug. 18. 1527. which, by the French and our Records, I find thus related.

Three other Treaties concluded between England and France, Aug. 18.

1. The first Treaty was concerning the Princess Mary; who (according to the Reference formerly made,) was to marry the Duke of Orleans, reserving notwithstanding unto a further time, the particularities of her Dote, Dowry, Transportation of the said Duke into England, the Charges of his Family, and the like. Furthermore it was declar'd, that if the said Marriage, either by Death, or consent of both Kings, or any other Accident, took no effect, That yet the other Treaties betwixt the said Kings (being of the thirtieth of August, 1525. and of the last of April 1527.) should remain in full force. The Interview of the two Kings, which (the last of April) was agreed to be at Calais, was remitted to a further time. The Contribution, to which the said Henry oblig'd himself for the War of Italy, was express'd to be twenty thousand Escus de Soleil for June, and for July thirty thousand, and for every of the Months of August, September, October, thirty two thousand two hundred twenty two Crowns. Upon Condition yet, that the said Contribution should be abated proportionably, if the number of Soldiers employ'd in the said War were diminish'd. That, after the said Month of October, Henry should contribute no more; and that, if Peace were made sooner, he should be discharg'd of the said Contribution. And finally, that neither Prince might demand of the other, his Money spent in this War, as long as the perpetual Peace was conserv'd.

2. By the second Treaty it was agreed, that the said Henry should not charge himself with the Protection and Assurance of the Peace, whensoever it should be concluded betwixt Francis and Charles; but in case only, that the said Peace could not otherwise be made, which therefore so hapning, the said Francis did agree, that he should take the said Protection and Warranty upon him. On condition yet, that nothing should be attempted by him by reason thereof, either against him, his Kingdom, or Subjects. Moreover, the said Henry consented, that, for the good of the intended Peace, the

1527. the Marriage betwixt Francis and Leonora Sister to Charles, should be validated and confirm'd; upon Condition yet, that thereby no prejudice should follow to the Treaties concluded betwixt them. That if any Peace were made with Charles, by which Francisco Sforza should enjoy Milan, it was declar'd by the said Kings, that they did not intend to renounce certain Pensions assign'd to either of them, upon the said Dutchy, by the League of Italy, when Francisco should refuse to pay them. That if War were commenc'd by the said Kings against Charles, upon his refusal of the Conditions offer'd to him, then the like Priviledges, Exemptions, and Liberties, that the English Merchants had (a year since) in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, they shall now have in other places under the obedience of Francis, as long as the said Wars should last; the said places to be nominated and agreed on hereafter.

3. By the third Treaty it was concluded, betwixt the said Kings, that no Council-General, summon'd by the Pope during his Captivity, or by the Emperors Authority, should take effect; and, that for this purpose they should cause their Clergy on either side, by publick and solemn Protestations to renounce and detest all such Convocation. That any Commandment, Sentence, Bull, Letter, or Breve proceeding from the said Pope, being in Captivity, and tending to the damage of the said Kings or Subjects, and especially to the prejudice of the Legation of the Cardinal of York, should neither be obey'd by them, nor suffer'd to be obey'd; but that they should be declar'd as of no effect, and the bringers of them punish'd. That during the said Captivity of the Pope, whatsoever by the Cardinal of York, (assisted by the Prelates of England assembled and call'd together by the Authority of the said King) should be determin'd concerning the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the said Kingdom of England, and other Countries being in the Dominion of the said Henry, should (the consent of the said King being first had,) be decreed and observ'd. (To confirm which Power, the Pope sent him a Bull, to be Vicar-General throughout all the Kings Dominions.) It was also agreed, that Francis and his Clergy should have the like power in France, and other his Dominions, during the Captivity of the Pope. And here certainly began the taste that our King took of governing (in chief) the Clergy; of which therefore, as well as the dissolution of Monasteries, it seems the first Arguments and Impressions were deriv'd from the Cardinal: who having now in a Conference with certain Cardinals at Compeigne, resolv'd that the aforesaid Order for the Government of the Church was in these times requisite, took on him the charge of our Ecclesiastical Affairs (though Guiccardine writes that he sent for a Bull to be the Legate in England, France, and Germany, and the Imperialists gave out that he attempted to make himself Pope of the English and French Church, by a Schism from the See of Rome.) The Passages betwixt the Cardinals above-mentioned being certified to Rome, September 16. Woolsey prepar'd to return. Whereupon Francis not only richly presented him, but conducted him through the Town, and upon his way about a Mile, being accompany'd with the Titular King of Navarre, the Popes Legate, and his prime Nobility. The Cardinal now hastening homeward, came to Calais, where having established a Mart, he arriv'd at Court toward the end of September, where much Demonstration of Affection was given him by our King. To correspond with this Ambassade, Francis sent Anne de Montmorency Grand Maistre, John du Bellay Bishop of Bayonne, John Brinon the Premier President de Rouen, and le Seigneur de Humieres, as his Ambassadors to ratifie the said League here. These, with divers other Cavaliers, (being in all about

six hundred Horse) were conducted to London, 1527. October 20. and lodg'd in the Bishop of Londons Palace. After which, Audience being given them, they were, November 10. entertain'd by our King at Greenwich with a Feast, (the most sumptuous, saith Bellay, that ever I saw,) and then with a Comedy, in which his Daughter the Princess was an Actor. On this day also the King of England receiv'd at the hands of Montmorency, the Order of St. Michael; and Francis, with no less Solemnity, that of the Garter, in Paris. For which purpose our King had sent over Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisle, (natural Son to King Edward IV.) Sir Nicholas Carew Master of his Horse, Sir Anthony Brown, all Knights of this Order, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley Garter-Herald. Both Princes likewise giving their Oath and Seal (which was in Gold) for the Ratification of the late Treaty.

Charles, being not ignorant of these Treaties, thinks fit to prevent the execution of them, by a timely consent unto all that could in reason be expected from him. Therefore at Palencia, September 15. he offer'd this Agreement unto the French, English, and other Ambassadors residing in his Court; which also for the present they seem'd to accept. That the Article for the restitution of Burgundy, should be ras'd out of the Concord of Madrid, reserving still to the Emperor his Right. That Francis should pay for the Ransom of his Sons, the two Millions of Crowns which were offer'd. And that out of them so much should be allow'd as would pay our King. Furthermore, that Francis should take upon him to satisfy Henry, as well as to keep Charles indemnified from the Obligation, by which he ty'd himself in London by particular Treaty; which was, that he should pay unto Henry the ancient Pension which Francis paid him, together with any other Sum that Francis should refuse to pay only because the said Henry had declar'd himself his Enemy. That the French should oblige themselves to restore Genoa, and all the rest that they had taken in Lombardy, before the Hostages were rendred. That in the particular of the Duke of Milan, Charles should nominate and appoint certain Judges, who should determine the cause betwixt them. And that if he were not found culpable, then his Estate should be restor'd to him, and the Investiture given him; otherwise, that the Emperor should dispose thereof as Lord of the Feud. That, in all the rest, the Concord of Madrid should be observ'd, saving in some few points of small Importance.

When these Articles were approv'd on both sides, the Ambassadors of France said, that they wanted sufficient Authority from their King to sign them, which yet they promis'd to send for, and procure. And so the conclusion of Peace at this time was deferr'd on their part. Charles not much troubled herewith, returns to his former Arts of dividing our King from Francis. Therefore he sends privately to the Cardinal, And ap (now return'd from France,) offering him, besides p'ies to his ordinary Pension, large Sums for this purpose. Notwithstanding which (saith Polydore) because he had deny'd him the Archbishoprick of Toledo, to which (if we may believe the same Author) he vehemently aspir'd, he was found inexorable.

This year our King sent out two fair Ships to discover new Regions, then daily found out by the Portuguese and Spaniard; though, as no Success follow'd thereupon, I do not find the design pursu'd.

This while, Monsieur de Lautrec made ready an Army of twenty six thousand Foot, and two thou-

Oct. 22.

Nov. 10.

Henry receives the Order of St. Michael and Francis the Garter.

Charles makes Covertures for a Peace. Sept. 15. Sand.

And ap p'ies to the Cardinal. Polyd. Virg.

Without effect.

May 20. Hall.

1527. thousand Horse, for the Affairs of Italy; and, about July, passed the Alps. Wherewith the Clementine League (whose Forces were eleven thousand Foot, and about one thousand six hundred Horse) being much encourag'd, an Answer was sent to the Propositions made by the Emperor, to the Ambassadors of the League, at Palentia. For which purpose a Secretary of Francis came the twelfth of December 1527, to Bruges, (where Charles then was) publishing by the way that he brought a final Resolution of Peace; when yet indeed he brought Order only to defie Charles, as will appear afterwards. Yet, to shew some desire of Accommodation, the Ambassadors of England and France desir'd two Points of the Treaty of Palentia should be alter'd in this manner.

Proposals made to the Emperor from Henry and Francis.

The first was, That Francisco Sforza should be restor'd to his Estate; and, afterwards, Justice done concerning the Complaints made against him. The other was, That the Hostages should be remanded, before Francis should deliver up Genouia or Asti, or withdraw his Army out of Italy. And to induce Charles hereunto, it was offer'd by the French, to put security into the hands of our King, for the payment of three hundred thousand Ducats to Charles, in case of not rendring the said Towns, and withdrawing his Army. Charles reply'd, That tho' all this was Innovation upon the Treaty of Palentia; yet, to shew his desire of Peace, he would put security for payment of so much Money into the hands of our King, in case the French would agree to perform that which was concluded on their part. But the French Ambassador saying, He had no Order to make any other end, than what was propos'd, this great Affair remain'd suspended.

Our Ambassador perceiving this, proceeds upon his Instructions, and makes four Demands.

1. The first was, That without any delay, Charles should pay to the King his Master all that was lent him heretofore.
2. The next was, That he should pay him a Penalty of Five hundred thousand Ducats, because he did not marry the Princess Mary, as was agreed.
3. The third was, That he should satisfy for the Indemnity he undertook to discharge, upon the Declaration that our King made of War against Francis, (whereof mention is made formerly) which from the time it was due, was four Years and four Months.
4. Fourthly, That he should deliver the Pope; and make him satisfaction for the Loss and Damage he had sustain'd.

His Answer.

To which Charles answer'd: That he marvel'd why the King should press him so much, since he never deny'd the Debt; and that, if they requir'd from him the Money, they should give him the Security he enter'd into for the payment thereof. But our Ambassador saying, That they were kept among the Archives and Records of England; and that, for the rest, they were sufficiently authorized to give him an Acquittance: Charles knew not well how to argue the matter further. As for the Penalty of Marriage and Indemnity, he said he would send an express Messenger into England, to acquaint our King with the Reasons, why he did not hold himself bound to give any such satisfaction. And for the delivering of the Pope, he said, Order was, and should be given. And indeed, I find that about this very time, the Pope recover'd his liberty. Which because it was occasion'd by the proceeding of the French in Italy, let us look back a while on those Affairs.

The Army of the League formerly mention'd, being commanded by Odet de Foix Seigneur de Lautrech, (an able General) great hope was conceiv'd; both as he was supported by our King, and Francis, and the Venetians, at a common

Charge, (whereof our King's part, according to the French History, was 60000 Angelots the Month) and as the Imperial Army, which sack'd Rome, was much consum'd with the Plague. By Sea also, Andrea Doria of Genouia, who had the Command of the French King's Gallies, a brave Commander, was appointed with a strong Fleet to second him; who, accordingly, so scour'd all the Coast of Genouia, that no Shipping on those Quarters durst appear. This caused great scarcity of Victuals there; which being advertis'd to Doria, and afterwards to Lautrech, he sends Caesar Fregoso with 2000 Men thither; who, together with Doria, so prest that City on both sides, that, at last, it yielded; whereupon Theodoro de Trivulci was made Governor of it, on the behalf of the French King. After this, Lautrech took (in the name of Sforza, and for his use) Alexandria, the Country of Lomeline, the Cities of Vigueria, Biagras, and Novarra, and besieged Pavia, to the great displeasure of Antonio de Leyva (then Governor of Milan) who wanting Soldiers for himself, would yet spare some for defence of that Town. This did not hinder Lautrech yet to make a Breach and enter it, at the second Assault; where, in revenge of the King his Master's Misfortunes, he permitted his Army to exercise all manner of licentious Cruelty: And now Milan it self which remain'd only to make an entire Conquest of those Parts) began to shake; neither could it have resisted long, but that a Mystery of State preserv'd it. For, as Lautrech's chief Design was on Naples, to which he knew yet Sforza and the Venetians would not easily concur) so he thought fit to leave this strong place entire, as well to keep them in exercise, as to draw from them a greater dependance on the King his Master. For he understood well, that when he had put a Garrison in it in the Name of Sforza, that he and the Venetians would sooner have excluded him from his further passage to Naples, than given him any assistance; which would have frustrated both his chief Designs, since Francis pretended a like Title to Milan and Naples. Besides, the more moderate sort approv'd this course; for when the event of War had been prosperous or doubtful, it left a way open for Peace; while each Party having somewhat to require, better Overtures might be given for a general Accommodation. Lastly, these Intentions of Lautrech were much facilitated by the Intreaty of the Pope; who solicited him to expel the Remnant of the Imperial Army from the Patrimony of the Church. Lautrech hereupon marches forwards; whereof Antonio de Leyva being inform'd, sallies forth of Milan, and with his small Forces takes Biagras, and holds it, until Lautrech sending Pietro de Novarra back with 6000 Men, wan it again, and setled Sforza in the possession thereof. Lautrech continuing thus his March, finds the Duke of Ferrara, and Marquis of Mantua, ready to join him. The manner of weaker and inferior sort of Princes being ever to comply with the more puissant and victorious Army. The Sincerity yet of the Duke of Ferrara seem'd questionable; both as he had just cause to be offended with the Pope, and as he had, a good while since, rang'd himself with the Imperialists; nevertheless, upon the Treaty of a Match betwixt his eldest Son, and Renee Daughter of Louis XII. all was compos'd, and he receiv'd into the Confederacy. But among all, none was so much perplex'd as the Pope; who being not yet deliver'd from his Guards, knew not whether were better for him, to trust to the fair Words of Charles (whose Agents now treated with him) or to the assistance of the League. Neither could he (when this latter part was resolv'd) determine concerning

1527.

Successes of the French in Italy.

Octob. 18.

Octob. 28.

Bell.

1527. concerning the Seat of War. For as, to keep the Army of *Lautrech* at a distance, had been to leave himself in restraint still; so, to invite him to his Territories, had been to expose his Subjects to the Rapines of both Armies. Therefore he varied strangely in his private Advices, Answers, and Negotiations; insomuch that *Lautrech*, at last, was neither scandaliz'd with his Denials, nor confirm'd with his Promises. Howsoever, *Lautrech* thought fit to pursue his point; whereof *Charles* being advertis'd, resolv'd, by a timely and voluntary discharge of the Pope out of Prison, to prevent compulsion. Therefore he sends a particular Dispatch to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to set him free upon these Conditions:

The Pope
set at li-
berty by
Charles the
Fifth's
Order.

Octob. 31.
Guic. l. 28.

On Con-
ditions.

Octob. 31.

Makes his
Escape.

Dec. 10.

Guic. l. 18.

T. regnot.

Dec. 14.

Dec. 18.

1528.

Jan. 10.

Hall.

Prayers

order'd

for the

Pope's li-

berty by

Charles

while he

kept him

Prisoner.

That the Pope shall not oppose *Charles* in the Affairs of Milan and Naples. That he should grant him a Croisade in Spain, and a Tenth of all Ecclesiastical Livings in all his Kingdoms. That *Ostia* and *Civita Vecchia* should remain in the hands of *Charles*, for security hereof. That he should consign to him *la Civita Castellana*, and the Castle of *Furli*, giving Hostages till it were done. That he should pay presently to the *Almains* 77000 Ducats, and to the *Spaniard* 35000; and that fifteen Days after his departure out of Rome, he should pay as much again to the *Almains*, and within three Months after give the rest, being in all about 300000 Ducats; and to deliver Hostages for performance hereof. Upon which Conditions he was to be set at liberty, December 10. But the Pope prevented this, by escaping in the Habit of a Merchant to *Monte Fiascone*, and thence to *Orvieto*, the Night before they promis'd to deliver him. His Hostages yet, the Cardinals of *Cesis* and *Orsino*, remain'd till the Money was paid; for obtaining of which, he was forc'd to have recourse to undecent ways, making (as *Guiccardine* hath it) divers Cardinals for Money, which, otherwise, deserv'd not that honour. He also gave the *Spaniards* licence for the alienating of Ecclesiastical Goods and Possessions, (and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the value of 600000 Crowns, as our Records say;) giving therein a beginning (as some observe) to that Liberty which was afterwards taken in divers places. But Necessity is a violent Counsellor. Howsoever, the Pope was glad now, not only to find his Person free from Guards, but safe from Attempts. The Cardinal *Colonna* (as a latter Author affirms) having labour'd much with *Hernando de Alanzon* privately to make him away. Thus did the Pope enter, by Night, and without other company but that of *Louis de Gonzaga*, (the Complice of his escape) to a Town, unable any way to relieve or protect him. From whence yet, though despoil'd of all his Money, he found means, within a few Months, to return to his former Greatness and Authority. Being now at liberty, he sends word thereof to Cardinal *Woolsey*, acknowledging him a great Instrument thereof; and, withal, certifies our King of his Estate, desiring him to continue his protection of the See of Rome. Our Cardinal also (who the last Year had caus'd the Litany to be thus sung, *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre, &c.* as *Charles*, who kept him in Prison, had caus'd to be done in Spain, though ironically, as most Men conceiv'd it) now came, in great Triumph, to *St. Paul's* in London, and caus'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bonfires to be publicly made. The French Ambassador in Spain this while understanding well how matters were likely to pass, hasten'd the delivery of the Cartelles, of which the chief Cause was ill Usage of the Pope. For the performing whereof therefore, with more Solemnity and Ostentation, all the Ambassadors of England, France, Venice, Florence, and the rest, desir'd leave of the Emperor to depart, saying, their

Commission was expir'd. To which *Charles* briefly answer'd, That he would detain them no longer, than till his own were recall'd from their Masters Courts. Hereupon it was thought fit to proceed unto the Defie; which though the *Spaniards* relate with much particularity and circumstance, I shall yet declare as briefly as I can, according to their History.

Upon the 22d of January, Anno Domini 1528, Jan. 22.

Charles being at *Burgos*, *Clarenceaux* and *Guyenne* came to the Court, and demanded Audience, which accordingly was granted them; hereupon the said Heralds, holding their Coats of Arms in their left hand, after three low Obeysances, presented themselves before *Charles*, who sat in an high Throne, being attended by his chief Nobles and Counsellors. *Clarenceaux* (whom Sir *Francis Pointz*, being now return'd to England, had left there for this purpose) begins first, saying:

'Sire, According to the Laws and Edicts ir- violably guarded by the Roman Emperors your Predecessors, as well as by all other Kings and Princes, We two in the name of our Kings, do present our selves before your Sacred Majesty, to declare some things on their part; beseeching your Majesty, that, having respect to the above-mention'd Laws and Edicts, you would, out of your Benignity and Clemency, vouchsafe to give us Security and good Usage in your Dominions, while we attend your Answer, and that you would grant us a safe Conduct, till we come to the Lands and Seigneuries of the Kings our Masters. The Emperor promising to accord this, *Guyenne* reads a Cartell, sent from the King his Master, the substance whereof was, 'That because *Charles* would not condescend to an honest and fitting Conclusion of Peace, nor pay unto the King of England that which he ow'd him, nor put the Pope at liberty, nor leave Italy in Quietness; the King, my Master, hath commanded me to tell you, to his great Grief and Displeasure, as also of his good Brother the King of England, that he shall from henceforth hold you his Enemy, notwithstanding to you, that, from this Day forwards, he intends not to keep any Contract or Agreement that may be for your Profit and Advantage, but that he will do you, and your Subjects, all the Harm he can, by War or otherwise, until, upon honest and fitting Conditions, you restore his Sons, put the Pope in liberty, pay the King of England that you owe him, and leave in Peace and Repose all his Allies and Confederates. Nevertheless, he offers Forty Days respite for the withdrawing your Subjects out of their Dominions, requiring the like for his.

Dated November 11. 1527. and signed,
Guienne, King of Arms.

Charles hereunto reply'd presently, 'That he had understood all he had said on the part of the King his Master, and that he did marvel much, that he should defie him, since, being his Prisoner of War, and having his Faith plight-ed to him, he was disabled to proceed in this manner. Besides, it seem'd strange to him, that he should defie him now; since he had made War with him a long time, and yet never defy'd him. Yet, that he trusted in God, he should be able to defend himself. As for that ye say of the Pope, none is more sorry than my self for what is pass'd, as being done without my Knowledge or Consent; but, for that, I must advertise you, that I receiv'd assur'd News yesterday, that the Pope is at liberty. As for the Sons of the King your Master, he knows well I hold them as Hostages, and his Ambassadors know as well, that

1528.

Sanct.

Clarence-

aux and

Guyenne

defe

Charles.

The Em-

peror's

Answer.

it

1528. 'it is not my Fault, if they be not deliver'd. As for that you say on the part of the King of England, my good Uncle and Brother, I believe that he is not well inform'd of all the passages in these Affairs; otherwise, that he would not have sent me this Message. But I shall advertise him of the whole Truth, and do believe, that, when he knows it, he will be the same to me that formerly he was. I never deny'd the Money he lent me; and am ready to pay it, as by right I am bound. Notwithstanding which, if he will needs make War against me, I can do no less than defend my self, and pray to God, he give me not more occasion to make war against him, than I have given him against me. As for the rest, I desire to have your Cartel under your hand, that I may answer more particularly. Hereupon Guyenne took his Coat of Arms and put it on.

Sandoz.
Clarenceaux's
Speech to
him.
Then Clarenceaux, not by writing, but by word of mouth, spake to this effect. 'Sire, The King my Supreme Lord and Master, considering the necessity of Peace in the Christian World, as well for resisting the Turk, (who having taken the Isle of Rhodes, and Fortres of Belgrade, intends yet further Conquests) as for repressing the Heresies and Sects that are newly risen; and finding that your Commanders and Army have lately sack'd the City of Rome, and taken our holy Father Prisoner, together with divers Cardinals, who have been also put to Ransom, and that the Churches have been sacrilegiously profan'd, and all manner of Religious Orders put to the sword; insomuch that by these Cruelties and Mischiefs, the Air and Earth have been infected, and the Anger of God drawn down upon us, if we procure no reparation for them: And, because the Root and Beginning of these Wars proceeds from the Contention and Debates between You and the most Christian King: the King my Master, for giving an end to these Differences, hath, by his Ambassadors, propos'd to you, several times, such honest Conditions, that you ought not to refuse, if you desir'd Peace; and the rather, because your unreasonable Demands would be an ill Precedent for other Kings and Princes, that may be subject to the like Fortune: And whereas he also, as a Prince, being bound many ways to the protection of the Holy See, hath desir'd you to give the Pope intire liberty; and hath, oftentimes, requir'd the Money he lent you in the time of your Necessity, which yet you have not paid him:

'For these Causes, the King my Master hath thought fit to take a final Resolution, to desire you, without further delay, to condescend to Equity and Reason; and to tell you, that, since you have refus'd it hitherto, he could do no less than conclude a League with the Most Christian King, and other Confederates, by force of Arms to constrain you to that, which by right you ought to do. Wherefore, the said King my Master, and the Most Christian King, require you this once for all, to accept the Conditions they have offer'd you for Peace; declaring, in case of refusal, they must (though not without great Grief and Displeasure) hold you for their Enemy, denouncing War unto you thereupon, both by Sea and Land, and defying you with all their Forces. Yet, if you desire to recal your Subjects out of all their Dominions, as they on their part likewise require, they offer you forty Days respite for this purpose.

This being said, he put on his Coat of Arms, and afterwards gave his Speech under his hand, signing it,

Clarenceaux, King of Arms.

The Answer Charles made to this, little differing from what he made to Guyenne, I shall not particularly relate.

Then Charles, calling Guyenne aside, desir'd him, among other things, to tell the King his Master, That he thought he was not well advertis'd of something that he told in Granada to his Ambassadors, which did concern him much: And that he did hold him to be so gentle a Prince, that, had he known it, he would have answer'd him before now. Wherefore, that he should do well, to take information thereof from his Ambassadors, since thereby he should understand, that I Charles have better kept what I promis'd at Madrid, than he hath done; and I pray you fail not to tell this to the King; which Guyenne promis'd; and so, doing his Obedience, departed. After which, the said Kings of Arms were call'd upon by Juan Aleman, Principal Secretary to the Emperor, to receive the Answer he sent to the Cartels. That, made to the French King, having little in it more than what is formerly set down, I shall mention no otherwise, save only that a Day was requir'd for Treaty of repealing the Merchants on either side.

To Clarenceaux he answer'd, by the Pen of his Secretary: 'That the Progress of the Turk in Christendom, and the Captivity of the Pope, were not occasion'd by him; and that the King of England ought not to complain, that he ever refus'd to condescend to honest and reasonable Terms of Agreement, since for his sake only, he had releas'd much of that, which Francis, of himself, had freely offer'd unto the Viceroy of Naples. And all this before ever Henry did intermeddle with the said Peace. Also, that, for the same reason, he had accorded divers other Conditions, which no other Persons could have persuaded him unto. Whereas, on the other side, Francis had never done any thing to comply with him. As to the second Point, which is concerning the liberty of the Pope, he was assur'd already from Italy, that he was free. So that no more needs to be said thereof. And, for that which pass'd in Rome, as soon as ever he was advertis'd thereof, he writ his Justification unto our King; desiring (withal) his Counsel and Assistance in that which he thought might be most for the Service of God, and Good of Christendom, to which yet he never answer'd. Which argu'd, he did not so much desire the liberty of the Pope (which by his loving Advice he might have procur'd) as to pick a Quarrel against him. And as for the Title which your King pretends of being Protector of the Pope, and Defender of the Faith, he would not yield to him the honour of that Duty, but that he would say only, that if both had done what they ought, it would have been better for Christendom: Neither should those have been born out and favour'd, who have so manifestly broken their Promise, which yet, according both to Divine and Human Right, ought to be conserv'd inviolable, both towards Friends and Enemies. As for the third Point, which speaks of the Debts demanded, it is answer'd, That the delay of Payment was caus'd by the Treaty betwixt your King's Ambassadors and me, according to which, the said Debt should be assign'd on Francis to pay; and, since that time, the Non-payment was occasion'd by want of sufficient Power in your King's Ambassadors to discharge me thereof. And as for the Obligation of Indemnity, there being in Arrear four Years and four Months at the rate of 133305 Crowns by the Year; and for the 500000 Crowns to be paid as a Penalty for not having match'd with the Princess Mary, it is answer'd, that the Ambassadors,

will be divorc'd from the Queen his Wife, and marry with another, (notwithstanding the Dispensations granted on that behalf.) Since besides all other Injuries done herein, it will be manifest, his Intention was to make the Lady (he pretended to give me in Marriage) a Bastard; which yet as he could not easily believe, in a Prince he esteem'd so much, so, if any such purpose were, he must lay the Fault thereof upon the sinister and perverse Information of his Cardinal, whose unmeasurable Ambition and Covetousness was such, that because he refus'd to employ his Army in *Italy*, for the making him Pope by strong hand, (which also he had procur'd the King his Master to write for, and himself had intreated by some Letters written by his own hand;) and because also he would not satisfy him in other his inordinate and unreasonable Desires, he had many times declar'd, that he would give that Disturbance and Impediment to all his Businesses, that for this hundred Years the like had not been seen; so that he would make him repent it, when the Kingdom of *England* should be hazarded thereby. And certainly, if the King your Master will believe the evil Counsel of the Cardinal, it will be the right way to bring that to pass which he said, and consequently to be the ruine of your King and Master's Dominions. All which being consider'd, he protested he was not the Author of the Evils might follow hereupon. Finally, for the Business of the Merchants, he refer'd him to a further Treaty.

Thus did *Clarenceaux*, instead of satisfaction for the Money, and Kindnesses done to *Charles*, return with a Reply full of Offence and Evasion, unto his King and Master. Of which our King yet made no other account, than such as became one, who holding himself free from all Causes of Suspicion and Calumny, despised whatsoever in either kind was objected against him; since, having inviolably kept his Intention and Oath of falling on that Prince, which most interrupted the Publick Peace, he thought it now his part to join against *Charles*. For though in the beginning he interceded only for a Peace betwixt him and *Francis*, (refusing therefore to be the Chief and Protector of the *Clementine* League) yet finding now that the Generals and Army of *Charles* proceeded to such an enormous Outrage, as to take and hold the Pope Prisoner, he thought he could do no less than use all means that might conduce to his delivery, and the repressing of the exorbitant Ambition of *Charles*, who was thought not obscurely to aspire to an universal Monarchy. As for the little Cavils and Punctilios concerning the receiving of *Giovanni Joachim*, or the giving a civil ear to a proposition of Marriage in *Scotland*, and the like, as they were not, before some Contraventions of the part of *Charles*, so no effect did follow thereof in those times when *Charles* most suspected them. Though when our King was inform'd that *Charles* did, after his Treaty at *Windsor*, give and receive Overtures of Marriage in more than one place, it could not seem strange if he took the same liberty. As for the opening of the Letters, our Cardinal by particular Dispatches to Doctor *Sampson*, Resident in *Spain*, had a good while since so clear'd his King from any sinister Intention therein, that it ought not to have been further mention'd. For though indeed a Stranger passing the Watch about *London*,

1528. at an undue time of Night, and in a suspected manner, had some Letters taken from him, which afterwards were open'd by Sir Thomas More, and deliver'd to the Cardinal; yet the said Letters, which (as it appear'd afterwards) came from Monsieur de Praet, (who departed secretly out of England, without taking leave either of our King or his Council,) and were written in Ciphers, and contain'd many dangerous falsehoods, were, in due time, posted to the Emperor, (whereby also he might perceive what ill offices his said Ambassador did,) and the fault laid on de Praet, who chose rather to use his own Authority than to demand a Pass, in a time when he knew they could not otherwise be convey'd; which likewise was the excuse for intercepting another Messenger, who carry'd Letters to the Lady Margaret in Flanders, of the same Tenor; which yet she receiv'd presently after. And for the excuses not to pay the Money requir'd of him, or the penalty above-mention'd, they were but Arts, by which others might learn to deceive him in the same kind, and which therefore might instruct Francis to do the like.

Our Cardinal being thus incens'd against Charles, thought fit, as well in despite of him, as for the assertion of his Kings proceedings, publickly to give account, in the Star-chamber, of the whole State of this business; adding withal, that our King was resolv'd to make War against Charles. In the delivery whereof, though he did exaggerate the actions of Charles, even to the making him criminal of whatsoever either by the Law of God, or Man he could be guilty; yet our Merchants, who thereupon, should neither vent their chief Commodities in the Low-Countries, and Spain, nor again receive from thence supplies of some Commodities they stood in need of, would no way approve this War; as that, from which they saw neither profit or honour likely to ensue; especially, when they heard, the Pope was deliver'd from his Imprisonment. Nevertheless, the Cardinal, pursuing his Intentions, (as the Emperor had done first in Spain to the English and French,) seizeth on the Goods of the Subjects of Charles, and shortly after on the Person of his Ambassador Don Hugo de Mendoza, upon notice given, that our Ambassador was staid in Spain. The Consequence of this, was, that our Merchants presently found the like measure in the Low-Countries, to the great prejudice of that Intercourse and Commerce, which for many Ages had pass'd betwixt both Nations. Upon news yet, that our Ambassadors were well us'd in Spain, Hugo de Mendoza was not only set at liberty, but perswaded by some, that the Defiance which Clarenceaux had made unto Charles, was by him hastened, at the motion only of the French Ambassador. For which presumptuous act, he should therefore suffer Death, as soon as he return'd to Calais. Hugo de Mendoza, glad hereof, sends a dispatch by Post into Spain, acquainting Charles with all these Particularities. But as the Courier pass'd by Bayonne, the Governor thereof open'd and copy'd these Letters, which afterwards he shew'd Clarenceaux, as he return'd homewards. Clarenceaux, at first, seem'd much astonish'd, but, at last, considering he had good warrant from the Cardinal, for all his Proceedings, he recollects himself, and continues his Journey. He did not think fit yet to come to Calais, but, taking Ship at Boulogne, and landing at Rye, he secretly posted to Hampton Court, where the King was; using such means there, that he obtain'd speedy access to him, shewing, among other things, three Letters from the Cardinal, Authorizing this Defiance to Charles. He assur'd him also of the good usage he had re-

ceiv'd there; insomuch, that (notwithstanding all these Rough Passages,) he had been rewarded with a Chain of 700 Ducats. Lastly, he shew'd the Copy of those Letters the Governor of Bayonne had intercepted; which so startled the King, that he protested against the Cardinal, as one, that not only usurp'd too much upon the Regal Authority, but represented things much otherwise than they were, unto him. The King hereupon sent for the Cardinal, and lays these Insolencies and Presumptions to his charge in such a manner, that, howsoever the Cardinal excus'd himself, the King was observ'd to mistrust him ever afterwards. The matter hereupon was brought to the body of the Council; where, notwithstanding the Cardinal alledg'd that nothing was done, but what was conformable to the Kings Intentions, as he conceiv'd them; yet, because in a matter of this high Consequence, he had proceeded too singly, without advising with the King and Council, he was reprov'd. In sequence whereof also (notwithstanding this design'd War) some Overtures were made for keeping the Commerce betwixt us, and the Low-Country-men still open, if it could be fairly done. Therefore the Dutch-men were Licens'd to depart home, the Spaniards yet being not permitted to go, till it appear'd, how our Merchants were us'd there.

The Lady Margaret, Regent of the Low-Countries, being inform'd hereof, doth in exchange of this Courtesie, dismiss our English likewise, yet retaineth their Goods, until she might hear how the Spaniards were us'd in England, but together assures them, that when she is satisfied thereof, all things should be safely restor'd. And now our Merchants (who us'd not the Trade to the many Northern and remote Countries they now frequent) foreseeing the consequence of these Wars, refus'd to buy the Cloths that were brought to Blackwell-Hall in London; whereupon the Clothiers, Spinners and Carders in many Shires of England began to mutiny. For appealing whereof, the Cardinal commands our Merchants to take off these Cloths, at a reasonable price, from the poor Mens hands, threatening, otherwise, that the King himself should buy them, and sell them to Strangers. But the swollen Merchants, little mov'd herewith, said, they had no reason to buy Commodities they knew not how to utter. Therefore, whatsoever was propos'd for Staples at Calais, or Abbeville, our Merchants did not, or at least would not understand it. But this discontentment did equally extend to the Inhabitants of the Low-Countries, and especially to Antwerp, where the chief Mart was. The Lady Margaret considering this also, and fearing lest any Insurrection might follow, sends over, by the advice of the Emperors Council, the Provost of Casselles, and one other, to join with Don Hugo de Mendoza, for the obtaining, if nothing else, yet of a Truce and abstinence from War. These Ambassadors having obtain'd Audience of the King, March 29. 1528. Mendoza said unto him.

Sire, The Emperor's Majesty doth acknowledge himself so much bound to your Grace for the many favours receiv'd from you, ever since his Minority, that he will by no means take the Defiance given by your Herald, as a peremptory denunciation of War, till he hath heard further of your pleasure. Therefore, his Council hath appointed these two Noble Persons and my self, to know your determinate Answer, and final Resolution herein. The King, pausing a while, as one that in his heart lov'd Charles, and yet was bound, by his late Treaty, to oppose him, answer'd; Of War I am nothing joyful, And of War I am less fearful, I thank God, as having both Men and Money

Records.

1528.
April 9.

Ostob.

Hall.

Hall.

The Cardinal's
treachery
to Clarenceaux.

Hall

1528.

The King's
first mistrust of
the Cardinal.

Hall.

March 29.
Hall.Spanish
Ambassador's
Speech to
the King.

His Answer.

1528. ney in readines, which I know other Princes lack, for all their high words; and therefore to War I could soon agree. Yet, before I make you a determinate Answer herein, I shall declare some part of my Mind to you, and tell you accordingly, that, although your Master be a great Emperor, and mighty Prince, I cannot, nor may not, suffer him to bear down and destroy the Realm of France, which is our true Inheritance, and for which our Brother and Ally, the French King, pays us yearly a great Pension and Tribute; wherefore we, of Justice and Equity, must maintain that Land, out of which we have so fair a Rent, and such a Profit. The Provost of Casselles replying hereunto, told the King; That the ancient Love and Friendship which hath been betwixt your Realm and the House of Burgundy, Flanders, and the Low-Countries, is now so confirm'd and rooted in their Hearts, that I assure your Grace, that, next their Sovereign Lord, they would soonest live and die with you. In which regard he hop'd, that no new Alliance could corrupt and change this so long settled and inveterate Amity. Which yet we say not out of Fear, as being well furnish'd for War, but out of that true Affection, which we have ever born you. Therefore, though we offer you choice of War, or Peace, yet the Emperor intends no more herein, than to leave you the arbitrement of both. And thus much I will confess out of my Instructions, that if you chuse War, we have yet Commission in fitting Terms to sue for Peace; and if you chuse Peace, we have likewise Commission to thank you for it, and to offer both us and ours at your Command. Hugo de Mendoza, to second this, said, that, of very right, the Emperor and his Dominions ought to have your love and favour before the French King and his Nation. Since the French had never apply'd themselves to you, but in the time of their necessity; whereas the love on our part hath been ever inviolable. This was an Age, in which much Honour, and some Good-nature was to be found. Therefore our King, returning to his former affection to Charles (and the rather, for that he found so much was deferr'd to his Mediation, in the affairs of Francis, as is above related) and, besides, having an eye on the businesse of Scotland (as will appear hereafter) and, howsoever, being desirous to conserve his Stile and Dignity of Arbiter, told them, that, as he well perceiv'd the intent of their coming, so he would be well advis'd, how to make them a fitting Answer; saying, that, in the mean while, he was content there should be a Truce for a time; wherewith the Flemish Ambassadors return'd home, well satisfy'd that they had obtain'd this respite. The King hereupon adviseth with his Counsellors; among whom, though those who adhered to Woolsey, did persuade a War, yet the greater part (who did secretly disaffect the Cardinal) told the King, That the Resultance of War in the Low-Countries could be nothing but a grievance to his Subjects, a decay of Trade, a diminution of his Customs, and addition to the greatness of Francis, who would have the advantage of all that was undertaken in this kind. Which being duly consider'd, it was thought fit to make an abstinence from War for eight Months, and until it appear'd (upon consultation betwixt the Emperors Ambassadors and his) how a General Peace might be made. Hereupon Letters were sent, not only to Spain and Flanders, but to France, manifesting the Reasons, why the King had, for a while, suspended this War. In which Estate also the businesse continued, till answer was brought from foreign Parts.

The Bishop of Bayonne, Resident here on the part of the French King, was no sooner advertis'd hereof but he demanded Audience; which being obtain'd, he saith, That, though he doubted not but his Highness did well remember the late League, concluded betwixt him and his Brother the French

King, which also was ratified and confirm'd by the three Estates of the Realm of France, by vertue whereof you have an Annual Pension and Tribute to a great value paid to you, in consideration whereof, you have promis'd to defend the said Realm against all Persons; yet, because it is well known to many, that the Emperors Ambassadors have labour'd the contrary, disposing your Highness (all they could) to infringe the said League, I thought it my part to put your Highness in mind thereof, assuring your Highness, for the rest, that, whensoever you should begin to make a War upon the Emperor and his Subjects, it would be a perpetual Obligation, not only on him, but on the whole French Nation. The King reply'd hereunto, that, though it were more easie to enter into Wars, than to end them with Honour and Profit, yet that he would preserve inviolable the League and Amity betwixt his Brother of France, and himself. So that the King, your Master, needs not doubt, but that I will defend his Country to the uttermost of my Power; though, I must tell you, that, when I could procure him an Honourable and Advantageous Peace, I should think I had deserv'd as well of him this way, as any other. Wherewith the Ambassador departed well contented, yet so, as he was in some more uncertainty concerning the intended War. Therefore he sollicitates the Cardinal, as his Masters best friend, to hasten the Forces, which our King had now in readines for a War with the Low-Countries: But, as the favour of the Cardinal began now somewhat to decline, so found he not that expedition which he was wont to receive in his Addresses. Howsoever, the War betwixt the French and Flemings continu'd. In which this memorable accident is recorded. That a French Ship lying at Margate, being set on by a Fleming, and finding her self too weak, the wind being fair for the River of Thames, packs on all her Sails, and makes for London. The Fleming, as eagerly pursuing her, overtakes and boards her near the Tower-Wharf; which Sir Edmund Walsingham, Lieutenant of the Tower, perceiving, calls his Men together, and seiz'd on them; where, though the Fleming boldly challeng'd his Prize, yet the Kings Council, considering, that (in this place) both of them were under the Kings Protection, it was thought fit to dismiss them freely on either side.

It appears before how Guyenne, King of Arms, charg'd himself with a Message from Charles the Emperor unto the King his Master, containing an Affront and kind of Challenge, which the said Charles had formerly declar'd to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Guyenne having now perform'd his part, Francis could no longer forbear to take notice of it. Yet, because it seems he did not sufficiently apprehend the relation which the said Archbishop of Bourdeaux made thereof, he requires of him more ample and clear information. The Archbishop hereupon writes to Charles, and craves, that, under his hand, he would set down what he told him by word of Mouth; for the rest, making some excuse, that he did not remember it better. Charles answers him, and repeats the words; shortly after which, Francis dispatches Guyenne with a Cartel; in the delivery whereof I shall set down the forms were us'd, the example being so rare.

Guyenne having obtain'd a safe conduct from Charles, who also commanded one Montalvo, a Gentleman, for his more security, by the way, to accompany him, comes to Monzon in Arragon, where Charles then was, 7th of June 1528. Having gotten Audience the next day, Charles sitting in his Throne, and being well attended by his prime Nobility and Prelates, expects him. Guyenne coming hereupon to the lower end of a great Hall, puts on his Coat of Arms, and after

1528. five low Obeysances made, casts himself on his Knees before Charles, and speaks thus.

K. of Fr. Sire, I beseech your Majesty, that, continuing the good usage I have receiv'd hitherto, you will give me leave to perform that, that belongs to my Office, and that, this being done, I may have leave safely to return. Charles answer'd, King of Arms, do thy Duty, and my Will is, that thou be always well Treated. Then Guyenne, rising up, said;

Sire, The King my Master, being advertis'd of the words you commanded me to tell him, and of that which, before and after, you have spoken against his Honour, desires so much to justifie it, before all the World, (as in truth he may,) that he hath commanded me, for answer, to present you this Writing, subscrib'd with his own Hand, which when your Majesty shall please to peruse, you will find, how intirely he satisfies all. Moreover, your Majesty will be pleas'd to give me leave to return to the King my Master, for I have no further Commission. This being said, he seem'd to offer a Paper unto Charles. Before yet Charles would take it, he said, King of Arms, hast thou Commission from thy King to read this Writing thou bringest? Guyenne answer'd, that he had. Then

Emperor's Answer. Charles said, King of Arms, I have heard that which you have said, and will look on the Writing which you have brought, and will do in such sort, that my Honour shall be preserv'd. And, for the King your Master, he will have enough to do to keep his, it being a thing in a manner impossible; as for that which concerns my Justice, my Chancellor here shall deliver it. Then the Chancellor said, His Majesty, holding himself to the Protestations made heretofore on his part, protesteth here again, that, for any thing that either now, or hereafter, he shall say, or do, he doth not intend to prejudice or derogate from the Rights that belong unto him by the Capitulation of Madrid; and that, notwithstanding any breach on this particular occasion, it shall remain in full force and effect. And that this Protestation shall be understood, as distributed and reparted in all the proceedings, that shall hereafter pass in this matter.

When the Chancellor had spoken this, the Emperor said; King of Arms, although, for many Reasons, the King your Master be not capable of doing any Act in this kind, either against me or any else, yet, for the good of Christendom, and avoiding of more effusion of Blood, and for giving an end to these Wars, and for no other reason, I do enable him for this purpose; wherewith he took the Paper that Guyenne held in his Hand. Then Guyenne said to him; Sire, If the Answer that your Majesty shall send to the King my Master be the security of the Field, or Fighting-place, and that you please to give it me, I have Commission to bring it, and nothing else. Therefore your Majesty will be pleas'd not to force me to any thing else, but the said security of the Field, in which the King my Master will assuredly present himself, with those Arms with which he intends to defend himself. And for me, your Majesty will be pleas'd to let me depart. Charles answer'd, Your Master ought not to prescribe me what I am to do; I will do what I have said; for which cause, as well as that something may be in this Paper, to which I may reply by some particular Messenger, I charge you to procure him a safe Conduct, since you would not come without mine; which Guyenne promis'd; wherewith the Emperor calling Juan Aleman, his Secretary, charg'd him to Record all that had been done there. After which Guyenne (who seem'd to have taken his leave) said, Sire, I have another Paper to present your Majesty by the hands of Seigneur Aleman your Secretary, if your Majesty be pleas'd to command him to receive it; which Charles likewise permitted. Whereupon all the principal Persons present, and lastly Guyenne also, subscrib'd their Names unto the Record. This being done, the Emperor commanded his Secretary Aleman to read in an high voice the Cartel deliver'd by Guyenne.

The Cartel of Francis the French King, to Charles the Emperor.

1528. WE Francis by the grace of God King of France, The Chal-
Lord of Genoua, &c. To you Charles, by
the same grace, chosen Emperor of the Romans, King
of Spain. We let you know that being advertis'd,
how, in certain Answers given to our Ambassadors and
Kings of Arms, (which for negotiating a Peace we
sent unto you) you, desiring without reason to excuse
your self, have accus'd us, saying, that you have our
Faith plighted to you, and that hereupon contravening
our promise, we are departed out of your hands and
power. For defending of our Honour, which herein is,
much against truth, impeach'd, we have thought fit
to send you this Cartel; by which although we say,
that no Man under restraint can plight his Faith, and
that, though this excuse is very sufficient, yet, as we
desire to give satisfaction to every one, and as well to
our own honour, which we have kept, and will keep
(God willing) to the death; We let you know, that,
if either you have already, or shall hereafter lay to our
charge any thing which may touch our Faith, or Liberty,
or that we have done any thing, which a Cavalier
that loves his honour ought not do; We say unto you,
that you have ly'd in your Throat; and that as many
times as you shall say it, you Lye; being resolv'd to
defend our honour to the last period of our Life.

And since, against Truth, you have laid this Imputation on us, write not to us any more, but assure us
the Field, and we will bring the Arms; Protesting
that, if after this Declaration, you write to any part,
or speak any words against our Honour, the shame of
delaying the Combat shall be yours, since, being come
to these terms, all cause of writing ceaseth.

Dated in our good Town and City of Paris, Mart. 28. Martii .8.
1527. before Easter. 1511.

Underneath which was plac'd the little Seal
of Francis in Wax.

This being the substance of Francis his Cartel, Henry's
was communicated beforehand to our King, who
advic'd him only (as I find in our Records) not
to give the Emperor that harsh word of the
Lye. In the Paper deliver'd to the Secretary
Aleman, a Relation was made of some passages
between Francis, and the Seigneur de Granvele Amba-
ssador of Charles, residing in the French Court, Sandow.
in which Francis pretended to excuse his breach
of promise, by the constraint and necessity he
was in, saying, among other things, that he yiel-
ded not himself to the Emperor, and therefore that he
could not accuse him of breach of Faith. It was also
declar'd there, how Francis caus'd the Cartel a-
bove-mention'd to be * read publicly before * Mart. 28.
the Emperor's Ambassadors. Moreover, Fran-
cis labour'd to avoid the imputation laid on him
by Charles for defying him now, when yet he
had made six or seven years War without send-
ing any such Defiance. To which therefore he
answer'd, That the Ambassadors of Charles had de-
fied him first, at Dijon, and therefore it would not
seem strange if he defended himself. The rest was
little more than some Protestations against the
late Imprisonment of the Pope, the detaining of
his two Sons for Hostages, some Complement of
Henry King of England, and some Excuses for not
having answer'd this business sooner; among
which, the following, being somewhat extrava-
gant, seems worth the relating: For, whereas
Charles objected against him, that he kept his
promise in Madrid better to Francis, than Fran-
cis had done to him, he said he did not remem-
ber to have promis'd any thing there; for, con-
cerning the Concord of Madrid, he said, it was set
set

1528. set down in Writing; howsoever that he held himself sufficiently discharg'd from it, in regard he was not at liberty when he Sign'd it, nor afterwards set free upon his word, (which, in that case only, he thought himself bound to observe:) for the rest, professing he could call to mind nothing that might oblige him, but only that he said he would in Person assist Charles against the Turk, which he was ready to do likewise with all his Forces; assuring farther, that Charles should not so soon have his foot in the Stirrup for this purpose, but he would be before him in the Saddle. To all which the said Ambassador reply'd, he had no commission to hear, or treat of these Business, and therefore desir'd leave to depart, and safe conduct, the Emperor his Master having recall'd him. Whereunto Francis answer'd, that the Emperor his Master had forc'd him to these courses, and that he did esteem him so gentle a Prince, that, when he should understand this answer I make him, he would answer thereunto like a Gentleman, and not like a Lawyer: Because, if he did otherwise, he would send a Reply to his Chancellor, by an Advocate, a Person of his Quality, and an honest Man than he. For your particular, I have thought fit to let you know, that I shall cause you to be accompany'd to the Frontiers of my Dominions, to the intent that I may receive my Ambassadors at the time that I dismiss you. This was Sign'd by Robertet, Secretary to Francis.

The Spanish Ambassador's reply to these excuses.

Hereupon Charles resolves, by Burgundy his King of Arms, to send his Reply unto Francis, bearing date June 28. 1528.

June 28.

The Cartel and reply of Charles the Emperor, to Francis the French King.

Charles's Answer to Francis's Challenge.

CHARLES by the divine Clemency Emperor of the Romans, King of Germany and of Spain, &c. I do let know to you Francis, by the Grace of God King of France, that, upon the 8th of this Month of June, I receiv'd by Guyenne, your King of Arms, your Cartel, dated Mart. 28. which from a remoter place than Paris might have come hither in a shorter time; and conformable to that which on my part was said to your King of Arms, I answer to that which you say, That in certain answers given by me to the Ambassadors and Kings of Arms, whom for negotiating a Peace you sent unto me, in which you alledge, that, for excusing my self, without cause, I have accus'd you, I reply, that I have not seen any King of Arms on your part, but him that came to Burgos, to denounce War against me. And as for my self, having err'd in nothing, there is no need to excuse my self. But for you, it is your own faults that accuse you. And whereas you mention the plighting of your Faith to me, you say true, when you understand thereby the Capitulation of Madrid; where it appears, by certain Writings subscrib'd with your own Hand, that you would return to be my true Prisoner, in case you did not accomplish all, which by the said Capitulation was promis'd. But, that I should say, as you mention in your Cartel, that you, having plighted your Faith unto me, did contrary to your promise, go away, and escape my Hands, and Power, they are words which I never said, because I never pretended to hold your Faith, so, as not to go away, but to return in the form that was agreed. And if you made this good, you should neither be wanting to your Children, nor that which you owe unto your Honour. And to that you say, that, for defence of your Honour (which in this case should, much against truth, be impeach'd) you have thought fit to send your Cartel, by which you say, that although no Man under ward or restraint can plight his Faith, and that this excuse is very sufficient; Notwithstanding, as you desire to give satisfaction to every one, and as well unto your own Honour, which you say you have kept, and will keep

(God willing) unto the Death, and thereupon do let me know, that, if either I have already, or shall hereafter lay to your charge any thing which may touch your Faith or Liberty, or that you have done any thing which a Cavalier that loves his Honour ought not to do, you say that I have Ly'd in my Throat, and, as many times as I shall say it, that I Lye. And that you are resolv'd to defend your Honour to the last period of your Life.

1528.

To this I answer, that, considering the form of the Capitulation, your excuse for being under restraint can have no place; but, since you make so small account of your Honour, I do not wonder that you deny your self to be oblig'd to accomplish your promise; for your words cannot vindicate your Honour. Therefore I have said, and will say (without Lying,) that you have done Lachement and Meschamment, in not keeping the Faith you gave me, according to the Capitulation of Madrid. And, in saying this, I do not charge you with things secret, or impossible to prove, since they appear by Writings, sign'd by your Hand, which you can neither excuse, nor deny: And if you will affirm the contrary, (since I have releas'd and enabled you only for this Combat) I say, that for the good of Christendom, and for avoiding the effusion of Blood, and for putting an end to this War, and to defend my just Demand, I shall, in my Person maintain against yours, that, that which I say, is true. But I will not return to you the Language you give me, since both your Actions (without that I or any else speak of them) make you a Liar, and that it is more easy afar off to talk in this manner, than near at hand. And, as for that which you say, that, since, against truth, I have laid this Imputation on you, that from henceforth I should write no more, but that I should assure you the Field, and that you will bring the Arms, I say, you must have patience a while, till I have laid your Actions open to you, and until I have writ you this Answer, by which I say, that I accept the appointing of the Field, and that I am content to assure it on my part, by all the reasonable ways that can be devis'd; and, for this effect, and for the better expedition thereof, I do now name the place for the said Combat, to be upon the River, which passeth between Fuentarabie and Andaja, in that part, and after that manner, which by agreement on both sides, shall be thought most secure and convenient. And, it seems that in reason you ought not to refuse this, or say it is not secure enough, since there you were set free, upon giving your Sons for Hostages, with your Faith and Promise to return. And considering as well that in the same River you did entrust your Person, and your Children; you may be confident now to hazard your own only, since I will as well hazard mine. And means shall be found out, that, notwithstanding the Situation of the place, neither of us shall have advantage of the other. And for this purpose, as well as for the election of Arms, (which I pretend of right to belong to me and not to you) and because in the conclusion of this business no trifling or delay may be admitted, we may send Gentlemen on both parts to view the said place; with sufficient power to treat and agree, as well concerning the security of the Field, as the choice of Arms, the day of Combat, and the rest that belongs hereunto. And if, within the space of XL. days after the delivery hereof, you neither answer nor advertise me of your intention herein, it will sufficiently appear, that the delay is on your part, which therefore shall be imputed, and laid to your charge, together with the default of not having accomplish'd that which you promis'd in Madrid. And whereas you protest, that if, after this Declaration, I say or write words contrary to your Honour, that the shame of delay of Combat shall be mine, since when matters are brought to these terms, all cause of writing ceaseth; your Protestations might have been well spar'd, since you cannot forbid me to say truth, though it grieve you. And that as well I am assur'd that the shame of delaying the Combat will not rest on me,

1528. me, since all the World may witness the desire I have to see an end thereof.

At Monzon in Arragon, June 28. 1528.

This also was certified under the Hand and Seal of *Burgundy*, King of Arms, who, together carry'd, in a Paper, the fourth Article of the Concord of *Madrid*. And, moreover, in a publick writing, declar'd that his Imperial Majesty commanded him, with all speed, to enquire an Answer thereof. And that he should offer his service for bringing of it, if *Francis* so thought fit. Yet if the said King would not send it but by another, then that he should assure *Francis*, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, that the said Messenger might come securely; and that a safe Conduct should be made him if he desir'd it; although his Imperial Majesty did not think it necessary for a King of Arms, as being a privileged Person. And, besides this, that he the said *Burgundy* should give to *Robertet*, Secretary to the King of *France*, or any other, whom the said King should appoint, an Answer, in writing, to that which *Guyenne* gave in presence of his Imperial Majesty, and, by his consent, to the Secretary *Alemain*. The tenor of which Writing being long, and containing little in it, but what is formerly set down, I shall pass over. And the rather, for that it took no more effect. Nevertheless, I must not omit to say that the excuse of *Francis* was not generally approv'd, nor his Cartel thought just. For if a Prisoner of War may avoid his promise, because he is under constraint, it would follow, that few or none would be taken, but rather kill'd upon the place; which would make the War not only more bloody and barbarous, but even destroy a principal part of that *Jus Gentium*, which in these cases hath been inviolably observ'd in all times. So that if *Francis* had excus'd his not returning by being a publick Person, and had said that his Obligation by Oath, when he was Crown'd, unto his People and Kingdom was a greater tie than that of his particular Honour; and, together, had alledg'd, that he could not obtain their consent, either to perform his Promise for restitution of *Burgundy*, or otherwise to go single out of his Kingdom; it was thought, by some, he might have vindicated himself in great part, and, indeed, laid some imputation on *Charles*, for demanding things impossible to perform. But I come to that which ensu'd; according to an Act which *Burgundy* gave under his Hand and Seal, as Authentick, for the justifying of the Emperor his Masters Reputation.

Sandoz.

July 1.
Burgundy
arrives on
the Fron-
tiers of
France.

This *Burgundy*, coming to *Fuentarabie*, sends a Trumpet 1. July 1528. to Monsieur de *St. Bonet* Governor of *Bayonne*, for the safe Conduct which *Guyenne* had promis'd. The Governor excus'd himself, as not having Commission; yet as *Burgundy* persisted in his Demand, the said Governor, about eight days afterwards, sent him word, that his safe-conduct was ready, if he brought security of the Field to *Francis*; requiring further to know if his Commission extended to any thing else. To which *Burgundy* answer'd, about seven days after, that the Emperor his Master had commanded him not to declare his Message to any, but *Francis*: And that, therefore, he had dispatch'd a Courier to his Imperial Majesty to know what answer he should make: who hath commanded me, hereupon, to let you know, that I do bring the security of the Field, and other things that concern the Combat, and Answer to the Cartel of the King your Master. To which, the next day following, the Governor answer'd again, that, if he brought the security of the Field, and nothing else, he should

advertise him, and he would presently send a Gentleman to conduct him to the King his Master. To which about nine days after, *Burgundy* answer'd, that he did bring the security of the Field, and the rest did concern only the Combat, and the hastning thereof; which being so, he said he ought not to be deny'd, or prohibited to do his Office, since it was a thing never known that any should speak to one, and yet not hear his Answer; as if it were enough, for defending of ones Honour, to send a Cartel, without doing, or suffering any thing else. For which reason, and because the Emperor is desirous to shew that he is in earnest, he did require him this time for all, that, without more delay, he might receive his safe-conduct, as *Guyenne* had in the like case, and that, if he were delay'd, he protested that he had done all that was convenient for the discharge of the Dignity of the Emperor his Master, which you know of what Importance it is; and so expected his speedy Answer. No answer being return'd hereunto in the space of nine days more, (notwithstanding that the Governor had promis'd to send a Trumpet with an Answer) *Burgundy* thought fit to remember him of that promise, and therefore sends a Trumpet again; to which (as the *Spanish* History hath it) *St. Bonet* made no other Answer, but bid him return no more, and that *Fuésse conel diablo*, yet, as *Burgundy* would not depart, so at last the Governor of *Bayonne* sent him a Letter dated August 17. 1528. which declar'd, that the King his Master was offended with him, for having deferr'd the giving him safe-conduct so long, which therefore he promis'd to send him when he desir'd it; which *Burgundy* requiring out of hand, the Governor sent him. Whereupon *Burgundy* (who put on his Coat of Arms as soon as he was in the *French* Territories) came to *Bayonne*, where he protested to the Governor, that the demanding safe-conduct should be no derogation to his privilege belonging to him as King of Arms; and so, continuing his Journey, he came to *Estampes*, 2 September, where *Guyenne* attended him; staying yet there seven days, before he was permitted to go to *Paris*, (the King passing all that time in Hunting.) Being at length conducted to *Paris*, he would have worn his Coat of Arms, but was not suffer'd, it being told him, it was *Cosa de un San Nicholas de Aldea*, which I interpret, a thing not to be shew'd but upon Holy-days, or in a Country-Church.

Aug. 17.

Sept. 2.

But *Burgundy* protesting against this usage, (as being contrary to the Privileges of his place) those who conducted him went to the King, who, after some space, return'd, bringing with them two Notaries, to record what pass'd; before whom they said, that, if he desir'd to enter into *Paris* in his Coat of Arms, he would be in great danger of the People; and therefore if any inconvenience follow'd, he must not lay it to their charge. Notwithstanding which, some Persons being sent to secure him, he put on his Coat of Arms, and, the next day, obtain'd Audience of the King; who in a great Sale (or Hall) sat on his Throne, being attended by many Princes, Prelates, and Gentlemen; our Ambassadors also being present, to whom (as I find in our Records) he then shew'd the Order of the Garter upon his Leg, saying to them, that, seeing he went about an Act, wherein consisted the Honour of Knighthood, he thought he could not use a better Remembrance, than the said Garter. *Burgundy* now beginning to make his Obedience, the King, without giving him time to speak, said, King of Arms, hast thou perform'd thy Office as thou ought'st hitherto? Thou knowest what thou hast written in thy Letters; dost thou bring me the security of the Field

Burgundy
has Audi-
ence of
Francis.

accor-

1528. according to that which in my Cartel I writ to the Emperor thy Master? He reply'd, Senior si, or Yes, will you be pleas'd that I perform my Office, and say what the Emperor commandeth me? The King answer'd hereunto, No, unless you give first a Patent sign'd with your hand, that may contain the security of the Field, and nothing else. For thou knowest well the Contents of thy Safe-conduct. The Herald there beginning to speak, and saying, Sire, The Sacred Majesty of the Emperor— The King interrupted him, and said, I tell thee, that thou must not speak to me of any thing, because I have nothing to do with thee, but with thy Master; yet when thou shalt have given his Patent, and that the Field may be well assur'd me, then will I give thee licence to say what thou wilt, and not otherwise. Then he said, Sire, It was commanded me that I should read it, and afterwards give it you, if you be pleas'd to give me leave so to do; or that having given it you first, I should afterwards do what I am commanded. Then the King rose suddenly from his Throne, speaking angrily; What? Does thy Master think to establish new Customs in my Land? I will none of these Hypocrisies. He answer'd then, Sire, I am assur'd that the Emperor will do all that a brave and virtuous Prince ought to do. The King reply'd hereunto, That he thought so well of him, he did believe he would do so. Where-with Monsieur de Montmorency, who was the Grand Maître, began to say somewhat to the King, which the said King of Arms understood not; but the King passionately reply'd, No, no, I will not give him leave, unless I have the Surety of the Field; without which (he said) he should return as he came; and so bids the King of Arms speak no more unto him. Yet he reply'd, Sire, If you will not suffer me, I cannot do my Office, nor give you the Cartel of the Emperor, without your leave, which once again I ask; and if you will not give it me, because I may not err in my relation, I pray you give me by writing, that you deny it, reserving me yet your safe Conduct to return. Then Francis said, I will that it be given you; wherewithal the Herald departed. He then solicited Montmorency, the Grand Maître, to obtain leave for him once more to deliver the Emperor's Cartel. Notwithstanding which, he receiv'd no other Answer, but that the King would grant him no Audience, since his Commission was expir'd: Therefore that he might depart when it pleas'd him. Then Burgundy protested that the Fault was not in him, and much less in the Emperor his Master, and that the Emperor his Master would publish this in all places where he thought fit. Then the Secretary offer'd him a Relation of the business, which yet he wou'd not receive, in regard some Passages were omitted, and particularly the harsh Words, which the King gave him. Wherewith Burgundy return'd, and, at his coming to Court, deliver'd this Relation to the Emperor under his Hand and Seal. Which also I have follow'd, not that I would shew any Partiality to either side, but that it is the most particular, that I could meet with, among the several Relations that are extant, and for the most part agreeing with them.

Charles now considering what remain'd to be done for discharge of his Honour, brought the business to his Council of State and War; who all agreed, That the Refusal of Francis to hear the Reply to his Cartel had given end to this business; and, for the rest, that it was sufficient to certify certain principal Persons, both at home, and abroad, of all these Passages.

And this was the end of the Cartels and Points d'honneur betwixt these two great Princes; not for want of Courage, (in which both undoubtedly abounded) but for not being able to agree sufficiently between themselves concerning the Laws of Duel; of which therefore Men spake,

in that Age, diversly, according to their several Affections; yet so, as few disinterested Persons denied, but that (notwithstanding the Punctualities of Francis) Charles had behav'd himself like a gentle Cavalier.

Whilst our King and the French were in that good Intelligence which is above-mention'd, it might seem probable that Scotland should be quiet: Their best Support ever coming from that Country. Yet such was the Power of the Douglasses at that time, that they seem'd to sway all things. For as they held a strict guard about the King, they made use of his Authority for their own ends. And particularly the Earl of Angus their chief. Nevertheless, as Queen Margaret had lately obtain'd at Rome a Divorce from the said Earl, and thereupon marry'd Henry Stuart, (shortly after created Lord Melfin) she drew many of the prime Nobility against him. Who yet attempting the King's delivery by force, were defeated near Lithgen, and the Earl of Lennox slain. Howbeit the King by Night slipping away from Angus, to the Castle of Sterling, resolves to summon a Parliament, and exauctorate the Douglasses; sending a Letter also to our King, to this purpose, (as our Records tell us) That the Earl of Angus, being made one of the chief about his Person, had wrought the exclusion of the rest, and got the whole guiding of his Person for two Years; in which time many evil Adventures happen'd. Moreover, that he conspir'd his Slaughter. This being done, he appoints the Parliament to be held September 4. Where the Douglasses being now depriv'd of their Publick Offices and Places, not only refus'd to come, but endeavour'd by all means to dissolve this Meeting. Therefore, hearing the King was departed out of Edinburgh, they sent some Troops of Horse to seize on it; which likewise they had perform'd, but that Robert Maxwell by the King's Command prevented them. Hereupon Angus retir'd to his own Castle, being about thirteen Miles distant. The King understanding hereof, comes to Edinburgh; Sept. 4. where, by vote of the Parliament, the Earl of Angus, George his Brother, Archibald his Uncle, and Alexander Dromond their dear Friend, were condemn'd, and their Goods confiscate, and Proclamation sent forth, that whosoever receiv'd them in House, or otherwise reliev'd them, should be subject to the same Punishment. Shortly after which, William (another Brother of the Earl, and Abbot of Holyrood) languish'd, and at last dy'd of Grief: Into whose place succeeded a Man, who, to avoid the Crime of being a Simoniac, us'd this notable Trick, as Buchanan hath it; for, hearing that the said William was at the point of Death, he lays a great Sum of Money, as a Wager, with the King, that he should not have the Donation of the next Abby that fell. The King (though young) understood his meaning; and as he wanted Money at that time, was content to win the Wager, and lose the Abby. The Douglasses despairing now of Mercy, spoil and forage the Country even to the Gates of Edinburgh; nor was all their Prey by Land; for a Ship, laden with precious Merchandise, being driven by a Tempest on that Coast, was rifled by them, and the chief Merchandise taken away; among which, some quantity of Cinnamon, which was left in the bottom of the Ship, being taken, the vulgar sort, not knowing the use thereof, burnt it for Fuel in their Houses, as Buchanan hath it. The more discontented sort of the Kingdom hearing that the Douglasses were thus in Arms, join with them. The King understanding this, and together finding that their Numbers and Power did daily increase, advis'd to raise Forces for taking a Castle of the Douglasses, (for which purpose

1528.

Charles's Behaviour more gallant than Francis's.

The Affairs of Scotland.

1526.

July 20.

1527.

1527.

Sept. 4.

July 25.

Sept. 4.

Buch.

Buch.

Buch.

1528. purpose he got Ordnance and Munition from *Dunbar* in which *John Duke of Albany*, late Vice-roy, held Garrison. He could not yet take the Castle.

Octob. Our King hearing of these Stirs, sends some Ambassadors in October, 1528, to treat of an Accommodation. Neither was *Francis* averse, as desiring to dispose our King to a War against *Charles*. The Difficulties yet were such, that all that could be obtain'd, was a Truce for five Years more, upon condition, that the *Douglases* should deliver their Castles up, the King giving them some other Conditions; which yet being not in all points observ'd, they were forc'd to forsake their Country, and fly into *England*, where our King entertain'd them with a Pension, and, at all occasions, mediated their Restitution; which at last (but not till the Death of *James V.*) he effected, (as will appear:) Howbeit *Alexander Dremond* was receiv'd into favour; though, whether for his own Merit, or to divide him from the *Douglases*, is uncertain; for *James Colvill*, one of their Friends, and the late Abbot of *Holyrood*, (notwithstanding his bought Tide) were banish'd from Court.

The Affairs of Ireland.

The Business of Ireland passed thus. The Earl of *Kildare* formerly mention'd, being restor'd to his Place of Deputy, was yet still prosecuted by the Earl of *Offory*, upon pretext of favouring the Earl of *Desmond*; who, upon the Treaty he made first with the *French King*, and afterwards with the Emperor, to attempt Ireland, was declar'd Traitor. This prevail'd so far, that *Kildare* was sent for to the Council-Table, 1527, where the Cardinal, his old Enemy, declaim'd against him. But he wittily and boldly defended himself, as our History, and especially *Campion*, hath it at large. Howbeit he was committed, and more Accusations produced against him; and particularly, that the Invasion his Brethren had made upon the Earl of *Offory*, now the King's Deputy, proceeded from him; whereof also being convict, he was condemn'd, and repriv'd in the Tower. At which, the Cardinal offended, sends the Lieutenant a Warrant for his execution. But the Lieutenant, favouring *Kildare*, acquainted our King therewith; who thereupon not only respited his Death, but some while after pardon'd and sent him home to his Country; checking the Cardinal in the mean time not a little, for his Presumption.

The King checks the Cardinal for his Presumption.

Luther's Letter of Apology to K. Hen.

I shall now return to speak of the Affairs of Religion in *Germany*, which *Luther* more than any of the other Reformers did govern; which Credit also that he might dilate and conserve, he had a good while since written to our King a kind of Apology for the disrespectful Answer made to his Book; offering, for satisfaction, in some publick writing to acknowledge (together with his own Presumption) the King's singular worth. In this Letter, among other things, he says he understood that the King was not the Author of the Book, which, under his Name, came forth against him; but certain Sophisters, who, to insinuate themselves into his Favour, had put forth the Work under his Name; and then calls the Cardinal, *Anglia Pestem*. He added also, that he was informed, to his great Contentment, ipsum & fastidire genus illud perditorum hominum, & ad veri cognitionem animum adicere: After which, he inserts a brief Remonstrance of his Doctrines, and begs a favourable Answer. Our King having receiv'd this Letter, answers it sharply, laying Inconstancy and Levity to the charge of *Luther*, and defending his own Book, and the Cardinal, whom, he saith, he should love the better henceforth; and then objects to him his late incestuous Matrimonium with a Nun. This Answer also being sent the Pope, and printed, *Luther*, who took nothing so ill at

The King's Answer.

this time, as that he shou'd be thought to change any of his Tenets and Opinions, lays the Fault on *Christiern King of Denmark*, who had given him hope, that our King, being treated gently and respectfully, would embrace the Reformed Doctrine; but now that he repented himself of this easy Language, though it were not new to him to lose his labour in this kind; for having written submissively and humbly heretofore to the Cardinal *Cajetan*, *George Duke of Saxony*, and *Erasmus*, he had found no success thereof, but that they were so much the fiercer against him. Howsoever, as his Doctrines had made no little progress in *Germany*, and that divers who did not manifestly declare themselves his Followers, did yet concur secretly in many of his Opinions, *Charles*, for repressing those Tumults, (which alteration of Religion doth commonly produce) thought fit to call an Assembly of the Princes of the Empire, to be held at *Spire*. For though the Decree made at *Worms* (where *Luther* was condemn'd) did yet stand in force, the Determinations did not yet appear so conclusive and satisfactory, that either side seem'd quieted therewith.

The Princes meeting at *Spire* in June 1526, the Emperor's Letters (dated from *Sevil*, March 23) were read to them. Wherein he declared, That he would shortly go to *Rome* to be crown'd, and talk with the Pope concerning a Council: In the mean time forbidding them to innovate ought in Religion, but conform themselves to the Decree of *Worms*. But the Reformed Cities answer'd, That the execution of the Decree of *Worms* would hazard a Sedition among the People; and that the Pope now gathering Forces against the Emperor, there was little hope of obtaining from him a General Council. Therefore, they desir'd the Emperor to permit a National Council of *Germany*, for the settling of Religion; or, if not, at least to suspend the Decree of *Worms* till a general Council be call'd. Things thus tending to an open Dissention, the *Turk* invading *Hungary* on the one part, and the *French* and *Italians* confederating against *Charles* on the other, *Ferdinand* (the Emperor's Deputy in this Diet) thought fit to condescend to a Decree to this effect: That there was great need of a Council, either general, or of the *German Nation*; and that it should begin within a Year, which the Emperor was to be intreated to grant. As concerning Religion, and the Decree of *Worms*, that, till one of those Councils be call'd, every Prince and State so behave themselves, as they may give a probable account of their Actions to God, and the Emperor. After this, a violent War betwixt the Emperor and *French*, the sacking of *Rome*, and Captivity of the Pope, (as is before related) discomposing all things, the *Lutherans* (or as they stil'd themselves the *Evangelicks*) increased in *Germany*, without that *Charles* thought it convenient to endeavour their suppression. Till at length, returning to good Terms with the Pope, and an Overture being made for an Accord with the *French*, he returns to the care of Religion, and, by Letters dated at *Valledolid*, August 1. 1528. appoints a Diet at *Spire*, to commence in February 1529. where though (he said) he could not, for his great Occasions, be present, yet he had intreated his Brother *Ferdinand*, *Frederick the Palatine*, and some others to appear for him. This Diet yet did not begin till March following; to which the discreet and peaceable *Melancthon* was, with much Honour, brought by the Elector of *Saxony*. Many other Princes and great Persons also came thither; among which not a few were unresolved enough in either Belief, till Controversies in Religion were better disputed, whereof yet they could find no end. For as long as in any Angle of the World there was either a new Opinion to examine,

1528.
1529.

Diet at Spire.
1526.
June

Sleight.

1527.

The Lutherans increase.

Aug. 1.

March 15.
1529.

The Elector of Saxony brings Melancthon to Spire.

1528. examine, or ancient Error to reform, they wanted not a just exercise for their Curiosity. At last the former Decree of Spire, 1526, was examined; in which, because it was then agreed, that, as concerning the Decree of Worms, and matter of Religion (in the mean time) till one of these Councils were held, every Prince and State should so behave themselves, as they may give a probable reason of their Actions to God and the Emperor; the Emperor now alledging it was misunderstood by divers, and desiring that this might be interpreted, propos'd the settling thereof in this manner.

The Emperor grants liberty of Conscience.

That all, who have obey'd the Emperor's Edict at Worms hitherto, should continue to obey it, until a Council were call'd, which was promis'd with all speed possible. That they who had so far entertain'd any new Doctrine, that they could not without danger leave it, should yet stay there, without multiplying Opinions, or printing new and offensive Books, (according to the Decree at Noremburg, 1524.) That the ancient Tenent about the Eucharist and the Mass should be held. That they who would go to the Mass should not be hinder'd. That Preachers follow that Interpretation of the Scriptures which the Church hath receiv'd and approv'd; abstaining from controverted Points, which should be determin'd by the Council. In the mean while, that difference of Opinion in matters of Religion should not be a breach of Peace, or occasion of wrong on either side. That no Prince should receive the Subjects of the other into his protection. That they who did otherwise should be under the Bann, (or proscrib'd.) But the Anabaptists were more shrewdly dealt withal, it being agreed, that they, who with Pertinacy did maintain that Doctrine, should be put to death.

April 19. 1529. German Princes protest against the Emperor's Order.

Many things yet were dislik'd herein by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hessen, and divers others. Therefore they protested against it; and first they said, That the former Diet of Spire was more favourable, as permitting every one the exercise of his Religion, till a Council in Germany, or, otherwise, a General Council were call'd; and that there was no reason to vary from it, unless another more convenient were accorded. That, in the Assembly of Noremburg, they had deliver'd many Grievances to the Pope's Legat, for which yet no Remedy was given, nor indeed could be expected, until the said Council were call'd. As for the Mass, that it was sufficiently convicted by the Ministers of their Churches, and the Eucharist after the true manner restor'd. Wherefore, that they could by no means admit, that either they or their Subjects should be present at the Mass; since, when the use thereof might be receiv'd in their Churches, yet if two Divine Services, so discrepant, should be celebrated in the same place, much ill Example and Scandal must follow. And for the Point of the Eucharist, that though there were difference among the Reformed, yet that none ought to be condemn'd unheard. As for the Article, which prescribeth the Gospel to be interpreted according to the ordinary and receiv'd Doctrine of the Church, that it was well stated, when the true Church were first defin'd, until which, they would labour to interpret one place of Scripture by the other. That the last Decree at Spire was made for the sake of Peace and Concord, but not this; and therefore, that they altogether protested against it. In the mean while (until this General or Provincial Council for Germany were call'd) they promis'd to do nothing, that might justly be reprov'd. As for keeping of Peace, the taking of that which belongs to others. Anabaptists, and printing of Books, they said, they knew very well what was to be done.

This Protestation of the Princes being communicated to the chief Towns of Germany, (among which Strasburg, Noremburg, Ulm, Constance, Roteling, Winseim, Memingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbrun, Norlingen, Sangal, and divers others are

number'd) they all join'd so together, that the Name of Protestants took thence its original; which Name therefore (properly taken) seems to imply no more, than one resolv'd to embrace the above-mention'd Tenets, till some lawful Council, either General or Provincial, determin'd the contrary. Ferdinand, finding matters thus not to sort to that effect he desir'd, departs out of the Assembly betimes, though much entreated by the Elector of Saxony and the rest to stay, which he refusing, they appeal'd to the Emperor, and future Council.

1528. The Name Protestant first us'd.

Let us now see what was done in Italy this while; the Pope, though escap'd, was not yet suddenly provided with Counsel or Money. For as the Obligation he had to comply with the League, form'd in his defence, as well as desire of Revenge, made him correspond with Lautrech; so fear of returning again to Imprisonment, caus'd him to proceed so warily, that one might doubt his Intentions. Therefore he kept Lautrech still in much suspence; saying one while he desir'd an Universal Peace, then excusing himself for want of Men, Money, and Authority. Nevertheless, if the seat of War might be transferr'd out of the Patrimony of the Church, he said he would advise what was to be done. But here also, he knew not how to resolve. For as the War of Milan was in a manner ended, so himself had an eye upon the Kingdom of Naples; and for Florence, it was his native Country. Besides, he was sufficiently inform'd, that Francis, when he might have hope to recover his Children by fair means, would not assist him. All which reasons made him to temporise, even to the giving suspicion of deserting the League, whereof himself was Author. Hereupon Lautrech staid at Bononia, attending both Men to reinforce his Army, and further Instructions. But as Charles and Francis came to no Agreement, so he was commanded to proceed with his Army; in which Sir Robert Ferringham, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber both to King Henry and Francis, had the Command of 200 Horse, paid by our King. Whereupon the Imperialists, knowing how much it concern'd them to defend the Kingdom of Naples, retir'd thither with a small remnant of their Army: Where they had enough to do, both as they were to resist the French, and as the People, desirous of Novelty, (after their giddy manner, when either they think themselves oppress'd, or that otherwise they hope for a milder Government) were ready to revolt, which also appear'd so much, that, long before Lautrech came to divers Towns, they yielded themselves; sending their Keys a days journey before them. The first that made head against them was the Prince of Aurange. But as his Forces were much inferior to the French, he at last retir'd to Naples; where yet he was so hated by Hugo de Moncada, and the Spaniards, that he was in danger of having the Gates shut against him. Lautrech now, pursuing his good Fortune, besieges Melfi. But as a number of Labourers and Husbandmen, unapt for War, were shut in it, so their Fears and Noises, while the Soldiers defended the Walls, made them retire to the Castle, as thinking they had other Enemies within. Whereof the French taking advantage, enter'd and sack'd the Town, making the Prince of Melfi, his Lady, and Children Prisoners. After which, divers other places yielded to the French, till they came to Naples, which was April 17, or as others say, May 1. 1528. And now their Army seem'd terrible, both as it was reforc'd by some Regiments of Swiss, and as the Inhabitants of Naples favour'd them. While that of the Spaniards was no greater, than what the Walls of Naples, and some little places in the

1528. Jan.

Bill.

Bill. For.

April 17. Naples besieged by the French.

1528. Confines thereof did hold. Howbeit, as *Lautrech* consider'd that divers brave Commanders for the Imperialists were of this number, he did not think fit to invest the Town by Land, till he had blockt it up by Sea. Therefore *Philippino Doria*, Lieutenant to *Andrea Doria*, was commanded, with eight Gallies, to ride before the Haven. This troubled much the Besieg'd, for all the hope they had either of Victuals or Relief, was on that part. *Hugo de Moncada*, considering this, puts forth with a few Gallies in that Port against *Doria*, and begins a furious Fight; the Success whereof was, that he lost, at once, both Victory and Life, and about 700 more with him; *Alonso de Avalos Marquis del Vasto*, *Ascanio de Colonna*, and some others of Note, being taken Prisoners. This as it added great Courage to the French, so it occasion'd some Benefits to the Imperialists, both as it took away the Competition betwixt *Moncada* and the Prince of *Aurange*, (who now commanded in chief,) and as it open'd a way (as shall appear afterwards) for gaining *Andrea Doria* unto the Emperors Service.

The Siege continu'd yet four Months; *Lautrech*, as being Master of the Field, desiring rather to take the City by Famine, than by the Sword. And now the Victuals were almost all consum'd; when the Prince of *Aurange* thought fit to send *Hernando de Gonzaga* with about 5000 Foot, and 700 Horse, with divers Carts, to forage and get Provision, but they also were defeated, and the Carriages taken from them. Howbeit *Naples* held out still.

This while *Antonio de Leyva* recovers *Pavia*, *Navarra*, and *Baigras*, and divers other places, taken by *Lautrech*; and so joyn'd with the Duke of *Brunswick*, who came with 15000 Germans, and 500 Horse, to serve the Emperor. These two agreeing together to besiege *Lodi*, found such gallant resistance, that they were at last constrain'd to desist, and the rather, because they heard, the Count de *St. Paul*, with a strong Army of *Swiss* and French, was on his way to relieve it. Besides the Germans, who came with *Brunswick*, having not their pay at the time appointed, did for the most part return, so that the French, by joyning with the Duke of *Urbino*, made themselves quickly masters of the Field, recovering again all the places *Antonio de Leyva* had taken, and together with them the fatal *Pavia*. But see upon what Engines fortune now turn'd! *Philippino Doria*, victorious and triumphant, being come to *Survento*, to cure his hurt Soldiers, and repair his Gallies, *Lautrech* sends *Giovanni Joakim* to require the Prisoners, as being taken in the Name, and for the Service of the King his Master. *Philippino*, though receiving this Message with great Indignation, yet dissembled it for the present, saying only, he could determine nothing, without acquainting his Uncle *Andrea Doria*, whose Lieutenant he was. But this was only to get time: For he expected a Reward, before he would leave his Prisoners. Which also, or at least the hope of it, *Lautrech* should have given, before he demanded them. This error therefore cost dear. For *Philippino*, who took pay chiefly to give proof of his Vertue, and therefore would serve but for a time (now almost expir'd) was not to be treated in this fashion: As the French found soon after. For, employing his thoughts at this present more how to gain his own liberty, than to leave his Prisoners, he found means to retire himself to a place of more Surety; where, upon private Conference with his Prisoners, he found, that he could make more profit of them from the Spanish, than the French side. In conclusion, *Andrea Doria* also being solicited by the Prince of *Aurange* to change Master (as soon

as his term was out,) he begins to listen; and the rather, for that so good Conditions were offer'd him from *Charles*; and, particularly, an Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*. He would not yet leave the French abruptly, nor before he had gotten some pretext for it. Therefore he sent to the French Court, to demand satisfaction for the Ransom of the Prince of *Aurange*, taken before *Marfeilles*, and others during the Siege of *Pavia*. He also requir'd that *Genoia* might be restor'd to its Superiority over *Savona*. Which demands being brought to the Chancellor du *Praet*, and dislik'd, it was thought fit to send *Antoine de la Roch-Fouchault*, with Commission to seize on the Person and Gallies of *Andrea*. Notice whereof being secretly given him, *Doria*, leaving the French Gallies to their new Commander, withdrew himself with his own, to the Emperor's Service; who, for obliging him the more, promis'd to restore *Genoia* his Native Country to its former liberty, and to make him General of the Imperial Navy. Thus did the French lose *Doria*, only because they knew not how to use him according to his Condition, it behoving them, as he was generous, to have dealt more gently with him; and as Mercenary, more cautiously; especially, when he might make so much benefit by revolting to the other side.

While this Treaty was on foot, *Piedro Lando*, June 10. with thirty Venetian Gallies, blocks up *Naples* by Sea: So that now it seem'd impossible for it to hold out: Yet the hand of God is above all: For a kind of Pestilence, (which *Sandoval* calls *Saudou Nigra* or Black) so universally seiz'd on the French, that they diminish'd daily in great numbers, and among them * Sir Robert *Ferningham*: whose * Apr. 25. Company therefore was given to Master *John Carew*, his Lieutenant, who yet dy'd there of the same Disease. At last also *Lautrech* himself, (a brave Commander, but withal noted to be so opinionative, that he would, alone, have the glory, or shame of all his Actions) dy'd of the Disease, and huge numbers of others; which so disheartned the French, that the weak remainders, wanting (besides their Health) Money, Victuals, &c. rais'd the Siege, and retir'd home-wards. And thus successively were two great Armies consum'd with the Plague, without other force; as it usually happens, when People, not acquainted with the Temper, Wines, and Fruits of a Country, live licentiously. They could not yet retire so quietly, but that the Imperialists follow'd them, and took divers Prisoners, and, among others, the old and weak *Piedro Navarra*. The Marquis *Saluzzo*, who undertook (after *Lautrech*) the Government, yet held *Aversa* for some while; though, at last, he was constrain'd to yield it together with himself. In sequence whereof all other places the French held in those parts were surrender'd, save a few the Venetians fortified. *Genoia* also was constrain'd to yield it self, and shake off the French yoke, by the means of *Andrea Doria*, who hearing that the Plague had chas'd almost all the Inhabitants thence, enters it by Sea, and forceth *Theodoro de Trevulci* to a Composition, by which he was to forsake the Town. The *Genoiesi*, hereupon, were restor'd to their former liberty, and *Savona*, not long after, taken by them. The Count *St. Paul*, finding affairs thus to go ill on the French side, thought to repair them by surprising *Milan*, upon intelligence with certain Citizens there. But bringing provision of Victuals only for twenty four hours, and no Artillery, he gave off his Enterprize, and retir'd to *Alexandria*, with intention to pass there the rest of the Winter, 1528.

1528

Doria leaves the French Service.

And is made the Emperors Admiral.

Sandoval

Apr. 25

Aug. 15. Plague in the French Army.

Siege of Naples rais'd.

French loose their Conquest.

As

1528.
Sweating
Sickness
in Eng-
land.

As the Plague destroy'd the French in Italy, the sweating Sickness consum'd very many in England; it seeming to be but the same Contagion of the Air, vary'd according to the Clime. It was first known in England, 1486. then 1507. then 1517. and now 1528. when it so rag'd, as it kill'd ordinarily in five or six hours space, invading even the Kings Court, where not only Sir Francis Pointz, Sir William Compton, and Mr. William Cary (two of the Kings Bed-Chamber,) dy'd of it; but the King himself was not without danger.

Said. l. 6.

In Germany also it did much harm, killing many, and, particularly, interrupting a Conference at Marburg, betwixt Luther and Zuinglius, concerning the Eucharist.

History of
Hen. VIII.
Divorce.

I shall now come to the business of the Divorce; so much vexed by our Writers, that, for satisfaction of the Reader, I have extracted a Relation thereof out of those Originals, and Authentick Records, that I shall presume to recommend it, for more than an ordinary piece of History.

1515.

Our King had now, for many years enjoy'd the Vertuous Queen Katharine, without that either scruple of the Validity of their Match, or outward note of unkindness had past betwixt them. Nevertheless, as, presently after the Birth of the Princess (who alone of all their Children surviv'd) Luther and others, controverted the Authority, and extent of the Papal Jurisdiction, so in this Kingdom, the Dispensation of Julius II. for the aforesaid Marriage being privately question'd, many of our Learned Men concluded it void, as being granted in a Case prohibited *Jure Divino*, and therefore indispensable. This again, whisper'd in the ears of many, begot such a muttering, as, being brought to the King, made him think what he was to do. For though he knew that a keeping of the Succession doubtful was one of the ill Arts by which Princes conserve themselves, yet, as a desire to have Posterity, which might succeed him in the Crown, prevail'd over all other Considerations, he resolv'd to clear this Point by all fitting Degrees; and the rather, in that he knew the same Objections had been made (though wrongfully) to Edward IV, and his Children. And certainly

French
Ambassa-
dor first
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lawful-
ness of the
Match.

(as it appears to me by many Circumstances,) it was, in the beginning, as much as he could, in favour of the Princess his Daughter. So that, although the Bishop of Tarbe (being sent by Francis 1527. to conclude the Alternative formerly set down,) did object openly against her Legitimation, as being got by the King upon his Brothers Wife, it did not much move him. But, seeing it now grown a publick doubt, he thought it more notorious than could be suppress. Neither did he believe that Charles would be greatly scandaliz'd at it; since, to avoid the Treaty of Windsor, himself had alledg'd some things to this purpose. All which again (as Polydore relates) was secretly fomented by Longland Bishop of Lincoln (his Majesties Confessor,) at the instigation of the Cardinal; who both hated the Emperor, and was averse from the Queen, by reason of her reproving his loose, and inordinate Life. Though (whatever Polydore saith,) it will appear hereafter, that Woolsey endeavour'd not, finally, the Divorce. Howsoever, on some or all of these causes, the King was much perplext, as knowing how deeply this affair concern'd himself, his Posterity, and Kingdom. And because

1525.
Had.

it was easie to collect of what Consequence any Rumor of this kind might be, he not only sent to our Ambassadors in Spain, as is said before, to silence the noise thereof, but us'd all means possible both to appease those violent Jealousies the

Queen had conceiv'd, and to satisfy his People, at least until himself had look'd further into the Business. In which certainly his Intentions privately were to proceed; for besides his dispatching his Secretary William Knight, Doctor of Law, to Rome, (whom yet he commanded to advise with our Cardinal by the way, being then in France,) he took information sometimes about his present Condition, and sometimes (it is probable also) about such Ladies as might furnish him a choice for a Genial, and second Bed. In which number the Dutches of Alanzon, Sister to Francis, is the first I find mention'd, whose Picture (as Hall saith) was sent over, about this time. Neither did the Cardinal, being certified of these Passages, omit to comply at least in appearance with him, and therefore writ to the King, that the best way to obtain his desire, was, to tell the Emperor plainly, that unless he set the Pope free (at this time in Prison, as is formerly mention'd) he would proceed in the Divorce upon his own, and his Clergies Authority. After which, he sent for John Clark, Bishop of Bath, (then resident Ambassador in France) and commended him to the King, as a Person to whom he might discover himself; and, together, deliver'd his Opinion: First, That, because the Party would appeal, the business could not be determin'd in England, unless the Pope would give him absolute Authority, in omnibus Casibus, (a Minute whereof to be sent to Rome, I have seen.) Secondly, That she should be persuaded, ad ingressum Religionis. And, lastly, if neither of those could be effected, it should be thought of, Quid posset clam fieri quoad forum Conscientie? Concerning which Points, the Bishop of Bath at his return speaking, (as I find in an Original from the said Bishop to Woolsey) the King reply'd, My Lord of Bath, the Bull is good, or it is naught; If it be naught, let it be so declar'd, and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no by-ways for me. Whereupon, the Bishop represented, that the Popes Captivity hinder'd all Suits in that Court, and, howsoever, that the Process would be so slow, as it could not be determin'd in six or seven years. Besides, that there must be three distinct Sentences given in it, by three divers Judges, the two last to be chosen for the adverse Party. Lastly, that after all this, the Sentence may be recall'd; Quia sententia contra Matrimonium, nunquam transit in rem Judicatam; Adding, in Conclusion, as the knot of the business, that the Party would Appeal. To which the King answer'd, he thought she would not appeal from the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, and London: As for the tediousness of the Suit, since he had patience eighteen years, that he would stay yet four or five more; since the Opinion of all the Clerks of his Kingdom, besides two, were lately declar'd for him; adding, that he had studied the Matter himself, and written of it, and that he found it was unlawful, de Jure Divino, and indispensable. Businesses standing thus, and no probability of the Queens fruitfulness since the Princess Mary's Birth, appearing; and the rather, that Spanish Women are observ'd to be seldom Mothers of many Children; he resolves to have recourse to the Pope; comforting himself, for the rest, that no other difficulty appear'd in removing all these Inconveniences, than the obtaining a Dispensation to dissolve that Marriage, which a Dispensation only had at first made. He knew the same key that lockt, could unlock. Therefore he thought fit to send to Rome, both to represent the dangerous Condition of himself, his Issue and Kingdom, and to solicit the Pope for a Licence to marry another. And the rather, for that so many Circumstances had made the Bull and Breve, upon which the first Marriage was grounded, to be suspected. The profe-

1528.

Woolsey's
advice a-
bout it.
July 29.
1527.

Aug. 30.

Bishop of
Bath and
Woolsey's ad-
vice.

King's re-
ply.
Record.

Record.

1528. curing whereof therefore (in a Dispatch dated 25th of December, 1527.) was recommended, by the Cardinal, to Sir Gregory Casalis, an Italian; which also he was requir'd to urge so far, as to say, that our King could impute the punishment God had laid on him in taking away his Issue Male, upon nothing so much, as the unlawfulness of this Marriage; which learned Men did also generally so detest, as they held it to be more than the Pope could dispence with (as I find they declar'd afterwards in a Book, which was sent thither.) Wherefore, that he should procure a Commission for hearing and determining this Cause, to be directed to the Cardinal; or, if that were refus'd, to Bishop Staphyleus, Dean of the *Ruota*, who had been lately in England. And that he should furthermore say, that he doubted not, but the Pope would easily grant it, though against the will of Charles; since he had granted Charles a Dispensation and Absolution from the Oath which he had taken to marry the Princess Mary, without so much as demanding the consent of our King. For facilitating of which business, Letters of Exchange, to the value of ten thousand Ducats were sent him; as also certain Instruments for the Popes signing, which were, First, a Commission, in ample form, to hear, and determine the Cause in England. Secondly, a Decretal, wherein the Pope, upon probation of Carnal knowledge between Arthur and Katharine, should pronounce the Marriage void. Thirdly, a Dispensation for the King to marry another. Fourthly, a Pollicitation, that the Pope will not recall any of these Acts. But it was an ill time for Sir Gregory to negotiate with the Pope; he being (as I find by an Original dispatch of Doctor Knight, dated from Rome, September 13. 1527.) so aw'd by Hernando de Alanzon, that he durst neither give the said Knight a publick Audience, nor so much as admit a private Message from him, but by the Intervention of the Cardinal Pisani. So that, what Wisdom or Piety soever our King might pretend herein, the *Conjuntura* certainly was no way auspicious. And the rather, because the Pope, during his Imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo, had been requir'd in the Emperor's Name (as I find by a Dispatch of Doctor Knights from Orvieto) not to grant any Act concerning the Divorce, nor so much as suffer the cause to be heard before any Judge in our Kings Dominions. I find also in the same Letter that Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, being chosen by the Pope for dispatching our Kings businesses, had told Doctor Knight, that the Commission penn'd here in England, for the Popes Signing, might not pass, but that he had minuted another, which the Pope (though with some Reluctation) had granted; earnestly intreating our King nevertheless, not to put it in execution, till the Spaniards, and Almains were gone out of Italy, and himself left in his full liberty. To confirm which grant also, the same Doctor Knight, by a Letter (dated Jan. 9. 1528.) did certify, that the King's Dispensation was obtain'd under lead, as amply as the Minute sent from England did contain; and the Commission for the Lord Legate likewise was granted sufficiently, though not according to the form propos'd; and that it was drawn by the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*. Moreover, he tells (as in the Popes Name) that if Monsieur de Lautrech were come, the Pope thinketh he might, by good Colour, say to the Emperor, that he was requir'd by the English Ambassadors, and Monsieur de Lautrech to proceed in the business. All which Particularities I have the rather set down, that it might appear how the difficulties that the Pope made in this

business, seem'd to proceed chiefly from Humane Considerations. Which also is much confirm'd by a Dispatch from Gregory Casalis 13 Jan. 1528. where (on the Popes part, and in his Name) he saith, that if the Kings Conscience be satisfied (which he alone can best tell) his Course were, *Ut statim Committat causam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur pro Legato, &c.* and, that this was the only way for the King to attain his desires: Though yet he intreated this advice might be taken, as proceeding from the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, and Simonetta, and not from himself. And this, certainly, as it may be thought a politicke Advice, so would it have prov'd safer and easier for both, than a Commission for two Legates; which as it took up more time on the Kings part, so it caus'd a like danger and inconvenience to the Pope. Howsoever, it appear'd afterwards, that the King, either out of tenderness of Conscience, or Consideration of the hazard he should run, if the Pope would not confirm this Act, thought not fit to allow thereof; but chose rather to demand a larger Commission than that which Doctor Knight obtain'd; the procuring whereof also he committed to Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, and Secretary to Woolsey, and Edward Fox, Provost of Kings Colledge in Cambridge; not neglecting in the mean time, both to instruct the Pope in his cause, and do him all the good offices he could with Christian Princes, and States, and particularly the Venetians, concerning the restitution of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; though yet it took not such effect as was hoped. Neither did our King forget, by a Letter of Cardinal Woolsey's to the Protonotary John Casalis, to desire him to acquaint the Pope with some domestick and private Passages; which (though out of the respect I bear to that vertuous Queens Memory) I must not mention somewhat unwillingly, yet must not omit, both for the sake of that truth that ought to be in History, and as it seems to contain some Motive of the Kings Intentions. I shall set down the words in Latin as they are extant in our Record. *Sunt nonnulla secretis Sanctissimo Domino nostro exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob causas, morbosq; nonnullos, quibus, absque remedio, Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum scrupulum, Regia Majestas nec potest nec vult, ullo unquam posthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem, admittere, quodcumq; evenierit.* There are besides some particular Reasons to be laid before his Holiness in private, but not proper to commit to Writing, upon which account, as well as by reason of some Distempers which the Queen lies under without hopes of Remedy, as likewise thro' some scruples which disturb the Kings Conscience, insomuch that his Majesty neither can nor will for the future look upon her, or live with her as his Wife, be the Consequence what it will.

Gardiner and Fox, receiving their Instructions in Feb. 1528. repair'd first to Francis, from whom they readily obtain'd a promise to co-operate puissantly with the Pope, for effectuating the Kings desire, as also a persuasory and menacing Letter in case of refusal to the Pope; for complying wherewith also the Bishop Staphyleus was sent by him to Rome not long after. Our Ambassadors having given the King account hereof, proceeded in their Journey to Italy, and coming at last to Orvieto, where the Pope then was, they found him lodg'd in an old and ruinous Monastery, his outward Chamber altogether unfurnish'd, and his Bed-chamber-hangings, together with his Bed, valu'd by them (as the Original Letter hath it) at no more than 20 Nobles. The Pope yet receiv'd them lovingly; though not without the anxiety of one who could neither safely grant, nor deny the request of a King, to

The Matter refer'd to the management of Casalis at Rome. Dec. 25. 1527.

Sep. 13. 1527.

Jan. 1. 1528.

Jan. 9.

1528. Popes difficulties herein, and from whence. Jan. 13.

Gardiner sent to Rome about it.

King Henry's private reasons for the Divorce.

Feb. 18.

Pope's mean Lodging.

1528. to whom he so much ow'd whatsoever liberty he enjoy'd. Their Instructions for the present, were only yet, to thank him for the Commission and Dispensation granted in this business to Doctor Knight, and after intrusted to Gambara his Agent here (Successor unto Melchior Langus, who was first authoriz'd by the Pope, to give Queen Katherine notice of this Affair, together with the Popes secret intention therein.) They added further, that by Gambara, as also by Sir Gregory Casalis, our King had gladly understood, how all defects, upon due Remonstrance, should be supply'd and amended. They were charg'd also, from the Cardinal, privately, to protest in his Name, that he was no Author of this Counsel. After which they were desir'd, by him, to proceed to the merit of the Cause, and Qualities of the Gentlewoman (being, as I take it, Mistress Bolen.) The perplex'd Pope, who knew well how much the Spaniard was interest'd herein, heard them at this time with more fear, when at another time he would have granted their request. Therefore, together with an ambiguous Answer, which he gave them by word of Mouth, he sent in Cipher a Letter to our King, of so much Irresolution, that it needed no other cover. Howsoever, as the Commission of our Ambassadors was to stay till further order was given, they seem'd to take all in good part. At last our able Negotiators, urging the aforesaid and many other Motives to the Pope, and he again finding the French and Confederate Army Puissant and Victorious in the Kingdom of Naples at that time, made no difficulty to grant a full Commission to two Legates, to hear and determine the Cause in England, being (according to the Kings desire) Woolsey and Campeius (not long since made Bishop of Salisbury.) Besides, it seems he granted this following Pollicitation, or Promise, Dated at Viterbo, July 23. 1528. which yet, being no Original-piece, but an ancient Copy, extant among Sir Robert Cottons Records, I shall mention but according to the credit it may deserve from the equal Reader; only I must not omit to say, that, as divers Original Dispatches, both before and after, give some touches of it, and that the Date for the rest is added, so it may challenge better credit than to be thought a Minute, and much less a Counterfeit and suppos'd piece, which also is the more probable, in that the Pope granted ampler Testimonies than this, in favour of the Divorce; howsoever they were either controll'd again, or detain'd in the hands of his Ministers, after that sort, that our King might well take notice, but neither Copy nor advantage of them.

The Popes perplexity herein.

Commission to the Cardinals Woolsey and Campeius to hear the Cause. July 23.

The Pollicitation.

Promissio Pontificis in Negotio Regis.

CUM nos Clemens, divina providentia illius nominis Papa septimus modernus, justitiam ejus causae perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliae Rex illustris, Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniae, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum, & famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina, clarae memoriae Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis Catholicae filia, nulliter & de facto contraxisset, & consummasse affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebatur, ad dilectos nobis in Christo filios, Thomam, & Laurentium miseratione divina Sanctae Ceciliae, & Sanctae Mariae in Transiberim respective titularum, nostri & Apostolicae sedis in Regno Angliae praedicto Legatos de Latere, Commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, (quam pro hic inserta,

& expressa haberi volumus, & habemus) emisimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore praesentium effectualiter & plenissime conjunctim & divisim committimus, & deputamus, quo animi nostri eidem Henrico Regi in justitia illa quam celerrime administranda propensionem certius & clarius attestemus, securioremque reddamus de judiciorum Labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis, (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis, non una fere aetate explicabili; denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictae commissionis habitus & factus, fiendus aut habendus, validus & firmus ac inconvulsus maneat: Promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis, pollicemur, quod ad nullius preces, requisitionem, seu instantiam, merore motu, aut aliter ulla unquam literas, brevias, bullas, aut rescripta, aliae quaecunque per modum vel justitiae, vel gratiae, aut aliter quae materiam emissarum antehac in causa praedicta commissionum commissionisve praedictae, processusve per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve praedictae habitus & facti, habendive aut fiendi, inhibitorium, revocatorium, aut quovismodo praedjudiciale quacunque ratione contineant, quaeve dictarum commissionum commissionisve seu processus hujusmodi plenam perfectam, finalem, & effectualem executionem remorentur, impediunt, aut in aliquo contrariantur, illarum aut eorum aliqua revocent, aut eisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem praedjudicent, concedemus; Sed datas a nobis eisdem deputatis nostris commissiones & commissionem hujusmodi, processumque per hujusmodi deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionisve praedictae habitum & factum, habendumque & fiendum sua plenissima vi, auctoritate, robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu conservabimus, rati habebimus, tuebimur, & defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas, brevias, bullas, aut rescripta, quae dictarum commissionum commissionisve processusve antedicti executionem, aut ejusdem virtute decretata, definita, & pronunciata per eosdem deputatos nostros confirmare possint aut valeant, absque mora, recusatatione, aut difficultate quacunque de tempore in tempus realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia dabimus & concedemus. Et, insuper, promittimus, & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemur, quod praemissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus, nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quaevis colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel Dolo aut Fraude ad hoc inducti, attentabimus aut faciemus; Sed ea omnia & singula firma, valida, inconvulsa & inviolabilia patiemur, & permittemus. Ac insuper, si (quod absit) aliquid contra praemissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciamus aut attentemus, illud pro casto, irritum, inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus, ac ex nunc prout extunc, & ex tunc prout nunc, cassamus, annullamus, & reprobamus, nulliusque reboris aut efficaciae fore vel esse debere pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus. Datum Viterbio, die xiii. Julii Millesimo Quingentesimo Vicefimo Octavo: Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

1528.

Ita est Clemens Papa septimus antedictus.

WE Clement, by the Providence of God the seventh Pope of that Name, having duly weigh'd with how much Justice our well belov'd Son in Christ, Henry VIII. King of England, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, hath laid before us as a thing Notorious, publicly known, and of evil Report, his case concerning the nullity of a Marriage, which he did both contract, and de facto, consummate with our most dear Daughter in Christ, Katharine, Daughter to the most Catholick King, Ferdinand of Spain, of Glorious Memory, contrary to the Laws both of God and Man, which he thereby grievously trans-

1528. transgress'd; and having thereupon issu'd out our Commission in form and manner there express'd (which Commission we do hereby confirm and ratifie, as much as if here again express'd and inserted) to our beloved Sons in Christ, Thomas and Laurence, by the Divine Grace, Cardinals, Sanctæ Cecilie, and Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim, our Legats de Latere in the Kingdom of England, from the Apostolical See; whereby we did constitute and appoint them (as we do by the tenor of these Presents, most fully and effectually constitute and appoint them either together or asunder) in our stead to examine, and finally to determine as competent Judges in this Cause; that we may give the more manifest and evident token of our Tenderness and Affection to the aforesaid King Henry, in speedily administering Justice, and freeing him by our immediate Sentence, from that tediousness and vexation wherewith the most just Causes (by the corruption of the present Times) are so far embarras'd, as scarce to be finish'd, and finally determin'd in an Age: And being desirous that the Process carry'd on, or to be carry'd on according to the tenor of the said Commission, may be firm, valid and irreversible, we do engage, and upon the word of a Pope promise, that we will never by the Entreaty, Request or Instance of any Person, or from our own mere Motion, or otherwise, at any time grant any Letters, Breves, Bulls or Writs of any sort, either under shew of Justice, as acts of Grace, or on any other pretence whatever, to inhibit or revoke the matter of the Commissions heretofore in the above-mention'd cause issued out, of the foresaid Commission, or of the Process by these our Delegates, according to the tenor of the former Commissions, or said Commission either yet form'd and made, or to be form'd and made hereafter, whereby any prejudice, hindrance or interruption may be given to the full, perfect, final and effectual execution of the said Commissions, Commission or Process, or whereby all or any of them may in any wise be revok'd, oppos'd or retarded in the whole, or in any part of them; but we will preserve entire, ratifie, confirm and defend to all purposes with our utmost Power and Authority, most effectually the Commissions and Commission granted by us to our foresaid Delegates, and the Process which the said Delegates according to the tenor of the said Commissions or Commission, by their plenary Power and Authority have or shall form and carry on. Lastly, We will effectually make valid, and without refusal, delay, or any difficulty whatever, grant all such Letters, Breves, Bulls or Writs, which may serve any ways to strengthen or confirm the execution of the said Commissions, Commission or foremention'd Process, or to ratifie and establish any things by virtue thereof, by our foresaid Delegates decreed, determin'd or adjudg'd. And we do furthermore engage and promise, upon the word of a Pope, that we will in no wise (unless by force and violence compell'd, or by fraud and treachery surpriz'd) injure all or any of the foresaid Particulars, or act or attempt any thing contrary to them, or any of them directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly, mediately or immediately, upon any colour or pretence whatsoever; but will support and preserve all and every of them firm, valid, fix'd and inviolable. And farther, if (which God forbid) we should act or attempt any thing in any wise against the Premises, or any of them; We do hereby for that time, will and declare as effectually as if this our Declaration were at that time made, that every such Act and Attempt shall be null and

void; and it is hereby made null and void, and is declar'd, pronounc'd and adjudg'd to be of no force and efficacy. 1528.

Given at Viterbo July 13. 1508. in the fifth year of our Pontificat.

Clement V.

This while, the Queen, who understood well what was intended against her, labour'd with all those Passions which Jealousie of the King's Affection, sense of her own Honour, and the Legitimation of her Daughter could produce; laying, in Conclusion, the whole fault on the Cardinal; who yet was less guilty than the Queen thought, or Polydore would make him. I will not deny yet, but, out of due regard to his Master's Interests (so nearly concern'd in this great Affair,) as well as care of giving satisfaction to his Conscience, which seem'd much troubled, he might comply with the Kings desires; but to be the single Author of a Counsel, which might turn so much to his prejudice, when the King should die, is more than may easily be believ'd of so cautious a Person as Woolsey. And this Innocence, perchance, was the reason that he neither suspected himself to be so much abhorr'd of the Queen, nor to stand in that danger of her Practices, which yet procur'd at last his ruine. The first who gave the Cardinal notice of the Queen's Displeasure (as I find by a Letter of his dated at Faversham 5 July 1527. then in his Journey towards France,) was the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; the consequence whereof he so much apprehended, that he thought fit to use all means for satisfying her. Therefore he presently labour'd with the Archbishop to persuade the Queen, that whatsoever she heard in this kind, was intended only for clearing the surmises of the Bishop of Tarbe, formerly mention'd. He writ also to our Ambassadors in Spain, to quench all rumours there, upon the same pretext. But the Queen had sent those Agents abroad, (and amongst them, one Abel, her Chaplain) who both inform'd her of all that pass'd, and engag'd the Emperor to assist her to the uttermost of his Power. Therefore the Pope stood more and more suspended. The pace of Campejus (the promis'd Legate) also appear'd staggering and slow; and all that might frustrate the King's Intentions, was secretly practis'd. This while the Cardinal, (who out of the King's designs would ever produce and subrogate some particular end of his own, whereof, either in point of Glory or Profit, he might make Advantage) had so dispos'd this of the Divorce, as thereby to mediate the Pope's entire Delivery, not only from the Guards, but even fear of the Emperor. Again, as, during the Popes restraint, he had, (under pretence that it was the best expedient for the King's propos'd Divorce) projected a meeting of Cardinals at Avignon, for settling the government of the Church, where he himself intended to be present; so, now, since the King lik'd not that course, and that the Pope was free, he persuaded him to erect some Cathedral Churches in England, at the price of throwing down more Monasteries. Whereby it appears, both how busie this Cardinal was, and how much he studied his own ends. For as he knew this would please the King (who began to think that Religious Persons might serve God as well in defending the Kingdom, as praying for it,) so he assur'd himself the Authority thereof would be deriv'd on him chiefly; and the Pope, in the mean time, obnoxious, while he could not but fear how far those Innovations might extend. When this Project therefore was mov'd to the Pope,

Queen surpriz'd at these Proceedings.

Hates the Cardinal for it.

July 5. 1527.

Engages the Emperor in her Interests.

The Cardinal advises to erect Cathedrals by dissolving some Monasteries.

1528. Pope, I find by a Letter of the Protonotary *John Casalis*, Octob. 30. 1528. that he answer'd, gravely, he lik'd the design well; but that he would proceed deliberately, because it was *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. Therefore he desir'd the two Legates (for *Campejus* was by this time come) might be joyn'd in determining this business, and that all the Revenues of the Monasteries, might be conferr'd on the new Bishops; and that the two Legates, having advis'd with the Pope hereof, should afterwards nominate them. So that it seem'd the Pope held it fitting to comply with the King a little at this time, since *Gardiner* told him plainly, that he had in his Instructions these Words to tell him, *Necesse est supprimi pro serenissimi Regis Collegio Monasteria cujuscunque ordinis*: In conclusion, a Bull was granted for applying the Revenues of some small Monasteries for maintenance of the King's Colleges in *Cambridge* and *Windsor Castle*; the Copy whereof is extant in *Sir Robert Cotton's Library*. It may be doubted yet, whether these Apprehensions, that were now, in more than one kind, given the Pope of our King's declining the absolute Authority of the Church of *Rome*, did dispose the Pope more to oblige or disoblige him. For, though the Pope had reason to fear, lest he should lose his ancient Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, if he deny'd; yet he might doubt as well, that in adhering too much to that side, he might offend the Emperor so far, as to hazard the loss of his own. He therefore, at once, treats with the Emperor of a perfect Peace and Amity, and together of recovering *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, and of effecting certain other Designs which he had in *Florence*; and grants (as is above said) in appearance a large Commission to *Woolsey* and *Campejus*; yet, in effect, so restrain'd, as the Emperor might see it was not out of his Power to check or revoke it. And this was all that *Sir Gregory Casalis* and *Stephen Gardiner*, after much Importunity, could obtain. They mov'd the Pope also to canonize *Henry VI.* (which I find was formerly propos'd to *Alexander VI.* by *Henry VII.*) to which the Pope answer'd, *That if the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of Winchester (who had examin'd the matter in partibus) did send the Process thither, as their Commission requir'd, the Canonization should follow shortly after.* Businesses standing thus, our King thought fit to send *Sir Francis Bryan Knight*, and *Peter Vannes* (an Italian, and his Secretary, for the Latin Tongue) to *Rome*; their Instructions in general, being sign'd with the King's own hand) were to dissuade the Pope from entering into any League with the Emperor, whose Design was (he said) to divest the Pope of his Means and Authority, by the forcible bringing in of one *Angelo Cordelier* to be Pope, who should not intermeddle with Secular Jurisdiction, and the Patrimony of the Church; which therefore the Emperor would take to himself and usurp. For preventing whereof, the King wish'd him to keep a Guard, offering in his own and *Francis's* Name, to contribute thereunto. They were commanded also, to search privately for a certain pretended *Breve*, in *Rome*, (said to be a Supplement or Confirmation of the Bull of *Julius II.* and authorizing the Marriage with *Queen Katharine*) since it was not to be found in the King's Records. Furthermore, they were requir'd to discover (in the Name of a third Person) whether, if the Queen enter'd a Religious Life, the King might have the Popes Dispensation to marry again, and the Children be legitimate, and what Precedents were for it? Secondly, whether if the King (for the better inducing of the Queen thereunto) would promise to enter himself into a Religious Life, the Pope might not dispense with his Vow, and leave

her there? Thirdly, if this may not be done, whether he can dispense with the King to have two Wives, and the Children of both legitimate? Since great Reasons and Precedents, especially in the Old Testament, appear for it. All which they were to do with that Secresy and Circumspection, that the Cause might not be publish'd, propounding the King's Case always therefore as another Man's. Lastly (as in all other Instructions) some kind of Menaces were to be added. But Persuasions and Terrors wanted not on the other side; which did so much more prevail with the Pope, as the Danger was more immediate and pressing on the Emperor's part, than on our King's. Therefore our Ambassadors were so far from obtaining any thing, but what was formerly granted in the Commission to *Cardinal Woolsey* and *Campejus*, that they found the Pope now more than ever dispos'd to favour the Emperor: Infomuch that they observ'd daily new Delays and Restrictions in him. Some whereof (besides the Evidence in our Records) *Sanders* doth confess, while he saith, that the Pope, by four several Messengers to *Campejus* (now on his way) gave him in charge: First, that he should make easie Journeys. Secondly, that when he came to *England*, he should labour all he could to reconcile the King and Queen. Thirdly, that if this could not be effected, he should persuade her to enter a Monastery, and take on her a Religious Life. Lastly, that when this could be obtain'd, he should give no definitive Sentence for the Divorce, without exprels commandment from him, & *hoc* (saith he) *summum & maximum sit tibi mandatum.* *Campejus* thus instructed, protracts all things; whereat tho' our King seem'd scandaliz'd, as suspecting it came from Unwillingness, yet, being an active Prince, he made use of that time to negotiate in *Spain* for recovering the *Breve*, (of which above) commanding the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Edward Lee*, by all means to procure it. At length (and not before the beginning of October, 1528) *Campejus* coming thro' *France*, and being conducted thence into *England*, by *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath*, our King's Ambassador there, came to *London*: Where being by our Cardinal presented to the King, he publicly acknowledg'd in the Name of the Pope, Cardinal, Clergy, and People of *Rome*, that our King was *Liberator Urbis*. Shortly after, obtaining Audience of the Queen, he took occasion both to acquaint her with her Danger, and to persuade her thereupon to renounce the World, and enter into some Religious Life. For which many Pretexts wanted not, (as I find in our Records) she having been observ'd, since the Commission obtain'd, to allow Dancing and Pastimes more than before. And that her Countenance not only in Court, but to the People, was more chearful than ordinary; whereas (it was alledg'd) she might be more sad and pensive, considering the King's Conscience was unsatisfy'd, and that he had refrain'd her bed, and was not willing the Lady Princess, her Daughter, should come in her company. But the offended Queen replying peremptorily, *That she was resolved both to stand to that Marriage the Roman Church had once allow'd; and, howsoever, not to admit such partial Judges as they were, to give sentence in her Cause.* *Campejus* writes to *Rome*, both to inform the Pope hereof, and to desire farther Instructions: The Answer whereunto the Pope yet so long deferr'd, that very near six Months pass'd before the two Cardinals sat in their Commission.

This while the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Doctor *Lee*, having given the Emperor an Overture of the Divorce, did (by a Letter dated at *Saragosa*, April 5. 1529.) return our King this Answer, on the

Octob. 30.
The Pope
likes the
design

Nov. 2.

1494
Anti. Brit.
H. n. Vith's
Canoniza-
tion
mov'd
for
Novemb.
Ambassa-
dor sent
to the
Pope.

His In-
structions

1528.

Without
Success.

Sand. S. S.
Angl.
Campejus
sent to
England.

Octob.

Has At-
tendance
of the King.

Queen's
Answer
to Campe-
jus

April 5.
1529.

1528.
Emperor
sends to
King Hen-
about the
Divorce.

the Emperor's part. That he was fery to understand of the intended Divorce, adjuring our King (for the rest) by the Sacrament of Marriage, not to dissolve it. Or, if he would needs proceed therein, that the hearing and determining of the business yet might be referr'd to Rome, or a General Council, and not be decided in England. Adding further, That he would defend the Queen's just Cause. Wherewith, the pretended Original Breve was produc'd, and a Transumpt or Copy thereof (sign'd by three Bishops) offer'd them, to send to England; but the Breve it self was deny'd, for fear (as he said) of miscarrying. To which our Ambassadors answer'd, That our King was a Prince of that Piety, that he ought not to be adjur'd; and for the Breve, that it was a Jewel belonging to the King and his Queen only, and not to be detain'd by any other from them. And for appealing to Rome, it needed not; since Authority of determining that business was already given from thence to Cardinal Wolley and Campejus. Besides that, in Causes Matrimonial, the presence of the Parties to be examin'd, being requir'd for the most part, the Emperor might easily imagine how unfit it was for the King and Queen personally to go to Rome, especially at that time. After this, the Emperor commanding the Breve to be read, the Ambassadors requir'd a Notary to be allow'd them, for setting down the whole passage of this business, together with their Protestations. But no Notary but the Emperor's being permitted, the Ambassadors were forc'd to accept him, desiring notwithstanding their Allegations might be set down apart. Hereupon the Emperor told the Ambassadors, that he would send an expresse Messenger to our King, to intreat him to continue his Match, and, in case of refusal, to protest against the Divorce. Our Ambassadors yet persisted still in urging the Emperor, for his own sake, to send the Breve for England; lest the Judges, wanting sight thereof, should proceed against the Queen, or otherwise, that he would send the said Breve to the Pope. The Emperor reply'd, that therefore he would not send it. For if it miscarry'd, the Judges might then proceed as they would; but for sending it to the Pope he would advise. And that, if matters were now as they were heretofore, he would not fear to send it to England. By a Letter also, the twentieth of April 1529, they certifie the King, That the Emperor intended to send both to England and Rome, to make his Protestations against this Divorce; and that he would not send the Original Breve. Furthermore, that he requir'd our King, according to an Article of a former Treaty, to fall upon Francis, as a Perturber of the Publick Peace. Lastly, because the said Ambassadors had heard, and consider'd, at large, the Breve, they sent their Objections against it. Which, being one of the grounds of the King's proceeding in this great Affair, I have thought fit punctually to set down, as they are extant in the Original Letter, written in Cipher, and thus to be read, as I find it decipher'd in our Records.

Bishop of
Worcester's
and Dr.
Lee's Ob-
jections to
the Pope's
Bull for
the Mar-
riage.

That where it is pretended the Bull and Breve to be impetrate in one day, either they were impetrate in one Suit, and by one Man; and then it is not to be thought, but that this Suit, being of so great importance, was committed to such a one, as could perceive, that the Bull, not containing so large Dispensation as the Breve, is superfluous, (supposing the Breve to be necessary.) If the one were impetrate after the other, and the Suits made by one Man, it is hard to think that one Man, being instructed in the Suit for both, would put the Dispensation of less moment in a Bull, and of greater moment in a Breve, seeing the one might be as easily impetrate as the other, and that the Dispensation in Lead is

more durable to remain; and, that the two Kings were bound to impetrate Bulls, and not Breves, whereof he or they that had such Commission (as it seemeth) could not be ignorant. And if these Suits were made by divers Persons, and by several Commissions, there is no reason can be alledg'd, (the Impetration being in one day) why to two several Persons several Commissions should be given herein, the thing requiring no haste, the Marriage following five or six Years after; but more likely it is, if the Breve were then obtain'd indeed, that it was procur'd by secret Practices not known to all Parties *quorum intererat scire & consentire*; for, both the Parties consenting, I think there can be no sufficient Cause alledg'd, why, the thing being done by common consent, the Breve rather than the Bull should have larger Dispensation; for what need'd two divers Suits, with divers Commissions, if both the Parties were agreed upon the Suits? Especially the Impetration of both being in one day.

Secondly, supposing it to be true, that Master Abel saith, the Queen to have sworn, *quod nunquam fuit cognita a Principe Arturo*; the Cause of the Impetration for so much is vain, (*viz. quod Regina cum Arturo principe matrimonium carnali copula consummaverit.*) If this be true, it appeareth that he that su'd the Breve had no Commission of the Parties, for they would not give him Commission to impetrate Dispensation for Cause not true.

Thirdly, supposing it to be true, that Master Abel saith to me, that the Queen never heard of such Breve, before the Emperors Orators there presented it to her; how can it stand, that is reported in the Breve, *quod impetratum est Breve ad Regine instantiam*?

Fourthly, if your Highness had made instance and supplication for the same Breve, it is not to be thought that it should be so far out of your remembrance, the Causes of Impetration being such, as your Highness might and could, anon, reduce it to the same.

Fifthly, if it were impetrate at the instance of your Highness, and of the Queen's Grace, no Cause is why it should be sent into Spain to King Fernando (as the Emperor's Folks first said, but now swerve) and not to your Highness, and the Queen's Grace. If any will suppose that it was done by your Consent, no Reason agreeth why you should consent thereto, and not rather keep it in your own hands, than send it to the Custody of another. And yet, if you did consent, it cannot be thought, but that it should remain in your remembrance, as the firmity of your Marriage, and discharge of your Conscience, with other things, touching highly your Succession, standing therein: And it may be supposed moreover, that some writing of the Deposite thereof should remain there, which is not found.

Sixthly, considering that the King of most noble memory, your Father then alive, your Highness not being at the date of the Breve past xv, or xvi Years of Age, [for so the Cipher is; though as King Henry was then but xii, and something more, I conceive these Figures were Ciphers only, signifying his true Age: Unless perchance the Cipherer or Decipher did otherwise mistake it;] it may be well supposed that your Highness was not then much to sollicit the impetration of such things. And that, if any such Breve should have been impetrate that time, that rather it should have been done at the instance of the King your Father, than of your Highness. And although then it might have been impetrate in your Highness's Name, yet it could not have been done there without Knowledge and consent of the King your Father, and also

1528. at his setting forth. And, if any his Intervention and Consent had been in this matter, he would not have bound King *Fernando*, and likewise have been bound himself, to get Bulls of Dispensation. And surely it may be thought, that, if the King your Father consented, *Don Fernando* of Spain did the same, so that it cannot be doubted, but that as they say here, they have two Bulls reserv'd in their Archives, so should also this *Breve* have been, which indeed was not there found, as hereafter shall be shew'd, nor any such is found in your Highness's Archives. Wherefore it may be well reckon'd, that there was no such obtain'd by the Consent of the King your Father.

And so, Seventhly, maketh the *Breve* suspect, that the Emperor's Folks first said, that it was found in *Archivis Regum Hispaniarum*, as appeareth in my Lord Cardinals Graces Letters; and now, forgetting themselves, the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perinot* have confessed to us, that it was found among the Writings of Doctor *de Puebla*, which was Orator of Spain, in England, in the King's days of most noble memory your Father. Which contrariety maketh to appear that they do not upright. Of a Nephew of Doctor *Puebla's* being there, I have written in our common Letters the fifth of April, and now do again; by whom peradventure some light might be had.

Eighthly, whoso considereth the high renown'd Wisdom of the King your said Father, and his great sage Council, Men of singular Wisdom and Learning for all purposes, may well conceive that, or ever any Dispensation for Marriage to be had between your Highness and the Queen were sent for, that her Grace was examin'd *an esset cognita à principe Arthuro an non?* And that, *si falsa est*, that the two Kings would have provided therefore *Dispensationem in Bulla*, as they were bound. And on the other side, *si negavit se fuisse cognitam, nihil erat opus Breve quoad*, &c. And for the second part of the *Breve*, I cannot suppose that your Highness, in that time which the date of the *Breve* pretendeth (your Highness being then not much more than xii or xv Years of Age, and the King your Father living) need any Dispensation in that party. And if none needed then, why should your Highness then make instance for any, which is suppos'd in the *Breve*?

Ninthly, if this *Breve* were impetrate in the days of Doctor *de Puebla*; the being thereof so long in his hands, and the manner of keeping of the same, giveth new Conjecture that it is a thing cassat; for the thing being of so much importance, touching so nigh your Highness and the Queen, why should he keep it; specially so long? for he lived in England after the date of the *Breve* five or six Years, and dy'd there, not long after the King your Father. Who can think that such a King, and such a Council, would have suffered the *Breve* to be out of their hands, in his hands, all that time, if the *Breve* had been known to them necessary for this Matrimony, and of any value? And, as I said, the manner of keeping thereof seemeth to confirm the same; which manner of keeping I conjecture of two things: One, that it was not kept in a Case of Tin, after the manner of *Breves*; for only in a Paper they did exhibit it to us twice. Another, that in the Superscription it appear'd slubber'd, by reason of often handling, peradventure lying among so many his Writings and old Letters; wherefore, although it were then impetrate, yet it seemeth that he took it as cassat, and void, peradventure as surreptitiously obtained of his own head, without any Commission or Consent of the Parties.

Tenthly, another Suspicion is, that, although the Emperor's Chancellor and *Perinot* say, they have divers Letters and Writings of the said *Puebla's*, concerning both the first Marriage, and second of the Queen's; yet, because they utter'd not that they have any thing specially concerning this *Breve*, (which they would not have forgotten to say, for so much as it maketh for their purpose, if there had been any such) moved upon that Suspicion, I demanded of them, and divers times to the same, whether they had any special Letters concerning the *Breve*? They could not, ne did say that they had; but the Emperor's Chancellor answer'd, That the *Breve* was enough. Whereupon may be gather'd, that his Answer imply'd, that they have none other.

Eleventhly, if any such *Breve* were impetrate at that time, by the Knowledge and Consent of both the Kings, likely is, that either of them should have one. Let them then here bring forth the *Breve ex Archivis suis*. If they will say, this is it; What likelihood is it, that it should be sent into England, to come into Spain? For this *Breve*, if it were in Doctor *de Puebla's* Custody, came out of England after his death, with other his Writings; which I think his Nephew there (if he confess that it was found amongst other his Uncle's Writings) will also confess. I say, why was it sent into England? It is not to be doubted, but *Don Fernando* had an Ambassador in the Court of Rome, which might easilier and nearer way have sent it into Spain. Wherefore, if they cannot, out of their Archives, bring forth any such *Breve*, their Diligence in custody of such things suppos'd, and well deprehended in the custody of two Bulls, (for some of the secretaries said to me that they have two) they may, of this, gather (themselves) that there is no such, ne any otherwhere, of any effect and value.

The Twelfth Suspicion against the *Breve* is in it self; that, whensoever it was impetrate, it was not duly impetrate, may be gather'd of divers things in the same, and about the same; the hand of some Learner, and of one exercised in writing of such things, and some Defaults in the writing; such as my Lord of Worcester saith, he hath not seen committed in any *Breve*. And, as he trusteth to prove, the Dore shall utterly condemn the *Breve*. And these Exceptions were, as I find in another Letter, dated from the same Ambassador to the Cardinal: First, that there were Rasures in it. Secondly, divers Hands. Thirdly, Names false written, as *Artherus pro Arthurus*. Fourthly, the Date false; as being Decemb. 26. 1503. which, according to the Date of *Breves*, beginning Decem. 2. was almost a Year before *Julius II.* was Pope. It was observed likewise, that the Seal swelled in the middle, and appear'd like some old Seal newly clap'd on. And thus much out of these Dispatches of those able Negotiators, the Bishop of Worcester, and *Edward Lee* the King's Almoner; who, sending the Transumpt of the *Breve* to the King, April 23. by a Letter the twelfth of June following, also certify'd our King of the sending of *Gonzales Fernando*, the Emperor's Chaplain, to the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, (which hath relation to that I have formerly said of him) together with the return of a Chaplain of the said Earl's in his Company; the Emperor seeming to take this intended Divorce so much to heart, that he thought fit to give our King this Jealousy. Shortly after which, I find also the Bishop of Worcester repeal'd.

This while, the common People, who with much anxiety attended the success of this great Affair, seem'd, betwixt Pity to Queen Katharine, and

1528. and envy to *Anne Bolon*, (now appearing to be in the Kings favour) to cast out some murmuring and seditious Words; which being brought to the King's Ears, he thought fit to protest publickly in an Assembly of Lords, Judges, &c. call'd to his Palace of *Bridewell*, That nothing but desire of giving satisfaction to his Conscience, and care of establishing the Succession to the Crown in a right and undoubted Line, had first procur'd him to controvert this Marriage; being (for the rest) as happy in the affection and virtues of his Queen, as any Prince living. To confirm which also, he caus'd *Anne Bolon* to depart the Court, in such an abrupt and discontented fashion, that she determin'd to absent her self altogether. Neither could she be induc'd (as *Sanders* hath it) to come to the King any more, till her Father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither. Who by representing the common danger to them both, obtain'd at length (though not without much difficulty) the consent of his unwilling Daughter to return; where yet she kept that distance, that the King might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late Dismission.

But is recall'd.

May.

Dec. 17.
1528.

Campejus has a Bull for the Divorce.

The King fees it.

Dec. 15.
1528.
Cane. Trid.
Pope orders the Bull to be burnt.

It was now mid-May 1529. when our King, understanding how the Pope intended a strict League with the Emperor, and judging wisely also, that *Francis*, upon the restoring of his Children, might easily be drawn from him, did resolve, without relying any longer on either of their Promises, to take the best course he could, for giving a conclusion to this business. And the rather, in that matters seem'd daily more and more indispos'd for that conclusion de desir'd. For though *Campejus*, according to the order he had from the Pope (as I find by a dispatch of *John Casalis*, Dat. Dec. 17. 1528.) did both persuade the Queen to a Divorce, and dissuade the King from it, as having either way the end he propos'd: yet he fail'd in both. Nor would he (as I find in the same dispatch) let go out of his hand the decretal Bull mention'd before, being the absolute decision of the Cause, (the Dispensation being relative to the Queens entering into Religion, or other dissolution of the Marriage;) in regard (as the Pope pretended) it was got by the importunity of Cardinal *Woolsey*, with intention that it should be shew'd to the King and Cardinal only, as an *arrba* or token of his good will, and afterwards burnt; protesting nevertheless to the said *Casalis*, that he desir'd the Cardinals should proceed according to their Commission, but that the *Bulla Decretalis* should by no means be shew'd to any of the Kings Counsellors, or other Person whatsoever, though upon Oath of Secresie; it being sufficient that the King and Cardinal had seen it already, in *Campejus* hand. How our King yet was satisfied with this evasion of the Popes, appears not to me by any Record, more, than that he still solicited the Pope, that it might be exhibited publickly. Howbeit the Pope, who had far other thoughts, told our Agents, that he kept the *Bulla Decretalis* secretly, as well from all his Cardinals; as fearing lest the Emperor should call him to a Council for it. For the more caution, taking order that the Memory of it should be raz'd out of all his Archives. And, not staying here, (as I find by our Records) he commanded one *Francisco Campana* (his Servant) into England, on pretence to confer with the King and Cardinal, but indeed to charge *Campejus* to burn the Decretal. For colouring of all which, he finally objected to our King, that he had not kept promise with him, about the Restitution of *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. Our King conceiving hereupon, that all these difficulties the Pope made, proceeded from the fear which he had of the Emperor, sends to

Sir *Francis Bryon*, and *Peter Vannes* again, to renew his offer of a Guard of a Thousand or two Thousand Men, to be kept at the cost of the French King and his, whereof the *Comte de Turenne*, and Sir *Gregory Casalis* should be Captains; and, in the mean while, that a General Peace should be treated of. But whether the Pope, as being late enough offended with the Guard which the Emperor put on him, would not now accept them from any other Prince; or that he thought them too slender to defend him; or that it would argue partiality to do any thing on these terms; or that otherwise he had made his private Peace with the Emperor, (which certainly was the truth;) I do not find the Pope accepted this offer. Howsoever, he seem'd still to fear the Emperor; Infomuch, that by a Dispatch from *Gregory Casalis*, dated January the third, 1529. I find the Pope for the better making both his own, and a General Peace, especially betwixt *Charles* and *Francis*, (which also follow'd at *Cambray* this year,) declar'd to Cardinal *Woolsey*, he thought it necessary to go himself in Person into Spain, and that Cardinal *Woolsey* should go along with him: not yet as Pope and Cardinal, but as two Legates, or Ambassadors, for concluding a Peace. But this Journey (if at least it were really intended) was interrupted by the sickness of the Pope, which was thought so desperate, that our Cardinal Feb. 7. Feb. 7. wrote to *Stephen Gardiner* (then at Rome) that, by all means, he should procure the Papacy for him, being (as affairs then stood) the most indifferent and equal that could be found in Christendom. To which purpose also, besides our Kings Recommendations, the Cardinal had obtained the French Kings Letters, written with so much earnestness for him, that though the Convalescence of the Pope did frustrate this design, *Stephen Gardiner* yet was wish'd to keep the Letter in omnem eventum. I find also, Order was given, that if *Woolsey* could not be chosen, the Cardinals which were for him (being a third part of the whole number) should put in a Protestation, and departing the Conclave, should in some secure place proceed to an Election, notwithstanding any to be made at Rome. But, whether the Pope having notice of this untimely ambition of our Cardinal, were now offended with him, or that otherwise his ingagement to the Spaniard (whereof, in a Dispatch from the Pope to the Emperor July 21. 1528. that came to our King's hands, there is mention) did hold him off; I find after this time the Pope more averse than ever. Therefore, notwithstanding a design of his, that Cardinal *Woolsey* and *Campejus*, having finish'd the business of the Divorce, should afterwards go to conclude an Universal Peace, yet all that past in this affair afterwards (on his part) was little more than illusion. Which Sir *Francis Bryon* discovering, in a Dispatch to our King, plainly told him, no good was to be done; which our King also believing, had commanded *Gardiner* to threaten the Pope with his Sollicitation of the Princes of *Almaine*. Among whom I find particularly *George Duke of Saxony* (the Lutherans in vain opposing it) to have persuaded the Divorce. *Gardiner*, hereupon, useth more than one menace; though so much in vain, that, for a Conclusion, he advis'd our King to proceed upon the Commission given to the Legates, the Pope being (as he alledg'd April 21. 1529.) so aw'd by the *Cesareans*, as he had rather suffer much in anothers Name, than do any thing in his own. To encourage him the more also, *Gardiner* calls the *Breve* false and counterfeit, as being not to be found in the Registers at Rome. Moreover, for seconding this advice,

1529.

Jan.

Pope falls sick.

Woolsey's intreaties for the Papacy.

Record. Fox. Harpsfield.

July 21. 1528

May 5

April 21

Gardiner threatens the Pope.

April 21

1529. vice, Gardiner, by another Letter, May 4. says
 May 4. there was danger of recalling the Commission
 given to Woolsey and Campejus; which was con-
 firm'd by divers other Letters from our Agents.
 June 13. Whereof Gregory Casalis, in a Dispatch of 13 June
 following, gives a reason, in these words of the
 Pope; who, being at that time more slackly re-
 liev'd from the Confederates than he expected,
 and divers of his Subjects (for the rest) in Arms
 against him, said, *Malle sese in præceptis dari, &*
Cæsari à Stabulo, nedum à Sacris inservire, quam in-
feriorum hominum, subditorum, Vassalorumq; rebellium
injurias sustinere. The Remedy whereof he ex-
 pected only from the Emperor. So that not on-
 ly fear, but even hope making him obnoxious,
 he did, for more than one Reason, encline to
 the Emperor. Our King also, being well in-
 form'd hereof by certain excusatory Letters from
 Rome, and that a Treaty betwixt the Pope and
 Emperor (whereof there shall be mention) was
 already upon term of Conclusion, and an Inter-
 view appointed; gave order first to recal Gardi-
 ner and Bryan; yet so as he neglected not, at
 May 20. the same time, to send William Bennet, Doctor of
 Law, to Rome, to hinder the Advocacion of the
 Cause; whereof he was so jealous, that he in-
 tercepted not only those Dispatches which were
 sent to Rome from Campejus, or any else, but e-
 ven those intelligences which Queen Katharine
 should give to her Aunt the Lady Margaret, Go-
 verness of the Low-Countries. So that now our
 King, finding his Conscience unsatisfied, his No-
 bility in suspense, and the People murmuring at
 these procrastinations in an affair that so much
 concern'd the Succession, charg'd the two Car-
 dinals to proceed; as being satisfied by a parti-
 cular Discussion of this business before Arch-
 bishop Warham, and divers the learnedst Men
 of both Universities, at Lambeth, that his cause
 was fair,

And now, publick notice of a solemn hearing
 being given, the Court was appointed to sit; the
 Queen chusing Archbishop Warham, and Nicho-
 las West Bishop of Ely, Doctors of the Law, and
 John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish
 Bishop of St. Asaph, Doctors of Divinity, her Coun-
 cil, &c. according to the permission the King
 gave her in that behalf. The passages whereof,
 out of an Ancient and Authentick Record in
 Parchment, subscrib'd by the three Notaries (us'd
 in this business, and remaining in the Custody
 of that great Antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman,
 Knight,) I shall set down, with as much particu-
 larity, as the context of my History will suf-
 fer.

The place appointed for hearing and determi-
 ning the Cause, was a great Hall in Black-Fryers
 in London, (commonly call'd the Parliament-Cham-
 ber.) The time, the thirty-first of May, 1529.
 May 31. The Judges, the two Cardinals above-mention'd,
 whose Commissions I have thought fit to set
 down at large.

Commis-
 sion to De-
 legates to
 hear the
 Cause.
 Clemens Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Dilectis
 filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cecilie Eboracen. & Laurentio
 Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim de Campejo nuncupatis
 presbyteris Cardinalibus, in Regno Angliæ nostris &
 Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de latere, Salutem, & Aposto-
 licam benedictionem. Sane ad aures nostras ex pluri-
 morum fide-dignorum relatione frequenter perlatum est,
 de validitate illius matrimonii quod charissimus in
 Christo filius noster Henricus Angliæ Rex illustris, Fi-
 dei defensor & Dominus Hiberniæ, cum charissima in
 Christo filia nostra Catharina Regina, sedis Apostolicæ
 dispensatione prebenta, contraxisse & consummasse dig-
 noscitur, subortam nuper in partibus illis questionem,
 quæ licet in publicum Ecclesiæ judicium deducta hæte-
 nus non fuerit, causa tamen tam magni gravisque mo-
 menti exitus, viz. quem justitia & æquitas dederit,

animos istic omnium sic habet suspensos, ut celerem ac
 maturam definitionem requirat, non sine maximo dif-
 crimine proteland. Cum itaque nos, quos ad justitiam
 in judicio & veritate, omnibus ex æquo subministran-
 dum Servum Servorum Deus constituit, facti verita-
 tem per nos ipsos inquirere ac causam hanc examinare
 non valeamus, Considerantes præterea quod factum, ex
 quo jus oritur, illic certius quam hic, tum etiam citius
 expeditiusq; cognosci poterit, Cupientesq; præsertim in
 Regno illo sedi Apostolicæ semper devotissima, omnem
 dissentionum materiam extinguere, & dulcissimum illum
 pacis amorisq; intestinum concentum felicissimamq; cha-
 ritatis Harmoniam multos jam annos constantem reti-
 neri, ac in posterum conservari, dictamq; proinde su-
 per præfato matrimonio causam in judicio, justitia, &
 veritate decidi, certumq; firmum, validum, & matu-
 rum, quod maxime expedit, finem sortiri; Circum-
 spectioni vestræ ad audiendum ea omnia & singula
 quæ dicti matrimonii vires, dispensationisve Apostoli-
 cæ cujuscunq; ceram vobis producendæ aut exhibendæ
 validitatem aut invaliditatem contingant, deq; & su-
 per omnibus illis ac aliis quibuscunq; materiis, allega-
 tionibus & causis dictum matrimonium aut dispensatio-
 nem concernent, seu tangentibus cognoscend. necnon in
 causa dicti matrimonii & validitatis dispensationis
 vocatis partibus, summarie & de plano, sine strepitu
 & figura judicii procedendum, dispensationes quasq;
 Apostolicas, prout illas validas, efficaces, & sufficien-
 tes, invalidasve, inefficaces, minus sufficientes, surrep-
 titias, aut arreptitias, aut alio quocunq; modo enervat.
 inveneritis, tales illas esse, & haberi debere pro-
 nunciandum & declarandum, dictumq; matrimonium
 similiter, si ab alterutra parte petatur, prout animo
 conscientiaque vestræ juris ratio persuaserit, validum,
 justum, & legitimum, ac firmum esse, aut è contra in-
 validum, injustum, & illegitimum, nullumque fuisse
 & esse; pro valido justo, legitimo & firmo, aut è
 contra, invalido injusto & illegitimo, nulloque haberi
 debere, definiendum, sententiand. & decernendum; ac
 in eventum improbatæ dispensationis & declarationis
 nullitatis matrimonii, summarie & de plano sine strepitu
 & figura judicii, ut præfertur, sententiam divortii ju-
 dicialiter proferend. denique tam Henrico Regi, quam
 Catharinæ Reginæ præfatis, ad alia vota commigrand.
 Licentiam in domino & facultatem tribuendum. Vobis
 conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, di-
 visim, citra omnem personæ aut Jurisdictionis gradum,
 omni recusatione & appellatione remotis, vices & om-
 nem auctoritatem nostram committimus & demandamus.
 Vos etiam conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente,
 aut impedito, divisim, ut præfertur, ad ea omnia quæ
 in hac commissione continentur duntaxat exequenda, ex-
 pedienda, ac plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda,
 Vices-gerentes nostros etiam ex certa nostra scientia crea-
 mus, & deputamus, ita, ut in præmissis, quod nos au-
 thoritate & potestate nostra facere possemus, id etiam
 vos facere possitis. Vobis quoque tam prolem ex primo
 matrimonio susceptam, si id ita expedire Visum fuerit,
 quam ex secundo matrimonio suscipiendam, legitimam
 decernend. pronuntiand. & promulgand. legitimitatem
 etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris & penis Ecclesiasticis
 quibuscunq; per modum decreti aut sanctionis perpe-
 tuæ, muniendi & vallandi omnibus validioribus & ef-
 ficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & ex-
 cogitari poterint, ex certa nostra scientia, auctoritate
 Apostolica, tenore præsentium, potestatem pariter &
 auctoritatem concedimus, Non-obstantibus Conciliis ge-
 neralibus, Apostolicis constitutionibus, & ordinationibus
 editis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunq;. Dat. Viter-
 bii, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingente-
 simo Vicesimo Octavo. Sexto Id. Junii, Pontificatus no-
 stri Anno Quinto.

Clement Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God,
 to our belov'd Sons Thomas Archbilhop of York,
 Cardinal Sanctæ Cecilie, and Laurence Campejus
 Cardinal Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim, our Le-
 gats de latere from the Apostolical See to the
 Vol. II. P 2 King-

1529 Kingdom of England, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Relation of very many Persons of undoubted Credit hath reach'd our Ears, concerning the Validity of that Marriage which our belov'd Son in Christ Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, (a Dispensation of the Apostolical See being first had) was known to have contracted and consummated with our dearly belov'd Daughter in Christ Queen Katharine, from whence in those parts a Controversie hath arisen which hath so perplex'd the minds of Men, and held them in suspense and expectation, what Justice and Equity will determine in a case of so peculiar a Nature, and of so great Moment, not yet try'd in any publick Court of Ecclesiastical Judicature, that it is but necessary to proceed to some quick and speedy determination herein, to avoid that danger which must unavoidably ensue upon deferring it. But since we, whom God has appointed Servant of his Servants, to administer to all Men Impartial Justice in Judgment and Truth, are not able in our Person to inquire into the truth of the Fact, and examine this Cause our selves: Considering likewise that the Fact, concerning the right of which the present Debate is, may with more certainty, speed and expedition be inquir'd into and examin'd, there than here; farthermore, being desirous, that in that Kingdom, which has always shewn the greatest Affection and Obedience to the Apostolical See, all matter of Dissention may be taken away, the Bond of Peace and Love be strengthened, and the blessed harmony of Mutual Charity, which has so many years continu'd, may still flourish, and be convey'd down to Posterity; and a Decision may be made of the above-mention'd Cause, concerning the foresaid Marriage according to the rules of Justice, Judgment and Truth, whereby this Dispute may, as 'tis most expedient it should, obtain a firm, valid, certain and speedy Conclusion and End. For these purposes, we do hereby give and grant a plenary Authority, and most ample Power and Commission to your Eminences in our own stead, either both jointly, or in case of unwillingness, or any other Impediment, to either of you singly; that, being subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of no Court or Person whatever, nor liable to any Appeal or Question concerning your Jurisdiction; you do hear and examine all and every thing which may relate to the Validity or Invalidity of the said Marriage, or of any Apostolical Dispensation whatever, to be exhibited and produc'd before you, and all other Things, Matters, Circumstances, Allegations and Causes, which may any ways relate to, and concern the said Marriage, and the said Dispensation: And that you do proceed judicially, without Tumult or Disturbance, summarily and plainly to examine all Parties concern'd and knowing in the case of the said Marriage, and of the validity of the said Dispensation; and if it shall to you appear, that any such Apostolical Dispensations shall be sufficient, effectual and valid, or invalid, ineffectual, insufficient, surreptitious or arrepitious, or on any account null and void, such you shall pronounce and declare finally that they are, and ought to be held; and in like manner concerning the said Marriage, you shall, if by either Party requir'd, define, determine, and finally sentence the same to be valid, just, lawful and firm, or on the other side unjust, invalid, and unlawful, and thereupon that it is and ought to be void and null, and is therefore by you there declar'd invalid, unjust, unlawful, void and null, on either side pronouncing Sentence, as shall appear most just according to the

Laws of Reason, and the Dictates of your own Consciences; and if it shall thus appear that the Dispensation is invalid, and the Marriage Null, that you do judicially, deliberately, summarily and clearly, as aforesaid, pronounce a Sentence of Divorce, and grant a Faculty and Licence in the Lord to the foresaid King Henry and Queen Katharine to marry again. And we do hereby create and depute you jointly, or (if as aforesaid any ways hindred) separately in our stead to execute, finish, fully and finally to determine all or any of the things contain'd in this Commission in so ample a manner, that whatsoever we by our Power and Authority could have done in the Premises, all that you are hereby enabled to do as fully and effectually. We do likewise of our own certain knowledge, by our Apostolical Authority, and by the Tenor of these Presents, grant you Power and Authority to pronounce, sentence and publish, if it shall to you seem convenient, that the Children by the first Marriage as well as by the second are Legitimate; and that you do confirm and establish the Legitimacy of both sorts, either by Censures and Ecclesiastical Punishments to be inflicted on the Gainsayers, or by way of Decree and perpetual Sanction, or by any other more valid and effectual Method or Form that can be thought of, or contriv'd to strengthen, and effectually support the same: Any General Councils, Apostolical Canons, publick Ordinances or Decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

Given at Viterbo in the year of our Lord 1528.
6th of the Ides of June, in the fifth year of our Pontificat.

After the Commission was read, our Chronicles say, the King was call'd, and appear'd Personally in Court, at whose feet the Queen protested her self, demanding Justice, Right, and Pity, &c. But now to come to the Authentick Record. I find the King and Queen were by Bishop Longland, the Kings Confessor, cited to appear upon 18 June next ensuing. The King (for observing his time,) gave Richard Sampson, Dean of his Chappel, and John Bell, Doctor of the Decrees, a Commission Seal'd in green Wax, and dated at Greenwich, 15 June; by which he constituted them his Proctors, with Authority to refuse or accept the Court and Judgment of the two Cardinals, and, if need were, to Appeal; allowing them also to substitute other Proctors; binding himself finally *sub Hypotheca & obligatione Bonorum*, to ratifie what they should do. But the Queen using a shorter way, appear'd in Person, protesting yet against the Cardinals, as incompetent Judges; requiring further, that this her Protestation might be Recorded, and so departed presently out of the Court. This while the Cardinals, who took into their Commission John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln; John Clark, Bishop of Bath and Wells; John Islip, Abbot of Westminster; and Doctor John Taylor, Master of the Rolls; sent unto the Queen Letters Monitory; declaring, if she appear'd not, they would notwithstanding proceed to execute their Commission; for which purpose the above-mention'd Bishop of Bath and Wells, was employ'd; but she, refusing, is pronounc'd Contumacious.

Certain Articles were then put in by the Legates, against our King and Queen Katharine, the principal Substance whereof was, that Prince Arthur did marry, and carnally know Queen Katharine, confirming also this Marriage by Cohabitation with her till his Death. After which, King Henry being his Brother, did marry the said Lady

1529.

May 31.
Hall
Holm.
Godwin.
Stow.
The King appears before them.
June 15.

June 18.
The Q. protests against their Jurisdiction.

And is pronounc'd Contumacious.
June 25.

1529. Lady Katharine, An. Dom. 1509. in facie Ecclesiæ, and had Children by her; which Marriage yet being as well *Divino* as *Ecclesiastico* jure prohibited, and (unless it may be otherwise made good) to be reputed in its self *nullum omnino & invalidum*, had caused huge Scandal both in the Clergy and People of England, and of many other places, insomuch that it hath come to the Pope's Ears, who taking notice hereof, gave Commission to those Cardinals to hear and proceed in this business, according to the importance of it.

June 28. This being done, the Queen is cited a second time to appear; which she refusing, is pronounc'd again contumacious. This hinder'd not the Court yet to proceed, and appoint Doctor Taylor, Archdeacon of Buckingham, to examine the Witnesses; while themselves calling for the Dispensations that were alledg'd in favour of this Marriage, a certain Bull and Breve were exhibited, which I have thought fit to set down at length as they are extant in the same Record.

July 5. The Bull being *sub plumbo*, more *Romanæ Curie*, was an Original; but the Breve was only a Copy subscrib'd and sign'd with the hand of Juan Vergara, a Canon of Toledo, and Publick Notary, *Auctoritate Apostolica*; and with the Seals of Baltazar de Castiglione the Pope's Nuncio, and of the Reverend Father in God Alvensus de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo.

The BULL.

Julius Episcopus servus servorum Dei dilecto filio Henrico charissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illustris nato, & dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ charissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elizabeth Reginæ Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ illustribus, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens autoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata id in domino conspiciat salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, Quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimi primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitie nexibus & fœderibus inter charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Eliz. Hispaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ Regem & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī contraxissetis illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta decessit, cum autem sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum pacis & amicitie inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsentī contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportuna dispensationis gratia providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur; Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordie amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus,

vosque & quemlibet vestrum à quibuscunque excommunicationis, suspensionis, & interdicti aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris & pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quavis occasione vel causa, latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, & absolutos fore censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis cæterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium per verba legitime de præsentī inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, etiam si jam forsan hæcenus de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copula consummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, auctoritate Apostolica tenore præsentium de specialis dono gratiæ dispensamus, ac vos & quemlibet vestrum, si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem auctoritate absolvimus, Prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Provisio quod tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, poenitentiam salutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nihil ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis dispensationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire, si quis autem hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Septim. Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Julius Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Son Henry, Son of our most dearly beloved in Christ Henry King of England, and to our beloved Daughter Katharine, Daughter of our most dearly beloved in Christ Ferdinand and Elizabeth, most Catholick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Supreme Authority of the Pope exercises its Power granted from above, as it shall seem most wholsome and expedient in Christ, according to the difference of Persons, Things and Times. Your Petition lately exhibited to us did set forth that You, Daughter Katharine, and Arthur (eldest Son of the most Illustrious and our most beloved Son in Christ Henry King of England) since decess'd, for the better preserving and continuing the Leagues and Treaties of Peace and Friendship between our most dear Son in Christ Ferdinand, our most dear Daughter in Christ Elizabeth, most Catholick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, and the foresaid King and Queen of England, did lawfully contract a Marriage in Words de præsentī, and did perhaps

1529. consummate it by Carnal Knowledge, which Prince Arthur dy'd, leaving no Issue by the said Marriage; Now whereas your Petition did further set forth, that to the end that the said Amity and good Friendship may be still strengthen'd and continu'd between the foresaid Kings and Queen, you did desire that a Marriage might be contracted between you, in order to which you did supplicate that we wou'd of our Apostolical Grace and Favour grant you a sufficient Dispensation on account of the premises; We therefore out of our hearty Inclination and earnest Desire that Peace and Concord should ever flourish and remain among all the Faithful in Christ, but more especially among all Catholick Kings and Princes, hereby absolving you and either of you from all Sentences of Prohibition, Suspension, Excommunication, and all other Ecclesiastical Censures and Penalties on any Occasion or Pretence whatever, either by any Person or Law inflicted upon you, or that in the Case foremention'd may be, by Suit yet depending; and as we do hereby judge you absolved, so in compliance with your so reasonable Request, by our Apostolical Authority, out of our meer and special Grace and Favour, by the Tenor of these Presents, we do dispence with you, so that any Impediment thro' the foresaid Affinity between you, any Apostolical Constitution, Ordinance or Pretence whatsoever notwithstanding, you may lawfully contract Marriage together per verba de presenti, and when it is so contracted, altho' it should already have been either publicly and openly, or privately and clandestinely contracted, and perhaps by Carnal Knowledge consummated, that you therein may lawfully continue and remain, and we do by the same Authority absolve and free you and either of you from all Censure and Sentence of Excommunication, which you may have incur'd by having de facto enter'd into this Contract of Marriage before this Dispensation; and we do further pronounce all the Children legitimate, either already or yet to be born from the said Marriage, either now or to be hereafter contracted. Provided that you (Daughter Katharine) have not by force and violence been hereto compell'd; provided also, that if you have already actually contracted the said Marriage, your Confessor, to be by you both or either of you appointed, do therefore lay upon you some wholesome Penance, which you are hereby oblig'd to do. Let therefore no mortal Man presume to infringe this our Sentence of Absolution and Dispensation, or with rash Boldness to contradict our Will herein; and if any one shall be so presumptuous as to attempt any thing contradictory hereunto, let him take notice that he shall therefore incur the Vengeance of the Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Given at St. Peters in Rome in the Year of our Lord 1503. Seventh of the Calends of January, in the first Year of our Pontificat.

1529. The BREVE, together with the Affeверations of those who subscrib'd it.

NOS Balthazar de Castiglione Mantuan. Apostolicae sedis Notarius, in Hispaniarum Regnis, terrisque & locis temporali dominio Serenissimorum Principum Caroli in Imperatorem electi & Johanna Regis & Reginae Catholicorum Subjectis ejusdem sedis Nuncius, & Alfonsus de Fonseca miseratione dominica Archiepiscopus Toletan. Hispaniarum Primas, ac Regnorum Castell. Archicancellarius, Universis & singulis ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint, & quos nosse fuerit opportunum, Salutem in Domino. Noveritis, quod literas quondam Sanctissimi in Christo patris fe. re. Julii Papae secundi in forma Brevis sub annulo Piscatoris, sanas & integras, non viatas, non cancellatas, nec aliqua parte sui suspectas, sed omni prorsus vitio & suspicione carentes, pro parte Sa. Caes. & Catholicae Majestatis Caroli divina favente Clementia E. Ro. Imperatoris, & in ejus praesentia nobis praesentatas cum ea qua decuit reverentia recepimus. Quarum quidem literarum tenor erat in exteriori superscriptione talis. Dilecto filio Henrico, charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliae Regis Illustr. nat. Illustr. & dilect. in Christo fil. Cathar. charissimi etiam in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi & char. in Christo filiae nostrae Elizabeth Reginae Hispaniarum & Siciliae Catholicorum natae Illustr. interius vero talis.

Julius Papa secundus: dilecte fili & dilecta in Christo filia, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem; Romani Pontificis praecellens auctoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspiciat salubriter expedire. Oblatae nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliae Regis Illustr. primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiae nexibus & foederibus inter praefatum Angliae & charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Elizabeth Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliae, matrimonium per verba legitime de praesenti contraxeritis, illudque carnali copula consumnaveritis, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujusmodi matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & connexitatis inter praefatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur: ex his, & certis aliis causis, desideratis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de praesenti contrahere: Sed quia desiderium vestrum in praemissis adimplere non potestis, dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in praemissis de dispensationis gratia & benignitate Apostolica

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lica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes; pacis & concordie amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, remanere libere & licite valeatis, autoritate Apostolica per præsentis dispensamus: Et, quatenus forsam jam matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos & quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem autoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere inter vos libere & licite valeatis, similiter dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernend. volumus autem, si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvi. Decemb. Millesimo Quingentesimo tertio. Pont. nostri Anno primo. Sigismundus.

Dec. 26.
1503.

Quibus quidem literis diligenter per nos Balthazarem de Castiglione tanquam nuncium Apostolicum, & Alfonsum de Fonseca tanquam loci ordinarium, inspectis, & perlectis, Quia eas sanas & integras, ac omni prorsus vitio & suspitione, (ut præmittitur carentes invenimus, ideo, ad requisitionem expressam præfat. Cæsar. & Catholicæ Majestatis, tam suo quam conjunctorio nomine Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ Reginæ Angliæ suæ charissimæ materteræ & consanguinæ, asserent. ipsius requirent. & prædict. Reginæ interesse, ob æternitatis memoriam, & ne vetustate prædictum originale depereat, utque de illius tenore ubi opus fuerit edoceri possit, & in locis in quibus, ob bellorum viarumque discrimina, non liceat tuto ipsum originale dispensationis transmittere aut committere, ejusdem Majestatis requisitioni, tanquam justæ & rationabili, annuentes, easdem literas exemplari & transumi ac in publicam formam redigi mandavimus; decernentes & volentes ut huic præsentis transumpto publico plena fides deinceps adhibeatur, in locis omnibus ubi fuerit oportunum, perinde ac si originales ipsæ literæ exhiberentur. Quibus omnibus uterque nostrum autoritatem nostram interposuimus, & decretum. Et, ad ampliorem evidentiam præmissorum, præsens instrumentum manu nostra uterque signavimus, Idemque Sigillorum nostrorum jussimus appensione communiri. Dat. Toleti die duodecima Decemb. Anno à Nativitate Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo xxviii. Præsentibus ibidem illustribus & generosis viris, Dominis Henrico comite a Nassau, Marchione de Zenete camera-

rio supremo, Don Johanne Manuele, Don Laurentio de Gorreido comite Pontisvallium Militibus velleris aurei, Carolo de Popeto Domino de la Chaulx. Lodovico à Flandria Domino de Prato, & Nicolao Perrenot Domino de Grande villa, omnibus consiliariis prædictæ sacræ Cæs. & Catholicæ Majestatis testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter atque rogatis. Balthazar de Castiglione Nuncius & Collector Apostolicus. A. Toletan. Et ego Johannes Vergara Canonicus Toletan. in sacræ Theologia magister, publicus Apostolica autoritate notarius, qui præmissis omnibus, una cum prænominatis testibus interfui; hoc publicum instrumentum signavi, & subscripsi, in testimonium veritatis, per eandem Cæs. Catholicam Majestatem rogatus & requisitus.

1529.

WE Balthazar de Castiglione of Mantua, Notary of the Apostolical See, and Nuncio of the said See, in the Kingdom of Spain, and all other Territories and Places subject to the Temporal Dominion of their most Serene Majesties Charles elected Emperor and Joan, most Catholick King and Queen, and Alfonsus de Fonseca, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, and High Chancellor of the Kingdoms of Castile, to all and every one to whom these Presents may come, and whom the Knowledge thereof may any ways concern, Health in the Lord. Know ye that we formerly received with all due reverence the Letter of our most holy Father in Christ, Pope Julius II. of happy memory, in form of a Breve, under the Seal of the Fisher; which Letter was shewn us in the presence of his most Sacred, most Imperial, and most Catholick Majesty Charles, by the Grace of God, elected Emperor of the Romans, being whole and entire, no ways viciated nor cancell'd, nor on any account or in part of it to be suspected, but free from all manner of suspicion or colour of Deceit. The outward Superscription of which Letter was in this manner: To our beloved Son Henry, Son of our most dearly beloved in Christ Henry King of England, and to our beloved Daughter Catherine, Daughter of our most dearly beloved in Christ Ferdinand and Elizabeth, most Catholick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily. And the Contents of the Letter within was to this effect: Julius II. Pope, sends you, Dear Son and dear Daughter in Christ, Health and Apostolical Benediction. The Supreme Authority of the Pope exercises its Power granted from above, as it shall seem most wholesom and expedient in Christ, according to the difference of Persons, Things and Times. Your Petition lately exhibited to us did set forth that you, Daughter Catherine, and Arthur (eldest Son of the most Illustrious and our most beloved Son in Christ Henry King of England) since deceased, for the better preserving and continuing the Leagues and Treaties of Peace and Friendship between our most dear Son in Christ Ferdinand, our most dear Daughter in Christ Elizabeth, most Catholick King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, and the foresaid King of England; did lawfully contract a Marriage in Words de

præ-

1529. *presenti*, and did perhaps consummate it by carnal Knowledge; Now because Prince Arthur dying without Issue by this Marriage, in all likelihood this bond of Peace and Amity between the said Kings and Queen would not last so firm, as if strengthen'd and supported by a new tie of Affinity: You therefore, for these and certain other Causes, desire lawfully in Words *de presenti* to contract Marriage; which desire as you may not in the Premises fulfil without our Apostolical Dispensation therein first had, You therefore have made it your humble request, that we would of our Apostolical Grace and Favour vouchsafe you our Dispensation in the Premises. We therefore, out of our hearty Inclination and earnest Desire that Peace and Concord should ever flourish and remain among all the Faithful in Christ, but more especially among all Catholick Kings and Princes; these and other Reasons us thereunto moving, in compliance with your Request herein, do by these presents of our Apostolical Authority dispence with you, so that it may be and is lawful for you, any Impediment arising from your Affinity by reason of the Premises notwithstanding, to contract Marriage together, and in it so contracted lawfully and freely to live and continue: And, inasmuch as perhaps you may have already publicly or clandestinely *de facto* contracted Marriage, and consummated it by Carnal Knowledge, we do in such case by the same Authority free and absolve you or either of you from Censure and the Sentence of Excommunication, which you may thereby have incurred, and we in like manner dispence with you herein, that you may be empower'd freely and lawfully to live and continue in the Marriage *de facto* thus contracted, or to contract it anew; and we do declare and pronounce that all the Children born or to be born from this Marriage contracted or to be contracted, be, and be accounted legitimate. But our Will is, that if this Marriage was contracted *de facto* before this Dispensation, that a Confessor, to be appointed by both or either of you, do therefore injoin you some Penance, which you are hereby bound to do. Given at Rome at St. Peters under the Seal of the Fisherman, December 26. 1503. in the first Year of our Pontificat.

Sigismundus.

Which Letter being by us Balthazar de Castiglione as Apostolical Nuncio, and Alfonsus de Fonseca, as Ordinary of the place, diligently read over and carefully examin'd, and because we found it as is aforesaid perfect and intire, without any Colour or Suspicion of Deceit, therefore by the express Desire of his said Imperial and Catholick Majesty, both in his own, and in the Name of the most Serene Catherine Queen of England his most dear Aunt and Cousin, in as much as it greatly concerned both himself and the said Queen, for the perpetual remembrance thereof, that the foresaid Original may not be consumed by time, and that certain knowledge may be had of the Tenor and Contents of it as often as it shall be necessary, and in such places as by reason of Wars or the hazard of Carriage it may not be safe to transmit or trust the Original Dispensation, in compliance with the so reasonable

and just request of his said most sacred Majesty, we caused the said Letter to be copied, transcribed and publickly attested; willing and decreeing that to this Copy thus faithfully transcribed and publickly notify'd as unquestionable Credit shall, in all places where it is thought fitting to produce it, be given as to the Original Letter it self. To all which both of us do give our Authoritative Decree and Sanction. And for the fuller and more certain confirmation of the truth of these Premises, we have both to this present Instrument set our Hands and Seals.

Given at Toledo this Twelfth of December, in the Year of our Lord, 1528.

In the presence of these most Noble and most Illustrious Lords, Henry Count de Nassau. The Marquis de Zenete, Lord High-Chamberlain. Don Juan Manuel, Don Laurence de Gorreudo, Knights of the Golden Fleece. Charles de Popeto, Lord of Chaulx. Ludovicus à Flandria, Lord of Prato. Nicholaus Perrenot, Lord of Grandville. All of the Privy-Council to his said most Sacred, most Imperial and most Catholick Majesty, who were specially called and appointed Witnesses hereto. Balthazar de Castiglione, Nuncio and Apostolical Collector; Alphonsus, Archbishop of Toledo. I Johannes Vergara, Canon of Toledo, Professor in Divinity, and by the Apostolical Authority appointed Publick Notary, who was present at the signing and sealing of all the Premises, and saw the said Witnesses subscribe their hands, have signed this Publick Instrument, and set my Name to it, in testimony of the Truth, being thereunto called and requir'd by his said Imperial Catholick Majesty.

Against these Dispensations the following Objections were us'd. July 9.

- I. That the Peace and Unity betwixt England and Spain was firm before the granting of the Dispensation, which yet was alledged as a Cause. Objections against the Bull and Breve.
- II. That the said Dispensation, as being grounded on this Pretext, must be held surreptitious, Henry VIII. being then not above thirteen, and consequently unable for Marriage, which also if the Pope had known beforehand, or that otherwise it had been represented to him, he would not have easily granted any such Dispensation.
- III. Because it was pretended that Henry VIII. had desir'd the Match only for maintaining Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms; whereas, (being then not above thirteen) he must be thought incapable of such Thoughts.
- IV. That though this Dispensation might once be thought to have his Force and Vertue, yet seeing the Motive of granting it was grounded upon the above-mention'd Peace, and that one of the said Princes dy'd before the solemnizing of the said Marriage, the Cause of the Dispensation must be held void.
- V. That, supposing the Objection of Affinity were taken away by vertue of the said Dispensation, yet the Objection *de publica honestate* was not clear'd.
- VI. That the Breve above-mention'd appears by the Tenor of it to contain many Falshoods and Suspicions, and particularly that the Stile, Inditing,

1529. Inditing, as also many Clauses and Circumstances differ from the Bull, so that it may be thought forged since the time of the Questions moved concerning this Matrimony; as by comparing them together may be manifestly gather'd.

Reasons
against
them.

This also was urged by these Reasons:

1. That in the Register-Book of the Breves at Rome, no such Breve is found, or any Argument that such a Breve was made.

2. That likewise neither in the *Chartophylacio*, or Paper-Chamber of the King, no such Breve is extant, nor otherways, in the private Treaties of the Marriage, any mention is made thereof.

3. That in the Date of the said Breve, as it is exemplify'd, the Year of our Lord is discrepant from the vulgar account; for whereas the Stile of the Court of Rome begins always from the Nativity of our Lord, this seems to be a Year before Julius was made Pope.

All which Objections were deliver'd to the King's Proctor, that he might answer to them.

Whereupon Witnesses being summon'd to appear July 12.

Thomas Duke of Norfolk,
Charles Duke of Suffolk,
Thomas Marquis Dorset,
George Earl of Shrewsbury,
Thomas Viscount Rochfort,
Robert Viscount Fitzwater,
John Bishop of Carlisle,
Sir David Owen,
Sir John Hussey,
Sir Richard Weston, Knights,

with divers others, presented themselves to be examin'd, by the Archdeacon of Buckingham, above-mention'd.

In the mean while, these two Articles were added to the former, as serving to strengthen the Objections above-mention'd.

1. That the Year for Pope's Breves begins December 26. and the Year for Bulls the 25th of March.

2. That in all Marriages contracted within the Kingdom of England, the Form hath been in Words, *De presenti, ego accipio te, &c.*

Businesses being thus ripe for examination of Witnesses, the Depositions of two antient Ladies, who excus'd themselves by their Infirmary from appearing in Person, were publickly read.

1. The first, being Mary Countess of Essex, said little, but in general terms.

2. But Agnes the old Dutches of Norfolk, who was present at the Marriage at St. Paul's in London, declar'd the Age of Prince Arthur at the time of his said Marriage to be about fifteen; and moreover, did positively affirm, that she saw Prince Arthur and the Lady Katharine, alone, in bed together, the next Night after their Marriage. Which therefore, as also a following Deposition of the Viscountess Fitzwater, may serve to answer Sanders's Tale, where he saith, a grave Matron was put into the same bed with him, to hinder the Prince from knowing her carnally.

3. George Earl of Shrewsbury depos'd, the Marriage was celebrated at St. Paul's, *Decimo septimo Henrici Septimi*, 1501. adding further, that Prince Arthur was born at Winchester, *secundo Henrici Septimi*; and that he believ'd the Prince knew his Lady carnally, both as being able so to do, as also because himself knew his Wife being not sixteen.

4. William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, being examin'd, protests not to reveal any Secrets of the Queen, as being her sworn Counsellor. For the rest, as he answer'd warily to the Que-

stions propounded him concerning the Validity of the March, insomuch that he refer'd himself therein to the Judges, who were to determine it; so yet he made no difficulty to confess that he approv'd it not at first; which also he declar'd, not only in a Contestation which he had with Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, who perswaded it, but in certain Words to King Henry VII. himself, whom he told plainly, that the Marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King Henry VII. appear'd not much inclin'd to the Marriage, that he the said Deponent intreated him to persuade his Son Prince Henry to protest that he would not take the Lady Katharine to Wife, and that he should renew this Protestation when he came to the Crown; which also he the said Deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding, that when the Bull of Dispensation was granted, that he the said Deponent contradicted it no more; and that the murmuring of the People on that occasion was quieted, till the King's Conscience being troubled, reviv'd it again.

5. Sir William Thomas, Knight, depos'd, Prince Arthur and the Lady Katharine liv'd five Months, partly about London, and partly at Ludlow, in household together as Man and Wife; and that he heard Sir William Wodall, who was at the Prince's Christning, say, that he was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage, and the Lady Katharine elder.

6. Sir Anthony Poynes, Knight, depos'd, that Prince Arthur was above fifteen at the time of his Marriage.

7. Thomas Marquis Dorset depos'd, he saw a Register of the Nativity of the King's Children; by which he found the Prince Arthur born September 20. 1486. and that at the time of his Marriage (which was upon a Sunday, in November, *decimo septimo Henrici septimi*) he was of a good and sanguine Complexion, and able as he suppos'd for that purpose.

8. Robert Viscount Fitzwater depos'd, the Prince was then about fifteen, and Queen Katharine elder; and that, the next day after being in bed together, (which he remember'd after they enter'd to have been solemnly blest'd) he waited at Breakfast on Prince Arthur, where Maurice St. Johns did carve, and he the Lord Fitzwater gave Drink: At which time the said Maurice demanding of the Prince how he had done that night? The Prince answer'd, I have been in Spain this night.

9, 10, 11. Thomas Lord Darcy, William Lord Montejoy, and Henry Guldeford, Knight of the Garter, said little, but by way of publick report.

12. Charles Duke of Suffolk depos'd, that he was in the Bishop of London's Palace the morrow next following the day of Marriage, and that he waited there upon the Prince at Breakfast, confirming moreover in effect the Words of Maurice St. John, before set down. Furthermore, he added, that the Shrovetide following the Marriage, (which was in November preceding) the said Prince began to decay, and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the said St. John related, by reason the said Prince lay with the Lady Katharine.

13. David Owen depos'd, that Prince Arthur was born at Winchester, *secundo Henrici septimi*; which he knew, because he was at the Christning.

14. Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer of England, depos'd, that he being the day of the Marriage in the Bishop of London's Palace, and the morrow after, at the Prince's Breakfast,

1529. heard the Prince's Words to *Maurice St. John*, when he said he had been that night in the midst of *Spain*; by which Words, as also because Prince *Arthur* was a Gentleman of a good Complexion and Nature, and above fifteen, he believes that he carnally knew his Lady; because himself also at the same age did carnally know and use: And he believes this the rather, that he heard from credible Persons, that the said Prince *Arthur* did lie with the said Lady *Katharine* five or six nights afterwards.

15. *Anthony Willoughby*, Knight, deposed, that being the morrow after the Marriage in the Prince's Privy-Chamber, the said Prince spake afore divers Witnesses these Words, *Willoughby*, give me a Cup of Ale, for I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*: After which he said, Masters, it is a good Pastime to have a Wife; which Words he repeated also divers other times. Moreover, he heard say they lay at *Ludlow* together the Shrove-tide next following.

16. *Nicholas Bishop of Ely* said, he could depose nothing concerning the carnalis copula, but that he doubted of it, because the Queen often sub testimonio conscientie sue said to this Deponent, that she was never carnally known of Prince *Arthur*, though otherwise he must confess them both to be legitime atatis at the time of their Marriage. He doubted further, whether the Cardinals were competent Judges, an Appeal being made from them.

17. *Richard Sacheverel*, Knight, deposed, the People said commonly, that it was unfit one Brother should marry the other Brother's Wife.

18. *Thomas Viscount Rochefort*, deposed, that he heard divers of Prince *Arthur's* Followers confirm the Words he used, of his having been in *Spain* the night of his Marriage. Moreover, he heard say, that King *Henry VIII.* was persuaded by his Confessor, about two Years since, to abstain from the Bed of the Lady *Katharine*, lest he should offend his Conscience.

19, 20, 21, 22, 23. *Sir Richard Weston*, and *Sir John Hussy*, Knights, deposed, the Age of King *Henry VIII.* was thirty eight upon the Eve of the Feast of *St. Peter and St. Paul* last; which Viscount *Rochefort* also confirm'd, saying the place of his Birth was *Greenwich*, and the Year was 1491. and Day the twenty eighth of *June*; which *Robert Viscount Fitzwater* confirmed also, adding that King *Henry VII.* died two Days before the Feast of *St. George*, twenty Years since; with whom *David Owen*, Servant and Counsellor to King *Henry VII.* agreed, save only, that he said it was three Days before the Feast.

24. *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* deposed, that *Pedro de Ayala* or *Allea*, and Doctor *de Puebla*, Ambassadors from *Spain*, were much in favour heretofore with *Henry VII.* and that *Henry VII.* died before the Marriage betwixt his Son Prince *Henry* and the Princess *Katharine*; and Queen *Isabel* or *Elizabeth* her Mother died also before that time.

25. *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Counsellor to *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* for thirty six Years last past, deposed, that he conceived *Henry VIII.* to be under thirteen, at the time of Dispensation granted; because King *Henry* his Father told him that he was impubes, after that time. Whereupon this Deponent reply'd to the King, that any Protestation he should then make, would be of no force, and therefore he should make it again one or two Days after his coming to annos pubertatis.

26, 27. *Charles Duke of Suffolk*, and *Thomas Marquis Dorset*, examined again, said little but what was formerly set down.

28. *Pedro Mates*, *Utriusque Juris Doctor*, Native

of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, who had lived in the Court of *Rome* thirty Years, in exercitio causarum, deposed, that the Date of Years there is computed after three divers manners; so that Judgments, Contracts, and last Wills, bear date from the Nativity 25 Decembris; *Littere Apostolicæ sub plumbo* xxv of *March*; *Littere Apostolicæ per Breve sub annulo piscatoris, ceræ rubæ impresso* scribuntur simpliciter & absolute absque expressione ipsius Domini aut Nativitatis, aut Incarnationis, sed solum Anno M. D. &c. Yet so that he conceiv'd it began always à Nativitate, scilicet xxv Decembris; neither doth he know any thing to the contrary, except the Pope's Secretary alter the Style.

29. *Nicolaus Rusticus* of *Lucca* in *Italy*, saith, that *Annus Domini in Brevibus Apostolicis* is computed from the Nativity of our Lord.

30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36. *Thomas Viscount Rochefort*, *Henry Guilford Knight*, *Thomas Marquis Dorset*, *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, *William Falke* *Notarius Publicus*, *John Taverner*, and *John Clamport*, being examined, deposed, that the Forms of Marriages are always in verbis de presenti, in *England*.

37. The Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife to Viscount *Fitzwater*, deposed, that she saw the Lady *Katharine* and Prince *Arthur* in bed together, which was blest, and that she left them alone together.

Hereupon the Depositions were published, and July 17. the King's Proctor summon'd to receive those Acts and Writings he deliver'd into the Court; but he not appearing, is pronounced contumacious.

The Commissioners yet proceeded to require the sight of the *Archiva*, and Record concerning this business; for which purpose *Thomas Wriothesley*, and *Thomas Teng* King of Arms, had been employ'd: These Men certified that Prince *Arthur* died in the Castle of *Ludlow* the second of *April*, 1502. and that his Brother *Henry* was born the twenty eighth of *June*, 1491. and that the Marriage betwixt Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katharine* was the fourteenth of *November*, 1501.

This being done, a Deposition of *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, taken by Doctor *Woolman*, April 5 and 6. 1527. was read. The most substantial part whereof was, that he conceived Doctor *Puebla* did first motion this Match, and that more than one Bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remained in *England*, one or two were extant in *Spain*, but all of the same Tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of *Henry VIII.* Furthermore, that he did not remember that *Henry VIII.* when he came to age, did expressly consent to, or dissent from the intended Marriage, yet that he believed that a Protestation was made in the Name of *Henry VIII.* to this effect: That notwithstanding any Contract or Tokens mutually sent, or Cohabitation in the House of King *Henry VII.* he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this Act done in his Non-age; and that this Protestation is to be found inter protocolla *Magistri Ryden*, then Clerk to the Council, before whom it was made. As for the Person by whom this Protestation was made, *Coram Magistro Ryden Notario publico; credit quod vel ipsemet, vel Magister Thomas Rutha tunc Secretarius Domini Regis, & postea Episcopus Dunelm. vel Mr. Doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem domini Regis & nunc Episcopus Eliens. fecit eandem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi moderni; presentibus tunc ibidem Comite de Surrey tunc Thesaurario Angliæ & postea Duce Norfolciæ ac domino Doctore Peobela, & coram saepe dicta clarissima Domina Catharina, ut recolit, ac infra Aedes Episcopi Dunelm. vulgariter nuncupat. Duresine-place.* Adding further, that our King was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore, that upon conference

Queen again pronounced contumacious.

1527. Apr 5 & 6. Bishop of Winchester examined.

1529. ference had betwixt Henry VII. and himself, he found it was the intention of that King, that his Son Henry should marry the said Lady Katharine, although he deferr'd the Solemnization of this intended Matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of Spain, for the calling back of the Dowry. He added moreover, that King Henry intended not (that he knew) to marry the Mother of Charles V, but his Aunt Margaret, Dutchess of Savoy.

This Examination being compleat, and set down by Andrew Smith Notary, the said Doctor Woolman requir'd him to subscribe his Hand; which was refus'd by the said Bishop, both because he was blind of both eyes, as that he was not admitted to take any Counsel or Advice about it. But Doctor Woolman pressing him on the Kings part, that he should subscribe his Name, he at last assented, out of the reverence he bore to the King, and that he never contravened him in any thing. Whereupon he subscrib'd his Name April 8. the year above mention'd, being 1527. After which also another Instrument of this tenor was produc'd.

Augustinus Spinola ut Sancti Cyriaci in thermis presbiter Cardinalis, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cameraarius, Universis & singulis praesentes literas Inspecturis Salutem in domino. Rationi convenit & congruit honestatibus de his quae a Romanis Pontificibus processerunt, & quae in eorum archivis & registris scripta, & registrata sunt, cum ab aliquibus petitur, testimonium veritatis perhibeatur; hinc est, quod nos Universitati vestrae tenore praesentium fidem facimus & attestamus, in libris & Registris camerae Apostolicae, viz. in libro Registri Brevium Anni primi, secundi, & tertii felix recordationis Julii Papae secundi, vidimus & legimus quasdam literas Apostolicas, in forma Brevis ejusdem Julii Papae secundi (ut moris est) Registratas, quarum tenor successively sequitur; & est talis. Charissimo in Christo filio nostro, Angliae Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Accepimus literas tuae serenitatis, in quibus nobis gratias agis, quod Oratoribus tuis honorifice obviam proditum sit, quod nos eos benigne audierimus, ac liberali responso opportunisque gratis & favoribus prosecuti fuerimus: facis (fili Charissime) pro solita pietate, ut ea etiam tibi sint grata, quae a nobis praeteriri non solent. Declaravimus nostris bonis in te mentis affectum verbis & rebus quibus potuimus, Declarabimus & quotidie magis, ita exigente tuae serenitatis in nos & sanctam Apostolicam sedem devotione & observantia singulari. De dispensatione matrimoniali nunquam negavimus, nec ullam suspicionem praebuimus, quo minus eam facere vellemus, ut aliqui minus vere dixerunt. Sed respondimus, nos expectare in illa concedenda tempus magis accommodatum, ut consultius & maturius fieret, cum hujus sanctae sedis & utriusque partis honore. Eam itaque cum expedivimus, ut deliberavimus, ad tuam serenitatem (magni enim momenti est) per dilectum filium Robertum Shirbonnem. Decanum Sancti Pauli Londoniens. unum ex oratoribus tuis, qui maxima doctrina modestiam, fidem, diligentiamque praese tulit, mittere cogitamus; duplici ratione; Cum quod per eum secrete & tutissime perferretur, tum ut talem virum tantaeque virtute & probitate praeditum Serenitati tuae diutius praeservemus, ut ejus fide & opera diutius frui possit. Romae enim sine vita periculo diutius esse non potest, propter aeris intemperiem & aestus intolerabiles, &c. Dat. Romae apud sanctum Petrum, VI. Julii, Millesimo Quingentesimo Quarto, Pontif. nostri primo.

July 6.
1504.

Augustinus Spinola Priest, Cardinal St. Syriaci in Thermis, and High Chamberlain of the Holy Church in Rome, to all and singular to whom these presents may pertain, Health in the Lord. It is not only agreeable to Reason, but a point of Honesty, that when enquiry is by any Per-

sons made into the Processes of the Popes which have been written, register'd, and enter'd into their Books, and preserv'd in their Archives, that a true and just account of them should be given: For which reason we do make known and testify to every of you, by the tenor of these Presents, that in the Books and Registers of the Apostolical Chamber, to wit, in the Book of the Register of the Breves of the first, second and third years of Pope Julius II. of happy Memory; we have seen, and read a certain Apostolical Letter in form of a Breve of the said Pope Julius II. Register'd according to Custom, the tenor of which is to this effect. To our most dear Son in Christ, the most Illustrious King of England, Health and Apostolical Benediction. Most Dear Son in Christ, we have receiv'd your Highnesses's Letters, in which you give us thanks for so graciously receiving your Ambassadors, for granting them such ready Audience, giving them such kind Answers, and bestowing upon them other marks of our Grace and Favour. To esteem so highly, most dear Son, which light favours is the effect of that Piety and Gratitude you have never fail'd to shew. We have indeed already made manifest both in our Words and Actions, as far as we were able, our good affection to you, nor shall we ever be backward to manifest the same in more instances, it being but reasonable and just so to do, on account of your Highness's great Zeal for, and particular Devotion towards us, and the Apostolical See. As for the Dispensation in the point of your Marriage, it has never been by us deny'd, nor have we ever given any just cause to suspect that we would deny it, as some have basely suggested: On the contrary our answer has been, that we wait only till a more seasonable and proper time shall offer it self, that it may be done more to the reputation of both Parties, and to the Honour of the Holy See than now. When we shall find this more proper season to grant the Dispensation, as we have determin'd to grant it, We do purpose to send it (as a thing of great Trust and Moment) by our Beloved Son Dr. Robert Sherbon Dean of St. Paul's London, one of your Ambassadors, who together with his extraordinary Learning, has given evident proofs of his Modesty, Fidelity and Diligence; and this we choose to do on two accounts, both that it may by him be convey'd with Secrecy and Privacy; and besides that, we may farther recommend one of his great Capacity and Integrity, as a Person whose Fidelity and Services may be of further use to your Highness at home, since the disagreeableness of this Air to him, and the excessiveness of the heat make it impossible for him to continue longer at Rome without hazard of his Life.

Given at Rome at St. Peters July 6. 1504.
in the first year of our Pontificat.

The rest, having little material, save that mention is made how the Cardinal Sancti Petri ad vincula, the Popes Nephew, was made Protector of the English, I have purposely omitted, that I may insert another Letter of the Popes of 22 of February 1505. the Tenor whereof is this:

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliae Regi illustri. Charissime in Christo fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam benedict. Intelleximus a dilecto filio G. Cardinali Sancti Petri ad vincula tui Regnique tui protectore, nostro secundum carnem nepote, & a venerabili fratre nostro Silvestro Episcopo Wigorn. tuae serenitatis apud nos oratore, literas dispensationis matrimonialis tantopere ab eis, nomine tuae serenitatis, petitas, ex hispaniis ad te missas fuisse. Fili Charissime, nos

1529.

Letter from the Pope to Henry

1529. dispensationem illam Instantibus Cardinali & Episcopo prædictis, tua potissimum contemplatione, concessimus, ac super ea, sub Bulla plumbea literas expediri fecimus, ut ad tuam serenitatem per Cardinalem & Episcopum antedictos statuto tempore mitterentur. Sed cum claræ memoriæ Elizabeth Hispaniarum Regina Catholica finem hujus mortalis vitæ sibi instare cerneret, impensa & maxima cum instantia per oratorem suum nobis humiliter supplicasset, ut pro consolatione sua duplum dictarum literarum ei concedere dignaremur, quod hanc consolationem sibi dare vellemus ut de hujusmodi dispensatione certior facta æquiori animo ab ipsa vita migraret: Nosque pietatis Christianæ & nostræ in illam charitatis paternæ esse putavimus non defraudare ipsam Reginam jam-jam morituram desiderio hujus rei, in qua etiam subditis & Regnicolis illis bonam spem conjunctionis tuæ serenitatis posset afferre, præsertim quod idem orator rem hanc secretam futuram pollicebatur, (quod ab eo non servatum molestissime fecimus) Bullam igitur Originalem apud nos servatam serenitati tuæ, una cum Ense, quo te pro tua singulari virtute, & in sanctam sedem Apostolicam pietate donandi, merito ducimus, per eundem Episcopum Wigorn. nobis probatum & clarum decrevimus mittere, à quo serenitas ipsa tua uberius intelliget causas ejusdem Bullæ hæcenus apud nos retentæ, & nonnulla alia sibi per nos commissæ negotia. Nec miretur majestas tua, si de hac re nihil cum ipsis Cardinali & oratore communicavimus, nunquam enim putavimus fore, ut ab oratore dictæ Regine deciperemur, & literæ dispensationis prædictæ ad te ex Hispaniis mitterentur, quas ut solum Regine tam periculose ægotanti pro solamine suo ostenderentur duplicari concesseramus. Nam, præterquam tuæ serenitati de nobis & sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ benemeritæ gratificari cupimus, ipsis Cardinali & Episcopo oratori tuo meritam fidei & diligentie laudem in tuis negotiis promovendis dare debemus. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die vigesima secunda Februarii, Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo quinto, Pont. nostri Anno secundo.

1505.
Feb. 22.

To our most beloved Son in Christ, the most Illustrious Henry King of England, Health and Apostolical Benediction. We have been inform'd by our beloved Son in Christ, the Cardinal St. Petri ad Vincula, the Protector of you and your Kingdoms, and our Nephew according to the Flesh; and by our venerable Brother Sylvester Bishop of Worcester, your Highness's Ambassador here, that the Letters of Dispensation in the point of your Marriage, which they have so long solicited in your Highness's Name to procure, have already been sent to you from Spain. Know therefore, most dear Son, that at the instance of the foresaid Cardinal and Bishop, but in respect wholly to your self, we did grant the said Dispensation, and in consequence appointed our Bull under the Seal of Lead to be got ready to be sent your Highness in due time by the foresaid Cardinal and Bishop. But whereas Elizabeth, of Glorious Memory, most Catholick Queen of Spain, perceiving her self to be now finishing the course of her mortal Life, did with great Earnestness, and most pressing Instances by her Ambassador, most humbly entreat us, that we would vouchsafe for her Consolation, to grant her a Copy of the said Letter, that being by us fully satisfy'd of this Dispensation, she might to her great comfort depart this life in Peace; We thought it a piece of Christianity, and an indispensable part of our paternal Love and Affection toward her, to comply with the Queen's earnest request at a time she was expiring, in communicating to her the knowledge of a thing, which even to the commonest and meanest of her Subjects, would give comfortable and chearful hopes from the prospect of so near an Alliance with your Highness; especially when her Ambassador promis'd

the greatest faithfulness and secrecy herein (which promise we are greatly griev'd and troubl'd that he hath broken.) The Original Bull we judg'd meet and convenient, to keep by us till we have an opportunity to send it you, by the same our most dear and most faithful Bishop of Worcester, together with the Sword which we thought fit to present your Highness for your singular Piety, and filial Obedience to the Holy Apostolical See, at which time your Highness will receive more perfect information, as well of the reason of our delaying hitherto to send the Bull, as also in some other affairs with which we have intrusted him. Nor ought your Majesty to wonder, that we have not communicated before any thing hereof to our Cardinals, or your Majesties Ambassador, since we could never have thought it possible, that the Ambassador of her said Majesty should have herein thus deceiv'd us, and that the said Letters of Dispensation should be transmitted to you from Spain, the Copy of which we granted only for the consolation of the said Queen, who thus lay at the point of Death: And not denying them to your Highness for want of Inclination, which we with great reason have, to gratify your desires herein, who have so well deserv'd of us, and of the Holy Catholick Church, nor out of distrust or disrespect to the said Cardinal or Bishop your Ambassador, of whose Fidelity and Diligence in promoting your Affairs, we are abundantly satisfy'd.

1529.

Given at Rome at St. Peters February 22.
1505. in the second year of our Pontificate.

And that these are true Copies, Augustinus Spinola, at the instance of King Henry VIII, and by the commandment of the Pope, did certify under the Hand and Seal of his Office the twenty seventh of January, 1529.

In sequence whereof, the Commissioners took Oath of the Kings of Arms, that the Copies they deliver'd were true, appointing further the next Wednesday, ad concludendum. Upon which day (being 21 July) the Commissioners being late, John Hughes, Promoter, appear'd before them, and signified that there is found a certain Protestation made by our King, when he came to ripe years, in the presence of Notaries and Witnesses, and subscrib'd with the hand of the said King (at that time Prince of Wales) and some Counsellors of King Henry VII, which he said were much to the purpose of the business then in question. Whereupon the Commissioners receiv'd the said Protestation in præsentia dicti Magistri Ricardi Sampson Procuratoris Regis, & in contumaciam Regine; Commanding further, that it should remain penes acta sua. The tenor of which Protestation is thus:

In Dei nomine Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Christo Patre & domino domino Ricardo Dei & Apostolice sedis gratia Episcopo Wintoniensi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ, & Comes Cestriæ, dico, allego & in his scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens & intra annos pubertatis notorie existens, cum Serenissima domina Catharina Hispaniarum Regis filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus quamvis obstante ipsa minore ætate mea de se jam invalidus, Imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; Quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate mea jam supervenient, contractus ipse per tacitum consensum, mutuum cohabitationem, munerum aut intersignium dationem seu receptionem, vel alium quemcunque modum Jure declaratum forsan existimari seu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps

July 21.

K. Henry's
Protesta-
tion a-
gainst the
Match
before its
Consum-
mation

1529. Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati existens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Protestor, quod non intendo eundem prætentum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta seu dicenda, facta aut faciend. in aliquo approbare, validare, seu ratum habere; sed nunc in præsentem, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, sed sponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujusmodi contractum reclamo, & eidem dissentio, velleque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu matrimoniali prætentis melioribus modo & forma quibus de jure melius validius aut efficacius potero vel possim penitus resilire, & eidem expresse dissentire, prout in præsentem contra eundem reclamo, & eidem dissentio. Protestorque quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut gestum per me aut nomine meo per alium quemcumque quandocumque aut qualitercumque impostum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, Volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum matrimoniale, aut in dictam dominam Catharinam tanquam sponsam, aut uxorem meam consentire. Super quibus vos omnes testimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obtestor. Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

June 27. 1505. Lecta fuit & facta superscripta protestatio, per præfatum Serenissimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Christo patre & domino domino Ricardo permissione divina Winton. Episcopo, judicialiter pro tribunali sedent. & me Notarium infra scriptum ad tunc præsentem in ejus actum scribam in hac parte assumentem, & testium infrascriptorum præsentium; Anno Domini 1505. Indictione Octava, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo patris & Domini nostri Julii divina providentia eo nomine Papæ secundi Anno secundo, Mensis vero Junii die xxvii. quo die Dominus Serenissimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem asserbat, In quadam bassa camera infra palatium Regium Richemondia, in parte occidentali ejusdem palatii situat. Super quibus omnibus & singulis præfatus Serenissimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Instrumentum conficere, & testes infra nominatos testimonium perhibere requisivit Instanter, & Rogavit. In quorum omnium & singulorum fidem & testimonium, præfatus serenissimus Princeps supra, & testes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requisiti, sua nomina propriis manibus infra scripserunt. Ita est ut supra, quod ego Johannes Read manu & signo meo manuali attestor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerfet,

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,

Henry Marny.

In the name of God, Amen. In the presence of you the Reverend Father in Christ, by the grace of God, and favour of the Apostolical See, Richard Lord Bishop of Winchester; I Henry Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, do say, alledge, and by this writing set forth; that although in my Minority and Being not as yet arriv'd to ripeness of Age for giving my Consent, I have de facto contracted a Marriage with the most serene Lady Catherine, Daughter of the King of Spain, which Contract, although it be of it self invalid, imperfect, and of no effect and force, by reason of my said Minority; yet because this Contract when I shall come to age and years of Consent, may appear and seem valid, and confirm'd by tacit Consent, mutual Cohabitation, giving and receiving Tokens and Gifts, or any other determinate way; for these Causes, I the foresaid Henry Prince of Wales, now nearly arriv'd to maturity of Age, and being, just at years of consent, do hereby Protest, that by any thing said or to be said, done, or to be done, I do not intend to ratify, confirm, or make valid the said pretended Contract of Marriage; but by these Presents, being thereunto

mov'd neither by force, craft, nor intreaty, but voluntarily, freely, and without any compulsion whatever, I do renounce and disclaim the said Contract; and do resolve and intend by the most powerful means, in the most significant terms, and most effectual manner I can to renounce, disclaim, and dissent from the said pretended Marriage Contract, as the same is hereby renounc'd, disclaim'd, and dissented from. And I farther protest, that by any Word, Deed, Action or Behaviour, said or done by my self, or by any other in my Name, or to be said, acted, done or perform'd by any Person at any time, or in any manner whatsoever, I do not consent to the said Marriage Contract, or receive the said Lady Catherine as my lawful Spouse and Wife; To all which Premises, this my Testimony is given, set forth and publish'd by me,

Henry Prince of Wales.

The above written Protestation was made and read by the most Serene Prince the Lord Henry, before the Reverend Father in Christ, Richard Lord Bishop of Winchester, who then sat Judge, and before me the under-written Notary Publick, who took it in Writing, in the presence of the under-written Witnesses, in the year of our Lord 1505. in the eighth Indiction, in the second year of the Pontificat of our most Holy Father in Christ, by the Divine Providence Julius II. Pope, on the 27th day of June, on which day his most Serene Highness the Prince, was entering upon years of Maturity and Age of Consent, as he there asserted, in a certain ground Room, under the Royal Palace of Richmond, situate in the Western part of the said Palace. Concerning all which, and singular the Premises, his said most Serene Highness the Prince, instantly order'd and demanded of me the said Notary, to draw up this publick Instrument, and the under-written Witnesses thereto to bear Testimony. In Proof and Evidence of all which things, and every of them, his said most Serene Highness the Prince, and the Witnesses, as is aforesaid, being thereunto call'd and requir'd, set their Names subscrib'd with their own Hands. The truth of all which, I John Read testifie, by setting thereto my Hand and Seal Manual.

G. Daubney, C. Somerfet,

Thomas Rowthale, Nicholas West,

Henry Marny.

Among whom Nicholas West, above-nam'd, now Bishop of Ely, in presence of the Commissioners, acknowledg'd and confess'd, that this Protestation was subscrib'd with his own Hand. Whereupon the Commissioners, in contumaciam Reginae, did, in the presence of the above-mention'd Protector, continue and Prorogue the Court, till Friday next following, warning the said Protector also to be there. Upon which day, being the twenty third of July, the Court being set, the July 23. Promoter above-mention'd signify'd unto the Commissioners, that all that was requisite for the instruction and information of their Understanding and Consciences, had been judicially propos'd and exhibited to them, and remain'd in their custody, and that therefore this day was assign'd, and appointed for concluding the business. Notwithstanding because Cardinal Campejus alledg'd and protested in verbo veri Prelati, that a certain general Vacation, which he term'd Ferias generales messium & vindemiarum, was observ'd in the Court of Rome every year, before the said Friday;

1529. day; and because he and his Colleague were bound to follow the stile of the said Court in the Process of the above-mention'd Cause; therefore the said Judges, in the presence of the Kings Proctor, and in *contumaciam Regine*, did prorogue the conclusion of this business, until the first of October next following, warning the Kings Proctor then to appear, and receive a conclusion of this business as should be according to Justice. All which pass'd in the presence of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ely, and divers other Persons.

And thus much out of the Record formerly mention'd; which I have with more particularity set down, in that it is so rare and unusual a case to find a Prince submit himself, in his own Kingdom, to the Judgment of two Persons, whereof one was a suspected Stranger, the other, in Birth but of the meanest of his Subjects and after all this, to receive no other fruit hereof, but delay and insatisfaction; as appears not only by this abrupt Dismission, but by a sudden Advocacion of the Cause, to the Pope, inhibiting further proceedings here (as will appear shortly after;) the consequences whereof extended further yet than our King then thought, or the Pope could easily have imagin'd.

These Proceedings were subscrib'd by the Notaries William Chyburgh, Doctor of both Laws, *Protonotarius Apostolicus*, Florianus Montinus, and Richard Watkins, who acknowledg'd the rasures, interlineations and lines in the Margin, together with the number of the leaves in the Parchment Book (being 69.) To which also Letter-testimonial from Nicholas Wotton, Doctor of the Laws, and the Bishop of London's Official, having the Seal of the Office, were annex'd. After all which, a Dispensation, written by a later hand, and in loose Paper, was found in the said Book. Though that alone should not have induc'd me to publish it, had I not seen it already printed in a Book call'd *Anti-Sanderus*, and met in our Archives some dispatches that make it probable.

The Tenor of the Bull is this.

Bull for a new Dispensation.

Clemens Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi Illustri, Fidei defensori, Salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod alias tu & dilecta in Christo filia Catharina, relicta quondam *** fratris tui germani, non ignorantes vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba alias legitime de præfenti, nulla saltem canonica seu valida dispensatione desuper obtenta, quamvis de facto contraxistis, illudq; Carnali copula consummatis, ac prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio suscepistis, excommunicationis sententiam incurrendo: Et cum Majestas tua in hujusmodi matrimonio absq; peccato remanere nequeat, & ne diutius in hujusmodi peccato & excommunicationis sententia remaneat, desideret ab hujusmodi excommunicationis sententia à judice Ecclesiastico competente absolutionis beneficium obtinere, ac matrimonium ipsum nullum & invalidum fuisse, Tibiq; licere cum quacunque alia muliere, alio non obistente canonico, matrimonium contrahere, declarari, & in eventum declarationis nullitatis matrimonii hujusmodi tecum dispensari, ut cum quacunque alia muliere, etiam si illa talis sit, quæ

alias cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non consummaverit, etiam si tibi alias secundo vel remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo Relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ac etiam si cognatione spiritali vel legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, & impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ subsistat, matrimonium licite contrahere, & in eo libere remanere, & ex eo prolem legitimam suscipere possis. Quare pro parte tui, asserentis ex antiquis Chronicis Regni constare, in ipso Regno quamplura gravissima bella sæpe exorta, & Christianam pacem & concordiam violatam fuisse, propter impios homines sua detestanda regnandi & dominandi libidine excitatos, confingentes ex justis & legitimis quorundam progenitorum & antecessorum tuorum Angliæ Regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore propter aliquod consanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, & propterea inhabiles esse ad Regni successionem, inde miserandam Principum ac Procerum & populorum subditorum stragem secutam fuisse; Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut Regni tui tuorumque Subditorum tranquillitati & paci inprimis consulere & tantis malis obviare, ac alias in præmissis, opportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos qui omnium Regum, præsertim majestatis tuæ ob ejus quamplura immensa in nos & hanc sanctam sedem, in qua permissione divina sedemus, collata beneficia, dum ab iniquissimis pestilentissimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam, partim viribus & scelerata audacia, partim perversa doctrina labefactare moliebantur, strenuissime cum viribus & gladio tum calamo & eruditione tua vindicare indies non cessat, petitiones, præsertim salutem animarum concernentes, quantum cum Deo possumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumq; honestis votis favorabiliter annuimus, ex præmissis & nonnullis aliis causis nobis notis, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, tecum ut si contingat matrimonium cum præfata Catharina alias contractum nullum fuisse & esse declarari, teq; ab illius vinculo legitime absolvi, cum quacunque muliere, ipsaque mulier tecum, dummodo à te propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiam si mulier ipsa talis sit, quæ prius cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum, etiam si illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiori Consanguinitatis, aut primo Affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocunque licito vel illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiam si cognationis spiritalis aut legalis & publicæ honestatis justitiæ impedimentum subsistat & tibi conjuncta existat, matrimonium licite contrahere, Et postquam contractum fuerit, in eo sic contracto, etiam si illud inter te & ipsam mulierem jam de facto publice vel clandestine contractum & carnali copula consummatum fuerit, licite remanere valeatis, auctoritate Apostolica & ex certa nostra scientia & de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium dispensamus, prolem inde forsitan susceptam & suspiciendam legitimam fore

fore decernentes. Non obstantibus prohibitionibus Juris Divini, ac constitutionibus & ordinationibus aliis quibuscunque in contrarium editis, quibus, in quantum Apostolica auctoritas se extendit, illis alias in suo robore permanfuris, quoad hoc specialiter & expresse derogamus. Districtius inhibentes & in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expresse mandantes, sub interminatione divini judicii, ac sub pœna anathematis, aliisque Ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, & pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc & è converso ferimus & promulgamus, in his scriptis, ne quisquam impostum ullum impedimentum pro contractus Matrimonialis non consummati, Consanguinitatis in secundo aut ulteriori gradu, Affinitatis primo ut præfertur, cognationis spiritualis aut legalis seu justitiæ publicæ honestatis impedimentis prædictis adversum liberos tuos quos ex quocunque Matrimonio vigore præsentium contrahendo Dei benignitate susceperis palam vel occulte in judicio vel extra illud allegare, proponere, aut objicere, seu verbo vel facto diffamare præsumat, aut quocunque modo attentet. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ Dispensationis, Decreti, Derogationis, Inhibitionis, & Mandati infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursum. Dat. in Civitate nostra Urbevetan. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo. Decimo sexto Cal. Januarii. Pont. nostri Anno quinto.

Clement Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our most dear Son in Christ, the most Illustrious Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith, Health and Apostolical Benediction. You have caus'd to be laid before us, that heretofore you, and our beloved Daughter in Christ Catherine Widow of *** your own Brother, knowing the Relation that was between you, of the first degree of Affinity, did de facto contract Marriage in Words de præsentis, and did consummate the said Marriage by carnal Knowledge, and from thence had Children born, having no sufficient canonical Dispensation granted you to that effect, incurring therefore the Sentence of Excommunication: And whereas your Majesty who cannot without Sin live in the said Marriage, does desire to continue no longer in the said Sin, nor lie under the sentence of Excommunication; but by some competent Ecclesiastical Judge, to receive the benefit of Absolution from the said sentence of Excommunication, and that the Marriage it self should be declar'd to have been, and still to be null and invalid, and that it is, and may be lawful for you to marry any other Woman, any Canon to the contrary notwithstanding, and that in consequence of such Declaration of the nullity of the said Marriage, you may be dispens'd with, lawfully to marry any other Woman, and with her in Marriage freely to live, and lawful Issue by her to have, although she may be one who has already contracted Marriage with some other Person, provided she hath not consummated it

by Carnal Knowledge; and although she may be related to you in the second or more remote degree of Consanguinity, or first degree of Affinity, either from lawful or forbidden Wedlock, provided she be not the Widow of your said Brother, and although she may be related to you by any other legal or spiritual Affinity, whereby an impediment may otherwise lie against you therein, in the common course of Law and publick Justice. And whereas your Majesty has further laid before us, that it is evident from the Chronicles of your Kingdom, that many grievous Wars have often arisen in your Kingdom, that all Christian Peace and Concord hath been violated and disturb'd by traiterous and malicious Men, out of their detestable Ambition, and wicked desire of Power, but under pretence that some of the Children, born in just and lawful Marriage of some of your Predecessors and Forefathers, were illegitimate, on account of some impediment in the said Marriages, by reason of Consanguinity or Affinity, whom under pretence of the said Illegitimacy, they have gone about to exclude from the Succession, from whence has follow'd most miserable Destruction and Bloodshed, both of Princes and Nobility, as well as of the common People; on which account your Majesty has supplicated us, that of your Apostolical Grace and Favour, we would vouchsafe herein to consult the peace and quiet of your Kingdom and Subjects, to obviate these great Miseries, and apply fitting Remedies to the aforesaid Grievances. We who favourably listen to, and as far as with a safe Conscience we may, cheerfully comply with all Petitions, especially those which concern the safety of their Souls, which we at any time receive from Christian Princes, especially from your Majesty, by reason of the manifold marks of Affection and Kindness you have always shewn both to us and the Apostolical See, over which by the Divine Permission we preside, which you have not ceas'd most courageously to maintain and support, as well with your Power and Sword, as with your Learning and Pen, from the most wicked attempts of nefarious Men, who partly by force and open Violence, partly by craft and subtle Doctrines, endeavour'd to undermine and overthrow it; for the foresaid, as well as some other reasons us thereunto moving, in compliance with your Petition, we from our Apostolical Authority, by our certain Knowledge, and out of the plenitude of our Apostolical Power, by the tenor of these Presents do dispence with you, that if your contract of Marriage with the said Catherine, shall be declar'd to have been, and still to be null and invalid, and you to be lawfully freed from the bond thereof, that then it may, and is lawful for you to marry any other Woman, and any other Woman to marry you, provided she be not thereto by you compell'd, although she should be one who has already contracted Marriage with some other Person, provided she hath not consummated it by Carnal Knowledge, and although she may be related to you in the second or more remote degree of Consanguinity, or first degree of Affinity, either from lawful or forbidden Wedlock, provided she be not the Widow of your said Brother; and although she may be related to you

1529. you by any other legal or spiritual Affinity, whereby an impediment may otherwise lie against you therein, in the common course of Law and publick Justice: And if such Marriage is contracted, that you may lawfully continue and remain therein, although it should be so, that this Marriage was contracted de facto, by you either openly or clandestinely, and by Carnal Knowledge consummated before this Dispensation was granted, determining further, that all the Children born, or to be born, from this Marriage, be, and be accounted Legitimate; any Prohibitions of the Divine Law, Constitutions or Ordinances whatsoever, declaring the contrary notwithstanding, which we do, as far as by our Apostolical Power we may, disannul and rescind so far as they may affect this special particular Matter now before us only, leaving them in all other regards, and to all other manner of purposes in their full force and power. Strictly enjoining, and in virtue of their Canonical Obedience commanding, under the threat of Divine Vengeance, and under penalty of Anathema, and other Ecclesiastical Sentences, Censures and Punishments, which we do now for that time pronounce and publish, by the tenor of these Presents, that no Person whatever shall presume or attempt to alledge, propose or object either in open Court or in private Discourse, any impediment in the Marriage which by the tenor of these Presents you shall contract, or to speak or act, or attempt any thing in Word or Deed against the Legitimacy of the said Marriage, or the Children which shall be born of it on any insinuation or pretence of Marriage præcontracted, Consanguinity in the second, and more remote Degree or Affinity as aforesaid in the first, or any other spiritual or legal Affinity in the common course of Law and publick Justice judg'd an Impediment. Let no mortal Man therefore presume to contradict this our Writ of Dispensation, Decree, Ordinance, Inhibition and Command, or with presumptuous boldness in any wise to gainsay it. And if any one shall presume herein, let him know that he shall incur the vengeance of the Eternal God, and of his Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.

Given in our City of Orvieto, in the year of our Lord 1527. 16 Calends of January, and in the fifth year of our Pontificat.

While these things pass'd thus in England, the Queen found means to inform the Lady Margaret, Regent of the Low-Countries, of the whole Process, who thereupon sends word of it to Charles and Ferdinand, intreating them to assist their Aunt; which they accorded, dispatching their Orators to the Pope, whom also the Queen constituted her Proctors in the Court of Rome; giving them Commission to tender to the Pope a Copy of the Bull, Breve, and her Declaration that she was never carnally known by Prince Arthur. Shortly after which, the said Orators in the Queens Name, made a Protestation against the two Legates now in England (every page subscrib'd with Queen Catharines own hand) intreating the Pope to advoke the Cause, to annul the proceedings in England, to warn the King to desist his Suit, or at least to try it at Rome, &c.

The Q. denies her having consummated the Marriage with Pr. Arthur. July.

or, otherwise that they would seek their Remedies elsewhere. The Pope being thus press'd at Rome, and having now concluded the Treaty with the Emperor at Barcellona, July the third, July 1529. about three Weeks before the Cause was prorogu'd by Campejus, could no longer, either with the safety of his Person or Dignity, favour our King; so that what excuses soever (in the frequent Dispatches he made about this time) were given to our King, yet were they little more than Complement and Evasion, till, finally, declaring himself more openly for the Emperor, he sign'd an Advocation of the Cause to himself, inhibiting further Proceedings under great Penalties. And herein (as our Agents did observe) the Popes principal Ministers did not a little concur; that the benefit of deciding thereof might fall upon them. In vain therefore did our Agents (being Sir Gregory Casalis and Doctor Benner) both by representing the defection of our King from the Roman See, and the ruine of the Cardinal of York, labour to stay these Proceedings. For the Inhibition was brought into England, about the beginning of September, the King then being in his Progress; and because it was sent to the Queen to make her benefit of it, the King (by Stephen Gardiner, now his Secretary) sends to Woolsey, to persuade the Queen to let this Inhibition (or as he calls it, a Citatory Letter) sleep, it containing matter prejudicial to his Person, and not to be publish'd to his Subjects: And that it will be sufficient for the Cessation of the Process that the Pope by Letter to Woolsey (July 19.) hath signified his Advocation of the Cause. Nevertheless, if the Queen will needs have the Inhibition executed, then that it should be privily executed upon the two Legates, (rather than be divulg'd in Flanders;) which it seems was done accordingly. Howbeit, shortly after the Advocation was granted, the Pope, conceiving that the Censures and Penalties mention'd in the Inhibition would not be well taken by our King, dispatch'd a Breve to him of August 29. which for the better satisfaction of the Reader, I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Original and insert here.

Pope desires to hear the Cause himself.

Sept.

July 19.

Aug. 29.

Angliæ Regi.

Charissime in Christo Fili noster, salutem, &c. Dudum vertente Causa inter Serenitatem Tuam & Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustrissimam, de & super fœdere Matrimonii; nos, instantibus apud nos Oratoribus tuis, causam ipsam, Dilectis filiis Thomæ Sanctæ Cecilie, & Laurentio Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim t' Presbyteris Cardinalibus nostris & Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de latere commissimus, in qua ad nonnullos forsitan actus processum est; Postmodum, Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo Hispaniarum Rege Catholico in Imperatorem electo, & Regina ipsa ad nos reclamantibus, & aliis etiam legitimis causis animum nostrum moventibus, causam ipsam ad nos advocavimus, & eam audiendam, ac nobis & sacro venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Collegio referendam atque decidendam commisimus; In qua ad Inhibitionem fortasse processum est. Cum autem nuper acceperimus Inhibitionem ipsam sub censuris & pœnis fuisse factam; Nos, quorum intentionis nunquam fuit neque est personam

The Pope's Breve to the King

1529. sonam tuam de nobis ac de Apostolica fede
semper optime meritam aliquibus censuris &
pœnis quomodolibet innodari; Celsitudini tuæ
significamus, censuras ipsas præter mentem &
intentionem nostram à Judice sive Commissa-
rio emanasse: Et propterea censuras & pœnas
prædictas, quoad personam tuam, nullas nul-
liusque roboris vel momenti fuisse & esse de-
cernentes. Causam verò ipsam usque ad fe-
stum nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi
proxime futurum jam suspendimus, prout per
præsentem suspensam esse volumus. Fecimus-
que in illa, quantum pro nostra in te charita-
te, cum Deo facere licuit, ut, quum pro sti-
mulo conscientia causam te movisse cognosci-
mus, illam, quæ tanti est, eadem quoque ra-
tione altius cogitando, posthabitis molestiis
atq; odiis quæ nascuntur ex litibus, cum ani-
mi tui pace componere possis. In quo nos
adjutores semper habiturus es, Majestatem T.
hortantes in Domino ut interim Reginam ip-
sam pro ipsius Conscientia tuæ Securitate ma-
ritali affectione tractare non desinas, quemad-
modum Celsitudinem Tuam pro virtute sua
facturam confidimus. Dat. Romæ die 29. Au-
gusti, 1529. Anno 6.

To the King of England.

Most dearly beloved Son in Christ, Health,
&c. A Cause heretofore depending be-
tween your Highness and our dearly beloved
Daughter in Christ, Catherine Queen of Eng-
land, of and concerning your Marriage Contract;
We at the earnest request of your Ambassadors,
committed the said Cause to be determin'd by our
beloved Sons, Thomas Lord Bishop, and Car-
dinal Sanctæ Cecilie, and Laurence Cardinal
Sanctæ Mariæ in Transtiberim our Legats
de latere from the Apostolical See, in which
Cause perhaps some Process has been made;
since which at the instance of our most dear Son
in Christ, Charles most Catholick King of Spain,
and elected Emperor, and his most Catholick
Queen, as well as for some other Reasons us
thereunto moving, we order'd the said Cause
to be brought before our own selves, and refer'd
the Determination and Decision thereof to our
selves, and the sacred College of our most vene-
rable Brethren their Eminencies the Cardinals;
on which account perhaps an Inhibition has been
given. Now whereas we have heard that this
Inhibition has been executed, and that therein
are mention'd several Censures and Penalties;
we whose intention it never was, nor is to
subject your Highness's Person, who have so well
deserv'd of us, and of the Apostolical See, to
any Censures or Penalties whatsoever; do hereby
signifie to your Highness, that those Censures
were inserted into the said Inhibition by our
Judge or Commissary without our Knowledge,
and contrary to our Inclination: Which Censures
therefore, and Penalties so far as they may con-
cern your own Person, we do hereby rescind, de-
claring them to be null, of no Power, Efficacy
or Validity. As for the Cause it self, we will
that it be suspended till Christmas-day next en-
suing, and it is by these presents till then sus-

1529. pended. And herein we have done all that we
could with a safe Conscience, in favour and af-
fection to your Highness, that as we are assur'd
that you have for Conscience sake propounded
your Case, you may have time duly and care-
fully to consider an affair of so great Moment
and Importance as this is, and thereby settle
it, without the vexation and trouble which Suits
of Law ingender and produce, to the great com-
fort and quiet of your mind; wherein you shall
never fail of our Aid and Assistance: In the
mean time, we do exhort your Majesty in the
Lord, that for the sake of Conscience, you would
not leave the Queen, but till these things shall
be determin'd, comfort and cherish her with the
Love and Affection of an Husband, as we trust
your Highness of your great Piety and Goodness
will do.

Given at Rome August 29. A. D. 1529.
in the sixth year of our Pontifi-
cat.

Before yet these Breves were sent, the Pope
wisely considering that by the diligence of our
Agents not only the first Minutes of them were
sent to England, but also that his Treaty with
the Emperor was more notorious than that it
could be hidden, thought fit to advertise our Car-
dinal, That the League betwixt him and the Em-
peror was made pro temporum ratione & rerum
Christianarum utilitate; exhorting him therefore
to do him good offices with the King, which al-
so he explicated in another Dispatch, Septem-
ber 23. wishing that Aid might be sent against
the Turk. All which being contrary to the King's
present Designs, could not upon what terms soe-
ver be represented without much Offence, and
ill conceit of Cardinal Woolsey. The King be-
lieving that underhand he held Intelligence with
the Pope, to the prejudice of his Affairs. Which
Polydore also affirmeth; saying, that he writ pri-
vately to the Pope to suspend the Cause, till
they could bring the King to some better temper.
This also I believe was confirmed in the King's
mind, by some notice he might have of a joint
Dispatch (a Minute whereof is extant in our
Records) from Woolsey and Campejus, during their
Session, whereby they desir'd the Pope to avoke
the Cause, in case it grew so doubtful that they
could not determine it; both as they would be
free from the Trouble and Danger, and as they
conceiv'd, he might better help the King ex ple-
nitudine potestatis; who perchance (as they said)
would be content therewith, if the Pope would
promise to end the matter, shortly afterwards to
his satisfaction. But as this was, in part, done
without our King's knowledge, and that, for the
rest, it left the business in more Pexplexity and
Irresolution than ever; so the King, who (I find
by Cavendish) had recover'd something under the
Cardinal's hand, which he urged against him,
began to frown; whereof also the Courtiers took
that notice, as now his Fall was voiced every
where. Though yet it was not in that precipice,
but that the King admitted him still to no small
degrees of his wonted Access and Favour. How-
beit, as the Cardinal was now in his Decadence,
all these steps did but lead unto his Ruine. To
which also the secret ill Offices of the angry
Queen, and despighted Anne Bolen did contri-
bute; who, though hating one another, did con-
spire to his destruction. The Causes on the
Queen's part are touch'd before, which also were
not

July 16.
The Pope
owns his
League
with the
Emperor.
Sept. 23.

Polyd. Virg.
The Car-
dinals un-
derhand
dealing
with the
King.

Cavendish;
Life of
Cardinal
Woolsey.

Greatly
resented
by the
King.

Gets the
hatred of
the Q. and
Mrs. Bolen.

1529. not a little set forwards by the Industry of the Emperor. And for those of Mrs. Anne Bolen, besides her unkind dismissal from the Court, (which she conceiv'd to have been the Cardinal's Advice) another inveterate Grudge made her irreconcilable. The Relation whereof, being taken out of a Manuscript of one Master George Cavendish, Gentleman-Usher to the Cardinal, I have thought fit to insert.

Cavendish
Life of
Cardinal
Wolsey
Mrs Bolen's
Disfavour
cont.

This Gentlewoman being descended on the Father's side from one of the Heirs of the Earls of Ormond, and on the Mother's from a Daughter of the House of Norfolk, was from her Childhood of that singular Beauty and Towardness, that her Parents took all care possible for her good Education. Therefore, besides the ordinary parts of virtuous Instructions, wherewith she was liberally brought up, they gave her Teachers in playing on Musical Instruments, Singing and Dancing; in much, that when she compos'd her Hands to play, and Voice to sing, it was join'd with that Sweetness of Countenance, that three Harmonies concurr'd; likewise, when she danc'd, her rare Proportions varied themselves into all the Graces that belong either to Rest or Motion. Briefly, it seems the most attractive Perfections were eminent in her. Yet did not our King love her at first, nor before she had liv'd sometime in France, whither, in the Train of the French Queen, and company of a Sister of the Marquis Dorset, she went Anno Dom.

1514.

Fifteen in
the French
Court.

After the death of Louis XII. she did not yet return with the Dowager, but was receiv'd into a place of much Honour with the other Queen, and then with the Dutchess of Milan, Sister to Francis, where she staid, till some difference grew betwixt our King and Francis; therefore, as saith du Tillet, and our Records, about the time when our Students at Paris were remanded, she likewise left France, as is formerly related; her Parents thinking not fit to suffer her to stay there any longer. All this while therefore no argument of extraordinary Affection towards her was discover'd in our King. So that though it be probable, that she were at the Interview betwixt the Kings and Queens (near Guines) above-mention'd, yet she left not the French Court. But, at last, being come hither, and, about the twentieth Year of her age, receiv'd into our Queen's Service, however the King might take notice of her, the Lord Henry Percy yet (the Earl of Northumberland's eldest Son) appear'd first enamour'd of her; insomuch, that at all times when he repair'd to Court, in the Train of our Cardinal, (whom he attended in ordinary) his Addresses were continually to her; whereof he made that use, as at length he obtain'd her good will to Marriage. So that in what kind soever the King's Affection might manifest it self, neither was she so satisfied of it, as to think fit to relinquish this advantageous Offer, nor the Lord Percy aware that he was oppos'd by so puissant a Rival. But this Treaty (which proceeded to little less than a Contract) coming at last to our King's Ears, the danger he found himself in of losing a Beauty he had contemplated so long, that it was become his dearest Object, made him resolve to acquaint the Cardinal with his Love to her; wishing him also to dissuade the Lord Percy from it. The forward Cardinal hereupon both violently dehorts the Lord Percy from the Gentlewoman, and useth all Arts to insinuate himself into her good Opinion and Favour. But

She pre-
mises her
Marriage

The Car-
dinal
from the
King dis-
suades the
L. Percy.

Mistress Bolen, whether she were ignorant, as yet, how much the King lov'd her, or howsoever had rather be that Lord's Wife than a King's Mistress, took very ill of the Cardinal this his unseasonable interruption of her Marriage. The

Cardinal also fearing the Revenges of that Sex, and, for the rest, being unwilling to come to sharper terms with the Lord Percy than he had already us'd, desires the King to write to the Earl of Northumberland to come up; alledging there was no such way to preserve the Gentlewoman for himself, and together to conceal his Love, as to use a cunning dissuasion of the Marriage to the Earl; whereby also he might be induced to interpose his fatherly Authority for dissolving of the Match. Hereupon the Earl repairing to Court, the Cardinal first, and afterwards the King discover'd the Cause of his sending for, in very kind, but withal in such covert and ambiguous terms, that betwixt unwillingness to disparage the Gentlewoman, and the enforcing divers Reasons why the Lord Percy should not marry her, the Earl was not without some hazard of misapplying the King's Affection to himself. Howsoever, he so check'd his Son, that fear of displeasing his Father became at length the predominant Passion. So that it neither serv'd him to declare the Merits of the Gentlewoman, nor to tell his Father, that his Promise, before Witness, had engag'd him further than that he knew well how to come off: The apprehension of the King's Displeasure having wrought that impression in the Earl, that he would take no Denial or Excuse on his Son's part, till he had made him renounce all his Pretences to her; which also he urg'd so far, as at length his Son consented to marry the Earl of Shrewsbury's Daughter. But the Hatred which Mistress Anne Bolen conceiv'd against the Cardinal concluded not so; nor indeed could ever end till she had procur'd his final Ruine. And this is the truest relation of Mistress Anne Bolen, that I have been able to gather out of those Records and Manuscripts that have come to my hands. So that now I should have proceeded with my History, were I not constrain'd (in a sort) to vindicate both her Honour and her Progenitors from those foul Calumnies which in a Book of Nicolas Sanders, an Englishman, de Schismate Anglicano, are cast upon them.

His Fa-
ther the
Earl of
Northum-
berland
makes
him re-
nounce
all Preten-
sions to
her.

Sanders
Schism.
Angl.

This Author, though learned, yet more credulous than becomes a Man of exact Judgment, reports out of one William Rastal, a Judge, (in his Life of Sir Thomas More) that Mistress Anne Bolen was the King's Daughter, by the Wife of Sir Thomas Bolen, while, *sub specie honoris*, he was employ'd by the King, Ambassador in France; and that this Gentlewoman coming to the Age of fifteen, was deflower'd by some Domesticks of her Fathers, and then sent to France; where also she behav'd her self so licenciously, that she was vulgarly call'd the Hackney of England, till being adopted to that King's Familiarity, she was termed his Mule. Many other Passages of this kind are also insert'd by Sanders, which I forbear, as being sorry to have occasion for publishing thus much. But how impossible these things are, the ingenious Reader may easily find out, when he compares the times: For if Mistress Anne Bolen went to France with Mary the French Queen, 1514. (as is proved by divers principal Authors, both English and French, besides the Manuscripts I have seen) and was here vitiated at fifteen Years of Age, it must follow that she was born about or before 1498. at which time our King was neither above seven or eight Years old at most, and therefore unable to get a Child (especially nine Months before) nor had that Regal Power in his hands for employment of Ambassadors, till ten or eleven Years afterwards. So that Mr. Sanders or Rastal's Affirmation herein is but fiction, as the rest certainly is, she having always lived in good Reputation. As for the Beauty and Hand-
ness

Sanders's
Calum-
nies con-
cerning
her refu-
ted.

1529. nefs of Miftrefs Anne Bolen, which the same Author doth traduce, besides that it contradicts common Sense, (she having been, by their Allegation, a Minion to two Kings) even that Picture of hers, extant still with the Dutcheſs of Richmond, doth sufficiently convince. And for her Religion, there is no probability that it should (at first) be other than what was commonly profest: Since it appears by original Letters of hers, that she was a special Favourer of the Clergy of that time, and a Preferrer of the worthiest sort of them to Ecclesiastical Livings, during her chief times of Favour with the King, though I will not deny, but upon his defection from some Articles of the Roman Church, she might also comply. But I should be glad that Mr. Sanders had not divers other things which might require a serious Review; though I must not deny, but as he hath in some things follow'd Cardinal Pool, (a Person of great Learning, and much reverenc'd in his time) so he hath his Authority. Howbeit as this Cardinal was so near in blood to divers whom the King put to death, he may be thought perchance more partial than to be believ'd every where: Neither will it satisfy all Men, that he pretends (in more than one place) to have known even so much as the King's Thoughts (by Revelation;) so that I shall leave these things to the liberty of the indifferent Reader, and turn to my History.

Lib. de Uni.
Eccles.

Our King, who at the first prorogation of the Sentence, by reason of the *Feria Vindemiarum*, hoped yet, that at least, Octob. 1. (when the Court was appointed to sit again, he might have the Cause determin'd, seeing now all proceeding in England inhibited, the Cause avocated to Rome, Campejus recall'd; and finally finding, by many Dispatches, that the Pope and Emperor had appointed shortly to meet at Bononia, was much troubled; and the rather, for that the two Cardinals proceeding hitherunto had been little more than Illusion; whereupon also he became much incens'd against them. Yet containing a while his Anger, he neither alter'd his fashion to Woolsey, nor declar'd any dislike of Campejus: Inasmuch, that he calmly gave him leave to depart. So that no Argument of Suspicion or Dislike appear'd hitherunto on either side. Campejus thus dismiss'd and rewarded, was conducted honourably to the Seaside, where he expected only a fair Wind. But when he came to take Ship, the Searchers, upon pretence he carry'd either Money or Letters from England to Rome, ransack'd all his Coffers, Bags and Papers; not without hope, certainly, to recover that Decretal Bull our King so much long'd for. I find also (by some relation) that divers Love-Letters betwixt our King and Miftress Bolen, being convey'd out of the King's Cabiner, were sought for, though in vain, they having been formerly sent to Rome. Which Usage so offended Campejus, that he complain'd immediately to our King; protesting he wou'd not proceed in his Journey till he had reparation for the Wrongs done to his Person and Dignity; and that the People were satisfy'd concerning certain scandalous Rumours, which he heard were scatter'd abroad to the prejudice of Cardinal Woolsey and himself. But our King by his Letter of October 22. answer'd, That it must not be expected from him, *præstare, quicquid vel vulgi temeritas effutire, vel quorundam nimium fortasse scrupulosa & anxia sedulitas designare soleat.* As for the *Jus Legati* pretended to be violated, our King answer'd, That he conceiv'd it was expir'd, not only as it was revok'd by the Pope's late Inhibition, but particularly by the interposition of his own Regal Authority, which alone his Subjects did acknowledge. Adding moreover, That he wonder'd somewhat that Campejus understood our Law so little, as not to fear

Campejus's
Coffers
search'd at
the Cu-
stom-
house.

Com-
plaints
of it to
the King.

Octob. 22.

The K's
Answer.

how he usurped after that time the Name of a Legat in this Kingdom; since he, having been made Bishop here of Salisbury, was bound by Oath to the Conservation of the Royal Prerogative. As for the Searchers doings, it was a Mistake; the Commandment having been given long since, when there was just occasion for it, and not in relation to his particular, who therefore he was sorry to have been so roughly us'd; desiring the Cardinal, for the rest, to excuse the said Searchers, since they are bound thereto by Oath. So that he ought not to pretend this as a cause of his stay. As for the other part, which was the Rumour, our King said, It was uncertain from whence it came; notwithstanding that it was (though not altogether fixed in his breast, yet) so generally receiv'd and believ'd in his Kingdom, that it would be hard to remove that Opinion: In which regard also, it was in vain for him to stay here so much as one hour. Howsoever, that he might make this use of it, as to know how ill his Subjects took this frustration of the Business. But as his Royal Care should be to prevent the Inconveniences might follow hereof, so that it belong'd to Campejus's Wisdom to continue those good Intentions he had made shew of. For we (saith the King) *tunc demum dubitare poterimus, cum ipse faciliis palam diversum ostenderit.*

1529.

Campejus being now more than once licens'd, thought it time to be gone; so that, coming at last to the Pope, he acquainted him with all the Proceedings, not forgetting the Dangers in which Cardinal Woolsey was, for his too much Obsequiousness to that See. But the Pope, whether now altogether govern'd by the Emperor, or that otherwise he secretly hated the Cardinal for his late unseasonable Ambition to succeed in the Papacy, seem'd to care for nothing so much as the conserving of his late League, though yet he was not so secure of our King, but that he feared not a little his often threaten'd Defection. So that he omitted nothing (that might stand with his other Interests) for the containing of him in his wonted Devotion: Inasmuch that he offer'd new Projects daily for his Satisfaction. Among which Gregory Casali relates one, which shall be set down in his place.

The King
threatens
to re-
nounce
the Pope.

Cardinal Woolsey being now divested of his late Power (wherein he had the Glory, in some sort, to have been superior to his King) and for the rest being left alone, and expos'd not only to a general Hatred, but to the private Machinations of the present and future Queen, became sensible of his ill estate; though yet he did not believe himself so near his Overthrow, as it appear'd afterwards. But what cou'd he hope for, when such puissant Enemies did procure his Destruction? Therefore, though he receiv'd some Advices from Rome, which might argue a Care rather than a Power for his Conservation, yet in effect what secret Intelligence soever pass'd betwixt the Pope and him, came to the Emperor first, and after to Queen Katherine, who cunningly caus'd it to be whisper'd into the King's Ears, by some more indirect ways, than it could possibly be imagin'd to proceed from her. Likewise Miftress Anne Bolen, having learn'd from some of the King's wisest and gravest Counsellors divers Malversations of the Cardinal, was so far from disguising them, that she even misinterpreted his better Actions. Edmund Campion adds to these Reasons, that Sir Francis Bryan being in Rome, did by the means of a Familiar of one who kept the Pope's Papers, obtain a Letter of the Cardinals, which wrought his Ruine, in this manner: Having first shew'd her the Cardinal's Hand-writing, and then corrupted her, this Courtezan so dexterously perform'd the rest, as upon pretence of visiting her Servant in his Study,

Woolsey in
disgrace.

Camp. de
Divortio.

1529. dy, the convey'd away this Letter, and gave it *Bryan*, who fail'd not immediately to send it to our King. Which relation of *Campion*, though I will not contradict, yet I suppose to be the more improbable, that I find by Original Dispatches, *Bryan* was come from *Rome* before any Argument of the King's Disfavour to the Cardinal appear'd. Howsoever, the way the King took to overthrow him was meerly legal, though approaching to *Summum Jus*, after most Men's Opinion. In the carriage whereof yet that Secrecy was us'd, that the Cardinal did not, or perchance out of Greatness of Mind would not take notice of what was intended against him. So that though the Bill or Indictment was put in (at the beginning of *Michaelmas* Term) yet did he ride that Day to the Chancery with his accustomed Pomp. Of which our King being advertis'd, thought fit to forbid him the place; as thinking it undecent, that a Man, who was upon terms of Conviction, should administer that high Charge. Therefore the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were sent, the eighteenth of October, to require the Great Seal of him. But the Cardinal, instead of rendring it, disputed their Authority, alledging the Place of Lord Chancellor was by the King's Letters Patents given him during life. The two Dukes hereupon returned to Court, bringing the next day the King's Letters to the Cardinal, who having read them, deliver'd immediately the great Seal; in sequence thereof, also submitting himself to the King, who commanded him to leave *York-Place*, and simply to depart to *Asher*, a Country-House near *Hampton-Court*, belonging to the Bishop of *Winchester*. He charged his Officers also to inventory and bring forth his Goods. Whereupon much brave Furniture made into Hangings, besides whole Pieces of rich Stuffs were set upon divers Tables in his House; the variety and number whereof may be imagin'd, when (as *Cavendish* hath it) of fine Holland Cloth alone there were a thousand Pieces. Besides, the Walls of his Gallery on the one side were hang'd with rich Suits of Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silver, Cloth of Tissue, and Cloth of Bodkin; on the other side was placed the most glorious Suit of Copes that had been seen in *England*. In a Chamber near to the Gallery was a great Cupboard of Plate, of massy Gold; and in a Chamber adjoining, vast quantity of other Plate. All which the Cardinal commanded Sir *William Gascoigne* (his Treasurer) to deliver to the King, when he was requir'd.

In the mean while the Bill against the Cardinal proceeded, the most substantial parts whereof being extracted out of the Original Record, I have thought fit to present to the Reader. The ground upon which *Christopher Hales*, the King's Attorney, prosecuted the Cardinal, was a Statute of 16 *Richard II.* in which is enacted, That, whereas the Commons of the Realm ought of right, and were wont of old time to sue in the King's Court to recover their Presentments to Churches, Prebends, and other Benefices of Holy Church, to which they had right to present, and when Judgment shall be given in the said Court upon such a Plea and Presentment, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Spiritual Persons, which have Institutions of such Benefices within their Jurisdictions, be bound, and have made Execution of such Judgments by the King's Commandments, of all the time aforesaid, without interruption, and also be bound of right to make Execution of many other the King's Commandments: Of which Right the Crown of *England* hath been peaceably seized, as well now, as in the time of all his Progenitors. And whereas the Bishop of *Rome* (for so he is termed in the Act) had made divers Processes and Censures of Excommunication upon certain Bishops in *England*, because they have made

Execution of such Commandments, and also because he hath ordain'd and purpos'd to translate some Prelates of the Realm, some out of the Realm, and some from one Bishoprick to another within the said Realm, without the King's Assent and Knowledge, and without the Assent of the Prelates, which so shall be translated; which Prelates be much profitable and necessary to our Lord the King, and to all his Realm; which Translations if they should be suffered, the Statutes of the Realm should be defeated and made void, and his said Liege Sages of his Council, without his Assent, and against his Will, carried away and gotten out of his Realm, and the Substance and Treasure of the Realm shall be carried away, and so the Realm destitute as well of Counsel as of Substance, to the final Destruction of the same Realm; and so the Crown of *England*, which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Legality of the same Crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope; and the Laws and Statutes of the said Realm, by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual destruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his Realm, &c. Therefore the King, by the Assent of his Lords, and at the Request of the Commons, hath ordain'd and establish'd, that, if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursu'd in the Court of *Rome*, or elsewhere, any Translations, Processes, and Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, Instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the King, against him, his Crown, and Regality or Realm, and they which bring within the Realm, or them receive, or make thereof Notification, or any other Execution whatsoever within the same Realm or without; that they, their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Factors and Counsellors, shall be put out of the King's Protection, and their Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, forfeit to the King, and that they be attach'd by their Bodies if they may be found, and brought before the King and his Council, there to answer to the Cases aforesaid, or that Process be made against them by a Writ of *Præmunire facias*, in manner as it is ordain'd in other Statutes of Provisors, and other, which do sue in any other Court, in derogation of the Regality of our Lord the King.

Upon which Statute it was alledg'd, That *Thomas*, Legatus de Latere, Cardinal, Archbishop of *York*, and Primate of *England*, being not ignorant of the Premises, had obtain'd certain Bulls from *Clement VII.* by which he exercised Jurisdiction and Authority Legatine, to the deprivation of the King's Power established in his Courts of Justice; which said Bulls he caused to be publicly read in *Westminster*, (Aug. 28. Anno Reg. 15.) assuming to himself thereupon the Dignity and Jurisdiction of Legatus de Latere, which he hath exercis'd from the said twenty eighth of August to this day, to the prejudice of the Right of both Secular and Ecclesiastical Persons, and that by colour thereof, he had given away the Church of *Stoke-Guilford* in the County of *Surrey* (being of right in the Donation of the Prior of *St. Pancrace*) to one *James Gorton*, who also enjoy'd it accordingly. All which was to the contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the aforesaid Statutes of 16 *Richard II.* Moreover that, by colour of the said Authority, he had caused the last Wills and Testaments of many (out of his Diocess) to be exhibited and proved in his Court, and their Goods and Chattels to be administr'd by such as he appointed. Also that, under colour of the said Authority, he had made divers Visitations out of his Diocess, and drawn divers Pensions from Abbeyes, to the contempt of the King and his Laws.

The proof of which Particulars, though evident and notorious, were not yet urged to his Conviction, till, through the King's special permission (by Writ of October 28.) *John Scuse* and *Christopher Genney* appear'd in Court as his Attorneys; where, for all other Answers, they protested

An Indictment prefer'd against him. Octob. 9.

Octob. 18. The Seals taken from him.

An Inventory taken of his rich Goods.

16 Ric. II. The Bill against him.

1529. Aug. 28. Reg. 15.

Octob. 28.

1529.

tested in the said Cardinal's Name, that the said Cardinal did not know the impetration of the said Bulls to have been to the Contempt and Prejudice of the King, or that it was against any Statute of Provisors heretofore made. As for the Particulars wherewith he was charged by Master Attorney, he confest them all true in the manner and form alledg'd: And so submitted himself to the King. Whereupon the Court gave Sentence, that he was out of the King's Protection, and his Lands, Goods, and Chattels forfeit, and that his Person might be seized on.

Con-
demn'd to
Imprison-
ment and
Forfeiture
of Goods.

Not contented herewith yet, another Proof of the same kind was by the King's Attorney produced against the Cardinal, namely, that contrary to the right of the true Patron (being the Master and Fellows of the Hospital of St. Lazarus in Burton-Lazar) he had, by the same Authority, given away the Parish-Church of Galby in Leicestershire, and Diocess of Lincoln (then vacant by the death of one Woodroff) to one John Allen, Doctor of both Laws, and plac'd him in it.

And thus fell the Cardinal, together with all his vast Possessions, into the King's hands. Concerning which the Criticks of the time gave sundry Opinions, the most part yet supposing him capable of the King's Mercy, had he been either less rich, or more humble. They thought him indeed condemn'd by Law, but by the Rigor of it. All which they considered the more, that the Cardinal had so long exercis'd his Legatine Power, without that the King either seem'd to dislike it, or any other had question'd him for it. Therefore, howsoever he was convicted by form of Justice, they yet clear'd him in great part, and not they only, but the King. Infomuch, that the Impression taken of his ancient Services, was not defac'd wholly. So that notwithstanding his best Goods were seiz'd on, and that the King might have taken therewith his other Possessions, and (with them) his intire liberty, yet he both sent him a Protection, and left him the Bishopricks of York and Winchester, which he had lately given him after the death of Richard Fox, only he confin'd him for the present to his House at Asher, till his farther Pleasure was signify'd. Being upon his way, the King (touch'd with some compassion) sent him by one Master Norreys, not only a gracious Message, but a Ring, which was a Token betwixt them, when any special business was recommended. Upon receiving whereof, the over-joy'd Cardinal alighted from his Mule, and in the Dirt upon his bare Knees acknowledg'd the Comfort he receiv'd. To shew his Thankfulness also to Master Norreys, he presented him with a Chain of Gold, at which a piece of the Cross did hang. But it troubled him much that he had nothing to send to the King; till at last having espy'd in his Train a facetious Natural, in whom he took much delight, he desir'd Master Norreys to present him to the King. Which Promotion yet this Fellow (for the approving himself no Counterfeit) did so slight, as the Cardinal was forc'd to send six of his tallest Yeomen to bring him to Court. The Cardinal coming at last to Asher, found himself so destitute of all Necessaries, as, till one Master Arundel first, and after the Bishop of Carlisle provided him, he wanted even the most ordinary parts of Household-stuff. And thus the ill-accommodated Cardinal passed some Weeks in expectation of the King's further pleasure, not neglecting, in the mean while, to use those Friends he had left in Court, for the reintegrating him into his former Favour; or when that could not be done, for the making his Fall more easy. For which purpose one Master Thomas Cromwel, his

His
Goods
accord-
ingly
seiz'd.

Sends his
Fool a
Present
to the
King.

Servant, (who came afterwards to great Preferment) was employ'd, but Mistress Boleyn secretly oppos'd all. So that the Cardinal, being now in a manner hopeless of regaining the King's good Opinion, dismissed (not without Tears on both sides) the greatest part of his numerous Family, without other reward than what Master Cromwel and some of his Chaplains did freely contribute. The King hearing the Cardinal to be somewhat humbled, sent Sir John Russel with a Turquoise Ring to him as a Token of his Care and Affection. But it was not Gifts that the Cardinal expected from the King, but Liberty and Restitution to his former Greatness; which yet was so much in vain, as his Offences were daily exaggerated. For as the King did not think it enough that he had particularly advantag'd himself of the Cardinal's Punishment, unless he made some use thereof to the general, so he call'd a Council of the Nobles, to sit in the Star-Chamber, who having sufficiently condemn'd him, he afterwards permitted him to the Parliament, which began November 3. 1529. Wherein the King also did wisely, since by interressing the Publick in his Condemnation, he both declin'd the Censure of those who thought the late Proceedings to have been of the severest, and indear'd his People by putting the Power of punishing him into their hands. Therefore they took it as an intire Satisfaction for all they had hitherto suffer'd; and by applauding of the King, made him know how thankfully they took this Favour. And thus did the King return to that former good Opinion he had of his Subjects.

1529.

Hereupon certain Articles against the Cardinal were prefer'd in Parliament. The Original whereof, found among our Records, I have thought fit to transcribe; and the rather for that our vulgar Chronicles misreport them.

Nov. 3.
Reg. 21.
Is con-
demn'd in
the Star-
Chamber.

Articles
against
him in
Parlia-
ment.

Constrain'd by necessity of our Fidelity and Conscience, complain and shew to your Royal Majesty, We your Graces humble, true, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That the Lord Cardinal of York, lately your Graces Chancellor, presuming to take upon him the Authority of the Popes Legat de Latere, hath by divers and many fundry ways and fashions committed notable, high, and grievous Offences, misusing, altering, and subverting the Order of your Graces Laws, and otherwise contrary to your high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal, to the inestimable damage of your Graces Subjects of every degree, and consequently to the great hindrance, diminution, and decay of the universal Wealth of this your Graces Realm, as is it touched summarily and particularly in certain Articles here following; which be but a few in comparison of all his Enormities, Excesses, and Transgressions committed against your Graces Laws.

That is to say,

First, where your Grace, and your Noble Progenitors within this your Realm of England, being Kings of England, have been so free, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediate subject to Almighty God, in all things, touching the Regality of your Crown of England, and the same Preheminence, Prerogative, Jurisdiction, lawful and peaceable Possession, your Grace, and your noble Progenitors have had, used, and enjoyed without interruption, or business therefore, by the space of two hundred Years and more; whereby your Grace may prescribe against the Popes Holiness, that he should not, nor ought to send, or make any Legat to execute

1529. cure any Authority Legatine, contrary to your Graces Prerogative within this your Realm:

Now the Lord Cardinal of *York* being your Subject, and natural liege born, hath of his high, orgullous, and insatiable Mind, for his own singular Advancement and Profit, in derogation, and to the great imblemishment and hurt of your said Royal Jurisdiction, and Prerogative, and the large continuance of the possession of the same, obtain'd Authority Legatine, by reason whereof he hath not only hurt your said Prescription, but also by the said Authority Legatine hath spoil'd and taken away from many Houses of Religion in this your Realm, much Substance of their Goods; and also hath usurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much part of their Jurisdiction, in derogation of your Prerogative, and to the great hurt of your said Ordinaries, Prelates, and Religious.

II. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, being your Ambassador in *France*, made a Treaty with the *French* King for the Pope, your Majesty not knowing any part thereof, nor nam'd in the same; and binding the said *French* King to abide his Order and Award, if any Controversy or Doubt should arise upon the same betwixt the said Pope and the *French* King.

III. Also, the said Lord Cardinal being your Ambassador in *France*, sent a Commission to Sir *Gregory de Casalis*, under your Great Seal, in your Graces Name, to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Command or Warrant of your Highness, nor your said Highness advis'd or made privy to the same.

IV. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, of his presumptuous Mind in divers and many of his Letters and Instructions sent out of this Realm to outward Parties, had join'd himself with your Grace, as in saying and writing in his said Letters and Instructions; *The King and I*. And, *I would ye should do thus. The King and I give unto you our hearty Thanks.* Whereby it is apparent that he used himself more like a Fellow to your Highness, than like a Subject.

V. Also, where it hath ever been accustom'd within this your Realm, that when Noblemen do swear their Household Servants, the first part of their Oath hath been, That they should be true Liegemen to the King and his Heirs Kings of *England*; the same Lord Cardinal caused his Servants to be only sworn to him, as if there had been no Sovereign above him.

VI. And also, whereas your Grace is our Sovereign Lord and Head, in whom standeth all the Surety and Wealth of this Realm, the same Lord Cardinal knowing himself to have the foul and contagious Disease of the great Pox, broken out upon him in divers places of his Body, came daily to your Grace, rowning in your Ear, and blowing upon your most Noble Grace with his perillous and infective Breath, to the marvelous danger of your Highness, if God of his infinite Goodness had not better provided for your Highness. And when he was once healed of them, he made your Grace to believe that his Disease was an Impostume in his Head, and of none other thing.

VII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath given, by prevention, the Benefices of divers Persons, as well Spiritual as Temporal, contrary to your Crown and Dignity, and your Laws and Estatutes therefore provided; by reason whereof he is in danger to your Grace of Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods, and his Body at your pleasure.

VIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, taking upon him otherwise than a true Counsellor ought to do, hath used to have all Ambassadors to

come first to him alone, and so hearing their Charges and Intents, it is to be thought he hath instructed them after his pleasure and purpose, before that they came to your Presence; contrary to your high Commandment by your Graces mouth to him given, and also to other Persons sent to him by your Grace.

IX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath practised so, that all manner of Letters sent from beyond the Sea to your Highness have come first to his hands, contrary to your high Commandment by your own mouth, and also by others sent to him by your Grace; by reason whereof your Highness, nor any of your Council, had knowledge of no matters, but such as it pleas'd him to shew them; whereby your Highness, and your Council have been compell'd of very force to follow his Devices, which oftentimes were set forth by him under such crafty and covert means, that your Highness and your Council hath oftentimes been abus'd. Infomuch, that when your Council have found, and put divers Doubts, and things which have afterwards ensu'd, he to abuse them us'd these Words; *I will lay my Head that no such thing shall happen.*

X. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath practised that no manner of person, having charge to make espial of things done beyond the Sea, should at their return come first to your Grace, nor to any other of your Council, but only to himself, and in case they did the contrary, he punished them for so doing.

XI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath granted License under your great Seal for carrying out of Grain and other Victual, after the Restraint hath been made thereof, for his own lucre, and singular advantage of him and his Servants, for to send thither as he bare secret Favour, without your Graces Warrant or Knowledge thereof.

XII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal used, many Years together, not only to write unto all your Ambassadors resident with other Princes in his own Name all Advertisements concerning your Graces Affairs, being in their Charge; and in the same his Letters wrote many things of his own mind, without your Graces Pleasure being known, concealing divers things which had been necessary for them to know: But also caused them to write their Advertisements unto him; and of the same Letters he used to conceal for the compassing of his purposes, many things both from all your other Counsellors, and from your self also.

XIII. Also, where good Hospitality hath been used to be kept in Houses and Places of Religion of this Realm, and many poor People thereby relieved, the said Hospitality and Relief is now decay'd, and not us'd; and it is commonly reported that the occasion thereof is, because the said Lord Cardinal hath taken such Impositions of the Rulers of the said Houses, as well for his favour in making of Abbots and Priors, as for his Visitation, by his Authority Legatine: And yet, nevertheless, taketh yearly of such Religious Houses, such yearly and continual Charges, as they be not able to keep Hospitality as they us'd to do; which is a great Cause that there be so many Vagabonds, Beggars and Thieves.

XIV. Also, where the said Lord Cardinal said, before the suppression of such Houses as he hath suppress'd, that the Possessions of them should be set to farm among your Lay-Subjects, after such reasonable yearly Rent, as they should well thereupon live, and keep good Hospitality; and now the demain Possessions of the said Houses, since the suppression of them, hath been survey'd, mete, and measur'd by the Acre, and be now set

1529. set above the value of the old Rent; and also such as were Farmers by Covent-Seal, and Copy-holders be put out, and mov'd of their Farms, or else compell'd to pay new Fines, contrary to all Equity and Conscience.

XV. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, sitting among the Lords, and other of your most Honourable Council, us'd himself that if any Man would shew his mind according to his Duty, contrary to the opinion of the said Cardinal, he would so take him up with his accustomed Words, that they were better to hold their peace than to speak, so that he would hear no Man speak, but one or two great Personages, so that he would have all the words himself, and consume much time with a fair tale.

XVI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal by his Ambition and Pride, hath hindred and undone many of your poor Subjects for want of Dispatchment of matters; for he would no Man should meddle but himself. Insomuch, that it hath been affirm'd by many wise Men, that ten of the most wise, and most expert Men in *England*, were not sufficient in convenient time to order the matters that he would retain to himself: And many times he deferr'd the ending of Matters, because that Sutors should attend and wait upon him, whereof he had no small pleasure that his House might be replenish'd with Sutors.

XVII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, by his Authority Legatine, hath us'd, if any Spiritual Man having any Riches or Subtance, deceas'd, he hath taken their Goods as his own; by reason whereof their Wills be not perform'd: And one mean he had, to put them in fear that were made Executors, to refuse to meddle.

XVIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal constrain'd all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, or else he will usurp half or the whole of their Jurisdiction by prevention, not for good order of the Diocess, but to extort Treasure; for there is never a poor Arch-Deacon in *England*, but that he paid yearly to him a Portion of his Living.

XIX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath not only by his untrue suggestion to the Pope, shamefully slandered many good Religious Houses, and good virtuous Men dwelling in them, but also suppress'd by reason thereof above thirty Houses of Religion; and where, by Authority of his Bull, he should not suppress any House that had more Men of Religion in number, above the number of six or seven, he hath suppress'd divers Houses that had above the number; and thereupon hath caus'd divers Offices to be found by Verdict, untruly, that the Religious Persons, so suppress'd, had voluntarily forsaken their said Houses, which was untrue, and so hath caus'd open Perjury to be committed, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God.

XX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath examin'd divers and many matters in the *Chancery*, after Judgment thereof given at the Common Law, in subversion of your Laws; and made some Persons restore again to the other Party condemn'd, that they had in execution by virtue of the Judgment in the Common Law.

XXI. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath granted many Injunctions by Writ, and the Parties never call'd thereunto, nor Bill put in against them. And, by reason thereof, divers of your Subjects have been put from their lawful Possession of their Lands and Tenements. And, by such means, he hath brought the more Party of the Sutors of this your Realm before himself, whereby he and divers of his Servants have gotten much Riches, and your Subjects suffer'd great Wrongs.

XXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, to augment his great Riches, hath caus'd divers Pardons granted by the Pope to be suspended, which could not be reviv'd till that the said Lord Cardinal were rewarded, and also have a yearly Pension of the said Pardon.

XXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, not regarding your Laws nor Justice, of his extort Power, hath put out divers and many Farmers of his Lands, and also Patents of the Archbishoprick of *York*, and Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and of the Abby of *St. Albans*, which had good and sufficient grant thereof by your Laws.

XXIV. Also, the same Lord Cardinal at many times when any Houses of Religion have been void, he hath sent his Officers thither, and with crafty Persuasions hath induc'd them to compromit their Election in him. And that, before ere he nam'd or confirm'd any of them, he and his Servants receiv'd so much great Goods of them, that in manner it hath been to the undoing of the House.

XXV. Also, by his Authority Legatine, the same Lord Cardinal hath visited the most part of the Religious Houses and Colleges in this your Realm, hath taken of them the twenty-fifth part of their Livelihood, to the great extortion of your Subjects, and derogation of your Laws and Prerogative; and no Law to bear him so to do.

XXVI. Also, when Matters have been near at Judgment by Process at your Common Law, the same Lord Cardinal hath not only given and sent Injunctions to the Parties, but also sent for your Judges, and expressly by threats commanding them to defer the Judgment, to the evident subversion of your Laws; if the Judges would so have ceas'd.

XXVII. Also, whereas neither the Bishoprick of *York*, nor *Winchester*, nor the Abby of *St. Albans*, nor the profit of his Legation, nor the benefit of the Chancery, nor his great Pension out of *France*, nor his Wards, and other inordinate taking could not suffice him, he hath made his Son *Winter* to spend twenty-seven hundred pounds by the year, which he taketh to his own use, and giveth him not past two hundred pounds yearly to live upon.

XXVIII. Also, where the said Lord Cardinal did first sue unto your Grace to have your Assent to be Legate *de Latere*, he promis'd and solemnly protested before your Majesty, and before the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, that he would nothing do or attempt by virtue of his Legacy, that should be contrary to your gracious Prerogative or Regality, or to the Damage or Prejudice of the Jurisdiction of any Ordinary, and that by his Legacy no Man should be hurt or offended; and upon that Condition, and no other, he was admitted by your Grace to be Legate within this your Realm, which Condition he hath broken, as is well known to all your Subjects. And when that he made this Promise, he was busie in his Suit at *Rome*, to visit all the Clergy of *England*, both exempt and not exempt.

XXIX. Also, upon the Suit of the said Lord Cardinal at *Rome*, to have his Authority Legatine, he made untrue surmise to the Popes Holiness against the Clergy of your Realm, which was, that the Regular Persons of the said Clergy had given themselves in *reprobum sensum*; which words Saint Paul writing to the *Romans* apply'd to abominable Sin; which Slander to your Church of *England*, shall for ever remain in the Register at *Rome* against the Clergy of this your Realm.

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XXX. Also, the said Lord Cardinal had the more part of the Goods of Dr. Smith, late Bishop of London, Bishop Savage of York, Mr. Dalby Archdeacon of Richmond, Mr. Tornyars, Dr. Rothal late Bishop of Durham, and of Dr. Fox late Bishop of Winchester, contrary to their Wills and your Laws and Justice.

XXXI. Also, at the Oyer and Terminer at York, Proclamation was made, that every Man should put in their Bills for extortion of Ordinaries, and when divers Bills were put in against the Officers of the said Lord Cardinal of Extortion, for taking twelve pence of the pound for Probation of Testaments, whereof divers Bills were found before Justice Fitz-Herbert, and other Commissioners, the same Lord Cardinal remov'd the same Indictments into the Chancery by Certiorari, and rebuked the same Fitz-Herbert for the same Cause.

XXXII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath busied and endeavour'd himself by crafty and untrue tales to make Dissention and Debate amongst your Nobles of your Realm, which is ready to be prov'd.

XXXIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal's Officers have divers times compell'd your Subjects to serve him with Carts for Carriages. And also his Servants have taken both Corn and Cattel, Fish, and all other Victuals at your Graces price or under, as though it had been for your Grace, which is contrary to the Laws.

XXXIV. Also, the said Lord Cardinal hath misus'd himself in your most Honourable Court, in keeping of as great Estate there in your Absence, as your Grace would have done, if you had been there present in your own Person.

XXXV. Also, his Servants, by virtue of your Commission under your broad Seal by him to them given, hath taken Cattel, and all other Victual, at as low price as your Purveyors have done for your Grace by your Prerogative, against the Laws of your Realm,

XXXVI. Also, where it hath been accustomed that your Purveyors for your Honourable Household have had yearly out of your Town and Liberty of St. Albans three hundred or four hundred Quarters of Wheat, truth it is, that since the Lord Cardinal had the room of Abbot there, your said Purveyors could not be suffer'd by him and his Officers, to take any Wheat within the said Town or Liberties.

XXXVII. Also he hath divers times given Injunction to your Servants, that have been for causes before him in the Star-Chamber, that they nor other for them should make labour, by any manner of way directly or indirectly, to your Grace, to obtain your gracious Favour or Pardon, which was a presumptuous intent for any Subject.

XXXVIII. Also, the said Lord Cardinal did call before him Sir John Stanley Knight, which had taken a Farm by Covent-Seal of the Abbot and Covent of Chester, and afterwards by his Power and Might, contrary to Right, committed the said Sir John Stanley to the Prison of Fleet by the space of one year, until such time as he compell'd the said Sir John to release his Covent-Seal to one Legbe of Adlington, which marry'd one Lark's Daughter, which Woman the said Lord Cardinal kept, and had with her two Children. Whereupon the said Sir John Stanley, upon displeasure taken in his heart, made himself Monk in Westminster, and there died.

XXXIX. Also, on a time your Grace being at St. Albans, according to the ancient custom us'd within your Verge, your Clerk of the Market doing his Office, did present unto your Officers of your most Honourable Household the Prices of all manner of Victuals, within the Pre-

dict of the Verge; and it was commanded by your said Officers to set up the said Prices both on the Gates of your Honourable Household, and also in the Market-place within the Town of St. Albans, as of ancient Custom it hath been us'd; and the Lord Cardinal, hearing the same, presumptuously, and not like a Subject, caus'd the aforesaid Prices which were seal'd with your Graces Seal, accustomedly us'd for the same, to be taken off, and pull'd down in the said Market-place where they were set up, and in the same place set up his own Prices seal'd with his Seal, and would, if it had not been letted, in semblable manner us'd your Seal standing upon your Graces Gates; and also would of his presumptuous Mind, have openly set in the Stocks within your said Town your Clerk of your Market. By which Presumption and Usurpation your Grace may perceive, that in his Heart he hath reputed himself to be equal with your Royal Majesty.

XL. Also, the said Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous Mind, hath enterpris'd to joyn and imprint the Cardinals Hat under your Arms in your Coin of Groats, made at your City of York, which like Deed hath not been seen to have been done by any Subject within your Realm before this time.

XLI. Also, where one Sir Edward Jones, Clerk, Parson of Crowley in the County of Buckingham, in the 18th year of your most Noble Reign, let his said Parsonage with all Tythes, and other Profits of the same to one William Johnson by Indentures for certain years, within which years the Dean of the said Cardinal's College in Oxford, pretended title to a certain Portion of Tythes within the said Parsonage, supposing the said Portion to belong to the Parsonage of Chicheley, which was appropriated to the Priory of Tykeford, lately suppress'd, where of truth, the Parsons of Crowley have been peaceably possess'd of the said Portion, time out of mind: Whereupon a Subpoena was directed to the said Johnson to appear before the said Lord Cardinal at Hampton Court; where without any Bill, the said Lord Cardinal committed him to the Fleet, where he remain'd by the space of twelve Weeks, because he would not depart with the said Portion; and at the last, upon a Recognizance made, that he should appear before the said Lord Cardinal wheresoever he was commanded, he was deliver'd out of the Fleet. Howbeit, as yet the said Portion is so kept from him, that he dare not deal with it.

XLII. Also, where one Martin Docowra had a Lease of the Mannor of Balsal in the County of Warwick, for term of certain years, an Injunction came to him out of the Chancery, by Writ, upon pain of a thousand pounds, that he should avoid the Possession of the same Mannor, and suffer Sir George Throgmorton Knight, to take the Profits of the same Mannor, to the time the matter depending in the Chancery between the Lord of St. Johns, and the said Docowra were discuss'd; and yet the said Docowra never made answer in the Chancery, never was call'd into the Chancery for that Matter. And now of late he hath receiv'd the like Injunction, upon pain of two thousand pounds, contrary to the course of the Common Law.

XLIII. Also, whereas in the Parliament-Chamber, and in the open Parliament, Communication and Devices were had and mov'd, wherein mention was, by an Incident, made of matters touching Heresies, and erroneous Sects. It was spoken and reported by one Bishop there being present, and confirm'd by a good number of the same Bishops in presence of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then assembled, that two

of

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of the said Bishops were minded and desir'd to repair unto the University of Cambridge, for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of such Errors as then seem'd, and were reported to reign amongst the Students and Scholars of the same, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect and Opinions, as otherwise; the Lord Cardinal inform'd of the good Minds and Intents of the said two Bishops in that behalf, expressly inhibited and commanded them in no wise so to do. By means whereof the same Errors (as they affirm'd) crept more abroad, and took greater place: Saying furthermore, that it was not in their defaults that the said Heresies were not punish'd, but in the said Lord Cardinal, and that it was no reason any blame or lack should be arrested unto them for his Offence. Whereby it evidently appeareth, that the said Lord Cardinal, besides all other his heinous Offences, hath been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of Heresies; being highly to the danger and peril of the whole body and good Christian People of this your Realm.

XLIV. Finally, Forasmuch as by the aforesaid Articles is evidently declar'd to your most Royal Majesty, that the Lord Cardinal by his outrageous Pride hath greatly shadow'd a long season your Graces Honour, which is most highly to be regarded, and by his insatiable Avarice and ravenous Appetite, to have Riches and Treasure without measure, hath so grievously oppress'd your poor Subjects, with so manifold crafts of Bribery and Extortion, that the Commonwealth of this your Graces Realm is thereby greatly decay'd and impoverish'd: And also by his Cruelty, Iniquity, Affection and Partiality, hath subverted the due course and order of your Graces Laws, to the undoing of a great number of your loving People;

Please it your most Royal Majesty therefore of your excellent Goodness towards the weal of this your Realm, and Subjects of the same, to set such order and direction upon the said Lord Cardinal, as may be to the terrible example of others to beware so to offend your Grace and your Laws hereafter: And that he be so provided for, that he never have any Power, Jurisdiction, or Authority, hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the Commonwealth of this your Realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and damage of every Man almost, high and low. Which for your Grace so doing, will daily pray, as their Duty is, to Almighty God, for the prosperous Estate of your most Royal Majesty long to endure in Honour and good Health, to the pleasure of God, and your Hearts most desire.

Subscrib'd the first day of December, the twenty first year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Eighth.

T. More.	T. Darcy.
T. Norfolk.	T. Rochford.
Char. Suffolk.	W. Mountjoy.
Tho. Dorset.	Will. Sandys.
H. Exeter.	William Fitz-William.
G. Shrewsbury.	Henry Guldeford.
R. Fitzwater.	Anthony Fitz-Herbert.
Jo. Oxenford.	John Fitz-James.
H. Northumberland.	

Cromwel's
defence of
the Cardi-
nal his
Master.

These Articles were presented to the King by the Lords, and then sent down to the lower House: Where *Tho. Cromwel* (obtaining the place of a Burgess) so wittily defended the Cardinal his Master, that no Treason could be laid to his charge. And upon this honest beginning, *Cromwel* obtain'd his first Reputation. Yet could not

the resisting of this brunt, nor even the gracious Messages receiv'd frequently from the King cheer up our Cardinal. For as he found the Pope had now a long while neglected to give the King any satisfaction (which certainly was the only way to procure the Cardinal's Restitution) and that (for the rest) no evident sign of the Kings relenting appear'd, so being not able to support any longer his many Afflictions, he fell dangerously sick. The News whereof being brought to the Kings ears, mov'd so much Compassion, as not only he, but, by his Intreaty, Mistress *Anne Bolen* (whom the Cardinal had in vain importun'd to intercede for him) also sent him several Tokens; whereof one was a Ruby, wherein the King's Image was curiously engraven, a Gift heretofore of the Cardinals, together with a gracious Message deliver'd by Doctor *Batts* his Physician; That his Highness was not angry with him in his Heart, which he should know shortly. Whereupon as the Cardinal recover'd his Health, so the King, for confirming his Promises, seal'd his Pardon, February 12. and three days after, by Letters Patents, restor'd him to the Archbishoprick of York. Moreover, he sent him Money, Plate, rich Hangings, and Furniture for his House and Chappel, in that quantity, as the Cardinal was for the present much recover'd: Hoping also, that since he had resign'd his House call'd *York-House* (but afterward by the King styl'd the Mannor of *Westminster*, now *White-Hall*) that his Punishment ended there, and himself now upon terms of regaining the Kings favour. The Confidence whereof also made him to be an humble Suppliant to the King, that, for his Healths sake, he might have leave to remove to *Richmond-House*, the use of which he had receiv'd in exchange from the King, for that his sumptuous Palace which he built, and call'd by the name of *Hampton-Court*.

It is now time to look a while on foreign History. Our last Narration left the Count *de St. Pol* in Italy, where he had quarter'd that part of the Soldiers which remain'd of that years Wars, in their Winter Garrisons; but the Spring being come, he took divers places on this side the *Ticino*, and at last joyn'd his Forces with the Duke of *Urbino*, General of the *Venetians*, and *Francisco Sforza*. Yet, whether that he durst not attempt the City of *Milan*, which *Antonio de Leyva* strongly defended, or that the Count *de St. Pol* affected more the Enterprize of *Genoia*, their Army march'd to *Landriano*, June 21. 1529. Of which *Antonio de Leyva* being advertis'd, us'd that diligence, that he surpris'd the Count *de St. Pol* when part of his Army was march'd before, and wholly defeated the rest, taking him Prisoner.

This while the Emperor equipp'd a great Fleet for Italy, with intention to be Crown'd there, having first (for the more ample furnishing of himself with Money) pawn'd the *Moluccas* to the King of Portugal for 350000 Ducats.

The Pope hearing of these great Preparatives at the same Season that the Defeat of *St. Pol* (succeeding that of *Lautrech* in Naples) had wholly disabled the Army of the Confederates, resolv'd to comply with the times. So that, before the News thereof could easily be convey'd to the Emperor, he endeavour'd his own Peace, for this purpose employing one *Antonio Musetola* a Neapolitan; who prevail'd so far, as he concluded a League at *Barcelona*, June 29. to this effect.

1. That the Peace betwixt them should be perpetual.
2. That the Imperial Army which was in Naples should have secure Passage through the Popes Territories.
3. That

1529.

Who falls
sick thro'
despair of
recover-
ing the
Kings fa-
vour.

Obtains
the Kings
Pardon.

1529.

Halsin ed.

Feb. 1529.

War in
Italy.
1528

French de-
feated.
1529.
June.

June 29.

The Popes
League
with the
Emperor.

1529. 3. That the Emperor should give Donna Margarita (his Natural Daughter) in Marriage to Alessandro de Medicis Son of Lorenzo, and that he should invest him in the State of Florence, with the Title of Duke.

4. That Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, should be restor'd to the Apostolick See by the Emperor's Power.

5. That the Pope should give unto the Emperor a Bull, with the Title of the Kingdom of Naples, to be held in Fee from the Pope, upon payment every year of a Horse or a Hackney white.

6. That the Pope should in all Ecclesiastical Affairs, enjoy his accustomed Right.

7. That the Pope and Emperor should see one another in Italy.

8. That the Emperor should assist the Pope against the Duke of Ferrara.

9. That Justice should be done to Francisco Sforza Duke of Milan, and that the Emperor commit his Cause to indifferent Judges.

10. That the Emperor and his Brother Don Fernando and the Pope join together to reduce the Lutherans, either by fair or foul means to the Roman Catholick Faith.

July 3. All which Articles (and perhaps some private ones concerning the Affairs of England now in agitation) were sworn to on both sides upon the Great Altar of the Cathedral Church of Barcelona.

And thus did the Pope renounce all his former Designs, and betake himself intirely to the Emperor, at the same time when the two Cardinals sat on their Commission in England. So easie was it for the Pope to forget both the Injuries receiv'd from the Imperialists, and the good turns from all his Confederates, when a readier way was open'd him for regaining his Cities, and revenging himself on the Duke of Ferrara and the Florentines, who, during his late Captivity, had expuls'd the Family of Medicis out of the City.

Belay.
Guicciard.

Treaty
between
Charles
and Francis
manag'd
by Ladies.

July 5.

Francis also understanding that, upon this second Overthrow of his Forces in Italy, his Reputation was lost, and his Confederates discourag'd, and hearing besides, the Pope had concluded this League with the Emperor, thought it better to reserve his Money for Ransoming his Children, than to cast it away in the Wars. So that, notwithstanding his reiterated Protestations of Affection to our King, he underhand labour'd a Peace with the Emperor. The Overtures whereof also were willingly accepted, both as Charles doubted a change of Religion in Germany, and as the Turk had made no little Progress in Hungary. For which causes also he chose rather to hearken to those motions were made for delivering of the Children of Francis upon reasonable terms, than to detain them any longer unusefully. Thus both their minds secretly concurring to Peace, the Treaty thereof was permitted to two Ladies, Madam Louïse Mother of Francis, and Regent of France, and Madam Anna-Margarita Aunt to Charles, and Regent of the Low-Countries. Of which kind though the Precedents be rare, yet, as Affairs then stood, they were thought no ill Mediatresses. Both as the suppleness of their Sex could better decline that rough Dispute, which (considering the late Cartels) could scarce be eschew'd betwixt the Servants of either Prince, and as it was a kind of Gallantry, to essay, if after so many broken or avoided Treaties which Men had made, one concluded by Women would hold; howsoever for Women to treat of Marriage or Childrens business, was no strange thing. But the event shew'd they were able Negotiatresses. For though their first Meeting (be-

ing at Cambray) was not without some of that Emulation and Puntillio which is ordinary in their Sex, yet at last they fell to treat in good earnest. The Proposition which before all other Madam Louïse made, was that a Messenger might be sent to see the Estate of the Children of Francis, it being in vain (she said) to treat of their Delivery, when (for any thing she knew) they were not extant at all. This being accorded, the Ladies proceeded to the more substantial Articles of a Treaty.

Madam Margarita said, indeed she had no other Instruction, but to demand the execution of the Treaty of Madrid; but Madam Louïse, representing sometimes the unreasonableness, and sometimes the impossibility of performing those Articles, reduc'd her to more moderate Terms. Whereunto also our King's Ambassadors, *Cuthbert Tonsil* Bishop of *Duresme*, and *Sir Thomas More*, did not little conduce. For as our King knew the weight he could add on either side, would sway the Balance, so he interpos'd Offices; hoping to get either Francis to procure his Divorce, or Charles to suffer it. But as those Princes affairs requir'd a more quick and serious Dispatch, than to attend the Decision of so great and doubtful a Business, they car'd little to satisfy our King, or to comply with *Mistress Bolen*. Therefore, setting apart those Considerations, they attended only their own Interests; and Madam Louïse very particularly the News of her Grand-Childrens safety. For which purpose having employ'd one *Vordin*, he gave this Account as it is extant in the *Spanish History*.

1529.

Sandov.

Sir Thomas
More the
K's Am-
bassador at
the Treaty
at Cambray.

Sandov.

That he found the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans in the Castle of *Pedrazu*, under the Guard of the Marquis de *Verlanga*, in a dark Chamber, ill furnish'd, having forgotten all their French, so that when *Vordin* spake to them, they requir'd an Interpreter, that their best entertainment was playing with little Dogs, and making Pictures in Wax. That, when he presented them new Cloaths, the Marquis would not suffer them to be put on, whereof *Vordin* gives this ridiculous Reason, that the Spaniards believ'd there were Witches in France, that could transport any one in the Air when their Charms might but touch the Body. But *Vordin* was deceiv'd; the true reason being, that out of a certain curiosity for preservation of those Princes, as well as discharge of his own Trust, *Verlanga* would neither suffer those, nor any other Cloaths to be worn by the Princes, till others had put them on first. But Madam Louïse was so ill satisfi'd with this Relation, that she hastned the Peace. To which purpose, as the Cardinal de *Salviati* (the Popes Legate) did contribute his endeavours, (but with favour certainly to the Emperor) so our Ambassadors likewise did co-operate, but so, as they had principal regard of Francis: Our King believing that he might be the sooner induc'd openly to assist him, when his Children were free. Thus these pompous Ladies (who met at Cambray, July 5.) mediated a Peace, though not without some difficulty, Madam Louïse once breaking off the Treaty, so that, had not the Emperor, by an express Courier, enlarg'd the Instructions given to his Aunt, no Peace had follow'd. At last they concluded this Treaty, in which also our King was comprehended.

The Dauphin and Duke of Orleans's course treatment in Spain.

July 5.

The Treaty of Cambray, Aug. 5. 1529.

I. That there shall be a good, sure, and perpetual Peace betwixt the Emperor and King, and that they shall be for ever Friends of the

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the Friends, and Enemies of the Enemies of each other.

II. That the Treaty of *Madrid* shall remain in its full force and vigour, and shall be inviolably kept betwixt them, their Heirs and Successors, without Innovation, except only in the third, fourth, eleventh, and fourteenth Articles, where mention is made of the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, *Bar sur Seine*, the Vicounty of *Auxonne*, and the Superiority or Government of *St. Laurence*. And whereas it was agreed by the Treaty of *Madrid*, that the aforesaid Places should be restor'd to the Emperor, yet, in consideration of the Peace, he is content to remain only in the Action and Right, in an amiable course, or by way of Justice to be executed; which he intends also shall be reserv'd to him and his Heirs, notwithstanding any Prescription of time that can be alledg'd to the contrary, it being permitted also to the said King, and his Successors to defend themselves. Notwithstanding all which, that a certain Rent, which the said King pretends to have for Salt out of certain Salines in those parts, shall be extinct for ever.

III. That the said King for the Ransom of his two Sons, shall pay two Millions of Crowns *de Soleil*; the Gold to be of twenty-two Carats and three quarters, whereof one Million and two hundred thousand Crowns, shall be paid in *Specie*, as much as can be gotten, and the rest in one intire Mass of Gold, if the Emperor shall so think good, or if otherwise, it shall be coin'd, and Essay thereof taken. And at the same instant the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* shall be deliver'd to the Deputies of the said King. All which is to be done at or before the first day of *March* next ensuing, in the manner and form as shall be agreed betwixt the said Emperor and King. And as for the other eight hundred thousand Crowns, the said King shall discharge the Emperor of a certain Debt he oweth to the King of *England* for Moneys lent him upon Pawns, as may appear by certain Schedules and Obligations of his Majesty, which Debt is said to amount to two hundred and ninety thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, or thereabouts. And concerning the remainder of the said two Millions, amounting unto five hundred and ten thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, the said King shall give unto the Emperor, the said Sum, in Rent, for a certain time, upon certain Lands and Signiories in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, or elsewhere in the *Low-Countries*, where the Emperor or his Commissioners shall chuse or appoint, of the yearly value of twenty-five thousand and five hundred Crowns, till the said Sum of five hundred and ten thousand Crowns be made up. All this to commence as soon as the Children be deliver'd. At which time also the said King shall procure, that King *Henry* deliver unto the Emperor the Writings, Schedules, and Obligations, together with the Acquittances for the payments of the said Debts. As also the said Pawns and Obligations of Indemnity promis'd by the said Emperor to the King of *England*; and that the said two Millions being thus paid, the Emperor shall not demand any thing for cause of his Imprisonment.

IV. That *Francis*, in the space of six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, shall revoke and call back all the Forces he hath in *Italy*, whether *French* or Mercenaries, so that the Emperor may be assur'd thereof fifteen days before the Restitution of the said Hostages.

V. That the said King within fifteen days after the receipt of the ratification of this Treaty, shall restore unto the Emperor the Castle and Bayliage of *Hesdin*, as a Member of his Coun-

ty of *Artois*, together with the Cannon and Munition, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, except those Moveables that have been restor'd to the Lady *Reux*.

VI. That, because in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the said King hath agreed to leave and quit unto the Emperor all his Rights of Jurisdiction and Superiority, that he and his Predecessors Kings of *France* have held, or may claim in the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, as also in the City of *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Tournayssis*, *St. Amand*, and *Mortaign*, and as also in *Lisle*, *Douay*, and *Orchies*; and, because upon these general Terms, some Difficulties might arise; therefore it is declar'd by this present Article, that the said King in confirmation of the Treaty of *Madrid*, hath left, given, and transported, as also the said Lady his Mother, in his Name, and by virtue of the Authority given her, doth leave, give, and transport unto the said Emperor, his Heirs and Successors, being Counts and Countesses of *Flanders*, the Fee, Homage, Oath of Fidelity, and all other marks of Subjection which either he or his Ancestors have had, or pretended to have, over the said Counts and Countesses of *Flanders*, or any others inhabiting in the said Counties.

VII. That the said King hath renounc'd, and that by the Authority given her, the Dutcheß of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all right and claim to *Lisle*, *Douay* and *Orchies*, consenting further that they shall be united unto the County of *Flanders*, in manner as they were before they were transported to the King of *France*, by a Treaty at *Paris*, Aug. 2. 1498.

VIII. That the said King hath renounc'd, and that, by the Authority given her, the Dutcheß of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right and Claim which he or his Ancestors Kings of *France* have had, or may pretend to have in the City of *Tournay*, the Bayliage of *Tournayssis*, the Towns of *Mortaign* and *St. Amand*, with all the Rights. Furthermore, consenting that they may be united and incorporated unto the said County of *Flanders*.

IX. That the said King hath renounc'd, and, by the Authority given her, the said Dutcheß of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth renounce all Right or Claim they pretend to have in the City of *Arras*, or upon the Bishoprick and Cathedral Church thereof, except so much of the Revenues of the said Bishoprick and Church, as is in the Kingdom of *France*.

X. That the said King hath consented, granted, and, by the Authority given her, the said Dutcheß of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth consent and grant to the Emperor, his Heirs and Successors, Counts and Countesses of *Artois*, that they shall remain for ever henceforth quit and discharg'd from the Fee and Homage, Oath of Fidelity, or any other mark of Subjection which he or his Ancestors, Counts and Countesses of *Artois*, have been bound to do or acknowledge to the Kings of *France*, excepting only *Therouene*, and the Possession belonging to the Churches of *Artois*, being in *France*, and some small Towns in the *Bolognois*.

XI. That the said King hath given and transported, and, by the Authority given her, the said Dutcheß of *Angoulesme*, his Mother, doth give and transport a Service or Tenure of *Artois*, commonly call'd the ancient Composition of *Artois*, amounting yearly to fourteen thousand Livres *Tournois*, unto the Emperor, his Heirs and Successors, Counts and Countesses of *Artois*.

XII. That the Inhabitants of *Artois* be free from all manner of Imposition or Tribute heretofore claim'd by the Kings of *France*.

1529.

1529. XIII. That the Emperor reciprocally shall renounce and transport, as also, by the Authority given her, the said Lady the Arch-Dutcheſs, doth renounce and transport, for ever, unto the said King, his Heirs and Successors, all the Right and Title that the said Emperor or his Predecessors hold or claim in any of the States, Lands and Signories of the most Christian King; and especially all he may pretend to in *Peronne*, *Montdidier*, and *Roye*, and in the Counties of *Belevoisin*, *Guise*, and *Ponthieu*, and in the Towns and Signories situated upon the *Soame*, either upon the one part thereof or the other, together with all the Jurisdictions belonging unto them; notwithstanding any Treaty heretofore made to the contrary.

XIV. That, notwithstanding the Transportation, the Emperor hath made by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the County of *Humen Artois* unto the French King, it is declar'd by these Presents, that the places thereof which are, at this present, in the Emperors Possession, shall remain free and exempt from any pretence of the French, as those above-mention'd.

XV. That all the aforesaid Renouncings and Transportations made by the King unto the Emperor, shall be understood as valid; notwithstanding any derogation which may rise from any Union or Incorporation of them unto the Crown of France, or any bar of the Law Salick. And that the said King and his Successors shall never attempt the contrary hereunto, when yet they might pretend to do it by Right.

XVI. That all Suits and Processes undecided in the Parliament of *Paris*, or any other Court of Justice of the said King, which may have relation to the Inhabitants of *Flanders* or *Artois* by reason of Fees, Lands or Possessions situate in the aforesaid Counties, shall be remitted to the Great Council of the said Emperor, or to other his Courts of Justice in the said Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, to be there finally determined.

XVII. That if any definitive Sentence have been given, before this last War, against the Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, that the power of executing them shall be committed to the Officers of the Emperor.

XVIII. That the Parliament of *Paris* shall remit unto the President, and others of the Emperors Great Council in *Malines*, the Process or Suit concerning the Right which the Count de *Nevers*, or his Wife or Children pretend to the Inheritance of *John of Burgundy*, &c.

XIX. That, notwithstanding the *Droit d'Aubaine*, the Subjects of either Prince may enjoy their Right in as ample form as the Natural Inhabitants of the Country use to do. And as for the County of *Carolois*, that the Lady Arch-Dutcheſs may enjoy it during her Life, and after her Decease, the Emperor, and then that it shall return to the Crown of France. And it is further agreed, that she may enjoy certain Rights in *Noyers*, and other places, in the same manner as she enjoyed them in the life of King *Philip of Castile* her Brother.

XX. That, if the King or any in his name do hold any Town, Castle, or Fort in the State and Duchy of *Milan*; it shall be restor'd to the Emperor and his Commissaries, within six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty.

XXI. That the said King shall deliver unto the Emperor or his Commissaries, within the space of six weeks after the Ratification of this Treaty, the *Contado de Asti*, with all that appertaineth to it, to be enjoy'd by the said Emperor, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

XXII. That the said King likewise shall re-

store unto the Emperor or his Commissaries, *Barleta* and all other places that he or any for him holdeth in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as soon as is possible, and before the Restitution of *Francis* his Children. And it is further agreed, that the said King, within fifteen days after the publication of this Treaty, shall require the *Venetians* and all other his Confederates to restore all the Towns, Castles, and Fortresses that they hold in the Kingdom of *Naples*, within the space of six weeks. And that, in case of Contravention (when the term is expir'd) the said King shall declare himself expressly their Enemy, and from that day forwards, shall give the Emperor thirty thousand Crowns *de Soleil* Monthly, until the said places be recover'd, and brought to obedience to the Emperor. And, in case they be not so recover'd before the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* be deliver'd, the said King shall give good Security to the Emperor for continuing the said pay Monthly, until they be reduc'd to the Emperors Obedience. Upon condition yet, that, if the Emperor employ not the Money to the purpose aforesaid, it shall be paid back again, and that therefore the King may appoint some Person who may inform him of the time, when the said places shall be taken in. And that the said King neither directly nor indirectly shall favour any in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that have rebelled against the Emperor since the Treaty of *Madrid*.

XXIII. That the King shall restore also unto the Emperor or his Commissaries, all that can be recover'd, of that which was taken out of the Gallies in *Portofino*.

XXIV. That, for the particular in the Treaty of *Madrid*, concerning the Residence of *Monsieur de Angouleme* should make with the Emperor, it is remitted to the Kings discretion.

XXV. That, for the particular of the League defensive agreed in the Treaty of *Madrid*, it shall be understood only in relation to the patrimonial Possessions on either side, and that the Charges incident thereunto shall be at the costs of the demander, and, for the rest, that the said King shall not meddle in any Practices either in *Italy* or *Germany*, to the prejudice of the Emperor.

XXVI. That the Marriage concluded by the Treaty of *Madrid*, between the said King, and the Lady *Leonora*, Queen Dowager of *Portugal*, and eldest Sister of the Emperor, shall be accomplish'd. And that the said King as soon as can be, after the Ratification of this Treaty, shall send Ambassadors with sufficient and especial Power and Authority to ratifie and approve all that shall be needful concerning the said Marriage. For the Accomplishment and Consummation whereof, the said Queen shall be conducted into France, at the same instant that the *Dauphin* and Duke of *Orleans* shall be deliver'd. And that the said Matrimony shall hold in all things according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, saving in that only which concerns the Counties of *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, and the Signiory of *Bar sur Seine*; with reservation yet of those Rights which should (as is said before) appertain to the Duchy of *Burgundy*. And because the term of payment of the two hundred thousand Crowns in lieu of Dowry of the said Queen, and specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*, is expir'd; it is agreed again, that the said Dowry should be paid, the half within six Months next ensuing, and the other half within six Weeks following, and that upon receipt of the whole Sum or part thereof the said King shall be bound to give assurance in the manner as is specified in the Treaty of *Madrid*.

XXVII.

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XXVII. That, forasmuch as concerns the Help and Assistance by Land and by Sea promis'd by the said King for the passage of the Emperor into Italy, the said Emperor releaseth it, upon Condition only, that, within two Months after he be requir'd thereunto (whether it be for his Passage into Italy, or for his Return, or for his Service while he is there) he give twelve Gallies, four Ships, and four Gallies sufficiently provided with Artillery, and Seamen, without any Soldiers yet to be put in them, but such as the Emperor shall appoint; and at the cost of the said King (except the *Souldatesque*) for the space of five Months, after the time that they shall come into the Haven, which his Majesty shall nominate. The said Emperor delivering unto the Captain or General (that should bring the said Armado) Letters Patents sign'd with his Hand, and seal'd with his Seal, by which he shall promise and swear, after the said five Months to restore immediately to the said King or his Deputies, the said Armado, in the manner that he receiv'd it. And moreover, the said King shall pay really to the said Emperor the two hundred thousand Crowns, that, by the Treaty of *Madrid*, he promis'd to pay his Majesty, for the aforesaid Voyage; that is to say, one hundred thousand Crowns within six Months next ensuing, and the other hundred thousand Crowns within six Months after. And, as for the pay of six thousand Foot for six Months, which the said King promis'd to furnish, giving therefore the caution and security of sufficient Merchants, the Emperor by this Treaty acquits him of it, upon Condition, that he pay one hundred thousand Crowns *de Soleil*, the which Sum shall remain, and be for the increasing of the Dowry of the Queen Dowager *Leonora*.

XXVIII. That, because in the said Treaty of *Madrid*, there is no mention of the Profits and Rents of the Inheritances given by the said Emperor and King during the War, whereupon many Questions and Differences may arise: It is determined and concluded by this Treaty, that all such Profits and Rents, Ecclesiastical or Secular, as also all Debts, Moveables, which have or might have been given expressly by Letters Patents of the said Emperor and King, or their Lieutenants in any manner, with title of Confiscation, and which have been deliver'd, taken, or paid during the War betwixt the two Princes before the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall remain for ever given and acquitted to the profit of the said Lords, Vassals, Lands, Towns, and Persons subject to the said Emperor and King, and of their Allies which in the said Wars shall have taken the part of the one or the other.

XXIX. That all the Privileges of the Towns, Neighbours, and Inhabitants of the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and other places of the *Low-Countries*, which appertain to the Emperor, shall, by this present Capitulation, be confirm'd, and that the Privileges also that the *French* were wont to enjoy in the said Emperors Dominions shall remain in their full force, according as hath been accustom'd on both sides.

XXX. That all Prisoners of War taken by Sea or Land, as well before as after the Treaty of *Madrid*, of the one part or of the other, Subjects of the said Emperor and most Christian King (excepting the *Neapolitan* Subjects of the Emperor that have serv'd against him in the same Kingdom) and any other that have serv'd, follow'd, and held the contrary part, of what Nation or Condition soever, shall be set free, and put at liberty, without paying Ransom, within two Months after the Ratification of the Treaty, reserving only those Prisoners, which before the

said Treaty should have been put to Ransom, who shall pay their Ransom notwithstanding this Article.

XXXI. That if *Robert de la March* or his Children shall presume to make any Enterprize upon the Cattle and Dutchy of *Bouillon*, (conquer'd by the Emperor, and left by his Majesty to the Church of *Leige*, to which it anciently appertain'd) in such case the King may give no hope, favour or assistance, neither directly or indirectly against the said Church.

XXXII. That the Heirs of *Charles Duke of Bourbon*, according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, shall enjoy all those Goods and Possessions that pertain to the said Duke, so that, notwithstanding all Judgments and Sentences given and pronounced against the said Duke, during his Life, or after his Death, the Heirs of the said Duke shall enjoy their ancient Right.

XXXIII. That *Jean Count of Ponticure* shall be restor'd unto all the Goods which his Father enjoy'd at that time that he went out of *France* to serve the Emperor, and that also the other Friends, Allies and Servants of the said Duke of *Bourbon*, as also their Heirs and Successors, shall enjoy the benefit of the Treaty of *Madrid* in all that may concern them; notwithstanding any Judgments or Sentences given and pronounced to the contrary.

XXXIV. That *Don Lorenzo de Gorreud Count de Pondevaux*, Mayordomo of the Emperor, shall be put in the real possession of the Towns, Castles, Lands and Signories of *Chalamont* and *Montmarles*, bought heretofore of the Duke of *Bourbon*, upon Condition yet, that if the Sum of twenty thousand Crowns (being the price for which they were sold) be paid back again, that they return to the first Owners.

XXXV. That the said King, by this present Treaty, hath taken away and remov'd, and doth take away and remove the Sequestration, and all other Impediments on his part concerning the Principality of *Aurange*, and the Superiority of it, to the intent that *Don Philibert de Chalon*, Prince of *Aurange*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, may enjoy it, together with his Preheminence and Superiority, as he enjoy'd it before the said Sequestration.

XXXVI. That the Dutches of *Vendosme*, Widow, shall be restor'd into all the Possessions that she had in the Emperors Dominions, before, or during the Wars; and *Louis Seigneur de Hanis* shall enjoy the like for his part.

XXXVII. That the *Comte of Gaure* shall be restor'd to his own in the like manner.

XXXVIII. That, for the business of *Philip de Croy*, Marquis of *Arechot*, and the difference betwixt him and the *Seigneurs of Chasteau-Bryon*, and others, Tutors of the Children of *Monsieur de Lautrech*, that it should be referr'd to a particular Treaty and Agreement before the Governors of the City and Dutchy of *Cambray*, which said agreement shall stand.

XXXIX. That, the Suit depending in the Parliament of *Paris*, between *Adolphus of Burgundy Seigneur de Beures* on the one part, for the Seigneuries of *Creue-cœur* in *Cambresis*, &c. and the Kings Attorney on the other part, shall be referr'd, in the state it now is, to four Judges, whereof two be nam'd by the Emperor, and two by the King: And that the said Judges shall be bound to return and determine the Cause in the City of *Cambray*, twenty days after the Ratification of this Treaty. And that, if two of the four Judges absent themselves, the other two, that is to say, one of either part, may proceed to give Sentence.

XL. That

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1529. XL. That in this Peace and Treaty is comprehended, as a principal Contractor, the Pope and the Apostolick See, which the said Emperor and King shall maintain in his Authority and Pre-eminence: And that they shall procure that the Towns and Places, being of the Patrimony of the Church, shall be restor'd. Also there are comprehended herein as principal Contractors, the Kings of Hungary, England, and Poland, Christian King of Denmark, the Kings of Portugal and Scotland, and the Lady Arch-Duchess, Aunt to the Emperor. Also there are comprehended herein as Confederates, the Electors, the Cardinal of Liege, &c. Also it is agreed, that all the said principal Contractors and Confederates shall be advertis'd hereof by the said King and Emperor.

XLI. That the said King shall procure the Community or Republick of Florence, within four Months after the Ratification of this Treaty, to agree with the Emperor, which being done, they also shall be comprehended herein, and not otherwise. And because, since the Treaty of Madrid, Charles Duke of Gueldres Comte de Zutphen, hath taken part with the Emperor, and agreed with him, his Majesty declares him for his Confederate, and all others nominated here: And that those who are not nominated shall be excluded out of the said Treaty, unless they be comprehended under the general terms of Vassals or Subjects of the said Kings.

XLII. That the said Emperor and King (as soon as they well can) for Ratification and Confirmation of this present Treaty (in which *de verbo ad verbum*, there must be inserted and joyn'd together the Treaty of Madrid) shall swear solemnly upon the Evangelists, and the Wood of the true Cross, in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, and these Ambassadors that shall be appointed thereunto, to hold and keep (every one for his part) all the Points and Articles of this Treaty, as also all those contain'd in the Treaty of Madrid, which are not alter'd, chang'd, and innovated by these Presents; submitting themselves, for performance hereof, to the Jurisdiccions and Ecclesiastical Censures, even to the Invocation of the Secular Power *inclusive*; Constituting their Proctors in *forma camere Apostolica*, to appear in their Names, or in either of them, in the Court of Rome before the Pope, and the *Auditori della Ruota*, and to receive voluntarily the condemnation and fulmination of the said Censures in case of Contravention; and, for this purpose, to submit themselves and pro-rogue their Jurisdiction before some Prelate or Ecclesiastical Judge. And that neither the said Emperor and King, nor any of them may (without mutual consent) demand a Relaxation of the said Oath, nor an Absolution of the said Censures. And that, if any did demand and obtain it, it shall not avail him, without the consent of the other.

XLIII. That the said King shall ratifie and approve both this Treaty, and that of Madrid in the form there mention'd, save where it hath been chang'd, alter'd, and innovated by these Presents, forasmuch as concerns the Seigneur Dauphin, according to the manner declar'd in the said Treaty of Madrid. And that he also shall cause this Treaty to be ratif'd and approv'd by all the particlar Estates of the Provinces and Governments of his Kingdoms: And that he shall make them swear and promise, that the said Treaty shall be perpetually kept, and shall cause them to be register'd and verifi'd in the Parliament of Paris, and all other Parliaments of the Kingdom of France, in the presence of the Attorneys General of the said Parliaments, to whom

the said King shall give especial and irrevocable Power, to appear in his Name, in all the said Parliaments, and there consent to the afore-said Inregistring, and submit himself voluntarily to the keeping of all that is contain'd in the said Treaty. And that, by virtue of the said voluntary Submission, he may be enjoyn'd or condemn'd thereunto, by the definitive sentence of the said Parliaments, in good and convenient form. And that this Treaty shall be also verified and Inregistred in the *Chambre des Comptes* of Paris, in the Presence, and with the consent of the King's Attorney, for the more effectual execution, and accomplishment of them, and the validations of the Acquittances, Renuntiations, Submissions, and other things contain'd and declar'd in the said Treaty. Which Ratifications, Inregistrings, Verifications, and all other things above-mention'd shall be done and perfected by the said King, and the dispatches of them, in due form deliver'd into the hands of the said Emperor, before his Children be deliver'd, and within the space of four Months at furthest. And if, for the Inregistring and Verifications above-mention'd, it should be necessary that the said King should release, and discharge unto his Officers those Oaths that they have taken, not to consent or suffer any alienations of the Crown, the said King shall do it; and that also the said Emperor shall, in his great Council, and his other Councils, and *Chambres des Comptes* in his Dominions of the Low-Countries, cause to be made such other Inregistring, and Verifications, releasing also the Oath of his Officers, and causing the particular States of his said Dominions to ratifie and approve this Treaty, within the time above-mention'd.

XLIV. That this Peace shall be publish'd through all the Kingdoms and Seigneuries and Dominions of the Emperor and the King, and especially the Frontiers, before the 15th of September next, to the intent that no Man may pretend Ignorance; and the said Arch-Duchess on the part of the Emperor, and the Dutchess of Angoulesme on the part of the French King, and the said Arch-Duchess particularly for the Queen Leonora, forasmuch as may duly concern her, and by those Oaths that every one of them hath made, do promise that they shall duly ratifie all that is contain'd in this Treaty of Peace. And that they shall give Letters Patents thereof, in due and sufficient form, on either part, within two Months and a half after the concluding this present Treaty.

In testimony whereof the said Ladies Arch-Duchess and Dutchess, and each of them, have sign'd and seal'd these Presents. Dated in the City of Cambray the 5th of August, 1529.

Margarite.
Louise.

And this is the most substantial part of the Treaty of Cambray, as it is set down by Sanderwal; but Bellay l. 3. adds, that, besides the above-mention'd two Millions of Crowns, Francis paid, for the Emperor, to our King, 500000 Crowns as a penalty the Emperor had incur'd for not marrying the Princess Mary. Moreover, that he was bound to dis-engage, from our King, a rich Jewel in the form of a Flower-de-luce, wherein was a piece of the wood of the true Cross, being pawn'd heretofore by Philip, Father of the Emperor, to Henry VII, for fifty thousand Crowns. The Acquittances, for which Payments, together with the Jewel, as the same Author confesseth to have been sent to the Emperor, so he acknowledgeth, in the manner of it, the great Libe-

1529. *K. Henry's Generosity.* Liberality of our King; who, besides giving Francis four years Term for payment of 400000 Crowns (which, as he saith, was the Money lent by our King to Charles) did remit and forgive him absolutely the 500000 Crowns above-mention'd; and, for the Jewel, presented it to his Godson Henry, second Son of Francis by the conveyance of Guillaume Seigneur de Langey, whom the French King sent for that purpose into England.

Mart. du Bel. l. 3. Besides this Treaty, I find, by our Records, another at the same time and place, made betwixt our King, and the Lady Margarete, in the name of the Emperor. Our Kings Commissioners being Cutbbert Tonstal Bishop of London, Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. John Hacket, our Kings Resident there. Which yet, because it contains nothing of extraordinary, but only the continuation of Traffick for Merchants, and the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran Books on either side, I purposely omit.

Sandoz. Francis understanding this conclusion of Peace at Cambray, hasteth thither, that he might both render the Lady Margaret a Visit, and promise not to fail in the performance of those Articles his Mother had agreed. Which yet the Spanish Writers say he held no longer than until the Ambassadors of his Confederates in Italy came to him; so that, when, together with his breach of League with them, they represented their own miserable estate at that present, he excus'd himself, through the necessity of his Condition at that time; assuring them nevertheless, that notwithstanding any Treaty, he would continue his love to and care of them, only when first he might have his Children. So that in effect he secretly assisted them still; as hoping thereby to defend himself against the Emperor, when occasion were. Which also he extended so far, as, upon presumption thereof, he broke some Articles lately concluded with the Spaniard. The News of this Treaty was no sooner brought to Queen Leonora, but she, for the better complying with her Husband, interceded with the Emperor, upon pretence that Charles attempted to draw some of the Swiss (heretofore ally'd with Francis) unto his Service, and that the Children of Francis might have some more liberty, and the French detain'd in Villalpando a less straight Prison; which also was granted her by the Emperor.

July 28. Aug. 12. Sandoz. For the Emperor taking his opportunity (while the Treaty betwixt the Ladies was in agitation) departed from Barcelona the 28th of July, 1529. and arriv'd at Genoa the 12th of August after, with a Royal Train, and about eight thousand Soldiers. And here (as Sandoz observes) began the wearing of short Hair, (the Emperor cutting off his as a Vow for his Passage, or, as others have it, for a Pain in his Head) long Hair having been accusom'd for many Ages before. The Pope, being inform'd of this Voyage of the Emperors, sends some Cardinals to meet him at Genoa, himself in the mean while preparing to attend him at Bononia. While the Emperor having found a reception from the Genoese, temper'd betwixt Love and Fear, did so civilly interpret all to be Respect, that he bid them a kind Farewel, and so held on his way till he came near the Confines of the Pope's Possessions; where three Cardinals (carrying with them the Book of Ceremonies) met him, and, after due Congratulations, made it appear that the ancient Custom of all those who entred upon the Patrimony of the Church, was, to swear first not to offer any Violence to it. The Emperor accepts the Oath, yet so as he said he would not prejudice his own Imperial Right. And because this was

near to Piacenza, divers understood his Words to have relation to that place; which, as also Parma, is said to have belong'd anciently to the Duchy of Milan. The Emperor had now a great Army in Italy under the Command of Antonio de Leyva, which was employ'd chiefly against the Venetians, to which it is probable also he would have join'd his own Forces, had not News come to him of the great Mischiefs which Barbarossa, that famous Pyrate, did on the Seas; and of the Turks entry into Hungary with two hundred and fifty thousand Men. For as this startled the Emperor from his Designs in Italy, so he consider'd as well how useful the Pope would be in disposing other Princes to join against this formidable Army. For which reasons, as also for making his Coronation more glorious, he resolv'd to protest against all other Enterprizes, and apply himself wholly to that War. And the rather, because the Turk had lately undertaken the protection of John Sepuse, Pretender to the Kingdom of Hungary, and now laid siege to Vienna, and endanger'd therein the ancient Patrimony of the House of Austria: Besides, the Protestants in Germany having about this time made some high Demands, he thought it his part to correct or suppress them. Only he judg'd it necessary not to give any publick demonstration thereof, until the Affairs of Italy were compos'd. Therefore, he first makes a Peace with the Venetians, upon condition they should restore the Places with-held in Naples from him, and give back to the Pope likewise the Possessions of the Church. Moreover, that they should pay him a great Sum of Money towards his Charges. Which Articles the Venetians (as being in effect abandon'd of all their Confederates) gladly accepted, only, when the Duke of Urbino (their General) might be comprehended therein. Which also was accorded. They, together with the Pope, interceded likewise for Francisco Sforza, desiring he might be restor'd to his former Estate. The Emperor also, considering that he could make no secure Peace in Italy, unless he remov'd all just Causes of Jealousy, begins to think how he might gratify Sforza herein, upon a proposition of a Marriage to be made between him, and Christiern, younger Daughter of the King of Denmark, and Isabel, Sister to the Emperor; which yet because of her Unripeness for Marriage (being then but ten Years old) took no effect till 1534. So that when the business of Florence might have been ended, all Italy now seem'd compos'd to Quietness. These things thus settled, the Emperor enter'd Bononia about the beginning of November, with more Glory, doubtless, in that he was inform'd how the Turk had rais'd his Siege from Vienna about twenty Days before: From whence after a Months Siege, he was forc'd to retire by the Valour of an old German Garrison, commanded by Philip Count Palatine, having done nothing notable, but crown'd with his own hand, at Buda, John Sepuse King of Hungary. His reception also was magnificent, while the Youth of that City having apparell'd themselves in a Livery, attended his Horse like Lacquais, that they might have the better pretence to be near him. After whom followed his Army, some choice Persons whereof carried Antonio de Leyva on their Shoulders; (though whether in regard of his ancient Infirmary of the Gout, or otherwise, for more ostentation, is not certain.) In which Equipage he went to the Church of St. Petronio, at the Gate whereof the Pope, having rais'd a high Throne upon a Scaffold, and placed himself on the Top, with his Tiara or Triple-Crown on his Head, and, for the rest, attended with a great Train of Cardinals, did in that posture expect him. The Empe-

1529.

Sept.

Turks besiege Vienna

1534

Nov. 5. Siege rais'd.

Charles's Magnificent entry into Bologna.

1529. Emperor alighting here from his Horse, ascended the Steps, and humbled himself to a Kiss of the Pope's Foot, which the Pope presently diverted to a Pax or Kiss on the Cheek. Which Ceremony as it attracted all Men's Eyes, so was it the more considerable unto the Spectators, for that the Conjunction of those two great Lights (as they termed it) could not but portend some strange effect to Christendom. Charles was then about twenty nine, that is to say, in the prime Age to temper his Countenance betwixt Loveliness and Majesty; though nothing yet in his Face was so remarkable as his great nether-lip: Which *Sandoval* will have to be peculiarly deriv'd to that Family (even to this day) from the House of *Burgundy*. The Pope, though gray, retain'd yet much Vigor in his Eyes, though observed for nothing so much as his Beard, which not only he, but also all the Cardinals, as our Agent *Ric. Crook* hath it, wore at a great length; besides, he said, many of them had their Robes or Vestures of a Violet Colour, instead of Scarlet, appearing, for the rest, (as the same *Crook* relates) in their Fashions somewhat Soldier-like. This Interview being past, not without a serious Protestation of the Emperor's, that he would strive to reduce the Affairs of Religion into better terms, they both lodg'd in the same House, for the more convenience of that private Conference, which often past betwixt them: Which also continued for some Months before they departed. Wherefore though it were thought that the Emperor would make his Advantage, as having the Pope in his Power and Custody; yet the Pope and *Venetians* so manag'd the business, as, joyning Offices together (as is abovesaid) they obtain'd that *Francisco Sforza* should be admitted to the Emperors Presence, and in sequence thereof not only pardon'd, but restor'd to the Duchy of *Milan*. Which act of the Emperors, as it was magnanimous beyond expectation, so was it no less opportune; both as it quieted not the *Estates* alone, but even minds of the *Italians*; and, as he dispos'd them thereby to give them their best assistance towards his great affairs in *Germany*. Besides, he excludes *Francis* from hope of attempting that Duchy, unless he would declare himself an open disturber of the Peace of *Italy*. He did not omit yet, to Capitulate with *Sforza*, that the *Marquis de Guasto*, and *Antonio de Leyva* should have certain Lands assign'd them out of the Duchy, and that he might put Garrisons into some of the most important places thereof, till Conditions were perform'd. Shortly after which a kind of universal League, under pretence of the good of Christendom, was by the Popes means concluded, (place being left for those that would enter into it) which also was publish'd the first of *Jan. 1530.* in the Church of *St. Petronio*. And thus the Emperor proceeded to his Coronation in *Bononia*, whither the Crown of Iron (which should be receiv'd at *Milan*) being brought, and after put on in the Popes Chappel; the other, of Gold, was set on his Head, *Feb. 24.* (which was his Birth-day) by the Pope in the great Church, with many Ceremonies. Among which I find none more notable, than that the Emperor, by ancient Custom, must first put on the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria dellatorre* in *Rome*, and after that of a Deacon, before they can be compleatly invested in this Imperial Dignity, the Pope the mean while saying Mass, both in *Latine* and in *Greek*. The Rites whereof appear'd so much more new and strange, that since the time of *Frederick 1442.* no Emperor had been publicly Crown'd. This being done, *Francisco Sforza* was restor'd to an actual possession of his Estate.

The Emperor placing only a Commander in the Fortrefs or Cittadel of *Milan*, and another in *Como*, and causing the City of *Monzo* with vast possessions to be given *Antonio de Leyva*. Having thus settled *Lombardy*, he commandeth his Army to march against the *Florentines*, whom the Pope passionately desir'd to chastise for the many Injuries his Name and Family had lately receiv'd from them.

All which signs of Amity and Correspondence being advertis'd to our King, by *Crook*, and other his Agents in *Italy*, it was easie to imagine what hope of favour he might expect from the Pope in his important Business; yet, lest he should omit any thing which might serve for Justification of his Honour and Dignity in a lawful way, he sent to the most famous Universities of *Italy*, and else-where, to have their Opinions concerning the Divorce. Not offering any way to prevail himself either of his own power among his Clergy, or of the Counsel the Pope had formerly given him, till he had first discover'd what the learnedst Men in Christendom held in that Point. He also writ Letters with his own hand to the Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Sir Gregory Casalis*, (then with the Pope) to tell them, that he had sent *Sir Thomas Bolen*, (newly created) Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*, with *John Stokesley*, elect Bishop of *London*, and *Edward Lee*, as his Ambassadors to the Emperor, and that they should advise together what was to be done. These coming to *Bononia*, after some passages with the Emperor, who told them he could not desert his Aunts Cause, repair'd to the Pope; to whom, having propos'd the Kings affair, they receiv'd this Answer from him; That, though he was urg'd by the *Queens* Solicitor to proceed against the King, yet he desir'd rather that all proceeding should be suspended in the Roman Court, upon condition yet that King Henry, on the other side, would promise, not to innovate any thing in the mean while in *England*. Whereof information being given our King, he answer'd, That his Holiness hath fed him hitherto with fair words only, without intent to aid him, as appear'd lately by denying his Ambassadors Audience to justifie his Cause.

In the mean while our King attends his Parliament business, where *Sir Thomas More*, who was now return'd from the Treaty at *Cambray*, being (in reward of his Service) made Lord Chancellor, gave in an eloquent Oration, at the Parliament-Chamber in *Black-Friers*, the first overtures of the Kings intentions in that Parliament. To which, our King attended with his Nobles, repair'd from his adjoining Palace of *Bridewel*, *Thomas Audley* being chosen Speaker for the lower House. And as now *Luthers* Doctrine was secretly admitted into many places of this Kingdom, with much approbation, so it gave those impressions, as even the most ignorant began to examine whether the Errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the Doctrine or to the Government of the Church. And this alone as it was the first step, so was it a great and bold fall towards that Reformation which follow'd afterwards. Yet as Learning was not then commonly found among those, who in their studies had no other design but Truth, and satisfying their Conscience; so few understood the state of the Questions propos'd, save only they, who being of the Party, either for their own private interest would not retract, or for fear of unsettling the receiv'd grounds of Religion in Mens Hearts, thought it dangerous to permit an Innovation; which yet prov'd a pernicious and fatal Solecism. For whereas, in the beginning, a voluntary Mitigation of the rigour of some of the late Doctrines of the Roman Church, and

The Popes Reception of him.

He pardons *Sforza*, and restores to him the Duchy of *Milan*.

Jan. 1. 1530.

Feb. 22. 1530. Is crown'd by the Pope.

1442.

1529.

K. Henry sends for the Opinions of foreign Universities about the Divorce.

Dec. 8.

1529.

Dec. 8.

1529.

Ambassadors to the Emperor and Pope.

March 26. 1530.

Octo. 26.

1529.

The Parliament meets.

Nov. 1.

Reg. 21.

The beginning of the Reformation.

1529. and a benign Interpretation of the rest, might have conserv'd an universal Peace among Christians, they now, by an obstinate and wilful impugning of all those who said it was possible for them to err, did leave the undertaking of this great Work either to discontented Clergymen, or to the more Laick and improvident sort; which therefore as it prov'd in some kind, tumultuous and refractory, so certainly the Authors on either side were much to be blam'd; when in handling of Controversies, they either out of affectation of Glory, or hope of gaining large Stipends from their Followers (upon pretence of revealing some new or readier way for obtaining Heaven and everlasting Salvation) did teach divers peremptory, and uncharitable Doctrines. Whereas yet, according to the Rules both of Piety and Wisdom, they should have proceeded more moderately; conserving, in the midst of their Differences, a Brotherly Love, and pronouncing the Errors, on what part soever, more worthy pity than hate. Which Rule yet was so little observ'd in England, that many Reformers Books, and Persons were publicly burnt, while their Disciples (for Revenge) fell foul upon the persons of their Adversaries, setting forth Books to the prejudice of the whole Ecclesiastical Order. Which coming at last to the Kings knowledge, made him enquire further into the abuses of the Clergy, permitting the Redress thereof to the lower House of Parliament; where complaint for Exactions for Probats of Testaments and Mortuaries, of Pluralities, Nonresidence, and Priests that were Farmers of Lands, &c. being made, the Spirituality was much offended, and especially John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who (as our History hath it) in a passionate Speech told the Lords, That the Commons would do nothing now but down with the Church. Saying further, that all this was for want of Faith; aggravating the danger the Kingdom was in, by the example of Bohemia. The Lower-House being inform'd thereof, sent the King a Complaint by their Speaker; desiring Reparation. But Fisher excusing himself as he could, Sir William Fitz-Williams on the part of the King, mediated the rest. Notwithstanding which, the Injury which the Commons thought they had receiv'd herein was not so digested, but that one who had made use of the Evangelicks Doctrine so far, as to take a reasonable liberty to judge of the present times, and howsoever was offended that the Bishop rejected all on want of Faith, spoke to this effect.

Abuses among the Clergy to be redress'd by the Commons.
Bishop of Rochester inveighs against the proceeding of the Commons.
How represented by them.

If none else but the Bishop of Rochester or his Adherents, did hold this Language, it would less trouble me. But since so many religious and different Sects (now conspicuous in the whole World) do not only vindicate unto themselves the name of the true Church, but labour betwixt Invitations and Threats for nothing more than to make us resign our faith to a simple Obedience; I shall crave leave to propose, what I think fit (in this case) for us Laicks and Secular Persons to do. Not that I will make my Opinion a Rule to others, when any better expedient shall be offer'd; but that I would be glad we considered hereof, as the greatest affair that now or hereafter may concern us.

For if in all human Actions it be hard to find that medium or even temper which may keep us from declining into extremes, it will be much more difficult in Religious Worship; both as the path is suppos'd narrower, and the Precipices more dangerous on every side. And because each Man is created by God a free Citizen of the World, and oblig'd to nothing so much as the inquiry of those means by which he may attain his everlasting Happiness, it will be fit to examine to whose tuition and conduct he commits himself. For, as several Teachers, not only differing in Language,

Habit and Ceremony, (or at least in some of these) but peremptory and opposite in their Doctrines, present themselves, much circumspection must be us'd. Here then taking his Prospect, he shall find these Guides directing him to several ways; whereof the first yet extends no further than to the Laws and Religions of each Mans native Soil or Diocese, without passing those bounds. The second, reaching much further, branches it self into that diversity of Religions and Philosophies, that not only are, but have been extant in former times, until he be able to determine which is best. But in either of these, no little difficulties will occur. For, if each Man ought to be secure of all that is taught at home, without enquiring further, how can he answer his Conscience? When looking abroad, the terrors of everlasting Damnation shall be denounc'd on him, by the several Hierarchies and visible Churches of the World, if he believe any Doctrine but theirs. And that, amongst these again, such able and understanding Persons may be found, as, in all other affairs, will equal his Teachers. Will it be fit that he believe, God hath inspir'd his Church and Religion only, and deserted the rest; when yet Mankind is so much of one off-spring, that it hath not only the same Pater Communis in God, but is come all from the same carnal Ancestors? Shall each Man, without more examination, believe his Priests in what Religion soever, and, when he hath done, call their Doctrine his Faith? On the other side, if he must argue Controversies before he can be satisfied, how much leisure must he obtain? How much Wealth and Substance must he consume? How many Languages must he learn? And how many Authors must he read? How many Ages must he look into? How many Faiths must he examine? How many Expositions must he confer? And how many Contradictions reconcile? How many Countries must he wander into? And how many dangers must he run? Briefly, would not our life on these terms be a perpetual Peregrination? While each Man posted into the others Country, to learn the way to Heaven, without yet that he could say at last, he had known or tried all. What remains then to be done? Must he take all that each Priest upon pretence of Inspiration would teach him, because it might be so? Or may he leave all, because it might be otherwise? Certainly, to embrace all Religions, according to their various and repugnant Rites, Tenents, Traditions, and Faiths, is impossible, when yet in one Age it were possible (after incredible Pains and Expences) to learn out, and number them. On the other side, to reject all Religions indifferently is as impious; there being no Nation, that in some kind or other doth not worship God. So that there will be a necessity to distinguish. Not yet that any Man will be able, upon Comparison, to discern which is the perfectest, among the many profess'd in the whole World; (each of them being of that large extent, that no Mans understanding will serve to comprehend it in its uttermost Latitude, and Signification,) but (at least) that every Man might vindicate and sever, in his particular Religion, the more essential and demonstrative Parts, from the rest, without being mov'd so much at the Threats and Promises of any other Religion, that would make him obnoxious, as to depart from this way: There being no ordinary method so intelligible, ready, and compendious for the conducting each Man to his desir'd end. Having thus therefore recollected himself, and together implor'd the assistance of that Supreme God, whom all Nations acknowledge; He must labour, in the next place, to find out, what inward Means his Providence hath deliver'd, to discern the True, not only from the False, but even from the Likely, and Possible; each of them requiring a peculiar Scrutiny and Consideration. Neither shall he fly thus to particular Reason, which may soon lead him to Heresie, but, after a due separation of the more doubtful and controverted Parts, should hold himself to Common, Authentick, and universal Truths, and consequently inform himself,

1529. what, in the several Articles propos'd to him, is so taught, as it is first written in the Heart, and together deliver'd in all the Laws and Religions he can hear of in the whole World; for this certainly can never deceive him; since therein he shall find out how for the impressions of Gods Wisdom and Goodness are extant in all Mankind, and to what degrees his universal Providence hath dilated it self; While thus ascending to God by the same steps he descends to us, he cannot fail to encounter the Divine Majesty. Neither ought it to trouble him, if he find these truths variously complicated with Difficulties or Errors; since, without insisting on more points than what are clearly agreed on every side, it will be his part to reduce them into Method and Order; which also is not hard, they being but few, and apt for connexion; so that it will concern our several Teachers to imitate us in this Doctrine, before they come to any particular Direction; lest, otherwise, they do like those who would persuade us to renounce Day-light, to study only by their Candle. It will be worth the labour, assuredly, to inquire how far these Universal Notions will guide us, before we commit our selves to any of their abstruse and scholastick Mysteries, or supernatural and private Revelations. Not yet, but that they also may challenge a just place in our Belief, when they are deliver'd upon warrantable Testimony; but that they cannot be understood as so indifferent and unfallible Principles for the instruction of all Mankind. Thus, among many suppos'd inferior and questionable Deities, worshipp'd in the four quarters of the World, we shall find one Chief so taught us, as above others to be highly Reverenced.

Among many Rites, Ceremonies, and Volumes, &c. deliver'd us as Instruments or Parts of his Worship, he shall find vertue so eminent, as it alone concludes and sums up the rest. Inasmuch as there is no Sacrament which is not finally resolv'd into it; good Life, Charity, Faith in, and love of God, being such necessary and essential parts of Religion, that all the rest are finally clos'd, and determin'd in them.

Among the many Expiations, Lustrations, and Propitiations for our Sins, taught in the several quarters of the World, in sundry times, we shall find that none doth avail without hearty sorrow for our Sins, and a true Repentance towards God, whom we have offended.

And lastly amidst the divers places and manners of Reward and Punishment, which former Ages have deliver'd, we shall find Gods Justice and Mercy not so limited, but that he can extend either of them even beyond Death, and consequently Recompense or Chastise Eternally. These therefore, as universal and undoubted Truths, should in my opinion be first receiv'd. They will at least keep us from Impiety and Atheism, and together lay a foundation for Gods Service, and the hope of a better Life. Besides, it will reduce Men's minds from uncertain, and controverted Points, to a solid practice of Vertue, or when we fall from it, to an unfeigned Repentance, and purpose through Gods grace to amend our sinful Life, without making Pardon so easie, cheap or mercenary, as some of them do. Lastly, it will dispose us to a general Concord and Peace: For when we are agreed concerning these eternal causes and means of our Salvation, why should we so much differ for the rest? Since as these Principles excluded nothing of Faith, or Tradition that tends to Gods Glory, in what age or manner soever it interven'd; each Nation may be permitted the belief of any pious Miracle that conduceth to Gods Glory; without that, on this occasion, we need to scandalize or offend each other. The common truths in Religion, formerly mention'd, being firmer bonds of Unity, than that any thing emergent out of Traditions (whether written or unwritten) should dissolve them. Let us therefore establish and fix these Catholick or Universal Notions.

1529. They will not hinder us to believe whatsoever else is faithfully taught upon the authority of the Church. So that whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of Rochester, Luther, Eccius, Zuinglius, Erasmus, Melancthon, &c. be in the Right, we Laicks may so build upon those Catholick and infallible grounds of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be rais'd, those Foundations yet may support them.

But as few Men are of the same mind in all points of Religion, so it is probable this Overture was entertain'd diversly: Some wishing a Reformation upon what terms soever; others, if it could be safely done, as thinking there may be diseases in Religion, like that of the *Cancer Oculi*, which Physicians say, it is more safe to let alone, than to Cure. Yet as it was manifest that in Probats of Testaments, Plurality of Benefices, and divers other ways above-mention'd, the Clergy had incroach'd and usurp'd both upon each other, and upon the Laity for many Ages, so they would now omit no longer to give a redress to these grosser faults. Therefore about last Wills and Testaments, which Cardinal Woolsey's Legantine Power had so disordred (as Sir Henry Guilford protested openly, that himself being, with others, Executors of the Will of Sir William Compton (who died 1528. of the Sweating Sickness) could not obtain a Probat from the Cardinal, and Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, before he had paid a 1000 Marks) some profitable orders were made. And the business of Mortuaries (exact'd with much extremity even on the poorest) was settled. Moreover Spiritual Persons were abridg'd from taking of Farms, and from Plurality of Livings, unless they were qualified either by certain University Degrees, or by the Nobility, to whom a competent number of Chaplains were assign'd. Non-residence also (then very usual) was forbidden, but in some Cases, and for the rest explain'd, and interpreted. An Act also pass'd for a General Pardon of all Offences, Forfeitures, Punishments, &c. except Murders, and Treasons; which the King granted by way of gratifying his Subjects, for a Release of a great Lone of Money from them, Anno 15. Hen. VIII. which motioned and assented to by the Lords, was, with much ado, confirm'd by the Lower House. After which was enacted a Statute for abridging Plaints in Affize, which being Complicate before, were reduc'd to a more single Method. And this was much to the ease of the Subjects. It was also declar'd Felony for Servants to imbezel their Masters Goods to the value of forty Shillings and upwards. And order taken, that after a Felon was attainted (but not before) the stolen Goods might be restor'd. Furthermore, it was provided particularly, that no Brasse should be carried beyond Sea. Which seems to regard principally making great Ordnance; (about this time appearing of great use.) Artificers Strangers also were restrain'd to certain Rules. As that they might not keep above two Strangers Servants in their House. That they should bear such charges as Natural Subjects did, paying all Subsidies, &c. and take an Oath to be true and obedient to the King and his Laws. That they should have no Conventicles, but meet in the Common Halls of their Craft. That they should not have Journey-men or Prentices Strangers above ten at a time. Moreover, Authority was given to the President of the Kings Council to associate with the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, &c. both for the punishment of Riots, and unlawful Assemblies, &c. and setting of prices of Wines, as also all other Acts, limited and appointed by any Statute to be done by the Chan-

Other abuses regulated.

Acts of indemnity.

Exportation of Brasse forbidden, and why.

1529.

Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal, &c. Other Laws also were enacted, which for being meerly Legal, and therefore relative chiefly to the Masters of the Law, or otherwise Mechanical, or at least so particular, that they belong not properly to History, I purposely omit. And so, a week before *Christmass*, the Parliament was prorog'd to the year following.

Dec. 17.

Barbarossa a Pirate. Sanjov.

1518.

May 21.
Octob 25

Before yet I come to the year 1530. I must not omit to mention *Haradin Barbarossa* that famous Pirate, who, from a low and obscure beginning, had, by his Valour and Conduct (as we have before touch'd) obtain'd the Kingdom of *Argier*. For being not fortunate alone by Sea, when he landed his Men, he did, with no less Success, attempt divers strong places; so that he was generally fear'd; and the rather, that one *Haradin*, call'd *Caca-diablo*, *Sinan* a Jew, and many other notable *Picavens* had rang'd themselves under him; whereby his Forces were so increas'd, that no Navigation was secure in the parts adjoining to him. This year (particularly) he had taken *Penon de Velez*, from the *Spaniards*, and defeated a Fleet of theirs shortly after. And now his design was to make himself Master of the Seas from *Gibraltar* to *Sicily*. For preventing whereof the Emperor employ'd divers, but unfortunately; insomuch that *Andrea Doria* himself, though recovering some Ships out of the Haven of *Sargel*, where part of *Barbarossa's* Sea-forces (under the command of one *Haly*, a Pirate of *Tunis*) rode at Anchor; yet when he caus'd some Soldiers to be led to attempt the Cattle, *Haly* gathering a few resolute Men together, charg'd them desperately, and gave them a repulse with the loss of so many, as made *Doria* desist from his Enterprize; which being advertis'd to the Emperor, made him resolve to invade *Barbarossa* in his own Country, the success whereof shall be related hereafter. The context of my History requiring me now to speak of the *Florentines*; on whom as the Pope passionately desir'd to be reveng'd, so the Emperor, having his preferences also, did for complying with him, send an Army thither under the command of *Philibert Prince of Aurange*, the Marquis of *Guafto*, *Juan de Urbino*, and others of note, and about twenty six thousand Men. The Pope yet us'd distinction; for if he desir'd that the Enemies of his Name and Family with their Adherents should be punish'd, he intreated as well that the City and the Country (whereof he was a Native) should be spar'd. But as the Prince *de Aurange* thought this a subtilty fitter for a School-man than a Soldier, he undertook them together. While *Malatesta Baglioni*, a brave Gentleman, associated with *Francisco Carduci*, and ten others, were chosen the chief Directors of the *Florentine* Affairs. And by their advice the smaller places of *Toscana* (for avoiding that final desolation that assaults do bring) yielded themselves betime. Yet so as *Juan de Urbino*, a Soldier of Note, was kill'd at one of them. And thus siege was laid to the fair City; the Suburbs whereof being weak, were thrown down, that they might the better fortifie their Ramparts, and especial care taken to keep a passage for Victuals open. Yet as the War was thought to proceed out of unkindness rather than hate, so divers of the more innocent sort persuaded the rest to implore the Popes mercy. The reluctance whereof was, that at last an Ambassade was sent. But as by the craft of the adverse Party, election was made of mean and despicable Persons, the design was eluded; the Pope not vouchsafing so much as to hear them. This made them resolve to defend themselves. Insomuch that all their fear being

now actuated into desperation, they by continual Sallies (as well by Night as Day) not only wearied the Assiegers, and slew divers of their ablest Commanders, but finally kill'd *Philibert Prince of Aurange* himself, who being young, valiant, and liberal, was much lamented among the Soldiers. Famine, yet, at last pressing the *Florentines*, a Parly was propos'd, but the more daring sort (chusing rather to die with their Arms in their hands, than to yield to the Incensed Pope) fallied forth with that tury and disorder, that one would have thought they pretended not so much to Victory, as to some other death than Hunger. The more unquiet sort, being thus at length worn out and spent, the rest, by the means of *Malatesta*, came to a composition with the Emperor, (the Pope also, out of compassion to his Country, consenting to it) upon these terms; that they should pay 80000 Ducats towards the charge of the Army. That their popular Government should be chang'd to Monarchical, under the Rule and Dominion of *Alessandro de Medici* (Son of *Lorenzo* late Duke of *Urbino*) and his Heirs; their ancient Priviledges being nevertheless reserv'd. And thus, after above ten Months Siege, the City was rendred to the Emperor; who, for more ample testimony of his favour, bestow'd *Margarite* his natural Daughter upon *Alessandro de Medici*, together with the title of Duke. I find yet, by a private dispatch, that he was not very well pleas'd with these Articles, as believing he might have made more advantage of his Conquest; though, for contenting the Pope, he gave way to it, as being now intente wholly to the Buiness of *Germany*. For as the affairs of Religion in those parts, together with the invasion of the *Turks*, requir'd his Presence, so he departed from *Italy*, about five Months before the rendition of that place: Making (in his way) the Marquis of *Mantua* a Duke, and receiving his Brother *Ferdinand* at *Innspruck*, with much demonstration of Love. Where also he advis'd concerning the present Estate and Disposition, not of the Affairs only, but even Persons and Favourites of those with whom he was to treat. So that, coming at last to *Augsburg*, where a general Diet and Assembly was appointed, with much solemnity (the Electors and others, Princes of *Germany*, meeting there) he requir'd their Grievances. The account whereof yet I must omit a while, that I may come to the restitution of *Francis* his Children.

The Jewel, Money, and Acquittances requir'd for discharge of his pretious Hostages, being now gotten together, *Francis* would no longer delay to perform his agreement. Only as he confest himself much enabled hereunto by the special goodness and bounty of our King, so he fail'd not to take his advice on all occasions. And thus, the day being come, *Anne de Montmorency*, Grand Maistre of *France*, and *Hernando de Velasco* *Constable de Castilla* were chosen by both Princes for the persons to whose fidelity and care they thought fit to commend this important buiness. And because the Cautions and Difficulties were many, they agreed upon certain Articles, the most substantial whereof (besides those extant in the Treaty of *Cambray*, to which Relation must be had) were these following.

I. That a Bridge or Pontone, of forty foot long, and fifteen broad, should be erected upon Boats fastned with Anchors upon the midst of the River betwixt *Fuenterabie* and *Andaja*; whereupon the exchange shall be made.

II. That no Troops of Horse should be within ten Leagues of the place for ten days before, and ten days after the delivery, nor no considerable number of Foot,

1529.

Aug. 1.

August

The Emperor makes a Duke.

Emperor makes a Duke.

Marquis of Mantua made a Duke.

Charles arrives at Augsburg.

Mar. 10.

Articles for delivering the Dauphin and his Brother. May 26.

Emperor's War in Tuscany.

Sept. 16.

1530.

1529. and that no Gentlemen should pass that way, but those who were appointed.

III. That at the day of delivery, no Company of Men or Women should be within three Leagues of the Place.

IV. That in Fuentarabie there should be none but the ordinary Garrison, being fifty Men, and that the Canon should be dismounted.

V. That a hundred Horse, and four hundred Foot, (which afterwards was reduc'd to a less number) should be allowed on either side to come to the bank of the River.

VI. That twelve Persons should be admitted on either side to pass over and see these Articles observ'd; and that two Gallies should coast the River, with equal numbers of both Nations, to prevent surprisings.

VII. That the Money should be brought in one Shallop, and the Hostages in another, to the two sides of the Bridge; and that, for Counter-ballancing the Money, so much Iron should be put in the other.

VIII. That in the Shallop of the Hostages should be twelve Spaniards, the Constable, and Seigneur de Praet being comprehended, and Monf. de Brisac a Frenchman, with Swords and Daggers, the Hostages having Daggers only. And that the like Number and Arms should be permitted to Montmorency in the other Shallop. And one Alvaro de Lugo a Spaniard, with two Pages to go along with them in lieu of the Hostages, and twelve Oars on either part unarm'd.

IX. That coming both at the same time to the two sides of the Bridge, the Constable, and Montmorency should land first on the said Bridge, and call to them in equal number their Companies. And that the Spaniards should pass into the Shallop where the Money and Writings and Jewels were, along the one side of a Barrier erected, and the French on the other Shallop of the Hostages.

X. That Queen Leonora should go in a Shallop apart with six Ladies attendants, the rest being eight Cavaliers and six Oars of either Nation, but that she should not pass till the exchange were made. Notwithstanding which Agreement, so much time was employ'd in counting, weighing, and examining the Money, that many weeks preceding were spent before they could accord of the payment. The Spaniard finding the Gold to want of its Purity, and the Deschec or loss being valued at 40000 Crowns. Besides, as the River on the Spanish shoar was shallower than on the French, there wanted not some Jealousie and Wrangling. Howsoever, at length the delivery was made. Whereof Francis being advertis'd, did post from Bourdeaux to Varin, where with much joy he receiv'd his Children, and Queen Leonora de Seres, whom also he married an hour before the day following.

And now Francis remembring how much it concern'd him to correspond with our King (to whom he ow'd first his own, and next his Childrens Liberty) sent over to acquaint him therewith.

Our King also considering that Francis being now dis-ingag'd, might more freely declare himself, did (by a particular Message) not only make known the little hope he had of the Popes favour in his particular business, but desir'd that Kings assistance, for obtaining the resolution of the Universities and Learned Men in his Kingdom concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage; for which purpose he induc'd Guillaume de Bellay (sent by Francis to him in the beginning of this year) to co-operate with them, as also those of Italy and Germany, not omitting together to employ at Paris, his Kinsman and Beneficiary Reginald Pole, with Sir Francis Bryan, and Edward Fox, Master William Paget (after) being

sent to Orleans and Tholouse, and Francis together readily promising his assistance. And because our King had many Agents about this time employ'd in Italy, as namely Doctor Richard Croke, (a Man excellent in the Greek Tongue) at Padua; Hierome de Ghinucci Bishop of Worcester, and Gregory Casalis at Rome; Doctor Stokesley at Venice, Thomas Cranmer (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) Andreas and Johannes Casalis, and Previor dellus; he had enough to do; while sometimes he labour'd to reconcile, and sometimes again to make use of their various Advertisements. Stokesley writ in a Letter (dated June 13.) that he had gotten the Opinions of the University of Bononia; and that more would have concurr'd, had not the Pope contradicted. Croke said, the Pope and Emperor threatned all that subscrib'd in favour of the Kings Cause. He writes also that the Emperor's Ambassador in Padua, challeng'd one Frier Thomas, for favouring the King's Cause, and told him, if this conclusion should take effect, many of the greatest Princes of Christendom should be disherited, or taken as Illegitimate; accounting in those as well the Emperor, as the King of Portugal. Notwithstanding which, he had gotten eighty principal Mens hands a good while since, and had obtain'd thirty more, which yet by their means were burnt. By a Letter also of Crokes, Aug. 24. It appears, that the Emperor labour'd with the State of Venice, to oppose the King in his demand. Furthermore he protested none would take Money (Lawyers only excepted) for delivering their Opinions, though he forc'd sometimes a small Reward on them when they had done. Which particular Dr. Stokesley (in a Dispatch Sept. 23. 1530.) did confirm; saying, it was their manner both in Padua and Bononia to refuse Money with these words, *Quod à Spiritu Sancto gratis accepimus, gratis & libenter impertimur*. Moreover Croke, by a Letter, Aug. 31. 1530. said, *Cesar minis, precibus, pretio, & sacerdotiis, partim terreat nostros, partim confirmat suos*: Certifying our King further, that Andreas Casalis and Previor dellus did reveal his Highness Secrets to the Cesarians: In conclusion I find that many would have given their opinion in favour of the Divorce, if they durst. So that though the Kings Agents did now and then differ in some Points, they all yet agreed that most of the Learned Men in those parts would have favour'd the King in the point of his Divorce, had not the Pope and Emperor oppugned it. Croke adds further, that the Emperor got some hands in Mantua for Money, but they were of the meaner sort. Whereas twenty-nine Doctors in that place had freely subscrib'd on his Highness part. Now as Gregory Casalis seem'd among all his Highness Agents, at this time, the most industrious, so he solicited the Pope continually on our Kings behalf, not neglecting also the Cesarians, to whom he gave, and from whom he receiv'd that Intelligence, as he made advantage of all. By which dangerous and suspected Wildom yet he prevail'd so far, that at length he had Authority, as it seems, to write this following Dispatch, which I have caus'd faithfully to be transcrib'd out of the Original.

Serenissime & Potentissime Domine Rex, Domine mi Supreme, humillima Commendatione premissa, Salutem & Felicitatem. Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni faceret, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, Concedi posse vestra Majestati ut duas Uxores habeat; Cui dixi, nolle me Provinciam suscipere ea de re scribendi, ob eam causam, quod ignorarem an inde vestra Conscientia satisfieri posset, quam vestra Majestas imprimis exonerare cupit.

Cur

They are deliver'd. July 1

Bellay.

1529. K. Henry's Agents to get the Opinions of foreign Universities about the Divorce

Aug. 11

Letter of Casalis from Rome.

1529. Car autem sic responderem, illud in causa fuit, quod ex certo loco, unde quæ Cesariani moliantur aucupari soleo, exploratum certumque habebam, Cesarianos illud ipsum querere & procurare. Quem vero ad finem id quærent, pro certo exprimere non ausim. Id certe totam vestra prudentia considerandum relinquo. Et quamvis dixerim Pontifici, nihil me de eo scripturum, nolui tamen Majestati vestra hoc reticere; quæ sciat omni me industria laborasse, in iis quæ nobis mandat, exequendis. Et cum Anconitano qui me familiariter uti solet, omnia sum conatus. De omnibus autem me [ad] communes Literas rejicio. Optime valeat vestra Majestas. Romæ die xviii Septembris, MDXXX.

C. P. Majestatis
Humilissimus Servus,
Gregorius Cafalis.

MOST Serene and most Powerful Lord, and my most gracious Sovereign, to whom all Health and Happiness, and the most humble acknowledgments of my Duty and Affection. Some days agoe the Pope in private offer'd to me this Proposal, as a thing of which he made much account, that your Majesty might have a Dispensation to have two Wives; to whom I answer'd, that I was very unwilling to take upon me to write to your Majesty, to know your Majesties pleasure herein, because that I did not know whether this proposal would satisfie your Conscience, the ease and quiet whereof, was what your Majesty does only aim at. The reason why I gave this for Answer, was, that in a certain place, from whence I have information of the Designs and Contrivances of the Cesarians, I have certain intelligence and undoubted knowledge, that this proposal was started, and is promoted by the Cesarians; but what their aim and design herein should be, I dare not certainly affirm, and therefore leave that wholly to your Highnesses great Prudence and Consideration. And though I told his Holiness, that I could not venture to write to your Majesty herein, yet was I unwilling to keep this from your Majesties knowledge, that it may appear, that no Care or Industry is wanting in me to execute your Majesties Commands, or promote your Services. I have done all which I have been able with one of Ancona, with whom I have great intimacy. As to all which I refer to the common Letters. May God preserve your Majesties Health, Rome Sept. 18. 1530.

Your most Excellent Majesties
Most Obedient Servant,
Gregory Cafalis.

How this Letter was believ'd or accepted yet, doth not appear to me; so that although Melancthon is said to have concurr'd in some such Opinion, no effect follow'd thereof. For I find, that at this very time, King Henry, jealous of the Queens, or (as our Historians say) of Woolsey's procuring Bulls against him, set forth this Proclamation, September 19.

THE King's Highness streightly Chargeth and Com-mandeth, that no manner of Person of what Estate, Degree, or Condition soever, he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high Authority, Jurisdiction and Prerogative Royal of this his said Realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his Graces noble and virtuous intended purposes in the Premises; upon pain of incurring his Highness Indignation, and

Imprisonment, and further Punishment of their Bodies, for their so doing, at his Graces pleasure, to the dreadful Example of all other.

Thus did the King begin to shake off the Romish Yoke; to which he was much animated by the concurrence of his Subjects in Parliament, both Spiritual and Temporal, who (as it appears by our Records) in July this year under their Hands and Seals sent a Declaration to the Pope. The Tenor whereof is this;

July 3.
House of
Lords Letter to the
Pope.

SANCTISSIMO in Christo Patri & Domino Domino Clementi, divina Providentia, ejus nominis Papæ septimo; Osculatis pedibus omni cum humilitate, felicitatem precamur & optamus perpetuam, in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Beatissime Pater, tametsi Causa Matrimonii, Inviçitissimi & Serenissimi Principis Domini nostri, Angliæ Franciæque Regis, Fidei Defensoris, & Domini Hiberniæ, multis ipsa per se Argumentis Vestra Sanctitatis opem imploret atque efflagitet, ut illud quam celerime finem accipiat, quem Nos, summo cum desiderio jam diu desideravimus, & longa sed hactenus vana spe à Vestra Sanctitate expectavimus: Non potuimus tamen committere, ut Rebus nostris Regniue statu, ex hac litis Protelatione in tantum discrimen adducto, omnino sileremus, sed quod Regia Majestas nostrum Caput, atque adeo Anima omnium nostrum, & in cujus verbis nos, tanquam Membra conformia, justa compagine Capiti coherencia, multa sollicitudine Vestram Sanctitatem precati, & frustra tamen precati sumus, id nos Literis nostris doloris gravitate adducti seorsim & separatim flagitaremus. Suf-ficere sane alioqui debuisset, Causæ ipsius justitia, eruditissimorum virorum calculis passim probata, celeberrimarum Academiæ suffragiis judicata, ab Anglis, à Gallis, ab Italis, prout quisque apud eos ceteros eruditione antecellit, pronunciata & definita, ut Sanctitas Vestra, etiam nemine petente & reclamantibus quibuscunque, suo Ore suaque Autoritate aliorum Sententias confirmaret; præsertim cum Causæ definitio eum Regem, illud Regnum respiciat, quod de Sede illa Apostolica tam multis nominibus bene meritum sit: Precibus autem nihil opus fuisset, nisi quatenus homines doloribus indulgent, & preces non necessarias interdum effundere solent. Cæterum quum apud Sanctitatem Vestram nec ipsius Causæ Justitia nec Beneficiorum acceptorum recordatio, nec optimi Principis tam assidue & diligentes Preces quicquam profecerint, ut obtineatur à vobis quod paternæ pietatis officium exigebat, adauctus supra modum in nobis miseriarum ac calamitatum recordatione doloris cumulus singula etiam Republicæ nostræ membra vocalia facit, & Verbis & literis conquestionem edere compellit. Nam quæ tandem infelicitas, ut quod duæ Academiæ nostræ, quod Academia Parisiensis, quod multæ aliæ Academiæ in Gallia, quod passim doctissimi, eruditissimi & integerrimi viri domi forisque verum affirmant, & pro vero defendere tam Verbis quam Calamo se paratos ostendunt, id pro vero non obtineat à Sede Apostolica ille Princeps, cujus Ope atque Præ-fidio

1529. fidio sua stat Sedi Apostolicae Autoritas, à tam multis ac Populis etiam potentissimis tam valide impetita, quibus partim Ferro, partim Calamo, partim voce atque autoritate sepius in ea Causa restitit; & tamen solus illius autoritatis beneficio non fruitur, qui curavit ut esset qua alii fruerentur. His quid responderi posset non videmus, & malorum interim pelagus Reipublicae nostrae imminere cernimus, ac certum quoddam diluvium comminari, aut quod diluvio par est, multa caede ac sanguine resinctam olim Successionis controversiam denuo reducere. Habemus enim summis virtutibus Principem, certissimo titulo Regem, indubitatam Regno tranquillitatem daturum, si Sobolem ex corpore Masculum nobis reliquerit; cujus in vero Matrimonio sola spes esse potest: Matrimonio autem vero tantum illud nunc obstat, ut quod de priore Matrimonio tot docti viri pronunciant, id utique Vestra Sanctitas sua Autoritate declaret. Hoc autem si non vult, & qui Pater esse debeat, nos tanquam Orphanos relinquere decrevit, & pro abjectis habere, ita certe interpretabimur, Nobis nobis curam esse relictam, ut aliunde nobis remedia conquiramus. Sed ad hoc ne adigamur, Sanctitatem Vestram oramus ut Regi nostro in tam sanctis desideriis adesse, & sine mora aut dilatione favere velit, vehementer obsecramus, ut iudicio suo comprobet quod viri doctissimi affirmant, per illam quam nobis ex Pastoralis Officio debet Pietatem ex mutuo Cordis Affectu obtestamur, ne claudantur paterna viscera, tam obsequentibus, tam benevolis, tam morigeris Filiis. Causa Regiae Majestatis nostra cujusque propria est, à Capite in Membra derivata, dolor ad omnes, atque injuria ex æquo pertinet, omnes in ejus Majestate compatimur, quibus facile Sanctitas Vestra mederi posset, nec posset modo, sed ex paterna pietate deberet. Quod si vel id non fecerit, vel facere quidem distulerit Sanctitas Vestra, hactenus sane conditio nostra erit miserior, quod tam diu sine fructu frustra laboratum sit, sed non omni prorsus remedio destituta. Sunt quidem Remedia extrema semper duriora, sed Morbum omnino utcumque levare curat agrotus, & in malorum commutatione nonnihil est spei; ut, si minus succedat quod bonum est, sequatur saltem quod est minus malum, & id temporis etiam cursu facile tolerandum. Ista autem ut secum consideret Sanctitas Vestra, iterum atque iterum rogamus, in Domino Jesu Christo, cujus Vices in Terris se gerere profitetur, idque ut nunc factis conetur ostendere; Ut veritatem, doctissimorum hominum vigiliis ac laboribus inventam, probatam & confirmatam, ad Dei Laudem & Gloriam sua Sententia & Pronunciatione velit illustrare. Interim vero Deum Opt. Max. quem ipsam esse veritatem certissimo Testimonio cognoscimus, comprecabimur, ut Vestrae Sanctitatis Consilia ita informare atque dirigere dignetur, ut quod sanctum, justum ac verum est, à Vestrae Sanctitatis Autoritate obtinentes, ab omni alia assequenda Veritatis molestia liberemur.

1. Archiepiscopi.
T. Cardinalis Ebor.
Willielmus Can.

2. Duces.
Tho. Norfolk.
Char. Suffolk.

3. Marchiones.
T. Dorset.
H. Exeter.

4. Comites.
Willielmus Arundel.
Jo. Oxenford.
H. Northumberland.
Rauf. Westmerland.
Geo. Shrewsbury.
Henr. Essex.
Edw. Derby.
H. Worcester.
Tho. Rutland.
Hen. Cumberland.
Robert Suffex.
Geo. Huntington.
G. of Kildare.

5. Episcopi.
Robert. Cicestrenf.
Joh. Carliolens.
Joh. Lincoln.
Rich. Menevensis.

6. Barones.
Henr. Montague.
G. Rochford.
Willielm. Weston.
E. Abergavenny.
J. Audley.
Hen. Scroope.
Tho. Dacres.
Tho. La-Ware.
Willielm. Dacre.
Tho. Barkley.
Hen. Morley.
Geo. Cobbam.
Rich. Latimer.
Edw. Stourton.
Jo. Fitzwarren.
Jo. Semers.
Jo. Lumley.
Willielm. Mountjoy.

Chris. Coniers.
Hen. Daubeny.
T. Darcy.
T. Montegle.
Willielm. Sandys.
Jo. Husey.
Andr. Windsor.

7. Abbates.
Jo. of Westminster.
Jo. of Bury St. Edmund.
Rich. Glaston.
Will. Gloucester.
Tho. of Abendon.
Hugh of Reading.
Edw. of York.
Jo. of Peterburgh.
Jo. of Ramsay.
Jo. of Croyland.
Ro. of Thorney.
Ro. of Selby.
William Abbot of Bardney.
Will. Ab. of St. Benet de Hulmo.
Tho. Ab. of St. John by Colchester.
Jo. Ab. of Hyde.
Clem. Ab. of Evesham.
Ric. Ab. of Malmesbury.
Ric. Ab. of Winchelcomb.
Rob. Ab. S. Crucis de Walsingham.
Jo. Ab. of Cirester.
Hen. Abbot of Teuxbury.

8. Milites & Doctores in Parlamento.
William Fitz-William.
Hen. Guildford.
Steph. Gardiner.
Jo. Gage.
William Kingston.
Bryan Tuke.
Rich. Sacheverell.
Rich. Sampson.
Edw. Lee.
Rich. Woolman.
Jo. Bettat.

1529.

TO the most holy Lord, our Lord and Father in Christ, Clement, by the Divine Providence the seventh Pope of that Name, we wish and pray for perpetual felicity in our Lord Jesus Christ, with all humility throwing our selves at his feet. Most blessed Father, although the Cause concerning the Marriage of the most Invincible Prince our Sovereign Lord the King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, does for sundry, great, and weighty Reasons of it self, require and demand your Holinesses Assistance, that it may be brought to that speedy end and determination, which we with so great and earnest desires have wish'd, and with so very great, though very vain expectations have long look'd for from your Holiness: We could not nevertheless prevail with our selves to keep silence herein any longer, especially since our Kingdom and the affairs thereof suffer so much, and are brought into so great danger through the unseasonable delay of Sentence herein: So that since his Majesty our Head, and by consequence the Life of us all, and we in his Words, as Subject Members, by a just Union annexed to the Head, have with great earnestness pray'd your Holiness, but pray'd in vain, we are by the greatness of our grief, forced separately and distinctly by these our Letters, most humbly to intreat your speedy determination hereof. Be justice of the cause it self, approved of by the Opinions of the most Learned Men every where, and determined by the Decrees of the most famous Universities in the World, and esteem'd and judg'd most righteous by all Persons either in England, France or Italy, who are most eminent for their Learning, might so far prevail, as that your Holiness, though no body entreated it, nay, though some oppos'd it, should with your own Voice and Authority, confirm that Sentence which has so universally been pronounced just, especially when your Determination of this Cause is a piece of Justice done to that King and Kingdom, which upon so many several accounts have deserv'd well of the Apostolical See; although entreaties to you herein seem not to be necessary, however we make them, as Persons overborn with troubles, who indulge their grief, and frequently pour forth repeated and unnecessary Prayers. But since your Holiness is not to be prevail'd upon, either by the Justice of the Cause, the remembrance of the good Services you have always found, or by the earnest and continued requests of the best of Princes, to do that which might be expected from your Paternal Love and Affection alone, our grief is by the remembrance of our Miseries and Calamities encreas'd to that immense degree, that it overspreads the whole body of the Realm, and gives a voice of complaint to each Member of it, forcing them both by their Words, and in their Letters, to lay before your Holiness this their insupportable Grievance. For how great a misfortune is it, that what our own two Universities, the University of Paris, as well as many other in France, what almost all Men of Learning, Knowledge and Integrity, both at home and abroad have determin'd and affirm'd to be true, and the truth of which they are ready to defend and support both in their Discour-

ses and Writings; yet cannot a confirmation of this so universally acknowledge a truth, be obtain'd from the holy Apostolical See by that Prince, by whose support and assistance that See still keeps and preserves its Authority, which has been shaken and undermined by so many, and so powerful Adversaries, till he withstood and oppos'd their designs partly by his Sword, partly by his Pen, at other times by his Commands and Authority, supporting that Power and Authority of the Church, from whence others are enabled to obtain those mighty advantages from which he now finds himself only excluded. What answer can be made hereto we see not, and yet we see that from hence a flood of miseries is flowing in upon the Commonwealth, and a sort of Deluge of Calamities overwhelming us, from the disputes about Succession, which will soon overtake us, never to be settled without infinite slaughter and effusion of Blood. We now have a King most eminent for his Virtues, seated upon the Throne of his Ancestors, by right undoubted and unquestionable, who would entail lasting Peace, and uninterrupted tranquillity on his Realms, if he leaves a Son to succeed him from lawful and true Marriage, nor will that be possible, unless your Holiness will by your Authority, pronounce the same Sentence concerning his former Marriage, which so many Learned Men have already deliver'd. But if your Holiness, whom we justly call our Father, shall, by refusing to comply herein, esteem us as Cast-aways, and resolve to leave us Orphans; we can make no other Construction of it, but that the care of our selves is committed to our own Hands, and that we are left to seek our remedy elsewhere. But that we may never be driven to these Extremities, we beg your Holiness without delay, or farther loss of time, to assist these his Majesties most just and reasonable desires, we most earnestly intreat a confirmation of the judgment of these most Learned Men, humbly imploring, that for the sake of that Mutual Love, and that Paternal Affection which your Pastoral Office requires you to shew us, not to shut up your bowels of Pity and Compassion against us, your most Dutiful, most Loving, most Obedient Sons. The Case of his most sacred Majesty, is the Case of us all, since the Head cannot suffer, but the Members must bear a part, the grief arising herefrom, and the injury suffer'd hereby, does equally affect us, who bear our proportion of all his Majesties Afflictions; the remedy of which, as it must proceed wholly from your Holinesses power, so is it a duty necessarily arising from your Paternal Authority and Affection: Which remedy, if your Holiness shall refuse or delay to grant, our Condition will indeed herein be more miserable, that so long we have fruitlessly and in vain sought redress, but it will not be wholly desperate, since it is possible to find relief some other way. Desperate Remedies indeed are not without extremity to be apply'd; but he that is sick, will by any means get rid of his Distemper: in the change of our miseries there is some Comfort, when if we can't obtain perfect relief, yet we may change our condition for that which is less afflicting, and more tolerable. That your Holiness would be pleas'd to take these things into your most serious Consideration, we do again and again

1529.

1529. again beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, whose Vicar on Earth you stile your self, and that you would now conform your actions to that Title, by pronouncing your sentence to the glory and praise of God, and thereby giving your Testimony and Sanction to that Truth, which has been examin'd, approv'd, and after much deliberation confirm'd by the most Learned Men of all Nations. In the mean time we will beseech God, whom we infallibly know to be Truth, that he would vouchsafe so to inform and direct your Holinesses Deliberations herein, that having by your Holinesses Authority, a Confirmation of what is Just, Righteous and True, we may therein rest satisfy'd, and be free from the trouble of seeking to attain this end by other means.

Archbishops.
T. Cardinal of York.
William Cant. &c.

To which Clement return'd this Reply.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis & Episcopis, ac dilectis Filiis Abbatibus, Nobilibusque Viris, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus ac Doctoribus Parliamenti Regni Angliæ.

CLEMENS Papa VII.

Popes Answer.

Venerabiles Fratres & dilecti Filii, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multa sunt in vestris Literis die xiii. Julii datis ac nobis superioribus diebus redditis, quæ gravius accepissemus, nisi ea affectui, studioque vestro erga Charissimum in Christo Filium nostrum, Regem vestrum condonanda arbitramur. Itaque sedato animo ad eas Literas respondebimus, tantum ut doceamus quam immerito de nobis conquesti sitis, neque oportuisse tantum à vobis tribui privato erga Regem sive officio sive amoris vestro, ut nos duobus, ingrati adversus Serenitatem suam animi ac denegatæ Justitiæ, gravissimis nominibus incusaretis. Nos quidem agnoscimus Regem vestrum ea omnia quæ in vestris Literis enumeratis, ac multa etiam plura promeritum, manebitque perpetuo non modo apud nos sed ad posteros nostros memoria ejus in Sedem Apostolicam meritorum. Fatemurque nos non modo Pontificiæ personæ quam gerimus, sed privato nostro nomine tantum Serenitati suæ debere, ut nunquam beneficiis parem gratiam relaturi videamur. Sed quod attinet ad Controversiam quæ de Matrimonio est inter Serenitatem suam & Catharinam Reginam, tantum abest, ut denegando Justitiam, Regis spem frustrari voluerimus, ut ultro ab altera parte, tanquam plus æquo in partes Majestatis suæ propensi, reprehendamus. Sed, ut paulo altius perpetuum animi nostri erga Regem vestrum Tenorem repetamus: Cum primum, tribus ferme abhinc annis, Regii Oratores ad nos hanc Causam detulissent; animi

1529. nostri propensionem potius quam Juris rigorem secuti, commisimus illam dilectis Filiis nostris Thomæ et Sanctæ Cecilie Eboracensi in Regno Angliæ Legato, & Laurentio et Sanctæ Mariæ in Transiberim Campegio à nostro Latere misso, Presbyteris Cardinalibus, in Regno atque adeo domi ipsius Regis audientiam & terminandam; satisfecimusque tum, quantum in nobis fuit, Serenitatis suæ voluntati. Verum cum Regina suspectum illud in partibus Judicium habere cepisset, & à gravaminibus sibi, ut dicebat, per eosdem Legatos illatis ad Sedem Apostolicam appellasset, Procuratoribus etiam ad dictam appellationem prosequendam constitutis, ne tum quidem considerari passi sumus nostram erga ipsum Regem benevolentiam. Nam tametsi causæ hujusmodi appellationis Commissio negari non poterat, tamen Concordia potius quam via Juris terminari hanc controversiam cupientes, omnes moras in Commissionem dictæ causæ appellationis concedenda interposuimus, eo prætextu, quod esset de majoribus causis, meritoque ad Consistorium rejicienda. Habita vero deinde super hoc cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus aliquoties consultatione, fuit aliquamdiu dilatum negotium; Sed tandem unanimi omnium Cardinalium voto conclusum est, Commissionem causæ Appellationis hujusmodi per nos negari non posse. Itaque commissa est audienda & subinde in dicto Consistorio nobis referenda & terminanda. Nam cum omnibus in rebus considerate procedere debemus, tum in hac potissimum quæ Regias & illustres personas tangit, & in quam totius Christianitatis oculos conjectas esse videmus. Post quæ deinde nullus Regius legitimus Procurator comparuit, qui aut scripto aut verbo de Juribus Regis doceret; ideoque factum, ut lis adhuc decidi non potuerit. Quippe cum exactis & productis, non ex amore & benevolentia decidenda sit. Quamobrem nulla causa est, cur nobis ascribatis litis quam dicitis protelationem; de qua miramur vos queri, cum illam Oratores ipsius Regis alibi & præsertim Bononiæ à nobis petierint & impetrarint, invitissimis quidem & reclamantibus Reginæ Procuratoribus. Cum itaque nunquam per nos steterit, quin hæc lis, omnibus rebus mature discussis, terminaretur, non videmus quibus rationibus nitatur querimonia vestra; nisi forte id dicitis, tot esse Regis erga nos & Sedem Apostolicam beneficia, ut quoquo modo in ejus voluntatem Causam diffiniri oportuerit; id enim ostenditis satis aperte, cum dicitis, in Causa ab eruditissimis viris Anglis, Gallis, Italis, ac tot Academiarum suffragiis probata, & nemine petente ac reclamantibus quibuscunque Sententiam à nobis ferri debuisse. Qua in re non parum prudentiam & modestiam vestram requirimus. Nam non videmus, quibus rationibus freti postuletis, ut in Causa maximi momenti Sententiam feramus, nemine petente ac cæteris reclamantibus, cum adversa pars continue opponat totius Christianitatis Scandalum, tot annorum matrimonium ad supplicationem Clarissimorum Regum Henrici Patris ac Ferdinandi Catholici, ex Dispensatione hujus Sanctæ Sedis constitutum; præterea Filiam extantem & plures Reginæ partus;

1531. tus; & adversus opiniones Doctorum, quas pro vobis allegatis, multorum & ipsi gravissimorumque virorum judicium, & pro se facientia Divini Juris mandata adducant, Argumentis haustis non modo ex Latinis, sed etiam ex uberrimis in hac re Hebræorum fontibus: Nobis tamen in neutram adhuc partem inclinantibus, sed æquas aures præbentibus, cum Causam hanc gravissimam & ad totam Rempublicam Christianam & posteritatem omnem pertinere existimemus. Nam ex iis quas pro vobis facere Doctorum hominum atque Universitatum Opiniones scribitis, pauca admodum venerunt in manus nostras, nobis non legitime, nec Regis nomine, ab Oratoribus præsentata, illæque nudæ tantum illorum hominum opiniones, nullis adscriptis rationibus cur ita sentiant, nullaque sacrorum Canonum & Scripturæ, quæ tantum spectare debemus, Autoritate subnixæ. Postulare autem, ut, in Regis gratiam, quicquam temere atque inconsiderate statuamus, nec æquum nec vestra Sapientia dignum est. Nam, tametsi multum Serenitati suæ debemus, tamen in judicando pluris facere cogimur Eum, per quem Reges regnant & Principes imperant; & veri Patris officium est prospicere, ne nimia facilitate plus æquo indulgeamus Filiis nostris: irriteremus enim non nostram solum sed Serenitatis suæ Conscientiam immatura Sententia; quæ, non recte prolata, pernicioso universæ Christianitati noceret exemplo. Nam, quod Regno vestro Diluvium impendere dicitis, id multo magis timendum esse arbitraremur, si Sententiam, quæ recta justitiæ via ac ratione ferenda est, præcipitarem, ac, nimio erga Regem vestrum amore proveci, à Justitia atque Officio nostro discederemus; Masculam autem prolem non vos magis optatis quam nos Serenitati suæ; atque utinam tanto Regi similes Filios, ac non Regni tantum, sed & Virtutum Hæredes haberet Christiana Respublica! Sed pro Deo non sumus, ut liberos dare possimus. Quod autem dicitis, nolle nos, Autoritate nostra, secundum veritatem de priori Matrimonio declarare, quod tot docti viri pro ipso Rege pronunciant; vellemus nos quidem omnibus in rebus Serenitati suæ gratificari; posse autem ita debemus, ut non destruamus; destrueremus enim, si quid contra Juris ordinem statueremus, etsi oculis nostris exploratissima res esset. Cæterum, quod est in extremo Literarum vestrarum, Nisi Petitionibus vestris satisfecerimus, vos existimaturos vestri vobis curam esse relictam, atque aliunde remedia conquisituros, nec vestra prudentia nec religione dignum Consilium, ab eoque ut abstinatis, Paterna Charitate vos monemus: Nec tamen ulla Medici culpa esset, si ægrotus, curationis impatiens, quicquam in se statuerit, quod adversaretur salutem. Nos quidem, quæ recte ac sine perniciem dari possunt remedia non denegamus: Quis enim infirmatur, & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, & ego non uror? Os meum patet ad vos, Filii dilectissimi, & vos ut filios charissimos monemus. Sed nec Regem ipsum, cujus causam agitis, probatum fuisse credimus, ut ita scriberetis: Cognitam enim habemus ac perspectam ejus

1531. probitatem, ut ne ultro quidem oblatum, quod æquum non esset, accepturum fuisse putemus; & tametsi vestrum omnium intercessionem magni facimus, tamen noster erga Serenitatem suam amor non patitur se cujusquam cohortatione precibusque excitari; nec meminimus frustra unquam Serenitatem suam à nobis petiisse, quod cum nostro, & hujus sanctæ Sedis honore concedere possemus; paremque ostendemus perpetuo voluntatem. Denique, quod ad hanc Causam attinet, Nos quidem nullam ejus expeditioni moram interponemus, quin, cum instructa, & partes audita fuerint, terminetur; nobis summopere cupientibus vestrum Regem & ipsam Reginam, nosque ipsos molestissimo hoc negotio liberari. Hoc tantum à Serenitate sua & Devotionibus vestris requirimus, ne plus, ob summa ejusdem Regis beneficia, à nobis exigatis, quam quod sine offensa Dei persolvere possumus: Cum in cæteris omnia à nobis expectare possitis, quæ habitæ Officii ac Personæ quam gerimus & Justitiæ ratione expectari debent. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxvij. Septembris MDXXX. Pont' nostri Anno Septimo.

Evangelista.

To our Venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops, and to our beloved Sons the Abbots, Noblemen, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Knights and Doctors assembled together in Parliament in England,

CLEMENT VII. Pope.

Venerable Brothers and beloved Sons, Health be to you, and Apostolical Benediction. There are many Expressions in your Letter, bearing date July 13. which we receiv'd some days agoe, which we could not have thought well of, did we not wholly impute them to the great duty and tender affection which you bear to our most dear Son in Christ your King. We shall therefore without taking these things amiss, sedately answer your Letter, that you may thereby learn with how little reason you have complained of us, and that your private Duty and Affection to your King, ought not to extend so far, as to justify your accusing us of two grievous Offences, ingratitude to his Highness, and denial of Justice. We do acknowledge that your King has deserv'd all that your Letter mentions, nay, even much more, that the remembrance of his many Meritorious Actions towards the Apostolical See, will not only live fresh in our Memories, but be transmitted down to late Posterity. We can't but own likewise, that not only with respect to our Office and Character in the Church, but also in our own private Person, we owe so much to his Highnesses Affection, as we shall scarce ever be able sufficiently to recompence. As to what relates to the controversy concerning the Marriage between his Highness and Queen Catherine, we have been so far from disap-

1530. disappointing the King's expectation therein by denying him Justice, that we have even lain under the censure of the other Party, and have been thought partial, and too much inclin'd to favour his Majesties desires herein. But to give a more undeniable proof of our constant affection to your King, it will be necessary to mention what has some time since pass'd: When first, about three years since, his Majesties Ambassadors laid this Cause before us, rather seeking redress herein from our affection and kindness to his Highness, than from the rigorous course of Justice, we committed it to the determination of our beloved Sons, Thomas Archbishop of York our Legate in England, Cardinal Sanctæ Cæcilie, and Laurence Campejus Cardinal Sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim our Legate de Latere, who were both in your Kingdom, and upon the spot to examin into the Matter; whereby, as far as we were able, we satisfied his Highnesses desires. But when the Queen began to suspect them as partial Judges, and on the account of some grievances she had impos'd on her by the said Legates, had appeal'd from them to the Apostolical Tribunal, and had on her part appointed Proctors to prosecute the said Appeal at Rome, even then our great inclination to his Majesties Service was sufficiently evidenced. For although we could not in this Cause deny the Queen a Commission of Appeal, yet seeking rather that this controversy might be finish'd by the agreeable methods of Peace and Concord, than by course of Law, we fram'd several delays in granting our Commission of Appeal in the said Cause, under pretence that this being a Cause of the highest Nature, must therefore be brought before the Consistory. After this we held frequent Consultation with our most venerable Brethren their Eminences the Cardinals, whereby this affair was still farther put off; till at length by the unanimous vote of all the Cardinals it was concluded, that a Commission of Appeal in this Cause could not be refus'd. It was therefore appointed to be examin'd, heard, and in the said Consistory, by us to be finally determin'd. For as in all cases we ought to proceed with the greatest caution, so ought we more especially to do in that which concerns the Majesties of Kings and Queens, on which we see the eyes of all the Christian World plac'd. Since which no lawful Proctor has appear'd on the Kings part, to set forth his Majesties Pretensions either in Writing, or by word of Mouth, from whence it is that this Cause could not yet receive its Determination. Since it must be decided according to what is alledg'd, and by Witnesses prov'd; not according to Favour and Affection. There is therefore no reason why this deferring our sentence of Determination, of which you complain should be ascrib'd to us, and your complaint herein seems to us the more strange, because his Majesties Ambassadors in several places, particularly at Bononia, did request and solicit this delay of Sentence from us, contrary to the inclination and demand of the Queens Proctors herein. Since therefore we have no ways occasion'd these delays, or hindred this Cause from being determin'd after mature Examination, and due consideration of all the Circumstances of it,

1530. we see not on what reasons these your Complaints are ground'd; unless you will venture to say, that the Services which his Majesty has shewn us, and the Apostolical See are such, that the Cause should be determin'd in his favour, without regard had either to Right or Justice; for that must be the meaning of your Words, when you say that Sentence ought to be given by us, though no body entreated it, nay, tho' some oppos'd it in this case, which has been adjudg'd just by all the Learned in England, France and Italy, and by the Decrees of so many Universities: Which words to us seem not to proceed from your usual Prudence and Modesty; since we see not with what reason you can desire, that we should in a Cause of the greatest Moment give Sentence, though none entreated it, nay, tho' some oppos'd it; when on the other side is alledg'd the great Scandal and Offence that all Christians would take, at a Sentence of Divorce from a Marriage which has continu'd so many years, which was contracted by Dispensation from the Holy See, at the request of his most excellent Majesty Henry VII. and the most Catholick King Ferdinand; from whence the Queen has had so many Children born, and still has a Daughter living; contrary to the opinion of several Doctors (which you urge also on your behalf) and those very learned and grave Men, and who confirm their judgment both by the Laws of God, and by Arguments taken not only from the Latins, but likewise deriv'd from the Jewish Law: Notwithstanding all which, we kept our selves unbiass'd, inclin'd to favour neither side, but to hear both, looking on this most extraordinary Cause, not only to concern the whole Christian World, but also to belong to all Posterity. As for the Opinions of Learned Men, and the Decrees of Universities which you mention, few of them have come to our notice, shewn us not in proper form by your Ambassadors, nor in the Name of the King exhibited, and those were but bare Opinions of those Men, alledging no reasons for their Determinations, nor supporting them by any Authority from Scripture, or the Canons, which herein ought only to prevail. Wherefore, to demand that we should rashly, and without due Consideration, determine any thing herein in his Majesties favour, is a thing neither righteous in it self, nor agreeable to your Wisdom. For although we owe much to his Highness, yet in executing Judgment we must necessarily much more regard him, by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice; and further, it is the duty of a good Father, to take care that by over fondness, he do not too much indulge his Children: Besides, we should not only entangle our own, but also his Highnesses Conscience, by such an hasty and inconsiderate Sentence, which if thus unduly given, would by its dangerous example, greatly damage the whole Christian World. As for that deluge of Calamities, which you fear is impending over your Kingdom, sure it were much more to be fear'd, if we should rashly hasten that Sentence which ought calmly to proceed in the strait way of Justice and Reason, thereby violating both our own Duty, and departing from the rules of Justice through too great favour and affection to your King;

1530. King; you cannot with more earnest desires wish his Majesty a Son, than we do, and that not only his Highness, but all Christian Princes had Sons like so great a King, the Inheritors not only of their Realms, but of such Princely Virtues, but we are not in the stead of God, that we can give Children. As to what you say, that we were unwilling to confirm by our Authority, a truth concerning the former Marriage, which by so many Learned Men in the Kingdom is agreed upon; we are truly willing to gratifie his Highness in all things, wherein we are able by our Authority, but then our Ability can't extend to those things which will destroy that Authority, as it would if we should judicially give sentence contrary to the usual Methods and due course of Law in any thing, tho' it might appear never so plain and manifest to us. As for what you mention in the end of your Letter, that unless we grant your request herein, you shall imagine that the care of your selves is remitted into your own Hands, and that you are left at liberty to seek remedy herein elsewhere; this is a Resolution neither worthy of your Prudence, nor becoming your Christianity; and we do therefore of our fatherly love, exhort you to abstain from any such rash Attempt: Tho' it would be no fault of the Physician, if the Patient weary of his Distemper, should rashly and unadvisedly venture upon measures destructive to his Health: We indeed never deny'd you such Remedies as might with safety be given, and with advantage receiv'd; for who is weak, and I am not weak, who is offended, and I burn not? I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved Sons I warn you. We can't imagine that his Majesty, on whose account you write, can approve your writing in this manner; for we know, and are so fully acquainted with his Honour and Integrity, that we are assur'd he would not accept of any thing that is unjust, although it were offered him; and although your Intercession is in all cases of great power and prevalence with us, yet is our Love and Affection to his Highness such, as to need neither the entreaty nor solicitation of any Persons whatever, to influence or quicken it; and as we never remember that his Highness has ever yet made his request to us, and receiv'd a denial, where it could be granted with safety to our own, and the honour of the Apostolical See, so we shall always shew him the same regard and good will. Lastly, as to the present Cause, we shall give no hindrance or delay to its decision, so that when it is ready for Examination, and all the Circumstances of it have been heard, it shall be brought to a speedy Determination, and final Conclusion; being earnestly desirous to free your King and Queen, and our own selves from this most troublesome Affair. But this we must desire of his Highness, and of your Goodness, that you would not require more from us, by reason of his Majesties great deservings of us, than we can without offending God perform; and then you may assure your selves of all the good Offices which can be expected from us, considering the Person and Office we bear, and the Justice we are indispensably bound to administer. Given at St. Peters, Rome, under the Seal of the Fisherman, Sept. 27. 1530. in the seventh year of our Pontificat.

And now Cardinal Wolsey it seems had used his utmost Skill for recovering of the Kings favour; whereof also some hope was given him in his being permitted to remove to Richmond. But as his Enemies suspected he would make use of this nearness, to obtain access to the King, so they labour'd instantly to send him to the North. Wherein they prevail'd at length, obtaining further, that the Revenues of the Bishoprick of Winchester, and Abbey of St. Albans, as also some other places of his, forfeited by the *Premunire*, might be applied in part to the Kings Servants; a Pension only out of Winchester, being reserv'd to the Cardinal. The Revenues also of his two Colleges were torn and divided, which griev'd him more than any other Affliction: Infomuch, that he wrote to the King, humbly, as on his Knees, with weeping Eyes, that the College of Oxford might stand, and importun'd Cromwell to this purpose, since they are in a manner, saith he, *Opera manuum tuarum*. But Cromwell return'd him no comfort herein, saying, the King was determin'd to dissolve them, though whether he meant to restore them again, and fund them in his own Name, he knew not; but wishes him to be content, &c. Howsoever, in the traffick of these and other Lands, as well as Negotiating his Masters business, Cromwell shew'd that Dexterity, which at last won him much Credit, both with the King and his principal Counsellors. And now the Cardinal being commanded to York, had no excuse for retarding his Journey, but want of Means, which also he signified to the King; who thereupon sent him a thousand Mark-pounds, with which and a Train, reduced now to about one hundred and sixty Persons, he set forth, giving by the way much Alms, and not a few other Arguments of Devotion, which also made him gracious with the People, who resorted from all places adjoyning, to him. And thus with slow and unwilling removes, he came to Carwood Castle near York, about the end of Sept. 4. September, 1530. where he prepar'd according to the antient Custom, to be install'd with much Ceremony about a Month after; all access to the Choire, being till then forbidden. But whether the solemnity of this Action was thought by our King to be unreasonable, and misbecoming one in Disgrace; or that otherwise the Cardinal had cast forth some discontented words, which were related again to the King; here certainly began his final Ruine. Which, as his Enemies (at this Distance) did with more Boldness and Advantage procure, so had he less means to repair himself. Infomuch, that without being able to discover or prevent their Machinations, he was forc'd to suffer all that could be either truly or (almost) falsely surmis'd against him. Neither had he other hope, but that the punishments he had already endur'd, might be accepted as an intire satisfaction for all his Offences. And now his Stallation grew near, when the Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Marches, withone Sir Walter Welsh, Gentleman of the Kings Privy Chamber, came by the Kings command to Carwood to arrest the Cardinal, wherein he us'd that Diligence and Secresie, that he had plac'd his Guards in the Hall, before any escap'd to advertise the Cardinal thereof. Neither did he, at the Earls coming up Stairs, receive him in other terms than those of a Guest, till entering into a private Chamber together, the Earl in a low and troubled voice arrested him of High Treason. The dismayed and pensive Cardinal stay'd a while before he answer'd, but at last recovering his Spirits, demanded the sight of the Earls Commission, protesting that otherwise he would not obey; urging further, that he was a Member

1530. ber of the College of Cardinals at Rome, and so
 exempt from all Princes Jurisdiction. But while
 the Earl reply'd, that he might not shew his
 Commission, Sir Walter Welsh, who had now ar-
 rested Doctor Augustine the Cardinals Physician,
 comes in, and confirms what the Earl had said.
 The Cardinal believing (by this time) that they
 were in good earnest, yields to Sir Walter Welsh,
 as the Kings Servant, and not to the Earl; to
 whom he said he would not submit himself, before
 he was better satisfied of his Authority. Which
 whether he did out of stubbornness to the Earl,
 who had been heretofore educated in his House,
 or out of despight to Mistris Anne Bolen, who (he
 might conceive) had put this affront upon him,
 in finding means to employ her ancient Tutor
 to take revenge in both their Names, doth not
 appear to me by my Author. Howsoever, he
 protested he was no way faulty in his Allegiance.
 Doctor Augustine (whose Offence yet doth not
 appear to me) was dispatch'd to London, in the
 posture of a Traitor, his Legs tied to his Horse.
 But the Cardinal had some Respite; though yet
 commanded to prepare for his Journey; which
 he began at length in that deliberate manner,
 that if he remov'd slowly before from the King,
 he mov'd now more slowly to him. Infomuch
 that had not the Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom
 (being the Steward of the Kings Household) the
 Earl of Northumberland was commanded to deli-
 ver him, till the Kings further pleasure were
 known, told him, that the King commanded he
 should be us'd kindly, as one whom he highly
 favour'd; it is probable, that the afflicted Car-
 dinal would have fallen under the burthen of
 his own Griefs. Furthermore, the Earl assur'd
 him on the Kings part, that, though his High-
 ness could do no less than put him to his Tri-
 al, yet that it was more for the satisfying of
 some Persons, than out of mistrust of his Trai-
 terous doings. And thus at Sheffield Castle, he
 staid a Fortnight, when a Wind-Colick, which
 ended in a Dysentery, took him. In which
 state, Sir William Kingston, Captain of the Kings
 Guard, and Constable of the Tower, attended
 with twenty-four Yeomen of the Guard (all of
 them formerly Servants to the Cardinal) did find
 him. So that, notwithstanding the many Incou-
 ragements of the Earl, seconded by Sir William
 Kingston (who on his Knees saluted him) the Car-
 dinal remain'd still sick and comfortless. Nei-
 ther did it avail him, that Sir William Kingston
 (on the Kings part) gave him many gracious
 words, adding furthermore, that he should make
 no more hast than stood with his Health and
 Convenience. For the Cardinal became still
 more and more dejected. Notwithstanding, as
 he consider'd that delay would but argue Guil-
 tiness, so he proceeded in his Journey the best
 he could, till he came to Leicester Abbey, where
 a Feaver, complicate with his former Disease,
 seizing on him, he languish'd, not without ma-
 nifest signs of his End. Being thus upon his Bed,
 Sir William Kingston came again to comfort him,
 but the Cardinal, finding now that Death would
 discharge him of all Trials, but that before God,
 spake to this effect:

His last
 Speech.
 Cavend.

Had I serv'd God as diligently as I have done the
 King, he would not have given me over in my gray
 Hairs; but this is my just Reward. Notwithstand-
 ing, I pray ye commend me most humbly to the King,
 desiring him to call to remembrance all matters that
 have past betwixt us, and specially about Queen Ka-
 tharine, and then shall his Grace know whether I have
 offended him. He is a Prince of Royal Courage; but
 rather than he will want or miss any part of his Will
 or Pleasure, he will endamage the loss of one half of
 his Realm. For, I assure you, I have often kneeled

1530. before him, sometimes the space of three hours, to per-
 suade him from his Will and Appetite, but could ne-
 ver dissuade him from it. Therefore Master King-
 ston, I warn you, if ever you be of his Council (as
 for your Wisdom you are meet) that ye be well assur'd
 and advis'd what you put in his Head, for you shall
 never put it out again. After which words (as
 Cavendish hath them) he began an Exhortation to
 take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of those of
 Bohemia, lest they should likewise subvert the Secu-
 lar Power. But as in the prosecuting of this dis-
 course his Speech fail'd him, so did his Breath
 presently after, infomuch that he died, and was
 buried there in the Abby Church, Nov. 30. be-
 fore day. And not, where he had begun a Mo-
 nument for himself, long since, (wherein as ap-
 pears by our Records, he had not omitted his
 own Image) which one Benedetto, a Statuary of
 Florence, took in hand 1524. and continued till
 1529. receiving for so much as was already done
 4250 Ducats. The design whereof was so glo-
 rious, that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. Ne-
 vertheless, I find the Cardinal, when this was fi-
 nish'd, did purpose to make a Tomb for Henry
 VIII, but dying in this manner, King Henry
 made use of so much as he found fit, and call'd
 it his. Thus did the Tomb of the Cardinal par-
 take the same fortune with his College, as be-
 ing assum'd by the King; both which yet remain
 still imperfect. The news of the Cardinal's Death
 being brought to our King, did so much afflict
 him, that he wish'd it had cost him twenty thou-
 sand pounds upon condition he had liv'd. How-
 beit he omitted not to enquire of about one thou-
 sand and five hundred Pounds, which the Car-
 dinal had lately got, without that the King could
 imagine how. So that, till it appear'd he bor-
 row'd it of divers Persons, he might perchance
 suspect it to be the remainder of some of his an-
 cient Acquisitions.

And thus concluded that great Cardinal. A
 Man in whom Ability of Parts, and Industry
 were equally eminent, though, for being em-
 ploy'd wholly in ambitious ways, they became
 dangerous instruments of Power in active and
 mutable times. By these Arts yet he found means
 to govern not only the chief affairs of this King-
 dom, but of Europe; there being no Potentate,
 which, in his turn, did not seek to him; and
 as this procur'd him divers Pensions, so, when
 he acquainted the King therewith, his manner
 was, so cunningly to disoblige that Prince who
 did see him last, as he made way thereby often-
 times to receive as much on the other side. But
 not of Secular Princes alone, but even of the
 Pope and Clergy of Rome he was no little court-
 ed; of which therefore he made especial use,
 while he drew them to second him on most
 occasions. His Birth being otherwise so obscure
 and mean, as no Man had ever stood so single:
 for which reason also, his chief endeavour was
 not to displease any great Person, which yet
 could not secure him against the divers Preten-
 ders of that time. For as all things pass'd through
 his hands, so they who fail'd in their Suits ge-
 nerally hated him, all which, though it did but
 exasperate his ill Nature, yet this good Reful-
 tance follow'd, that it made him take the more
 care to be Just; whereof also he obtain'd the
 Reputation in his publick hearing of Causes.
 For as he lov'd no body, so his Reason carried
 him. And thus he was an useful Minister of his
 King, in all Points, where there was no ques-
 tion of diserving the Roman Church; of which
 (at what price soever) I find he was a zealous
 Servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the Pa-
 pacy, whereof (as the factious times then were)
 he seem'd more capable than any, had he not
 so

Falls sick
 on the
 Road to
 London.

Nov. 27.

His Cha-
 racter.

1530. so immoderately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard to judge of his Inclinations. That Prince, who was ablest to help him to this Dignity, being ever prefer'd by him, which therefore was the ordinary Bait by which the Emperor and French King one after the other, did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast Treasures out of this Kingdom, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few Cardinals at his Devotion. By whose help, though he could not obtain that Supreme Dignity he so passionately desir'd, yet he prevail'd himself so much of their favour, as he got a kind of absolute Power in Spiritual matters at home. Wherewith again he so serv'd the Kings turn, as it made him think the less of using his own Authority. One error seem'd common to both, which was that such a multiplicity of Offices and Places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the Cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the Regal Authority, while one Man alone seem'd to exhaust all. Since it becometh Princes to do like good Husbandmen when they sow their Grounds, which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great Dissembler, for so qualified a Person; as ordering his businesses for the most part so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his Learning, (which was far from exact) it consisted chiefly in the Subtilties of the *Thomists*, wherewith the King and himself did more often weary than satishe each other. His Style in Mis-sives was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the Point. Briefly, if it be true (as *Polydore* observes) that no Man ever did rise with fewer Virtues, it is as true, that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser Crimes objected against him. Though yet *Polydore* (for being at his first coming into England committed to Prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial Author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, when either his Pride and immense Wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the King, or that other than Women had oppos'd him: Who as they are vigilant and close Enemies, so for the most part, they carry their businesses in that manner, they leave fewer Advantages against themselves, than Men do. In conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely Compassion of the People a little before his End, so I cannot but account it a principal Felicity, that during his favour with the King, all things succeeded better than afterwards, though yet it may be doubted whether the Impressions he gave, did not occasion divers Irregularities which were observ'd to follow.

General
Diet at
Augs-
burgh.
April 8.
Sleid. l. 7.

I will return now a while to the business of the Emperor at *Augsburg*, where (by his Command) the General Diet was appointed the eighth of April, 1530. Cardinal *Campejus* being employ'd for these Businesses on the Popes behalf. The Emperor coming thither in the beginning of June, the first Point resolv'd, was, that until Controversies in Religion were settled, all the Preachers on both sides (some moderate Persons to be nominated by the Emperor only excepted) should be silenc'd: Which being done, the Emperor declares, that the Causes of calling together the Assembly were, First, the Invasion of the *Turk*. Secondly, the Affairs of Religion; demanding their Advice and Help in both; which that they might perform with less confusion, he commanded their several Propositions to be put in Writing and read. Whereupon, the Reform'd Princes made instance, that

matters of Religion might be first compos'd, promising afterwards to proceed unto the rest. Not long after which, *Campejus* in a Latin Oration, exhorted them to obey the Emperor herein; adding further in the Popes Name, that such Order should be taken as Unity in Religion might be conserv'd, to the end that all might go against the *Turk*. Which also was spoken in sequence of the Emperors Treaty with the Pope at *Bononia*, where he endeavour'd nothing more, than to reconcile the Differences then in agitation in Germany. Hereupon, the Duke of *Saxony*, (with whom *Melancthon* was,) the Marquiss of *Brandenburgh*, the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, the Landgrave and others, desir'd the Emperor to receive in Writing the Confession of their Faith, (call'd from this Diet, *Confessio Augustana*) which the Emperor at last granted; admitting afterwards the Confession of *Strasburg*, *Constance*, *Lindaw*, *Memmingen*, and some other great Towns, who following *Zuinglius* rather than *Luther*, differ'd in some Points. Whereupon, advice being taken with *Campejus*, what was to be done, it was determin'd, that some able Persons of the *Romanists* should, by way of Confutation, return a written Answer hereunto, accompany'd with a strict Command of the Emperors to obey it. But this again, was mitigated, and the Reasons at last examin'd on both sides. The Resultance whereof (among the more sober) was, that since they agreed on so many Points, their chief labours should be not to make any Schism for the rest; since it could not be deny'd, but some things requir'd Reformation. But the more heady sort, on either side, would not acquiesce so, requiring an absolute assent to their several Opinions; insomuch that they kindled in their Disputations against each other. The Duke of *Saxony* (particularly) demanding, that the Answer to their Confession might be given to them in Writing, which yet was not suddenly approv'd by the Emperor; though at last finding no other way to avoid Tumult, he granted their Request, on this Condition, that they should not Print or Publish the said Answer. Wherewith some were so discontented, that they return'd home, as thinking it not enough to enjoy their particular Conscience, unless they disputed it abroad, and instructed others. At last, in August, Aug. 6. 1530. seven Persons were appointed on each side, to determine Controversies, of which two should be Persons of Quality, two Lawyers, and three Divines. Whereupon the *Romanists* took the Bishop of *Augsburgh*, and Henry Duke of *Brunswick*, two Lawyers, and *Winpinus*, *Eccius*, and *Cochleus*, Divines. The other side choosing George Duke of *Brandenburgh*, John Frederick of *Saxony*, two Lawyers, and *Melancthon*, *Brentius*, and *Schneepsius*, Divines. But these not agreeing sufficiently (though coming somewhat nearer that they are at this present) *Melancthon* with two Lawyers, and *Eccius* with two others were permitted to decide the business. But because the Protestants thought they had yielded already, to as much as was possible for them with safety of Conscience, the business was remitted again to a greater number. To which course yet the Protestants would not condescend, but desir'd a course should be taken for preserving of Peace till a General Council were call'd. The Emperor finding things thus protracted, labours to divide the Chiefs, betwixt Threats and Promises, as each was most obnoxious; writing notwithstanding to the Pope (as I find by the *Spanish History*) that there was no way for ending of differences but by a Council, which therefore he desir'd might be granted, for those reasons which *Don Pedro de Cueva* should tell him. He omitted

1530.

Prote-
stants give
in their
Confessi-
on of
Faith.

Dispute
between
the Prote-
stants and
Catho-
licks.

A Council
desir'd by
the Em-
peror.

not

1530. not also to write to the College of Cardinals for this purpose: Adding further, for a Motive, that divers Princes (in which our King also concurr'd) agreed in the same request; as judging it necessary, not only for the cause above-mention'd, but even for the Popes proper Conservation. He required also the dispatches usual for making his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Lastly, he desir'd permission to sell the Ornaments and Goods of the Churches in *Italy* and *Germany*, or at least to have the fourth part of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, it being, as he said, for the defence of the Common Faith. Which coming, at last, to the Princes notice, was so suspected, that they oppos'd it. So that, though otherwise they were averse enough from the *Roman* Church, yet, whether out of the danger they foresaw of putting so much Money into the Emperors hands, or that otherwise they would make themselves necessary, they vehemently impugn'd it. *Erasmus* understanding now what was doing, writes to *Campsius* a Monitory Letter, concluding, that as affairs then stood, it was better suffer, than to make War against the *Lutherans*; supposing perchance, no Peace so devoid of Religion, as a Civil War. The Emperor finding matters thus discompos'd, calls the Princes together, promising that a Council should be call'd, as soon as the place might be agreed; upon Condition they would keep Peace in the mean while, and the Religion antiently profess'd. But the Protestants, affirming that theirs was the antient Religion, thank'd the Emperor for the rest, desiring only the Council might be pious and free. The Emperor not satisfied thus, would needs dispute himself a while (which the *Spanish* say he did with that eagerness that he drew his Dagger;) but neither this prevail'd. So that, for a Conclusion, instead of making an amicable accord, he publish'd a rigorous Decree; Commanding the practice of the Antient Religion, and Ceremonies, and that the Protestants every where should permit the Romanists the use thereof, denouncing severe punishments to those which obey'd not; Howbeit, he promis'd, within six Months to obtain from the Pope sufficient Authority for calling a Council the year following. In the mean time, that Peace should be kept with all those who subscrib'd to this Decree; who also, and no other, might be admitted to sit as Judges in the Imperial Chamber. The Protestants now considering, that it was impossible to come to an exact decision of the points controverted, and being offended withal that the Emperor denied them a Copy of this Decree, took their leaves somewhat abruptly, and return'd; whereupon the Emperor (intending chiefly the safeguard of *Germany* against the *Turks*) commanded the other Princes attendance. From whom he demanded Money, towards the War; which as few denied (to their Powers) so the Agents for the Duke of *Saxony*, and other Protestants offer'd freely to contribute their Parts, when they might but enjoy Peace, and the exercise of their Religion till the above-mention'd Council was call'd. But the Emperor, not thus contented, insisted still on his Decree; and the rather that the prime Doctors of the Reformed (which were many) could not agree among themselves, concerning the Lords Supper, and some other Articles. The consequence whereof being not difficult to foresee, the Duke of *Saxony* employ'd *Martin Bucer* to reconcile them; who also had brought them near to a head. Neither was there other impediment, but that singularity they affected in their several Opinions. Which yet proved to the detriment of Religion. For had they all, who agreed on a Reformation, a-

greed sufficiently among themselves, it is probable their Doctrine would have been more generally imbrac'd. But as the *Romanists* took this occasion to brand the Reform'd, so they again regarding more their Reputation (ingag'd to their Auditors in the Pulpit, or publick Writing) than an Unity and Peace of Religion, did by degrees rather violently confirm their own Assertions, than any way retract them. So that *Germany* now labour'd under the terrors, and difficulties which their several Teachers impos'd on them. In which state of things yet the Reform'd Princes and Cities, for preventing further Inconveniences, agreed together to meet by themselves, or Deputies, at *Smalcald*, about the end of *Decemb.* (at the same time that the Emperor having concluded the Diet at *Augsburgh* (19 *Novemb.*) had appointed all the Electors to meet at *Collen* (*Decemb.* 29.) concerning the choosing a King of the *Romans*. And here a defensive League being made by the Protestants, they thought fit to signifie it to the Emperor; and together to declare certain objections against the pretended Election. Notwithstanding which, the Emperor proceeds to make his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, *Jan.* 5. 1531. which also being advertis'd to the Confederate Protestants, *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* manifested the Election imperfect and defective. Not without the advice certainly of *Francis*; who as he had his designs that way, so he endeavour'd nothing more than to draw a Party to him; giving order, in the mean while, to unite and incorporate *Bretaigne* to *France*, upon condition that the eldest Son should always quarter the Arms thereof with those of *Dauphine*. And in these terms stood the affairs of *Germany* in the end of 1530. which I have deliver'd with the more particularity, for that the first manifest separation from the *Roman* Church began here, there being little else material in regard of *England* that I can find, save that our King (as appears by a Dispatch of the fifteenth of *July* 1530.) having certified *George* Duke of *Saxony*, of his intentions concerning his Divorce, was much comforted and applauded by him. I shall conclude this year with two great Inundations; one of *Tiber* in *Rome*, and the other of the Sea in the *Low-Countries*; which were very damageable; shortly after which follow'd the death of the two great Ladies who made the Treaty of *Cambray*. *Madam Margerite*, Aunt to the Emperor, departed first, who having been propos'd in Marriage to our *Henry VII.* (when she was then about twenty seven years of Age) and afterwards thought of it a little with *Charles Brandon*, died in the 52 year of her Age, with the Reputation of governing the *Low-Countries* with much discretion for the space of 23 years. The News whereof being brought the Emperor, made him neglect all his other businesses, to come to the Burial; which being perform'd with much Solemnity, he substituted his Sister *Donna Maria*, (Widow of the late unfortunate King of *Hungary*) in her place. *Madam Louise*, Mother of *Francis*, died shortly after, (for whom our King kept a solemn Obsequie) a Lady from whom *France* receiv'd many good, and not a few ill Offices. For if she govern'd wisely, during the Kings Captivity, and again procur'd both his and her Grand-childrens delivery; she was thought also out of some particular despight to *Bourbon* to have given him the first causes of Discontentment: And to have occasion'd in part the loss of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Our King during these great affairs of Christendom, resolving his Parliament should continue, caus'd it to sit again, *Jan.* 6. 1531. Where these Laws were enacted. That

Aug. 18.

Sept. 7.

Sanct.

Protestants leave the Diet in discontent.

1530. A Council desired by the Emperor.

Meet at Smalcald and conclude a defensive League.

Nov. 19. Decemb. 29.

Jan. 5. 1531.

July 15.

Octob. 8. Novemb.

Nov. 12. 1530. Sanct. 1530. 1531.

Death and Character of Margerite and Louise.

Sept. 22. 1531.

1531. Jan. 6.

1531.
Jan. 6.
Acts of
Parlia-
ment.

That, because much Wooll was imploy'd to uses not so beneficial to the Kingdom, and sometimes transported by Strangers, it was Decreed that none should buy Wooll in some principal Shires (to the number of twenty-eight) but those who would make Cloth or Yarn thereof, and that Strangers should not buy any till the Purification of our Lady. But this being a Law that might likewise have its inconveniency, was continu'd only for ten years, as it had been in some former Kings times.

Also a Law was made against Exactions on Apprentices by Masters, Wardens, &c. And this was beneficial for poor Men, who were not able to put their Children to learn Occupations without paying extraordinary Sums. A remedy also was taken for repairing of decay'd Bridges, and Highways, and the manner of raising the Money (which before was uncertain) set down. The carrying over of Horses, Mares, Geldings, also was forbidden upon a penalty to all places but *Calais*. Moreover, Denisons, notwithstanding their Priviledges, were order'd to pay such Customs as they paid before. For which purpose the Officers and Ministers of Cities and Boroughs, &c. where such Customs, &c. were due, were commanded to set up a Table in some open place, containing the particulars of them. Which Act yet was not extended to the Merchants of the *Stiliart* (call'd then *Theutonici*.) Together with which, it was provided, that the Tables touching Scavage to be set up at *London*, should be first view'd and examin'd by the Chancellor, and Treasurer in *England*, the President of the Kings Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Steward, and the two chief Justices; or by four of them at least, and by them subscrib'd. And this was for preventing of the secret exactions of Tolls by Mayors, Sheriffs, &c. upon Wares to be sold within their Precincts. A Law was made also against *Egyptians*, who under pretence of telling Fortunes, got Money, and Credit among the more ignorant sort. And whereas some Penal Statutes were made heretofore against Strangers who were Handicraftsmen; it was declar'd, that the said Strangers, being Bakers, Brewers, Chirurgeons, and Scriveners were exempted, and not taken to be Handicraftsmen. And, because the abuse of taking Sanctuary, and flying to hallowed places was great about this time, insomuch that many Criminals, finding Refuge and Protection in them, did there abjure the Realm, and so went into foreign Parts, by which means they discover'd the secrets of the State, to the great prejudice thereof. And whereas also, when they were to be tried before the Judges in the Circuits, they would plead they were taken out of some Sanctuary or Hallowed place, and Justice thereby delay'd; divers good orders were taken to remedy these Inconveniencies. Which yet I mention not at large; because they, together with the use of Sanctuaries, were at length wholly antiquated, and abolish'd. And now the business of *Premunire*, into which the whole Clergy was said to fall by supporting the power Legantine of the Cardinal, having fully been debated by the Kings Council Learned, and resolv'd against them; (whereupon also they were brought to the Kings Bench :) It was agreed in their Convocation-House, to deliver a Petition to the King. Here then the first question was, in what form to make it; the Title of *Ecclesie & Cleri Anglicani Protector & Supremum Caput*, was by some inserted in the Proem; but this again being demurr'd on, some of the Kings Council, together with *Cromwel*, came in and persuaded them to approve it; but they being silent, the

The Clergy falls into a Premunire.

Archbishop of *Canterbury* said, *Qui tacet Consentire videtur*; whereto one answer'd, *Itaque tacemus Omnes*. But at last this Clause being added, *quantum per Christi legem licet*, nine Bishops, (whereof *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* was one) and fifty-two Abbots and Priors consented thereunto, as also the major part of the Lower-House, and particularly *Stephen Gardiner*. Being thus agreed on the Proem, they petition'd the King, that he would accept the Sum of one hundred thousand pounds of the Province of *Canterbury* (eighteen thousand eight hundred forty pounds, being afterwards given by the Province of *York*) in lieu of all Punishments: They promising, for the future, to make no Constitution, or execute any, without the Kings leave. All which the King graciously accepting, granted them a Pardon for all offences against the Statutes of Provisors, Provisions and *Premunire*, and all other Penalties, and Forfeitures, except Treason, Murder, and Robbery. But when this Act having pass'd the Lords, came to the Lower-House, the Commons, not knowing how far this might concern them, made some difficulty till themselves were included, which being related to the King, he gave them a check, saying, *that was not the way to exempt themselves*. Whereupon the Lower-House, becoming sensible of the Kings displeasure, and their own danger, humbled themselves in that sort, that the King granted them a Pardon likewise.

And pay 18840 pounds fine.

The King checks the Commons.

I Shall begin the foreign business of this year, 1531. with the Coronation of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* at *Aix*, *January* the 11th, on whom it was thought, the Emperor his Brother did confer this Dignity, that he might the better ease himself from the troubles of *Germany*, which now appear'd in so many kinds, and places, that his Council in *Spain* writ a Letter, exhorting him to leave those parts, and return. To which also so conduc'd that *Ferdinand* had receiv'd the year before, the Crown of *Bohemia*, so that he was now enabled to sustain the dignity of that Charge; to the which I find also the Duke of *Bavaria* aspir'd. Howbeit as this was done by the Emperors sole Authority (and without those formalities anciently us'd) it was not every where allow'd for authentical. So that it was thought fit an Imperial Mandate should be sent forth every where in *Germany* to obey *Ferdinand*. Together with which the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Protestants were requir'd to assist in a War against the *Turks*. For which also all Military preparations were made. But whether the Protestants doubted lest this should be intended against them, or that otherwise they thought all hope of reconciling differences in Religion to be vain, they prepar'd to defend themselves. They would indeed have been glad to see some general and moderate Reformation. But as those they call'd the most erroneous points of the *Roman* Clergies Faith, prov'd to be their most profitable and commodious Doctrines, the Romanists fighting for them, *tantum pro aris & focis*, all accord was adjudg'd desperate: Notwithstanding which, neither would they have broken those necessary Bonds of Charity, (which Religion should strengthen) or liv'd under other name than that of Catholick, when the *Romanists* would have allow'd the ancient Creed to be the Rule of Faith. But when they found that, for reducing divers things to their Primitive Institution, they were call'd Innovators, and that the *Roman* Church would remit nothing of its Rigor, under pretence that it was inspir'd from above; they not only cast off all hope of Accommodation, but advis'd how to obtain a benign

June 23. *Saxony*.

1531. benign Censure of their actions abroad. Therefore, they sent several Letters to our King and Francis, dated 16th of February, 1531. from Smalcald, reciting what had formerly past at Worms, and Augsburg, betwixt the Emperor and them; saying farther, That the Emperor propos'd to them certain Articles (call'd the Interim) which they should hold till a General Council were summon'd, but that they were such, as they could not with any safety of Conscience admit; concluding with a request, that their good Offices with the Emperor might be interpos'd for the Convocation of a pious and free Council, out of all the parts of the Christian World; which also the Emperor had promis'd. But before the several answers of these Princes were return'd, the Emperor, doubting the consequences of this Assembly, requires again their Assistance against the Turk. To which the Princes reply'd, that before themselves had security given for Peace, it was unreasonable to grant help against others. Which being privately advertis'd to the French King, he left a while his Amourettes, to which he was now much addicted, and studied nothing more than how to make some advantage of the Division. For the present yet he return'd this answer only to the Princes, dated 21 April, 1531. That he desir'd Peace and a General Council, and was glad to understand they inclin'd that way; only that they must take care of choosing a secure and indifferent place, for the Convocation thereof. And for how much he esteem'd them, he said they might gather by this, that during his War with the Emperor, all free Access, and Intercourse was permitted them. Our King also by his Letters, of May the third, writ, that he was glad to understand their Design was to conserve the ancient Religion, and to cure only the Diseases crept into it. Therefore, that they should especially take heed of those who desir'd to innovate, bringing in parity of Degrees and Persons, and making the Magistrate contemptible. Of whom he could not but take notice, some of them having come out of Germany to his Realm; Concluding, that he desir'd a Council, and that he would mediate with the Emperor for them. The Princes thus animated, protest against the Coronation of Ferdinand, as being done in an undue manner, preparing withal to defend themselves. Which being related to the Swiss, made them desire to enter into the Confederacy. But the Duke of Saxony refus'd; alledging, that since they differ'd about the Lords Supper, they could not safely accept their help and friendship, lest ill should happen to them, as to those (*ut scriptura testatur*) qui muniendi sui causa cujusque modi praesidiis usi sunt. For, as the Scriptures began then commonly to be read, so out of the literal sense thereof, the manner of those times was, promiscuously to draw Arguments, for whatsoever in matter of State or otherwise was to be done. Infomuch, that the text which came nearest the point in question, was taken as a decision of the business; to the no little detriment of their Affairs: The Scriptures not pretending yet to give regular Instructions in those Points. But this is so much less strange, that the year preceding, the Scriptures (heretofore not permitted to the view of the People) were now translated in divers Languages, and into English, by Tindal, Joy, and others, though, as not being warrant-ed by the Kings Authority they were publicly burnt, and a new and better Translation promis'd to be set forth, and allow'd to the People. It being not thought fit by our King, that under what pretence or difficulty soever, his Subjects should be defrauded of that, wherein was to be found the Word of God, and means of their Salvation. Howbeit not a few Inconveniences were observ'd to follow. For as the People did not sufficiently separate the more

clear and necessary parts thereof from the obscure and accessory; and as again taking the several Authors to be equally inspir'd, they did equally apply themselves to all; they fell into many dangerous Opinions: Little caring how they liv'd, so they understood well, bringing Religion thus into much Irresolution and Controversie. While few Men agreeing on the same Interpretation of the harder places, vexed each others Conscience, appropriating to themselves the gift of the Spirit. Whereof the Roman Church, (much perplext at first with these Defections) did at last prevail it self; as assuming alone the power of that Decision; which yet was us'd more in favour of themselves, than such an Analogy, as ought to be found in so perfect a Book. So that few were satisfied therewith, but such as, renouncing their own Judgment, and submitting to theirs, yielded themselves wholly to an Implicit Faith; in which, though they found an apparent ease, yet as, for justifying of themselves, the Authority of their Belief, was deriv'd more immediately from the Church, than the Scripture, not a few Difficulties were introduc'd, concerning both: While the more speculative sort could not imagine, how to hold that as an infallible Rule, which needed humane help to vindicate and support it; nevertheless, as by frequent reading of the Scripture at this time, it generally appear'd what the Roman Church had added or alter'd in Religion, so many recover'd a just liberty, endeavouring together a Reformation of the Doctrine and Manners of the Clergy, which yet, through the obstinacy of some, succeeded worse, than so pious Intentions deserv'd.

The former proceedings of King Henry, being advertis'd to the Pope, made him fear a total defection in our King. Infomuch, that at Rome they studied nothing more than how to retain him in his ancient Devotion; some Arguments whereof have been formerly mention'd. To the furthering of which intention also it did not a little conduce, that he had taken some distast against the Emperor; who, being desir'd to appoint certain Judges to determine all differences betwixt him and the Duke of Ferrara, concerning Modena and Reggio, chose such as sentenc'd on the Dukes behalf; which so incens'd the Pope, that he fell off from the Emperor (as will appear hereafter.) For which reason also it is probable, that our King might have clos'd with him, and receiv'd some satisfaction in the affair of the Divorce, had not his Parliament, at this time, as is above-said, concurr'd to the setting up of the Regal Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs. To whom therefore he thought fit to communicate what his Agents, in Italy and other places, had done, concerning that so much controverted point of the lawfulness of his Marriage. Whereupon, the Parliament yet sitting, the Lord Chancellor, accompanied with Doctor Stokesley Bishop of London, and divers other Lords Spiritual and Temporal, came into the Lower-House 31th. March 1531, and told them; That they could not be ignorant, how the King, having married his Brothers Wife, was troubled in Conscience, and therefore had sent to the most learned Universities in Christendom, to be resolv'd in that Point; and namely had employ'd the Bishop of London there present, for this purpose. Not, yet, but that his own Universities of Oxford and Cambridge could have sufficiently decided the Point, but that he might the more amply satisfy himself and the World. Whereupon Sir Bryan Tuke was commanded to take out, and read the Determinations of the Universities of Paris, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges in Berry, and Tholouse in France, and of Bononia and Padua, in Italy,

1531.
Feb. 16.
Said.

Protestant
Princes
solicit for
a general
Council.

April 21

May 3.

June.

1530

May 3.

1530.
Tindal's
Translation
of the
Bible
burnt.

1530.
Conse-
quences
of having
the Bible
in the
vulgar
Tongue.

Jan. 6.
1531.

Mar. 31.
The Chan-
cellors
Speech to
the Com-
mons a-
bout the
Divorce.

1531. Italy, who all agreed, in declaring the Marriage unlawful. After which, above a hundred Books of several Doctors, (whereof Doctor Crammers was one) confirming the same Opinion, were exhibited. The perusing of which yet (the day being far spent) was referr'd to a further time. As also the Resolution of our two Universities (brought after the rest to our King,) which because Sanders calls in a sort Surreptitious, I shall relate out of some Original pieces which I have seen. To the University of Oxford, the Bishop of Lincoln was employ'd, where, neither easily, nor by general Vote, there pass'd this Decree 4 April, 1530.

April 4.
1530.

Resoluti-
on therein
of the U-
niversity
of Oxford.

Nos Johannes Cotisford hujus almae Universitatis Oxoniae Commissarius, auctoritate & consensu hujus totius venerabilis Convocationis, declaramus, decernimus, & definimus, majorem partem omnium Doctorum, Magistrorum, tam Regentium quam non Regentium, singularum facultatum hujus almae Universitatis Oxon. concessisse & consensum pariter & assensum suum praeuisse, quod Determinatio, Definitio & Responsio ad Quaestionem nobis ex parte Serenissimi Domini Regis nuper propositam, per illos Tringinta tres Doctores & Baccalaureos, ad id per facultatem Theologiae nuper electos, sive per majorem partem eorum faciendam, habeatur, censeatur, & reputetur pro Definitione Determinatione & Responsione totius hujus Universitatis; Et quod liceat Dominis Commissario & Procuratoribus Sigillum commune Universitatis literis super praefata determinatione per eosdem concipiendis, apponere.

WE John Cotisford, Commissary of the University of Oxford, by the Authority, and with the consent of the whole Venerable Convocation, do declare, determine and adjudge, that the Major part of all the Doctors, Masters, as well Regents as Non-Regents of all faculties in this famous University, have agreed and given their Consent and Assent, that the Determination, Resolution, and final Answer to the Question lately propounded to us by his most Excellent Majesty the King, which shall be given by the thirty three Doctors and Bachelors in the faculty of Divinity, chosen for that purpose, or by the Major part of them, be esteem'd and accounted the Determination, Resolution and final Answer of this whole University, and therefore that it may be lawful for the Commissary and the Proctors to affix the Common Seal of the University to the Decree, which shall be made in pursuance to their said Determination.

Which Copy though blurr'd (upon what occasion I know not, for it is not probable it should be intended to the King in that manner) was dispatcht the day following, as the Act of the University, by the Bishop of Lincoln. As for the University of Cambridge, I find Stephen Gardiner, and Edward Fox were employ'd; Where, notwithstanding the Kings Letters, and the diligence us'd on their part, not a few difficulties did occur. Inasmuch that it was first deny'd, then the Voices on both sides were brought even, and at last, (some absenting themselves) it was agreed, that the Question should be disputed by twenty eight Delegates, and that two parts of three should determine it; which accordingly was done in favour of the King, by the Vice-Chancellor, and the two Proctors, ten Doctors, and fifteen others, whose Names are extant in the same Record. Which avernes, more than in foreign Universities, whether it should be attributed to the power of the Pope in England, or to their particular scrupulosity of Conscience, is more than I will determine; though, on this occasion, I can do no less, that repeat some Ar-

guments drawn (in favour of the Divorce) out of our Records. First the place in *Leviticus*, Chap. xviii. Vers. xvi. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy Brothers Wife. Secondly, *St. Basil's* Opinion, tending this way, where he saith, that he shall be Excommunicated that Marieth his Wifes Sister. Thirdly, because two Pistoles, transcrib'd out of the Popes Registers, and sent into England, by Doctor Stokesley (whereof one was of Gregory, the other of Innocent the Third) do profess, that the Pope cannot dispence against the Law of God, the particular case being then a Marriage. Fourthly, that granting the Pope can dispence, *ex urgentissima causa*, with that which is *ex jure divino*, (which yet Divines for the most part deny) there was no occasion here, since the Peace betwixt England and Spain, (which was taken as the ground of the Breve) stood firm and intire. Lastly, that the Jews themselves (for our Agents consulted with them also) did not hold the Law of Marrying the Brothers Wife, *Deut. 25.* as necessary in this time, but did often pati discealceationem. All which being maturely consider'd by the Lower-House, made them detest the Marriage, as our Historians have it. Whereupon the King thought fit also to prorogue the Parliament, to the intent that every Man repairing home, might satisfie his Neighbour of these Passages; not omitting, together, to cause these foreign Determinations, to be printed and publish'd this year, as the Book yet extant in Print shews. Notwithstanding which, so far was the King from remitting any thing of his gentle behaviour to the Queen, that had he not forbore to come to her Bed, neither could his outward favour towards her, or her fashions towards him have argued any diminution of Love; all those wonted Ceremonies, by which they sustain'd the dignity of their place, and civilities which might imply a mutual respect, continuing firmly on either side. Which our Historians amplifie so far, that they say he sore lamented his chance, and made no manner of Mirth or Pastime as he was wont to do; without yet that they can be thought to speak improbably, when we consider both how dear this liberty cost him, and how much it endanger'd the Succession. However, that he might both prevail himself of the occasion, and also satisfie the doubts he had rais'd, not in his own alone, but Subjects Breasts; he sent to Queen Katharine some Lords of his Council, wishing them to acquaint her with these Determinations (which also I find had been shewed the Pope,) and together to demand of her, for quieting the Kings Conscience, and ending this business, whether she would rather refer her self to the Judgment of four Spiritual, and four Temporal Lords in this Kingdom, or stand to her Appeal. To which the sad Queen answer'd, That her Father, before he consented to her second Marriage, had taken the advice of Doctors, and Clerks, whose Opinion she believ'd rather than any others; and that, the Pope having confirm'd it, she wondred that any should question it. And, whereas for quieting the Kings Conscience, you would have me put the business to eight Lords; that which I say, is, I pray God send his Grace a quiet Conscience. As for answer to your Message; I pray you tell the King, I am his lawful Wife, and so will abide, till the Court of Rome determine to the contrary. But our King, who alledg'd his Proceedings were according to the Law of God (which therefore he said should be more insisted on, than any other Authority) sent other Messengers, exhorting her still to conform her self; among whom one spake to this effect: Madam, you cannot be ignorant how much you have provok'd the Kings displeasure against you, since his Grace having

1531.

last Epist.

The Commons deny the Marriage.

The K's kind behaviour to the Queen

Hall.

May 31

Hall.

The Q. refuses to refer her Cause.

Cambridge makes a scruple to decide it.

1531. wing us'd all fit means to clear his own, and Subjects Insatisfactions, concerning the lawfulness of his Marriage, you yet continue Refractory in that violent manner, as you not only refuse the General Determinations of Universities, and Learned Men; but contrary to the Laws of the Land, and the Royal Dignity, have cited his Highness to appear in the Court of Rome; neither have those many Admonitions you have received concerning the Danger, and Consequences hereof, been able to divert you from your Purposes, or reduce you to Reason and your Duty. Of which therefore his Highness is so sensible, that he hath forbore of late to see your Grace, or receive your Tokens, giving you liberty further, to repair either to his Manner of Oaking, or Estamstead, or the Monastery of Bisham; for, since you were known by his Brother Prince Arthur, you cannot be his lawful Wife. To which the virtuous and sorrowful Queen reply'd little more than this: That to what place soever she remov'd, nothing could remove her from being the Kings Wife.

July 14. And here the King bid her a final farewell: for, from this time, being July the fourteenth, I find not the King ever saw her more.

Our King being now inform'd that Italian, and other foreign Merchants brought Commodities hither, which they sold well, and then return'd the Money by Exchange to their own Country, to the exhausting of the Wealth of this Realm, and the Diminution of his Customs, caus'd a Proclamation to be set forth, that according to a branch of a Statute, Ric. 3. no Money they took here for selling their Ware, should be exchange'd to other Countries, but employ'd in the Commodities of this Realm, which (our Historians say) as long as it was observ'd, prov'd to the great benefit both of the King and Subject. And now, the Money for the *Premunire* being call'd on, the Clergy, for their ease, would have drawn the Priests of London to Contribution, which they took so ill, that, in outrageous manner, breaking into the Chapter-House of St. Pauls, they did beat the Bishops Servants; till the Bishop, for avoiding more mischief, gave them his Blessing, and leave to depart for the present; though shortly after they were punish'd for their Misbehaviour.

This while, the Emperor (intensive wholly to the affairs of Germany) did more calmly suffer our Kings intended Divorce; and the rather, for that it is probable the Determinations of the Universities above-mentioned had given him, if not Satisfaction, yet colour enough to neglect a while the prosecuting this business. Especially, since at this time he might have so much use of our Kings Assistance against the Turk; of which also hope was given him. On the other side Francis did by all means advance, and set it forward; both in regard himself (as their Historians have it) was much addicted to love-making at this time; and as that he doubted not, hereby, to keep our King at a variance with the Emperor. Against whom the offences and quarrels he had taken being not extinguish'd, he both fortified himself by all means, and labour'd publicly to traduce even his most impartial and generous Actions. Therefore he was so far from admitting the Restitution of Milan to *Francisco Sforza* to be an Act of Piety, that he took it, if not as an affront to him, yet at least as a politick Introduction of one to that Dignity, who he knew could not be dispossest thereof again, without offending all Italy. So likewise the parting with the *Contado of Asti* (anciently belonging to the House of Orleans) to the Duke of Savoy, was thought to be no more than interesting him in that quarrel. Furthermore, his retaining an Army in Italy, at the cost of the Confederates, (but under the Command of *Antonio de*

1531. *Leyva*) was understood, not for conserving the Peace of Italy, but defending of *Genoia* against him. All which was so ill taken, that Francis did not only by the entremise of *Guillaume de Bellay*, treat of entering a private League with the Princes of Germany, for defence of the Rights of the Empire, (violated as he conceiv'd by the undue Election of *Ferdinand*) but prepar'd to send them Succours when occasion were. Nor did his rancour against the Emperor stay here; but (if we may believe some even of his own Nation) extended it self so far, as secretly, at this time, to encourage the Turk to invade the Patrimony of the House of Austria; to the no little scandal, both of his own Honour, and the Christian Religion. The Emperor, not ignorant of all these Machinations, sends *Seigneur de Balançon* to Francis, to borrow Money, and to invite him to furnish Land, and Sea-forces for a War against the Turk; alledging Treaties, Promises, and many Arguments to this purpose. To which Francis answer'd. That the Emperor had gotten lately enough from him, two Millions of Gold, which ought to suffice. For the rest, that he was neither Merchant nor Banquer to furnish Money, but a Christian Prince, that would have his part of the Honour and Danger in all brave Actions. Therefore that he would spare no forces out of his Kingdom, nor permit them to go to any place where himself did not lead them. Besides, as this Summer was far spent, he could not send his Cavalry to Austria without much incommodity, (the distance between both Countries being so great.) Therefore, that the Emperor should defend Germany, while himself with an Army of fifty thousand Men, would undertake to defend Italy, which the Turk also menac'd. And for the next year, he would be ready, with the help of his good Brother, the King of England, to go to any place where it should be needful. As for his Shipping, he could least of all spare it; having occasion to defend the Maritime parts of France against Pirats. Which being related again to the Emperor (then at *Ratisbonne*), he thought fit to publish it, thereby to make Francis more odious, though effectively he took his offer to defend Italy, to be little more than irrision. Businesses standing thus, *Monsieur de Bellay*, Ambassador from the French King to the Princes, (having first conferr'd with *Monsieur de Valley*, Ambassador from Francis to the Emperor) absolutely concludes that Accord the Princes had formerly propos'd to his Master: giving by this means a perpetual cause of Jealousie, and Offence to the Emperor. Yet as Francis thought himself not strong enough alone, so he implor'd our Kings assistance; which our King also promis'd, by *Monsieur Gilles de Pommeraye*, (French Ambassador in England,) sending with him (at his return) fifty thousand Crowns to be employ'd for the defence and conservation of the Right and Priviledges of the Empire. An Interview also was projected betwixt them for the year following, wherein both Kings should treat of the General Affairs, and particularly what they were to do, in case the Turk should again invade *Christendom*.

While affairs abroad pass'd thus; our Nation enjoy'd much security, and quietness; so that, if contention about Religion had not hapned, they might have thought themselves happy; which though it had its beginning from the divers explications of the Holy Scripture, yet many good Men labour'd to reconcile them; affirming, that whatsoever was necessary to the attaining of everlasting Happiness, was so plainly, and so perspicuously set down there, as it needed no Interpreter. And that, if any thing besides were taught, it was, if not erroneous, yet

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1531. yet unnecessary to Salvation. Howbeit, they would not deny, but divers points might be added, for the Ampliation, Conveniency, and Ornament of Religion, when they were deliver'd upon these terms, and not under those Condemnations and Penalties wherewith the more necessary parts were enjoy'd. Whereupon also they concluded, that, if divers passages in the Holy Scriptures might seem obscure, it was Gods will to have it so, who thought not fit to reveal them otherways; as reserving a full knowledge to a second and better Life. Yet, because divers, not content with this or any moderate Reformation, did (through the violence of their Spirits) run into those extremities, as they labour'd to draw all the Doctrine of the Roman Church into a perverse Sense; much occasion of Controversy was given; while they who endeavour'd a Peace so little prevail'd, as, (for the most part) like those who part Affraies, they bore blows on either side. In which doubtful times King Henry put in execution all former Laws against Heretical Performers, and Books; whereby one Thomas Bilney, Batchelor of both Laws, declaring himself with great vehemency in divers Articles against the Roman Church, was (a) condemn'd to be burnt, and shortly after, for the same cause, (b) Bayfield a Priest, and (c) Baynham a Lawyer. The whole Narration whereof being extant in Master Fox, I shall mention no otherwise.

Hereticks burnt.

For.

(a) Aug.

19.

(b) Nov.

27.

(c) April.

30.

1532.

1532.

Jan. 15.

Reg. 23.

Hall.

Mar. 18.

Abuses in the Clergy regulated.

Other Acts made to regulate sundry abuses.

The next year January 15th, the Parliament sat again till May 14th, where the Commons persisting in their Grievances against the Clergy, which they compris'd in a Book, and deliver'd by their Speaker; The King answer'd, *He would take Advice, and hear the parties accus'd speak, and then proceed to a Reformation*; which follow'd in part, as appears in some Statutes of this Parliament. For, whereas it was usual in former times, that Clerks who committed Petty Treason, Murder, or Felony, were (through a certain privilege of the Church) deliver'd to their Ordinaries, who also thereupon, for lucre or other undue Motives, did suffer them to make their Purgation by such as nothing knew of their Misdeeds, to the great scandal of Justice; it was now enacted, that none should have the benefit of this recourse to the Ordinary, but those who were within holy Orders, and yet to find sufficient Sureties for their good abearing. This Act yet not to extend to those, who being attainted of Felony, or Murder, are after admitted to their Clergy, and so deliver'd to the Ordinary. It was provided also, that Ordinaries having such Persons in their Custody, might degrade them, and send them to the Kings-Bench to be detain'd.

It was enacted also, how Perjuries and untrue Verdicts should be punish'd. And this was to the singular benefit of the Subject; there being no mischiefs so easie to be done, so irreparable in their Consequence, or unlimited in their extent, as those of this kind.

And, whereas the Commission of Sewers, being about Sea-walls, Gutters, Banks, &c. and Dams, Weres, &c. in fresh Rivers, was not particularly enough set down heretofore; it was now declar'd and interpreted. And this was much for the benefit of the Sea-Coasts, and making great Rivers Navigable.

Whereas also Statutes of the Staple were heretofore us'd only betwixt Merchant and Merchant, for such Merchandise of the Staple, as pass'd betwixt them; the use thereof was now permitted to others of the Kings Subjects upon certain Conditions. And this not only enlarg'd Contracts, but strengthened much the Sinews of them.

Whereas heretofore the Kings Subjects were ordinarily call'd by the Citations to appear, in the Arches Audience, and other high Courts of the Arch-Bishops of this Realm, to answer to many furmis'd Causes; and that they who refus'd, were Excommunicated or Suspended from Divine Service; it was now enacted, that none should be so cited but in certain cases declar'd in the said Statute.

Feoffments of Lands also to the use of a Church (as being little different from *Mort-main*) were made void.

Whereas divers, having the benefit of their Clergy, were afterwards committed to their Ordinaries, and did there break Prison, it was now declar'd Felony.

Divers other good Statutes pass'd also this Session; which yet, for being meerly legal, or limited to certain places, are not here recited.

This year also an Act pass'd concerning *Annates*, or the first fruits of Bishopricks, paid usually to the See of Rome, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, &c. The Preamble and Consideration whereof was (as I find in the Records.)

1. That great Sums of Money already pass'd out of the Kingdom that way, (being no less than one hundred and sixty thousand pounds Sterling, since the second year of Henry VII.) Secondly, that more was like to be shortly transported, by reason many of the Bishops are Aged. Thirdly, that the first use and grant of them was for maintaining Arms against Infidels. So that it was enacted, that they should henceforth cease, and no more Money be paid to Rome to that intent, except as is hereafter specified, (*viz.*) lett the Court of Rome should think themselves irremunerated for their pain, in making and sealing Bulls in Lead, &c. it was ordain'd, that there may be allow'd for the said Bulls five pounds in the hundred, according to the rate of the Bishopricks clear value above all Charges. And if any Man, being chosen to a Bishoprick, and presented by the King to the Pope, shall hereupon find any let or hindrance, by restraint of his Bulls, upon convenient suit for the same; then he may be named and presented by the Kings Highness to the Arch-Bishop of the Province; who shall consecrate him; or, the said Arch-Bishop delaying under pretence of want of Pall, Bull, &c. the Person so nam'd, shall be Consecrate, and invested by any two Bishops of the Land, whom the King shall appoint thereto; and shall be held and reputed thereafter as a compleat Bishop. But of this Act we shall speak again when we come to the 25th year of the King. For though it pass'd the Parliament now, and the King gave his assent thereto; yet power was reserv'd for him to annul or confirm the same any time within two years next following.

Records.

Moreover, in this Statute, the King and his Parliament declare, that they do not intend to use any Extremity or Violence, before gentle and courteous ways have been attempted. But if it shall please the King to propose an amicable composition to the Pope, and his Holiness shall be content either to abolish or moderate those *Annates*; then the Composition so made, to stand firm. But if, upon the said amicable Propositions, the Realm cannot be disburdened, and that, for the continuance of the same, the Pope shall unjustly vex, and disquiet the King or his Subjects by any Excommunication, &c. Be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, and all his Spiritual and Lay Subjects of the same, without any scruple of

1532. Conscience, shall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the increase and continuance of Vertue, and good example within this Realm, (the said Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulsories, or any of them notwithstanding) minister, or cause to be ministered throughout this said Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto, all and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Service of Holy Church, or any other thing or things, necessary for the health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuously us'd or accustom'd to do within the same. And that no manner of such Censures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Process or Compulsories shall by any of the Prelates, or other spiritual Fathers of this Region, by any of their Ministers or Substitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publish'd, executed, or divulg'd in any manner of ways.

April 29. This Act being pass'd, our King made use thereof to terrifie the Pope, which also took effect; as I find by our Ambassadors Letters dated from Rome, April 29th. 1532. though together (as they were instructed from hence,) his Holiness was told by them, that our King had reserv'd the whole business to his own Power and Direction; which however it appeas'd the Pope a while, yet as matters past afterwards, the Statute had his final confirmation, Anno 25. Henry VIII.

Q. Katharine's affairs.

I Shall begin this years History with the affairs of Queen Katharine; who, by her Proctor at Rome, assisted with the advice and power of the Imperialists, Negotiated puissantly with the Pope; so that, notwithstanding our Kings Indignation for her prosecuting him in this manner, she urg'd still the Appeal, beseeching the Pope to cite the King, by himself or Proctor to appear. But the Pope thought fit rather gently thus to exhort our King to take again his Wife Katharine.

CLEMENS Pap. VII.

The Popes Letter to persuade the K. to take his Wife again.

CHARISSIME in Christo fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Quod pro nostra in te benevolentia, tuoque honore & salute falsum esse cupimus, Relatum nobis est, & à multis confirmatum, Serenitatem tuam, quæ non solum antea, verum etiam post motam litem inter te & charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustræ, super validitate matrimonii inter vos Contracti, eam apud se, ut decebat, in sua Regia curia tenuerat, atque ut Reginam & uxorem habuerat, & tractaverat, à certo citra tempore eam non solum à se & sua curia, sed etiam à Civitate seu loco suæ residentie separasse, alioque misisse, loco autem ejus quandam Annam in suum contubernium, & Cohabitationem publice recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere; Quæ res, fili Charissime, si modo vera est, tuque parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin, etiam tacentibus nobis, perspecturus sis, quam multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litis-pendentie & Judicii nostri, vel ob scandalum Ecclesiæ, vel ob communis pacis pertur-

1532. bationem; Quæ omnia ita à recto & religioso Principe, qualem te semper habuimus, aliena sunt, ut, tanquam tuæ naturæ & Consuetudini repugnantia, etsi nobis indies magis confirmantur, difficiliter tamen credamus. Quid enim minus tibi, & tuæ probitati convenit, quam hinc apud nos, per Oratores & literas, super causa istuc remittenda, instare, inde te ipsum Tuo facto causa decidere? Quid simile tui, armis & scriptis olim Ecclesiæ & sanctam fidem defendisse, Nunc tali facto Ecclesiæ videri Contemnere? Jam vero communis salus & tranquillitas à nullo unquam nostri temporis Rege acrius quam à te custodita est, qui bellum pro Ecclesiâ olim susceptum, & gloriose confectum, pro communi quiete deposueris; semperque Arbiter quidam pacis & communis concordie inter Christianos Principes Conciliandæ Existimatus; Quo magis hæc nova de te audientes, admiramur simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modo verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloria & consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cum nec rem tantam non explorare certius, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, Hanc ad te, quasi amantis & solliciti Patris vocem præcurrere volumus, antequam Judicis ulla partes tecum sumamus. Faciunt enim tuæ Celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraque ex his erga te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu & lenitate agere velimus, sumpta parentis persona, & Judicis tantisper deposita, donec ex tuis literis consilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitus falsa esse, aut non tam aspera quam nobis referuntur, Teque ipsum deinceps, pro tua singulari sapientia, providere, ne cuiquam de Serenitate tua omni virtute conspicua in hoc tantum obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis enim vel ex Catholicis dolens, vel ex Hæreticis gaudens audiat, te Reginam, quam in uxorem accepisti, Regumque filiam, Cæsarisque & Regis Romanorum materteram, viginti amplius annis tecum commoratam, prolemque ex te susceptam habentem, nunc à tuo thoro & contubernio procul amovisse, aliam quoque publice apud te habere, non modo sine ulla licentia nostra verum etiam contra nostram prohibitionem; Is profecto necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodo de optimo Principe ferat, tanquam Ecclesiæ & publicam tranquillitatem parvi faciente, quod nos scimus ab intentione & voluntate tua longissime abesse; in tantum, ut si quis alius hoc idem in tuo regno audeat, quod à tua Serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed etiam severe vindicaturum pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem, fili, etiamsi tu rectissime sentias, ut nos quidem constanter credimus, tamen causam præbere rumoribus & scandalis non debes; hoc præsertim tempore tam calamitoso, plenoque Hæresium, & aliarum perturbationum; ne tuum factum latius pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præsertim illustrium, sicut tua Serenitas est, proposita quasi in specula, hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est communis salus, & totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper fuit optimorum Regum. Nec, fili, debes Serenissimos Cæsarem &

1532. & Romanorum Regem, dictæ Catharinæ nepotes, nulla te prosecutos contumelia, hac tam gravi injuria, indecisa lite, afficere, & exinde pacem perturbare universalem, qua sola adversus imminentem nobis Turcam tuti sumus; ne scandali in Ecclesia, periculi in tota Christiana republica causam præbeas, prop- terea; Rex cœlestis à te irritatus, tantam su- am erga Te benignitatem aliqua severitatis amaritudine permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam, qua semper te sumus prosecuti benevo- lentiam, semperque, si per te liceat, prosequemur, omni studio & amore hortamur, & pa- terna charitate monemus, ut, si hæc vera sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem & gloriam deni- grant, tute ea corrigere velis, ipsam Cathari- nam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atq; in eo Reginæ honore, & uxoris quo decet affectu, apud te habendo: Ipsam vero Annam à publico tuo convictu & cohabitatione, propter scandalum, removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos subsequatur. Quod nos qui- dem, etsi est à te debitum, tibi; est maxime futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse à tua Serenitate videbimur. Nam quod te in pristina tua voluntate erga nos, Observantia; erga hanc sanctam sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis & beneficiis semper certasti, conservare maxime cupimus; Summo sane cum dolore, ad ea descenderemus Juris remedia, quorum necessitatem non nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, sed Dei om- nipotentis honor, publicæque utilitatis, & tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quan- quam invitis, imponeret, Sicut Etiam Nun- tius apud te noster hæc Tuæ Serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xxv^{to} Januarii 1532. Pont' nostri Anno Nono.

Jan. 25.

Blosius.

CLEMENT VII. Pope.

TO our most dear Son in Christ, &c. Health and Apostolical Benediction. What in our tender affection towards you, for the sake of both your Honour here, and your Salvation hereafter, we should be glad to find false has been reported to us, and by many hands confirm'd, concerning your Highness, that although not only before, but since the Controversy has been depending about the lawfulness of the Mar- riage Contract between your self, and our most dear Daughter in Christ, the most excellent Ca- tharine Queen of England; you entertain'd the said Catharine in your Palace, and liv'd with her as your Queen and Wife, as it was fitting you should do; yet now of late you have not only remov'd her from your Person and Court, but have banish'd her from the City, the usual place of her Residence, and sent her to another place, taking in her room publickly to your Bed and Conversation, a certain Lady Anne, with whom you cohabit, and to whom you shew that conjugal Love and Affection, which is only due to your Wife, the said Queen. Which thing, most dear Son, if it be true, and you would lay

aside Carnal Affections, and give your self lea- sure to think, we doubt not but that, although we were silent herein, you would soon perceive upon how many several accounts it is unworthy your Highness, either as it is a great contempt of our Judgment and Sentence, which you thus refuse to stay for, as it is a publick scandal to the Church, or as it is a manifest violation of the publick Peace; all which things are so contrary to the principles of a virtuous and re- ligious Prince, as we have always esteem'd your Highness, that though they have daily more and more been confirm'd unto us, yet we have found great difficulty to believe them as things wholly repugnant to your Nature, and perfectly contri- ry to your usage. For what can be more unnat- ural to you, or less agreeable to your Integrity, on one hand, both by your Letters and by your Ambassadors, to implore our assistance in de- termining your Cause, and on the other, by your actions to judge and decide it your own self? To condemn the authority of the Church by such a proceeding, how unlike is it to the actions of him, who has so well defended by the power of the Sword, and by the strength of Argument, our most holy Faith and the Catholick Church? Surely the publick Peace and Tranquillity have by no Prince of our Age, been more carefully preserv'd than by you, who piously undertook a War for the Church, gloriously prosecuted it, and at length for the sake of publick peace and quiet desisted from it, from whence your Highness has been justly esteem'd the Arbitrer of Peace and common Concord among Christian Princes; wherefore when we hear these strange things concerning you, it raiseth both our Admiration, and encreaseth our Grief, that this one action of yours, if it be true, should cast a blemish upon the glory of your former Life and Behaviour. Wherefore as we could not but en- quire into the truth hereof more carefully, and ought not to pass by a matter of this weight with neglect, we were willing to send you this kind Admonition, as of a loving and affectionate Fa- ther, before we are forc'd to deal with you in the severer methods of an impartial Judge. The high Dignity of your Majesty, your most deser- ving Services to us, and our most tender love and affection to you, makes us choose to act to- wards you, with all respect and gentleness in the person of a kind Parent, and so long lay aside our office as a Judge, till by your Letters we shall see what measures will be most proper for us to take. We wish, Dear Son, as we have said, that these things were false, or at least not so bad as they are represented to us; and farther, that you your self would take such care, of your singular Wisdom, that no body may in this thing have occasion to speak ill of your Highness, whose Virtues have in all other your Actions been so Conspicuous. For if any Catholick to his great grief, or any Heretick to his mighty joy, should hear that you have now remov'd afar off from your Bed and Presence, your Queen whom you Married, the Daughter of a King, the Aunt of the Emperor, and King of the Romans, af- ter she had liv'd with you more than twenty years, and had several Children by you; that you have openly taken another Woman to your Bed, not only without our License and Dispen- sation, but also contrary to our express Prohibi- tion;

1532.

1532. tion; he cannot but in some measure make this judgment of the best of Kings, that he is one that little regards the authority of the Church, and nothing values the publick Peace, than which we are satisfied nothing can be farther from your Highnesses Will and Intention; insomuch that should any one in your Kingdom dare to do this which is reported of your Highness, we surely know that you would be so far from approving, that you would most surely punish it. Wherefore, my Son, as we most certainly believe that your knowledge is rightly inform'd herein, so ought your Practice to be such, as not to give occasion to scandalous Reports; especially in these dangerous times, which so abound with Heresies, and other most grievous Calamities, lest what you do, should grow a Precedent and Example for others: For the Actions of Princes, especially those so illustrious as your Highness, are looked upon as Marks and Patterns whereto others may direct their aim, and whereby they may form their Practice. Nor ought your Highness to neglect the common safety, and overlook the Peace and Tranquillity of Christendom, to which the best of Princes have never fail'd to pay, as in Duty bound, a regard. Nor ought you, my Son, to offer this injury to the most Serene Princes, the Emperor and the King of the Romans, the said Queen Catharine's Nephews, who have never given you offence, by thus proceeding before your Cause is determin'd, thereby disturbing that Universal Peace among Christian Princes, wherein alone, our safety from the Turks consists; lest you give occasion of much scandal in the Church, and of great danger in the Christian World, and so provoke the Almighty so far, as to change the great blessings he has so long pour'd down upon you into Bitterness and Affliction. We therefore of our tender love and affection exhort you, and of our Paternal Duty, warn you, my Son, that for the sake of that kind indulgence and favour which we have always shewn, and shall continue ever to shew you, unless you hinder us, that, if these things be true, that tarnish your former reputation of Piety and Glory, you your self would amend them by affectionately taking again to your self your Queen Catharine, by giving her the Honour and Respect due to a Queen, and the tenderness and affection due to a Wife: And by removing the said Lady Anne from your Bed and Conversation, so long at least till your Cause shall be determin'd, and we have given Sentence herein. Which, although it be no more than your Duty, and what will greatly conduce to your Honour, and advance your Glory; yet we shall take as a great mark of your Highnesses respect and good will towards us. For as our most earnest desire is always to preserve in you your good esteem of us, and your customary duty and affection to the Apostolical See, which in your Regard and your Actions, you have never fail'd to shew; so we cannot without the greatest grief betake our selves to the sharper remedies of Justice; to which the indignity offer'd to our own Person herein, which we can willingly pass by, could never prompt us, nor indeed can anything force us to it, but the honour of Almighty God, the advancement of the publick good, and the

Salvation of your Immortal Soul, as our Nuncio with you has orders more fully to acquaint your Highness.

Given at St. Peter's under the Seal of the Fisherman, Jan. 25. 1532. in the 9th year of our Pontificat.

But the Pope had no good Answer thereunto; for as the People for the most part exclaim'd against the Match (as our Historians relate) so the King would have found perchance some difficulty to appease their Scruples, when otherwise he could have satisfied his own. The Queen wanted not yet those who defended her Cause publicly, both in Books and Sermons (of whom the chief were Thomas Abel her Chaplain, and John Fisher Bishop of Rochester) and privately in Discourse, (especially Women) though not sufficiently either to clear all Objections, or to remove the King from his affection to Mrs. Anne Bolen. Among which I must not forget one Temse, of the Lower-House of Parliament; who motion'd that they all should Petition the King to take his Queen again; which being advertis'd to our King, he sent for Thomas Audley, the Speaker of the House, and told him to this effect. That he marvel'd any among them should meddle in busineses which could not properly be determin'd there. As for this particular, that it concern'd his Soul so much, that he many times wish'd the Marriage had been good, but since the Doctors of the Universities had generally declar'd it unlawful, he could do no less than abstain from her Company. Which therefore he wish'd them to take as the true reason, without imputing it to any wanton Appetite: Since, being in the one and fortieth year of his Age, it might be justly presum'd such Motions were not so quick in him. All which, that they might the better understand, he had inform'd himself in all parts of Christendom, concerning strange Marriages; and that, saving in Spain and Portugal, he could never find that any Man had so much as Married two Sisters, if the first were carnally known. But for the Brother to marry the Brothers Wife was so abhorr'd among all Nations, that he never heard any Christian so do but himself; and therefore wish'd them to believe that his Conscience was troubled. Shortly after which, the King sent for the Speaker again, and told him that he had found that the Clergy of his Realm were but his half Subjects, or scarce so much. Every Bishop or Abbot, at the entering of his Dignity, taking an Oath to the Pope derogatory to that of their Fidelity to the King, which Contradiction he desir'd his Parliament to take away: Whereupon these two Oaths by the King's Command being read and considered, the Parliament so handled the Business, as it occasion'd the final renouncing of the Popes Authority about two years after.

While these things thus pass'd, King Henry commands his Agents at Rome, (the Bishop of Worcester and Sir Gregory Casalis) to present unto the Pope the Opinion of divers famous Lawyers, in favour of his Cause; procuring also Learned Men from all parts of Italy, to come to Rome, to offer Disputation for the same. To second this again, King Henry in January, 1532. Jan. sends William Benet, Doctor of Law, to Rome, with Instructions to this purpose. But because it was found, that, by the continual intercession of the Queen and Emperor, the Pope intended shortly to cite the King to appear at Rome, either in Person or by Proxy; he dispatches thither about February, Edw. Karne, Doctor of Law, Feb. to be his Excusator, and to remonstrate, that his Grace is not bound by Law so to appear. But

It is mov'd in the Commons to petition the King to take his Wife again.

April 22. Hall. For the K's Speech to the Speaker hereupon.

May 11. Hall.

1532.
March.
April.

Mar. 16.

April.
June.

The King
cited to
Rome.

July 8.

July.

Nov. 4.

Nov. 14.
Kerne the
Kings
Agent's
answer to
the Cita-
tion.

April 4.
July 23.

ibid.
League
between
the Empe-
ror and
Protestant
Princes.

But the Pope making difficulty to admit this Excusator, it was disputed in the Consistory, whether he ought to be heard or no? But much time being spent herein, the Queens Agents require the Pope to proceed in the principal Cause. In the mean while our King, by Sir Francis Bryan, importunes Francis to intercede for him with the Pope; who, thereupon by Letter, dated March 16. informs his Holiness, that the request of the King of England is just, and he ought to relieve him. Or else they two, (being une mesme chose, and who have so well deserv'd of him) shall be forc'd to seek such other Remedies, as shall not please him, &c. To enforce this most earnest Letter, Francis sends Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbe, lately made Cardinal) to the Pope, who yet, being continually urg'd by the Imperialists to proceed against the King, and hearing (besides) first the Prohibition of Annates above-mentioned, and afterwards that a certain Priest was committed for maintaining the Papal Authority, and that another Priest (being put in Prison by the Archbishop of Canterbury for favouring Luther) after he had appeal'd to the King *tanquam Dominum Supremum*, was set at Liberty, proceeds to Citation; and calling a Consistory (July 8.) commits the hearing of the Cause to Paulus de Capisucci Dean of the Ruota, and appoints the Month of October 1532. for the Kings Appearance, protesting *alioqui procedetur*, &c. In the mean time, he writes to our King, certifying him what was done, (yet omitting the Clause of *alioqui procedetur*) intreating him further to send a Proctor; making also this Overture to our Agents, that he will be content that all the Process shall be in England, except only the final Decision, which (because there is question of the Papal Authority and the Law Divine) he will reserve to himself. The term prefix'd for our Kings appearance being expir'd; Capisucci cites our King again, or his Proctors, or finally his Orators. To all which Edward Kerne answered publicly, November 14. 1532. That the Proceeding was undue, both as the question concerning his Excusation was not decided, and that he could not get a Copy of the Citation; and finally as it was not congruous to the Breve sent to the King concerning this business. Besides, that the Emperor was so powerful in Rome, that he could not expect Justice, wherefore, unless they desisted, he declar'd, that he must appeal from thence to the able Men in some indifferent Universities. And that, if this were refus'd, he protested then a Nullity in all that they did. But the Pope, as little regarding this, goes to Bononia shortly after, to meet the Emperor, according to an agreement made a good while since betwixt them; promising our Agents yet, that notwithstanding the Queens Proctors Sollicitation, nothing of Moment should be done in this Cause, till the Emperor were departed.

The Turk now threatening Germany, the Elector of Mentz, and Lodovicus Prince Palatine interpos'd Offices for reconciling the Emperor and the Protestants: The Treaty whereof began in April, and so continued until July. When News of the coming of the Turk being brought, both Parties condescended to this Capitulation concluded at Noremberg.

That no Man should be troubled for cause of Religion, till the Council be held, (which the Emperor will labour to procure to be summon'd within six Months, and held within a year following) or some other way of determination of controverted-points be found.

Whereupon also the Protestants (being seven Princes, and twenty-three Cities) offer'd him aid against the Turk, who, this year, 1532. up-

on colour of putting *Johannes Sepusius* in possession of that Crown, invaded Hungary, which also he prosecuted in that peremptory manner, as without admitting any reasons from the Emperor, or indeed allowing him any other Title than the King of Spain, (for he said there was no Emperor but himself) he brought in an Army of three hundred thousand Men into Hungary. And because his Equipage was singular, I presume the Reader will take well the Description of it, for his own Person he was cloath'd only in a rich Robe of Crimson broider'd with Gold; but his Cimitary and Dagger, as also the Saddle and Bit of the Horse, on which he rid, was set with Stones of inestimable Value. Then follow'd his Visier-Bassas, and *Abraym* his Favorite, and Household Retinue; being about twelve thousand Men. Before him went four thousand Horse with the Standard Imperial, and four thousand Janizaries of his Guard, four hundred Slaves on Horseback in a rich Livery, and fifty Chariots carrying his most pretious Treasure, and some of the choicest Beauties of the Seraglio, and especially the admir'd *Espanziel* a Macedonian, and four thousand Horse to guard them, besides two hundred brave Horse richly furnish'd, which were led by the Hand. His Pages were a hundred on Horseback, whereof one more gorgeous than the rest, and his Lacquies one thousand, richly Apparell'd likewise in a Livery, all of these (last mention'd) wearing great Plumes. After which follow'd his Dogs and Hawks in no small proportion.

With this Train *Solyman* marches to Belgrade, then turning to the left hand of the Danubius he besieges *Giumtz*: Whence being repuls'd, he send out his Captains to forage the Country; who after committing all sorts of Cruelty, were at the last defeated and slain: And now *Solyman* finding great forces rais'd against him, and prepar'd to give him Battel, retir'd, with as little Success as he had three years since at Vienna, this Army of the Christians consisting, as I find, of ninety thousand Foot, and thirty thousand Horse, was rais'd by the Emperor, who yet did not think fit to conduct them, in Person, as coming from *Lintz*, in Austria to Vienna, no sooner than that *Solyman* was departed from Hungary; whence he sent to Rome a Dispatch of the 4th of October, desiring the Pope to meet him at *Genoia*. About which time he receiv'd news from *Andrea Doria*, whom the last Summer he had commanded to scour the Mediterranean Sea, and to land where he thought fit. Whereupon *Doria* with a great Fleet, and ten thousand Soldiers, setting forth from *Messina* in Sicily, August 18. passing by *Cephalony* and *Zante*, came to *Morea*, and landed at *Coron*, (anciently call'd *Corone*, not *Charonea*, in *Baotia*, *Plutarch's* Country, as *Sandoval* mistakes it) and battering it both by Sea and Land, took it by Composition, Sept. 21. where leaving for Garrison fifteen hundred Spaniards, he return'd with great Spoils and Honour to *Genoia*.

This while our King finding he could obtain no satisfaction from the Pope, hastens the League with Francis, formerly projected, to a Conclusion; and the rather, that he heard this Meeting betwixt the Pope and the Emperor would shortly follow. In emulation whereof therefore an Interview betwixt him and Francis was concluded, in that form which Cardinal *Woolsey* heretofore had set down upon the like meeting projected, Anno 1527.

The Articles of Treaty formerly concluded betwixt *Thomas* Earl of Wiltshire, and *Ormond* Lord Privy Seal, together with *Edward* Fox, the Kings Almoner, on the one part, and *Gilles de la Pommeraye* on the other part, were these.

1532.

Turks invade Hungary.

Retire without Success.

Octob. 16. 1529.

Octob. 4.

Aug. 18.

Libro. xx. p. 178. Sept. 21.

Bellag. 1527.

Tiles.

I. That

1532.
July 23.
League
between
the K's of
England &
France.

I. That all former Treaties shall remain in force, so that, if any Conditions in this Treaty be not performed, the former Treaties yet, especially that of perpetual Peace, shall stand firm.

II. That if the Emperor Charles any way shall invade each of them directly or indirectly, in the Lands they now hold, they shall be bound to send mutual Aid, (viz.) The King of France to the King of England (within three Months warning) to the place appointed five hundred Men at Arms, (arm'd à la Francoise,) or any other less number, which the King of England shall pay according to the rate they use to have of the French King. The King of England to the King of France such a number of Archers on foot as he shall require, so it exceed not five thousand; to receive pay of the French King, according to the rate of England. And if either the Horsemen or Archers pass the Sea, besides this Pay, there is such provision to be made for Victual, by the Prince under whom they serve, that the Soldiers may well live and maintain themselves by their pay. And if the said Emperor shall attempt any thing by Sea, the Prince invaded giving two Months notice to the other, shall receive for Aid a Navy, (in which shall be fifteen thousand Soldiers,) well arm'd and equipped, which Navy both Kings shall be bound to maintain for six Months together, or longer if need be, at their own Costs, to defend and secure against the said Emperor the Sea and Shores on both sides, from the Isle of Uthant to the place call'd the Downs, between Sandwich and Dover.

III. If the Emperor or his Governors shall detain the Goods, or Ships, or Persons of the English Merchants in his Dominions, the King of France shall summon him to make Restitution, which if he denies, he shall lay hold on and arrest the Emperors Subjects, and Goods in his Kingdom, &c. nor shall release them till satisfaction be given. And in like manner is the King of England bound to the King of France.

(But, if for any probable Cause, and particularly for any contain'd in the Articles of the former Treaty between him and the Kings of England and France, or for Justice deny'd, after he hath requir'd it, the Emperor shall arrest any of the Subjects of the two Kings, or their Goods, then the other is not bound to see him indemnified, according to the former Article. Provided, First, that the Emperor made it appear, that it is for a just Cause. Secondly, That he arrest no more than may countervail his pretended loss. Thirdly, Provided also that the number of Ships arrested by the Emperor, be not above five or six, and that for some particular interest or deed betwixt them and him.) This third Article shall not be extended to the Merchants of Higher Germany, and the Subjects of Charles Jure Imperii.

Neither of the two Kings may make a new League, Friendship, or Affinity with any Prince or Estate, to the prejudice of the other. If he do, it shall be counted void, and of no effect; This Treaty, being Minuted 23 June 1532. was to be signed five Months after.

Interview
between
the two
Kings.
Octob. 11.
Sept. 1.
Octob. 20.

And now the time of the Interview approaching, our King pass'd the Seas to Calais, 11 of Octob. 1532. with a Royal Train, and Mistress Anne Bolen, (lately * created Marchioness of Pembroke.) And going thence to Bologne, the young Princes, the Children of Francis, meeting him, were recommended to him by the King their Father. Who, after many Complements, conducted him to the Abbey; where they both lodg'd in the same House. Many Courtesies were exchanged, and many Designs projected betwixt those Princes concerning Religion, and other Affairs of Christendom, for the space of four days that they stay'd together; which being past, Francis return'd with our King to Calais, in this Order, that, while Francis was on French Ground he gave place, but when he came to the English Pale, he receiv'd it. Being now come near

Octob. 25.
Hall.

Calais, the Duke of Richmond, a goodly young Gentleman, bravely attended, met them. All the Soldiers of the Town also, and Servants to the Nobility, richly Apparell'd, made a Guard for their entrance into the Streets. The Lodging which Francis was brought to, was most richly furnish'd with Cloth of Gold and Tissue, imbroider'd in some places with Pearl and precious Stone. And their several Services brought in a hundred and seventy Dishes all of Massive Gold. The Marchioness also made them a curious and rich Masque, in which both Kings danc'd. After which Anne de Montmorencie, a noble Man of a most ancient and generous Family, Grand-Maister, and Marechal of France, and Philip Chabot Seigneur de Bryon, and Admiral of France, were accepted into the Order of the Garter. Francis himself (who was also of this Order) sitting in his Stall at their Election. And this was in lieu of the taking of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk into the Order of St. Michael by Francis at Boulogne. And here the two Kings advis'd what in their particular should be done against the Turk; for, though News were already brought of his Retreat, yet because that he had left behind him a great part of his Forces, and that it was thought he intended to return, it was agreed betwixt these Princes, the next year to bring an Army into the Field, of seventy thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and not to part without mutual consent. That they should send to the Princes in Italy or Germany, to require Passage and Victuals at a reasonable price, &c. This being settled, our King complain'd of the ill usage the Pope gave him in the affairs of his Divorce, in regard he was cited to appear at the Court of Rome by himself or Proctor; whereas it was usual in these cases to send Judges to the place; it being not reasonable that either a Proctor should be trusted with the secrets of his Conscience, or that himself should abandon his Realm to go in Person to so remote a place. Whereupon they began mutual complaints against the Pope for the Annates and Exactions taken upon the Subjects in either Country, which they promis'd to remedy, by summoning him to a Council, and in the mean while to send their Ambassadors to require Reparation, protesting, that otherwise (by calling Provincial Councils in their several Kingdoms) they would give that order which was fitting: And, for this purpose that the Cardinals of Tournon and Grandmont, should be employ'd; who also were authoris'd to tell the Pope, that, whereas an Interview had been propos'd betwixt him and the French King at Avignon or Nizza, that it might be, that the King of England his good Brother, could be persuaded easily to go along with him, for ending all Controversies, if his Holiness were dispos'd thereunto. In the mean while, the Bishop of Auxerre, the French Ambassador at Rome, should certify the Pope, that the said Cardinals would be present at the Interview betwixt the Pope and Emperor, to the end they might mediate with the Pope, for giving King Henry Judges in his own Kingdom, to decide the point of the Divorce. After which, coming to speak, (as I find by our Records) concerning his intended Match with the new Marchioness, Francis encourag'd him to proceed; promising, if the Cause were question'd, to assist him to the uttermost, whatsoever should come of it. In which Discourses purposing *fier la Partie* for the chief affairs of Europe, they pass'd four days at Calais. After which time the King conducting him to the French Ground, bid him farewell 30 Octob. 1532. and so return'd to Calais. Yet as the weather was then tempestuous, he pass'd not

1532.

Octob. 11.

Octob. 11.

Octob. 11.

Ball.

They resolve to summon him to a Council.

Francis encourages Henry to marry Anne Bolen.

1523.
Nov. 14.
Holings-
Ston.
He mar-
ries her.

Bay.

Interview
between
the Pope
and Em-
peror.
Dec. 20.

Bay.

not the Seas before the 14th of *Novemb.* on which day some write, he privately Married the Marchioness, though others place it on the 25 of *Jan.* following, Rowland Lee afterwards Bishop of *Conventry* and *Lichfield*, and President of *Wales*, (under whom it began first to be govern'd by the Laws of *England*) celebrating the Marriage in the presence of Arch-bishop *Cranmer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and her Father, Mother, and Brothers, &c. which yet was not publish'd till the *Easter* following. Not long after which (or as some have it in the beginning of the next Spring) the King sent *George Bolen*, Lord *Rochfort*, to *Francis* to acquaint him with the Marriage, and to desire him (if occasion were) not to fail his Promise. Furthermore he requir'd his advice, how it were best to publish it, since it could not be long conceal'd. He also acquainted him how the *Scots* under the Earl of *Murray* had done some Hostile Acts in his Kingdom; wishing him therefore not to take it ill if he reveng'd himself on the *Scots*; intreating him further, that if the Interview betwixt the Pope and him (then secretly projected) must needs follow (which yet he wish'd were protracted) that he would remember his Cause, then depending in *Rome*, as he was often desir'd.

The Emperor who was well inform'd of this Interview, hastned his with the Pope. And because the Pope could not be persuaded to come to *Genoia* by Sea, the meeting was agreed at *Bononia*, 20th *December* 1532. where also the two Cardinals above-mentioned, were on the part of *Francis*. And now they treated of the general Affairs, but not with that intireness and satisfaction which formerly past; for the Pope retain'd still some grudge concerning the business of *Ferrara* above-mentioned. Therefore, when the Emperor (according to his promise given to the *German* Princes) prest him to call a Council, he deserr'd it; and, when he wish'd him to renounce all Friendship with our King and *Francis*, he excus'd himself, saying, they were Christian Princes. Again, when he requir'd that *Catharine de Medicis*, the Popes Niece (between whom and the Duke of *Orleans*, second Son to *Francis*, a Treaty past) should be dispos'd of to *Francisco Sforza*; he reply'd she was already promis'd. Only, it seems, he accorded all that could be requir'd concerning our King. Inasmuch, that unless he would contribute puissantly for and against the *Turk* (for which purpose the Pope promis'd his Letters) the Emperor was then assur'd that all that could be done in favour of *Queen Katharine*, should be immediately dispatch'd. Which also the Emperor (now more than ever offended at our Kings League with *Francis*) took so well, that in Contemplation thereof, he not only withdrew his Forces out of *Lombardy*, but gave Peace to *Italy*, as by a League then concluded betwixt them more fully appear'd. Some Cardinals being made at this Interview, the Ambassadors of *France* demanded a Cardinals Hat for *Hierom*, Bishop of *Worcester*; which the Emperor oppos'd, saying, he would have taken it less ill, that the *French King* should have su'd for four Hats for his own Subjects, than one for any appertaining to our King, especially for him who had been a diligent Agent in the Divorce. Many designs here likewise were projected, and among them one by the Bishop of *Como*, who for deciding all Controversies, said it was necessary that the Pope, the Emperor and *French King* should meet together, which, yet, was not finally approv'd unless our King made the fourth. But this also in regard of the little security those Princes could mutually give or receive, being judg'd improbable, was rejected. Shortly after

which, the Pope and Emperor took leave of each other. During this Interview I find in our Records a *Portuguez*, in the name of *David King* of the *Ethiopians* (vulgarly call'd *Prete Jan*) presented himself Ambassador to his Holiness; for authorizing of which charge he brought with him not only Letters of Credence (translated out of the *Chaldee* to the *Italian* and *Portugal* Tongues) wherein the said King declar'd himself to be descended from *Queen Candace* mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apostles, but a Crucifix of Gold; the further effect of his Employment being to require some excellent Artificers, and 2000 *Arquebusiers*, whom he would use in a War against the *Turk* in *Egypt*, when his Holiness would compose the differences in the Western Parts, and joyn all Christian Princes for recovery of the *Holy-Land*; pretending thereupon in the Name of that King to render Obedience to his Holiness as the true Successor of *St. Peter*. But this (as *Augustino de Augustini* an *Italian* there present, and sometimes Servant to Cardinal *Woolsey*, hath it in his Letter to *Cromwel*) made the rest suspected; and the rather that other Circumstances made it probable, that this Ambassador was suborn'd partly by the *Portugal* to countenance his Monopoly of Spices towards those parts (much grudg'd at by his Neighbour Princes) and partly by the Pope to advance his Authority and Reputation. But to return to our History.

Our King having notice of the foresaid Interview, and finding that the Emperor, who seem'd a while to desist from the eager prosecution of his Aunts Cause, was now more vehement than ever; sends Instructions to his Agents at *Rome*, to protest in his Name, that he was not bound either in his own Person, or by his Proctor to appear there, urging, for this purpose, the Determination of some Universities, and particularly of *Orleans* and *Paris*. Notwithstanding which, he permitted Doctor *Bennet* to make (as of himself) divers motions to the Pope, the principal whereof in our Records I find these. First, that seeing by the Opinions of Lawyers, and the Council of *Nice*, the matter ought to be decided in *partibus*; and that by the Laws of *England* the Determination (it concerning the Succession) cannot elsewhere be made; it would please his Holiness that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* taking to him two eminent Bishops or Abbots, or the whole Clergy of his Province, should decide the same. But this being dislik'd by the Pope, *Bennet* secondly propos'd, whether he would refer the Determination to Sir *Thomas More*, or the Bishop of *London*, to be nominate by the King, and let the Queen or Emperor name another, and the *French King* the third, and let the Archbishop of *Canterbury* be the fourth. But this also being rejected, *Bennet* came, it seems, to the last degree of the Instructions, which was, that if the Cause might be heard in *England*, and that the Queen refus'd the Sentence, she should have the benefit of her Appeal before three Judges, one of *England*, one of *France*, and the third from the Pope, who also should discuss the matter in some indifferent place. But the Pope allow'd not this, saying, since he saw the King would needs conserve his Authority, he would likewise conserve his, and proceed via ordinaria. Before yet I conclude this year, I shall relate some particular home-businesses. Among which, I find that our King having gotten *York-House* (now *White-Hall*) upon the Cardinals Conviction in a *Præmunire*, did newly enlarge and beautifie it, buying also the Hospital and Fields of *St. James*, and building the Palace there. For which purpose he compounded with the Sisters of the House for a Pension during their Lives. Not

1532.
Feb. 28.
1533.
Jan. 31.
1533.
Ambassa-
dor sent to
the Pope
from the
King of
Ethiopia.

Feb. 2.
1533.
But sus-
pected to
be a Coun-
terfeit.

White-Hall
and St.
James's
Palaces
built.

1532.
June 4.

May 16.
Sir Thomas
More re-
signs the
Seals.

June 4.

Life of Sir
Thomas
More, by
T. M.

Gives his
Fool to
the Lord
Mayor &
his Suc-
cessors.

long after which, he suppress'd the Priory call'd *Christ-Church* in *London*, distributing the Canons, being *Franciscans*, into other Houses of that kind, and bestowing the Church-Plate, and Lands, on *Sir Thomas Audley*, newly made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. For *Sir Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, after divers Suits to be discharg'd of his place, (which he had held two years and a half) did at length by the Kings good leave resign it. The example whereof being rare, will give me occasion to speak more particularly of him. *Sir Thomas More*, a Person of sharp Wit, and endu'd besides with excellent parts of Learning (as his Works may testify) was yet (out of I know not what natural facetiousness) given so much to Jestings, that it detracted no little from the Gravity and Importance of his Place, which though generally noted and dislik'd, I do not think was enough to make him give it over in that merriment we shall find anon, or retire to a private Life. Neither can I believe him so much addicted to his private Opinions, as to desert all other Governments but his own *Utopia*, so that it is probable some vehement desire to follow his Book, or secret offence taken against some Person, or Matter (among which perchance the Kings new intended Marriage, or the like might be accounted) occasion'd this strange Counsel, though, yet, I find no reason pretended for it, but infirmity and want of Health. Our King hereupon taking the Seal, and giving it, together with the Order of Knight-hood, to *Thomas Audley* Speaker of the Lower-House, *Sir Thomas More* without acquainting any body with what he had done, repairs to his Family at *Chelsey*, where after a Mass celebrated the next day in the Church, he comes to his Ladies Pew, with his hat in his Hand (an Office formerly done by one of his Gentlemen) and says, *Madam, my Lord is gone*. But she thinking this at first to be but one of his Jest, was little mov'd, till he told her seriously, he had given up the Great Seal; whereupon she speaking some passionate Words, he call'd his Daughters then present to see if they could not spie some fault about their Mothers Dressing, but they after search, saying they could find none, he replied, *do you not perceive that your Mothers Nose standeth somewhat awry*; of which Jeer the provok'd Lady was so sensible, that she went from him in a Rage. Shortly after, he acquainted his Servants with what he had done, dismissing them also to the attendance of some other great Personages, to whom he had recommended them. For his Fool he bestow'd him on the Lord Mayor during his Office, and afterwards on his Successors in that Charge. And now coming to himself, he began to consider how much he had left, and finding that it was not above one hundred pounds yearly in Lands, besides some Money, he advis'd with his Daughters how to live together. But the griev'd Gentlewomen (who knew not what to reply, or indeed how to take these Jest) remaining astonish'd, he says, *We will begin with the slender Diet of the Students of the Law, and if that will not hold out, we will take such Commons as they have at Oxford*; which, yet, if our Purse will not stretch to maintain, for our last refuge we will go a Begging, and at every Mans Door, sing together a *Salve Regina* to get Alms. But these Jest were thought to have in them more levity, than to be taken every where for current; he might have quitted his Dignity, without using such Sarcasms, and betaken himself to a more retir'd and quiet Life, without making them or himself contemptible. And certainly whatsoever he intended hereby, his Family so little understood his meaning, that

they needed some more serious Instructions. So that I cannot persuade my self for all this talk, that so excellent a Person would omit at fit times, to give his Family that sober account of his relinquishing this place, which I find he did to the Archbishop *Warham*, *Erasmus*, and others.

This year of 1533. February 4. the Parliament sat again.

The chief Laws enacted were; that all Victuals should be sold by the larger kind of weight call'd *Avoirdupois*. That the price of a pound of Beef or Pork should be a half-penny at most, and of Mutton or Veal three farthings, and less, where it was usually sold for less. Which I therefore remember that we may compare the Rate of those times with these. This Law yet was finally Repeal'd in regard unseasonable years did not permit a certain Rule in these things, and some of the Lords of the Council appointed to set the Prices; whereof in its due place.

That they who kill'd any Person attempting to Rob by or near the High-way, or that broke Houses, should be acquitted without forfeiting either Goods or Lands.

That no Appeals should be made out of this Realm for these Reasons (*viz.*) That whereas the Kingdom of *England* was a just Empire, furnish'd with such able Persons both Spiritual and Temporal, as could decide all Controversies arising in it; and whereas *Edw. I. Edw. III. Rich. II. Hen. IV.* and other Kings of this Realm, have made sundry Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, for the Conservation of the Prerogative, Liberties, and Pre-eminences of the said Imperial Crown, and of the Jurisdictions Spiritual and Temporal of the same, to keep it from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*, as also from the Authority of other foreign Potentates attempting the Diminution or Violation thereof; and because notwithstanding the said Acts, divers Appeals have been sued to the See of *Rome* in Causes Testamentary, Causes of Matrimony, and Divorces, right of Tythes, Oblations and Obventions, to the great vexation and charge of the Kings Highness, and his Subjects, and the delay of Justice; and, forasmuch, as the distance of the way to *Rome* is such, as the necessary proofs and true knowledge of the Cause, cannot be brought thither, and represented so well, as in this Kingdom; and that therefore many Persons be without Remedy: It is therefore enacted, that all Causes Testamentary, Causes of Matrimony, and Divorces, Tythes, Oblations, and Obventions, either commenc'd or depending formerly, or which hereafter shall commence in any of the Kings Dominions, shall be heard, discuss'd, and definitively determin'd, within the Kings Jurisdiction, and Authority in the Courts Spiritual and Temporal of the same, any foreign inhibition or restraints to the contrary notwithstanding. So that, although any Excommunication or Interdiction on this occasion should follow from that See, the Prelates and Clergy of this Realm should administer Sacraments, and say Divine Service, and do all other their Duties, as formerly hath been us'd, upon penalty of one years Imprisonment, and Fine at the Kings pleasure; and they who procur'd the said Sentences, should fall into a *Præmunire*. As for the Orders to be observ'd henceforth, it was enacted, that in Suits commenc'd before the Archdeacon or his Officials, Appeal might be made to the Bishop of the said See. And from thence within 15 days to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or Archbishop of *York*, respectively in their Provinces, and so likewise to the Archbishops in the Kings other Dominions. Or if Suit be

1532. be commenc'd before the Archdeacon of any Archbishop or his Commissaries, then Appeal may be made within fifteen days to the Court of Arches, and so to the Archbishops without further Appeal. In all which cases, the Prerogative of the Archbishop and Church of Canterbury was reserv'd. That if any Suit arose betwixt the King and his Subjects, Appeal might be made within fifteen days to the Prelates of the Upper House in the Convocation then sitting, or next call'd by the Kings Writ, there to be finally determin'd. And that they who shall take out any Appeal contrary to the effect of this Act, or refuse to obey it, they, their Adherents, and Counsellors, shall incur the penalty of the Statute of xvi Rich. Secundi. And thus the Spirituality finding the power invested formerly in the Pope, to be deriv'd now in great part on them, did more easily suffer the diminution of the Papal Authority.

All former Statutes also made against the excess of Apparel were repeal'd, and new Orders given, which yet stood not long; there being no measure it seems for things that depended so much upon Fancy and Opinion. It is now time that we return to our History.

June 4. Records. Among the many things concluded at the late Interview at *Bononia*, we may remember one was that the Pope should write to our King to send aid against the *Turk*, who having fail'd (accidentally) in his Intentions, he said this Summer would puissantly invade Christendom. But our King answer'd by his Ambassadors, that the Emperors Ambition was the cause thereof, and the rashness of the Pope, who at the Emperors request had lately Excommunicated *John Sepuse Vayvode* of *Transilvania* and elect King of *Hungary*, and so forc'd him to seek foreign Aid; which ought to put his Holiness in mind, that he be wary how he proceeded with potent Princes. Yet if the Pope in his own particular were afraid of the *Turk*, that he should come to *Avignon*, and that he and *Francis* would undertake his Protection, since the Emperor was resolv'd to consent to the *German* Princes, about some Innovation in Religion; only to diminish his Holiness Power. How the Pope yet relish'd this Motion, appears not; but certainly I find that as long as he was so aw'd in *Italy*, neither did *Francis* think it safe to treat, or our King to repose intire Confidence in him, though now the *Cesarean* Forces being withdrawn, a private Treaty betwixt the Pope and *Francis* took effect, insomuch that *Francis* now began secretly to fall off from our King. For as the Pope together with giving *Catharina de Medices* (Daughter to *Lorenzo*, late Duke of *Urbino*) in Marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, had promis'd his assistance to him for recovering his Claims in *Italy*, which he passionately desir'd, so he was dispos'd now, though not altogether to forsake our King, yet at least to decline the Conventions betwixt them, at their late Interview. And to induce the Pope to draw *Francis* on his side, it may be thought no small Motive, that he had upon his own Authority, not only levied some Tenths upon the Clergy in *France*, but prepar'd Forces to assist the Protestant Princes; which so scandaliz'd his Holiness, as he thought it safer to permit a War of Dominion (though in *Italy*) than of Religion in *Germany* assisted by the *French*. And certainly, as the times then stood, the Pope had reason to fear a defection in more than one Prince. The Pope also wanted not his designs upon *Modena* and *Reggio*, wherein he hop'd *Francis* would second him against the Emperor, whom he hated still for approving the late Sentence in favour of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Which places

now he intended to give his Niece, together with the Dutchy of *Urbino*, when it could be gotten. For performance of all which, the *French* Writers say a Treaty was concluded. Our King (being well inform'd of all, and particularly knowing that *Francis*, notwithstanding both their late private Treaty at the Interview, and divers reiterated professions of Friendship, had upon the Popes Breve and Request executed some Persons in *France*, who it seem'd oppos'd the Papal Authority, and recall'd from Banishment one *Bede* a bitter Enemy to the Kings Divorce,) thought it now his best expedient to stand to the decision of his own Clergy: Whereunto it conduc'd much, that *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being lately dead, *Thomas Crammer* (an able Person) much favour'd by the Nobility, as our Historians say, and lately imploy'd in the Kings business in *Italy*, and at this present in *Germany*, was, though absent, chosen to this Place. Neither indeed could the Kings Clandestine Marriage be much longer hidden, the new Queen being quick with Child: So that he resolv'd shortly, both to publish his Marriage, and to require his Clergy to proceed to a Sentence concerning the Divorce. His Parliament, in the mean time, so favouring his Intentions, that they made the afore said Act against Appeals to *Rome*, to the no little displeasure of Queen *Katharine*, who found thereby how dangerous it would be (in point of our Law) to insist on hers. However, I find, she had many openly favour'd her Cause, without that our King thought fit to punish them.

Queen *Katharine* was now at *Amptbil* in *Bedfordshire*; and because it concern'd the King to acquaint her, with the causes of this second Marriage, he sent again some grave Persons to prepare her thereunto, wishing her together to submit. But she persisting still, *Crammer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* cited her to appear at *Dunstable*, being six Miles off. Where for deciding this business, he appointed a Court to be held; and with him came the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, (being *Stephen Gardiner*) *Bath*, *Lincoln*, and many great Clerks. Their first proceeding (as *Sanders* hath it) was a Citation to our King to put away his Wife *Katharine*, protesting otherwise that they would censure him. But the Records which I have seen, mention only that *Crammer* demanded and obtain'd leave of the King to determine the matter, since it caus'd much doubt among the common People, and fears of great Inconveniencies in matter of Succession. The Court being now held, and the Queen summon'd fifteen days together, without yet that she appear'd, the Archbishop having first pronounc'd her Contumacious, proceeds to Sentence, which also he caus'd to be publickly read in the Chappel of our Lady in the Priory of *Dunstable*, before two Notaries, and then sent to the King, desiring further to know his mind concerning his second Marriage, as soon as he had advis'd with his Council.

The Tenor of the Sentence was this.

IN Dei nomine Amen: Nos Thomas permissione divina Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, in quadam Causa inquisitionis de & super viribus Matrimonii inter illustrissimum & potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, Dei gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defensorem & Dominum Hi-

1532.
1531.
March.
1532.
Crammer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Aug. 23.
1532.
Crammer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cites Q. Catharine to appear at Dunstable.

Sand. Schif. Angl. April 11.

May 10.

May 23.

Sentence of Divorce pronounced against her.

1533 bernia, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, nobilis memoriae Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis filiam contracti & consummati, quae coram nobis in Judicio ex officio nostro merito aliquamdiu vertebatur, & adhuc vertitur & pendet indecisa, rite & legitime procedentes. Visis primitus per nos & diligenter inspectis Articulis sive capitulis in dominica Causa objectis & ministratis, una cum responsis eis ex parte dicti illustrissimi & potentissimi Principis Henrici Octavi, factis & redditis, visisque & similiter per nos inspectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum testium fide dignorum dictis & depositionibus in eadem causa habitis & factis; Visisque praeterea & simili modo per nos inspectis quamplurimum & fere totius Christiani Orbis principalium Academicarum censuris seu conclusionibus Magistratibus etiam tam Theologorum quam Juris peritorum Responsis & Opinionibus, utriusque denique Provinciae Anglicanae Conciliorum Provincialium assertionibus & affirmationibus, aliisque salutaribus monitis & doctrinis super dicto Matrimonio desuper respective habitis & factis. Visisque ulterius & pari modo per nos inspectis, tractatibus seu foederibus pacis & amicitiae inter perennis famae Henricum Septimum nuper Regem Angliae & dictum nobilis memoriae Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hispaniae, desuper initis & factis; visis quoque per amplius & diligenter per nos inspectis omnibus & singulis actis, actitatis, literis, processibus, instrumentis, scripturis, munimentis, rebusque aliis Universis in dicta causa quomodolibet gestis & factis, ac hic omnibus & singulis ita per nos visis & inspectis atque a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recensitis: Servatisque ulterius per nos in hac parte de Jure servandis; Nec non partibus praedictis (viz.) praefato illustrissimo & potentissimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta causa legitime comparente, dicta vero Serenissima Domina Catharina per contumaciam absente (cujus absentia divina repleatur praesentia) de Concilio Juris peritorum & Theologorum cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus ad sententiam nostram definitivam, sive finale decretum nostrum in dicta Causa ferendam sive ferendum sic duximus procedendum & procedimus in hoc modum. Quia per acta, inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata pariter & confessata, articulataque Capitulata partis, Responsa testium, depositiones, & dicta, instrumenta, munimenta, literas, scripturas, censuras, conclusiones Magistrales, Opiniones, consilia, assertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & foedera Pacis, processus, res alias & cetera praemissa coram nobis in dicta Causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta. Necnon ex eisdem & diversis aliis ex causis ac considerationibus, argumentisque & probationum generibus variis & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus quibus animum nostrum in hac parte ad plenum informavimus plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum matrimonium inter praefatos illustrissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octa-

1533 vum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut praemittitur contractum & consummatum, nullum omnino & invalidum fuisse & esse, ac divino Jure prohibente, contractum & consummatum extitisse. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum praec oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, ipsumque praetensum matrimonium fuisse & esse nullum & invalidum, ac divino jure prohibente contractum & consummatum, nulliusque valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus & firmitate juris caruisse & carere, praefatisque illustrissimo & potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo ac Serenissimae Dominae Catharinae non licere, in eodem praetenso matrimonio remanere etiam pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, ipsosque illustrissimum & potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum, & Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam quatenus de facto & non de Jure dictum praetensum matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & consummarunt, ab invicem separamus & Divortiamus, atque sic separatos & divortiatos, necnon ab omni vinculo matrimoniali respectu dicti praetensi matrimonii, liberos & immunes fuisse & esse pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus, per hanc nostram Sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.

Maii 23. 1533.

IN the Name of God Amen: We Thomas by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolical See, in a certain cause of enquiry of and concerning the validity of the Marriage contracted and consummated between the most potent and most illustrious Prince, our Sovereign Lord Henry VIII. by the grace of God King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, and the most serene Princess Catharine, Daughter of his most Catholick Majesty, Ferdinand King of Spain, &c. of glorious Memory; we proceeding according to Law and Justice in the said Cause, which has been brought judicially before us in virtue of our Office, and which for some time has lain under Examination, as it still is, being not yet finally determin'd and decided, having first seen all the Articles and Pleas which have been exhibited and set forth of her part, together with the answers made thereto, and given in on the part of the said most illustrious and powerful Prince Henry VIII; having likewise seen, and diligently inspected the Informations and Depositions of many Noblemen and other Witnesses of unsuspected veracity exhibited in the said Cause; having also seen, and in like manner carefully consider'd not only the Censures and Decrees of the most famous Universities of almost the whole Christian World, but likewise the Opinions and Determinations both of the most eminent Divines and Civilians, as also the Resolutions and Conclusions of the Clergy of both Provinces of England in Convocation assembled, and many other

1533.

wholsom Instructions and Doctrines which have been given in and laid before us concerning the said Marriage. Having farther seen, and with like diligence inspected all the Treaties and Leagues of Peace and Amity on this account, enter'd upon, and concluded between Henry VII. of Immortal Fame, late King of England, and the said Ferdinand of glorious Memory, late King of Spain, having besides seen, and most carefully weigh'd all and every of the Acts, Debates, Letters, Processes, Instruments, Writs, Arguments, and all other things which have pass'd, and been transacted in the said Cause at any time, in all which thus seen and inspected, our most exact care in examining, and our most mature deliberation in weighing them, hath by us been us'd, reserving herein whatsoever of right ought to be by us reserv'd. Furthermore the said most illustrious and most powerful Prince King Henry VIII. in the fore-mention'd Cause, by his proper Proctor having appear'd before us, but the said most Serene Lady Catharine in contempt absenting her self, (whose absence may the Divine Presence always attend) by and with the advice of the most Learned in the Law, and of Persons of most eminent skill in Divinity, whom we have consulted in the Premises, we have found it our Duty to proceed to give our final Decree and definitive Sentence in the said Cause, which accordingly we do in this manner. Because by Acts, Warrants, Deductions, Propositions, Exhibitions, Allegations, Proofs and Confessions, Articles drawn up, Answers of Witnesses, Depositions, Informations, Instruments, Arguments, Letters, Writs, Censures, Determinations of Professors, Opinions, Councils, Assertions, Affirmations, Treaties and Leagues of Peace, Processes and other matters in the said Cause as is above-mentioned before us laid, had, done, exhibited, and respectively produc'd, as also from the same and sundry other Reasons, Causes and Considerations, manifold Arguments, and various kinds of proof of the greatest Evidence, Strength and Validity, of which in the said Cause we have fully and clearly inform'd our selves, we find, and with undeniable evidence and plainness, see that the Marriage contracted and consummated, as is aforesaid, between the said most Illustrious Prince King Henry VIII. and the most Serene Lady Catharine, was and is null and invalid, and that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the Law of God. Therefore we Thomas, Archbishop, Primate and Legate aforesaid, having first call'd upon the name of Christ for direction herein, and having God altogether before our Eyes, do pronounce, sentence and declare for the nullity and invalidity of the said Marriage, decreeing that the said pretended Marriage always was, and still is null and invalid, that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the Will and Law of God, that it is of no force or obligation, but that it always wanted, and still wants the strength and sanction of Law, and therefore we sentence, decree and declare, that it is not lawful for the said most illustrious and powerful Prince Henry VIII. and the said most serene Lady Catharine, to remain in the said pretended Marriage; and we do Separate and Divorce from each other the

said most illustrious and most powerful King Henry VIII. and the said most illustrious Lady Catharine, in as much as they contracted and consummated the said pretended Marriage de facto, and not de jure, and that they, so separated and divorc'd, are absolutely free from all Marriage Bond, with regard to the foresaid pretended Marriage, we do pronounce, decree and declare by this our definitive Sentence, and final Decree, which we now give, and by the tenor of these Presents publish.

1533.

May 23. 1533.

The King hereupon (according to the Decree of the last Parliament) commands strictly Katharine should no more be call'd Queen, but Princess Dowager, and Widow of Prince Arthur; and dispatches Messengers both to Rome, and to the Emperor (then in Spain) to declare and justify the proceedings, not omitting together to satisfy Francis thereof, as shall be told in his place. The Oration made to the Emperor (whether by Doctor Hawkins then resident in his Court, or Sir Thomas Wyat, as Fox hath it) did in effect remonstrate, that since his Highness did still esteem him to be his Friend, Confederate and Ally, he thought good to acquaint him with his Actions, and among them, his Divorce, and therein particularly the Justice of the Cause, and order of the Process, in which nothing being omitted, which might satisfy himself or others, he hath found, at last, that the Marriage with Queen Katharine was indispenfable, as being against the Law of God, Nature, and Man; yet that herein he us'd not his own Judgment alone, or his Subjects (though enough to quiet his Conscience) but requir'd it of foreign parts and Universities, and among them those of Bononia (though depending of the Popes) and Padua (though menac'd by the Venetians) and hath found them, and many other, so consentaneous to his Divines, that (some few partial Places and Persons only excepted) they all determin'd in favour of his Highness Cause; the further confirmation whereof, by publick disputation and proof, he should willingly offer his Majesty, were it not too great an injury to that which is pass'd in this Realm, to dispute it in any other Country; especially when it is contrary to the Laws of the Land: So that he trusted his prudence would take it as a thing done, and justly done, and not to marvel if the King his Master, for the weal of his Soul, as well as benefit and peace of his Realm, had taken a course which otherwise he would so little have thought of, as he wisheth no such occasion had ever been given him; wherein, he hopes it will appear, how much respect is given both to the Pope and your Self, since otherwise his Highness should not have sent so many Ambassages to you both, or spent so many years in clearing these Points, without receiving yet any fruit but delay and insatisfaction. Infomuch, that he perceiv'd, after the Cause had depended almost seven years space, he was in a Labyrinth, out of which he saw no likelihood to get, had he not stept right forth at once to the Mazes end. Yet if this were all, he could better suffer it: For since at last the necessity of clearing his Conscience, and satisfying his People, had made him give a period to his Suits, the Pope not content with his former Vexations, cited him to appear at Rome, and publish'd divers slanderous Breves against him, requiring the Cause to be determin'd before him; though

K. orders her only the Title of Princess Dowager.

July 6. Notice of these proceedings sent to the Emperor.

1533. though a General Council hath long since determin'd that all matters should be ended, where they begun. So that if the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan of the Realm had at length given Sentence on the Kings part, he thought the question should not be so much, whether it were done according to the common fashion, as whether in it self it were right, whereof therefore he would treat with the Pope apart, desiring his Majesty howsoever to take well this Declaration, since his Highness reputing him still his friend, thought this accompt due to him, as hoping further, he would not be less friendly hereafter, than he had been heretofore. To which the Emperor answer'd little more that I can find, *than that he well knew how matters pass'd, and that he would advise with his Council, what further was to be done; giving by this short and sharp Reply, just suspicion of preparing War against England, as he had more than once threatned. For which purpose, as 1529. he had practis'd with the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, so now he treated secretly with James King of Scotland, to whom also he sent his Order. Our King not ignorant hereof, takes occasion (upon expiration of the late five years Truce) to give ear unto the complaint of the Earl of Angus, (then at Burwick) and to permit Sir Arthur Darcy to enter the Country and forrage it. Which he did in April 1533, burning divers Towns, and carrying away much Booty. Pretending for cause thereof, the Restitution of the Douglasses. But while James, a valiant Prince (as his many Expeditions in Person against the Out-Laws did declare) prepar'd to be reveng'd, the French King taking notice of this difference compos'd it, though not without some difficulty. Notwithstanding which, the Treaty with the Emperor continu'd. For whereas the young King being not long since desirous to match in France, found some interruption, he hark'n'd now to an offer from the Emperor. And his faithful Servants thought it time, as having run no small hazard in his Night-walks. And now three Maries, all of the Emperors Family, were mention'd to him; his Sister Mary Dowager of Hungary, Mary of Portugal his Niece by his Sister Leonora, and Mary our Princess. Neither will the Reader think it so strange, that the Emperor presum'd here so far with our Kings Daughter, when he shall consider (as I find in our Records and Bellays History) that he offer'd her afterwards to the Dauphin; as intending, together with troubling this Kingdom, to make this Princess a reward of their Ambition who assist'd him. The answer which James return'd was, that he should most desire the Match with England, if conveniently it could be effected, saying yet that after her he would gladliest have a Daughter of his Sister of Denmark. But Charles saying, she was already promis'd, the business of Marriage ended so, for the present, the Treaty of friendship nevertheless being in some kind entertain'd. Whereof our King being advertis'd, labour'd to break it, proposing to his Nephew a Match with Isabel, Sister to Henry King of Navarre. For which purpose he also sent Henry Knevet to Margaret Queen of Navarre, who gladly entertain'd the motion.*

This while, the Duke of Albany was sent by Francis unto the Pope, to treat in appearance of a War against the Duke, but really to conclude the design'd Marriage with Catharina de Medices, to whom the said Duke was near allied. Which Match though the Emperor had heretofore oppos'd; yet now considering how expedient it was for his Affairs to divide Francis from our King, he resolv'd privately to give assent to it, as judging fewer Inconveniences would follow

that way, than if both Kings joyn'd against him. Before yet he would declare himself, he told the Pope he should require these Conditions from Francis. 1. To Innovate nothing in Italy. 2. To confirm again the Treaty of Madrid and Cambray. 3. To obtain some assurance from him, that he should consent to the calling of a General Council. 4. That he would labour effectually with the King of England not to proceed any further in his Divorce. To all which the Pope gave no other answer, but that he would mediate therein, being not able (as he alledg'd) to dispose otherwise of so puissant a Prince.

And now because the Reader may expect an account why this General Council, promis'd within a years space to the Germans, formerly by the Emperor, solicited by our King and Francis, submitted unto by the Protestant Princes, took yet no effect at the time appointed; I thought fit to deliver the chief passages thereof: Since I dare say no Age ever produc'd a juster occasion for the calling of it. Which therefore also I shall relate with more particularity, that none was more forward herein than our King, only when it might be held in some free place and manner; as knowing well that nothing either formerly had, or now, could more authorise any solemn Error, than a factious and partial Assembly, under what general or specious Title soever. Nevertheless, as it concern'd the Emperor in point of Honour and Advantage, chiefly to procure this work, our King and Francis were content a while to look on. And three Motives I find were presented by the Emperor to the Pope. 1. The settling of the business of Religion. 2. Resistance against the Turk. 3. Accommodation of differences betwixt Christian Princes. The Pope having receiv'd these, reply'd only, That he would commit the business to some principal Persons of his Council, who making this following Remonstrance, the Pope thought fit to send it to the Emperor; which finally was that concerning Religion, they thought it a dangerous point to admit Protestants or Hereticks to dispute any of the Opinions, which Holy Councils have formerly determin'd. Since thereupon also they might take occasion to call in question the Articles of Christian Faith. On the other side, when they were forbidden to defend their Doctrines, they might think themselves worse us'd than the Arrians and other Hereticks heretofore, and pretend they were condemn'd unheard, and so return home more obstinate than ever. Secondly, If they have contradicted the determinations of former Councils, what hope is there that they should stand to this? And what a scandal would it prove to be disobey'd? Besides, how unreasonable and hard would it be for the Pope to compel them to a strict observation of the Decrees establish'd there, when the Emperor and other Christian Princes, had so much to do both one against another, and against the Turk? Thirdly, That there was small likelihood of convincing the Protestants as long as they wholly adhere to the Letter of the Holy Scripture, without admitting the Interpretation of Fathers or Councils, who by Divine Inspiration may be thought to have clear'd many doubtful Places: So that if once they call'd in question the authority of the Church, there could be no ground for deciding Controversies. Fourthly, That it is probable, their demand of a Council was not so much with the intention to obey it, as to avoid the punishment due from the Magistrate; since their request was to have liberty of Religion till a Council had determin'd the Controversies, which could not be suddenly done. Fifthly, That the Protestants might find some excuse to depart before any Determination, as they did from the Diet at Augsburgh. Besides, if there were difference of Opinions, and some should condescend to an alteration in part, it might cause a Schism, and consequently a setting up of Council against

Constantinople.

Emperor's thoughts of them.

April. Inroad into Scotland.

1535.

1533.

Bel. 1.

1533.

Bel. 1.

Emperor's Reasons for a General Council.

Popes Objections.

1535.

1533. against Council, or of Pope against Pope, as hath formerly happen'd. And again, that whether the Pope were declar'd above a Council, or a Council above the Pope, Inconveniencies would follow. Finally, That whether the Authority of convoking this Council were permitted to them, or to the Emperor, it might take up more time and years, than the Emperor could spare to attend it. 2. As for the second Motive of calling this Council, being the Invasion of the Turk, it was answer'd, That the Hostile preparatives being ready, and the Assembly of a Council in all likelihood so slow, it was more fit to think of taking Arms, than of entering into School Disputations, especially since under this colour, the Protestants might evade, alledging they were not oblig'd to contribute any thing till the business of Religion were settled, moreover, that this would but occasion the Turks coming, as knowing it would tend wholly to his damage and hurt, and consequently, would but hasten him the more to prevent it. Furthermore, that if the Council gave no content to the Protestants, it might cause them to seek Protection from the Turk, as the Wayvod of Transilvania had lately done, and under pretence of Evangelical Liberty seize on the Goods of the Church. These Motives from the Emperor, together with this politick answer of the Pope, being brought to Francis by the Seigneur de Praet, and his Reply requir'd thereunto, Francis after deliberation said, that notwithstanding there were Inconveniencies in calling a Council, there were far greater if they omitted it. It being certain there was never any other lawful and ordinary way for decision of Controversies in Religion. Inasmuch, that all future Ages would condemn not only his Holiness, but all the Christian Princes of the time when they did not procure it. Wherefore his Opinion was, that they should assemble a Council without yet neglecting the other point propos'd. And for this end, that all Christian Princes by their Letters, and Ambassadors should advise together before the Council were call'd, and each of them set down what they in their particular thought fit to be done. Whereupon, also, they should send to Rome jointly to demand a free and secure place of meeting, where the Points projected might be resolv'd. In discussion whereof, therefore, such intire and honest liberty should be permitted to all and every one, as they might frankly discover themselves. Only, that they should not interpose any thing concerning their private differences and quarrels. For the better performing whereof, it should be agreed that no decision of former Councils should be urged to the hindrance of an ingenuous and free communication concerning these Points; when yet it should be alledg'd that the questioning of former Acts would but open the way to frustrate this. Since it would give occasion unto many to withdraw themselves, who otherwise would be present at the Council. For preventing whereof, therefore, it were expedient that each of them should send their Ambassadors or Deputies with unlimited Commission to treat concerning the Points in Controversie. Which also should be laid down in Writing, to the intent that by common vote and consent they might afterwards be determin'd. With this caution, yet, that in the mean while all particular Enmities should be laid aside or quenched. And that till this were done, and the several Superiors of the said Ambassadors or Deputies acquainted with the proceedings (so that absolute power thereupon might be given them to conclude) it was unseasonable to call a Council. But if they chose this way, it would follow that either the inferior Number would submit to the greater, and consequently conform themselves to one common way in Religion, or at least they would remain without excuse, or cause of exception, when on so good and indifferent Terms the determination of a free Council had been offer'd them. All which he signified by his Ambassadors.

Feb. It was now toward the end of February 1533. when the Emperor receiv'd this Answer, who

as he was disaffected to Francis, did easily misinterpret his meaning, taking all his Advice in a counter sense: First, Because he thought it unreasonable, that the Ambassadors of Christian Princes and Protestants should project the Points and Articles to be treated of in the said Council, since it could be thought no less than an Artifice and Invention, to restrain and diminish the Authority of the said Council, which together with all that could be treated therein, ought intirely to depend on the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not upon the Opinions of Men. Secondly, Because Francis had made no particular Answer concerning Contribution for resisting of the Turk, as if he thought the Danger of his Neighbours in this kind did not concern him.

Which Remonstrance being brought (in form of a Reply or Complaint of the Emperor) to Francis: He answer'd, That he cou'd not but marvel how the Emperor should so much mistake him, since together with an ample Declaration of his Opinion concerning the Affair of Religion, he had declar'd likewise that the Ambassadors and Deputies should not neglect the other Point, whose Resolutions also concerning resistance of the Turk, he thought not only more effectual and proper than those of a Council, but of a quicker dispatch. And for the other Point concerning the restraint or diminution of the Council, it was sinisterly and malignly interpreted. For when they should send Ambassadors from all parts with so pure and sincere Affection and Zeal for the good of the Church, and defence of Christendom, he could do no less than believe that the Holy Ghost will assist and direct their Assembly. And howsoever that any thing concluded in this kind should be esteemed no more than as a beginning or preamble to the Council. Nevertheless for the giving more intire satisfaction to the Emperor, he thought fit to declare, that if the Emperor did not approve the said Assembly of Ambassadors, he for his part would mention it no further; only when the Emperor would but please to take notice that himself made the first Overture thereof, as by the Articles brought by Du Praet might appear. For the rest, he wish'd it might be a true Universal Council, and not a National or Provincial, as it must be term'd, when all Christian Nations did not assist therein. And as for War against the Turk, tho' he had already paid 1200000 Crowns, and must pay 800000 more, yet if the Turk in Person should assail Christendom, he would not only hazard his own Blood and his Subjects to oppose him, but hope the Emperor would do the like. But neither was the Emperor satisfied herewith. For as he thought Francis would make use of this Assembly for contriving some Design or Enterprize against him, so he secretly declin'd it. Francis likewise, as he was wholly won to the Pope, and intentive to the business of Italy, laboured not much to advance a business, so suspected and dangerous to the Roman See. So that the Diffidence and Jealousy betwixt these Princes broke off the Council at this time, when it seem'd so necessary for the Peace and Welfare of Christendom. Howbeit the Emperor (who departed from Genoa April 8. and was now in Spain) left he should be thought not to comply with his Promise, obtain'd from the Pope, that these following Conditions should be offered to John Frederic Elector of Saxony in the room of his Father, lately deceas'd. That it should be free and open to all, as in times past. That assurance should be given on both sides to stand to whatsoever should be decreed there. That they who could not be present, should send their Deputies. That in the mean while, nothing should be innovated. That the Place should be Piacenza, Bononia, or Mantua, at their choice. That if any Princes neither came themselves, nor sent, they should yet be concluded by the Decrees of the Council, and if they disobey'd, that the Emperor and other Princes should see Justice done. That if these Conditions were accepted, the Council should be summon'd within six Months.

1533. Emperor's Answer to it.

Francis's Reply.

Billy.

The Council put off.

Apr. 8.

Aug. 1532.

Slaid 1.8.

Proposals

to the E.

of Saxony.

1533. Months following the date hereof (being towards the end of March, or beginning of April, 1533) and held within a Year after. For more authorising of which Propositions, the Emperor commanded his Ambassadors to second the Legat. The Duke of Saxony hereupon, after deliberation with the other Protestant Princes and States at Smalcald, return'd this Answer: That the Council could not be free as long as the Pope, who was a Party, should sit as Judge. That the Cause of Religion, as being grounded on the Scriptures, should be determined by them, and not by School-Opinions. That the Place ought to be (as the Emperor had promised) in Germany, if it should be free and open unto all. Our Historians say also, that the Pope sent (in May) to our King to be present at the Council, or at least to send thither: But when the Messenger (being requir'd to it) shew'd a Commission, which had neither place nor time express'd, he was dismiss'd.

His Answer. June 30. While these things pass, our King by a Dispatch to Francis requires him to send hither some trusty Person, to whom he might with all Confidence communicate such things as could not fitly be committed to Paper; intreating also that the said Person might be instructed in all the Passages of Affairs (wheresoever) since the Interview. For though the King by Message, sent formerly by the Lord Rochfort, had acquainted Francis that he was privately married, yet as he had many Particularities to speak of, and might besides have use of the assistance which Francis had offer'd, so he desir'd one on that part to whom he might freely open himself. Hereupon Francis sends Guillaume du Bellay Seigneur de Langey with these Instructions: That he should persuade our King to be at the Interview betwixt the Pope and him, as being better able than any else to justify and defend his proper Cause, assuring him, that he should be as safe, both in his passage to, and stay there, as in his own Kingdom. Nevertheless if he thought not fit to come, that at least he should send one in whom he might repose intire Confidence. He was charged also to inform our King, how Francis had made those Ordinances concerning Horse and Foot, and Sea-busineses, which were agreed betwixt them. Lastly, he was commanded to desire our King's Advice concerning the Affairs of the Protestant Princes of Germany, who instantly crav'd their joint assistance.

March. 1533. 4. K. Henry files the Pope only Bishop of Rome. When Monsieur de Langey was come, and had expos'd these Particularities, our King answer'd: That since the Bishop of Rome (for so he now term'd the Pope) after many Diffimulations, and Delays, would not decide the business of the Divorce, he had for discharge of his Conscience referr'd it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as being not able to support any longer the continual Vexations wherewith his Mind was afflicted. And that the said Archbishop and divers Bishops and principal Persons of the Clergy having sentenced a Nullity in his former Marriage, and declared the Dispensation for it void, as given in a Case which being *ex Jure Divino*, could not be dispensed with; he had thereupon privately married the Marchioness, without yet that he had intention to disclose it before May next. About which time he hoped also that the Interview betwixt his Master and the said Bishop would be, and that the said Bishop therefore would do him Justice. If not, that he would publish his Marriage, and withdraw himself totally from the Yoke and Dominion of the Bishop's Church. Concerning the Tyranny and Usurpation whereof, he had compos'd a large and ample Treatise; the Title whereof was, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem & horribilem impietatem*, as Beutherus hath it; though

(for my part) having seen no such Book, I conceive it was that *De vera differentia Regia Potestatis & Ecclesiasticae, & quae sit ipsa virtus & veritas utriusque*, made about this time; which nevertheless he said he would not publish, until he saw what Right the Bishop would do him; desiring the said King in the mean time not to abandon him, since the Bishop had vaunted, he would set all Christendom against him, which the Emperor also, in his Discourse with the Pope had averred, discovering how by the means of Scotland he would revenge his Aunt's Quarrel. Some Intelligence whereof was brought our King by the said Seigneur de Langey, who crossing the Seas from Boulogne to Dover, was assaulted by some Scotchmen of War, who hovering in our Seas to espy their Advantage, set upon the Gallion that Langey went in, so that had he not made use both of Sails and Oars, he had been overtaken or sunk; their number being superior, and Ordnance playing continually on him. They overtook yet a Ship of his Consort, which having Sails only, and not Oars, could not escape them. Monsieur de Langey being now dismiss'd, acquainted Francis with our King's Resolution. Whereupon also, he hasten'd his Interview with the Pope, which after variety of Places propos'd, was finally resolv'd at *Marseilles*, the Emperor's Ambassadors at Rome in vain opposing it.

And now the News of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Sentence, and open Marriage of Mistress Anne Bolen, being come to the Pope's Ears, and together with it an Information concerning the Book our King had compos'd against the Pope's Authority (which also more than any thing else offended him) the whole College of Cardinals, especially such as were for the Emperor, became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would proceed rigorously against our King; which also the Pope accorded, tho' not in that peremptory and publick manner as was afterwards done; for I find that this Sentence was not definitive in the principal Cause, (as the Imperials desir'd, and Sanders mistakes it) but only declarative in the Point of Attemptats, (as they call it) in that King Henry (the Cause yet depending) had divorc'd himself without the Leave and Authority of the Pope. Therefore it was declar'd that all his Actions herein were subject to a Nullity, and Himself to Excommunication, unless he restor'd things *in integrum*, for which time was allow'd him till the end of September following. These Proceedings being reserved, and the Censures thus suspended, argued that the Pope was willing before he went any further to see the success of his Interview with Francis, which was accelerated by this means. For as the Pope knew well that the Emperor was already sufficiently incens'd against the King, so it was easy for him to collect, that if he could gain Francis, nothing afterwards could hinder him to fulminate. And he had reason to chuse this way of Treaty; for I find all his Interviews succeeded well with him. Nevertheless, the Emperor as he knew not how far this new Treaty might extend, labours by his Ambassadors to retard it. But they failing, he took another course; for being advertis'd that the Pope intended to make use of some of his Gallies for this Journey, he sends a Command that they should be employed against the Turk. But neither could this keep back the Pope, who rather than not go, resolv'd to commit himself to the French Gallies, and so to pass to *Marseilles*. Things being thus advanc'd, our King (in conformity to the Proposition of Francis) sends the Duke of Norfolk, lately made Marshal of England, the Lord Rochfort, Sir William Paulet, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Francis Bryan, followed with some hun-

1533. Writes a Book against the Papal Usurpation.

Is proceeded against vigorously at Rome. June. Gen. Trial Records. July 11.

May 18. 1533.

1533. hundred and sixty Horse, to repair to Francis, and afterwards attend the Interview.

June 1. This while, our King being confident, that either by the Pope's good Permission, or his proper Authority, he should be able to justify a Cause which so many Universities had sentenc'd on his side, proceeds to the Coronation of his new Queen, which also was perform'd with much Solemnity. And the rather that the murmur of those who objected against the Irregularity and Deviation of our King's proceeding herein, might be hidden and recover'd in the Pomp. Shortly after which, our Historians say, Mary the Dowager of France dy'd, and was bury'd at St. Edmundsbury.

June 23. The Duke of Norfolk being now come to Francis (who was upon his Journey to Marseilles) acquaints him with part of his Instructions, which were to dissuade him from the Interview and Marriage propos'd, or, at least, to suspend it till the Pope had given our King satisfaction; offering also Aid for a War in Piedmont, if he would suffer no more Monies to go out of his Realm to Rome, and instead of the Pope to erect a Patriarch; which it seems was one of the private Articles treated betwixt them, at the Interview: But hearing, at the same time, of the Declaration past at Rome against our King, he thought it too late to expect any Favour from the Pope, and therefore demanded leave to return. Notwithstanding which Francis desir'd his stay, promising all the best Offices and Assistance to our King he could require, as soon as he should come to Marseilles; protesting furthermore, that what Offence soever was done to our King, he would take as to himself. But the Duke being inform'd again, by our diligent Agents, what had past at Rome, would omit no longer to advertise the King. Therefore, he posted away the Lord Rochfort to acquaint his Highness with what was done, and to know his gracious Pleasure; whereupon, the King, upon advice with his Council, thought fit to revoke together with the said Duke, the Duke of Richmond, then living in the French Court, commanding also his Ambassadors with the Pope to return. Nevertheless, as Francis insisted with our King to send some other, if for no other end, yet at least to witness the earnestness and solicitation wherewith he would pursue the King's Affair with the Pope; so our King thought fit to send Stephen Gardiner, not long before made Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Francis Bryan, together with Sir John Wallop, to attend him at the Interview. And here it is probable, that Francis had many Designs, whereof also he resolv'd to prevail himself according to the occasion. For if he treated with the Pope, he no less entertain'd his former Correspondence with the Princes of Germany, who sent to him (then being at Tholouse) a Secretary of the Dukes of Bavaria, to tell him how, upon the Consignation of 100000 Crowns, which the said King by Treaty was oblig'd to pay in aid, and for the Restitution of the Duke of Wittenberg, whose Possessions were withheld by Ferdinand, they now all agreed that it should be put into the hands of the said Duke, desiring nevertheless that it might be done with all secrecy. To which Francis answer'd: That the Interview being past, he would send some one to acquaint him with his Intentions.

Aug. 8. This while the Duke of Albany being departed with the Gallies of France, to conduct the Pope to Marseilles, News was brought to Francis of the Death of one Merveilles, employ'd by Francis to Francisco Sforza (then in possession of the Duchy of Milan, by the Emperor's Favour, though not as yet of the Daughter of Denmark, formerly de-

stin'd unto him;) the occasion whereof also I have thought worthy my relation. This Merveilles being a Milanese, had serv'd long in the French Court, and was now by the good leave of Francisco Sforza received as a secret Agent or Ambassador for Francis; the terms on which Sforza stood with the Emperor, not admitting a more ouvert access. The Servants of this Merveilles having a Quarrel with one Castiglione concerning some Words he had spoken against their Matter, did at last kill him in the Streets; which was reveng'd by the Magistrate on Merveilles himself, whose Goods he seized on, and afterwards by order of the Duke privately cut off his Head. Which being advertis'd to Francis, he fell into an extream Passion, saying, he was his Ambassador, and that herein the Law of Nations was violated. The resentment whereof also, as he thought common to all Princes, so he acquainted the Pope, Emperor, and other Potentates of Europe therewith, in high terms, not forgetting also to give our King a particular account thereof, together with his Intentions; protesting to them all, he would have Reparation. But when the Emperor had receiv'd his Letter, he return'd no other Answer, but that Merveilles had deserv'd death, and was justly punished, he being no Ambassador, but a Subject of the Duke of Milan's. Whereupon the French Ambassador hoping to satisfy the Emperor, shew'd him private Dispatches, by which it appear'd, that the Duke acknowledg'd him under that Title. Notwithstanding which, the Emperor made small account of them, as supposing the Quality of an Ambassador not wrong'd, as long as the Person in question (besides that he was no Subject of the French King) did not openly sustain the Dignity of his Place: Whereupon also this Act was so far from being chastised by him, that it did but hasten the Marriage of Sforza with Christine the King of Denmark's second Daughter, whom the Emperor immediately sent for, and gave much about the time that the Duke of Orleans married Catharina de Medices. Notwithstanding which, Sforza sent his Chancellor to Francis, alledging by way of Excuse, that Merveilles was no more but a private Person, though authoris'd sometimes to treat; neither was he ever acknowledg'd publicly by any other Title than his Vassal and Subject; so that not to have done Right to another Subject kill'd by his Procurement, had been to the derogation of Justice and his own Authority. Besides, he said Merveilles was such an outrageous and mischeivous Person, that he had been told divers times on the Duke's part, that he did not like of his abode there. As for the secret manner of his being put to death, he said, it was to avoid Ignominy, in case Francis for delivering some of his Messages (when there was occasion) should repute him his Ambassador. But the Excuse (as it imply'd some contradiction) did but exasperate Francis, who told the Chancellor, that if intire satisfaction were not given, he would in some fitting time and place procure it.

About this time, the Queen being brought to bed of the Princess Elizabeth, (who happily succeeded to this Crown) the Christening following shortly after, with much Solemnity, where the Archbishop of Canterbury was Godfather, and the Dutchess of Norfolk and Marchioness of Dorset Godmothers. Howbeit the divorced Katharine and her Daughter were not only much grieved, but divers that favour'd her Cause, writ, and spoke against the late Marriage: A Nun of Kent also, pretending to prophesy thereon, of whom and her feigned Miracles (about this time discover'd) we shall make mention hereafter.

It was now in Octob. 1533. when the Pope, conducted by the Duke of Albany, came by Sea to

1533

July 3.

July 6.

Sept. 6.

Sept. 10.

Princess

Elizabeth

born.

Novemb.

Octob. 6.

Vol. II.

Z

Mar-

1533.
Pope's
entrance
into Mar-
seilles.

Marseilles, where Montmorency received him. His publick entrance into the Town (being the next day after his arrival) was in a rich Chair, carry'd on the Shoulders of two Men, himself wearing his Pontifical Ornaments, (the Tiara or Triple Crown only excepted) before him a white Hackney was led, on which the Sacrament was carry'd. After him follow'd all the Cardinals, and his Niece Catharina de Medices (the Dutches of Urbin) with a great Train of Cavaliers and Ladies. Francis at the same time, that he might seem to give the Pope intire possession of the Town, going out thereof, but the next day returning thither, and after many Complements to the Pope, coming to business, the intended Marriage was concluded, the Pope himself marrying the young Couple. Her Portion in Money was but little, being only but 100000 Crowns, but in Expectation and Titles great; since a pretence to Urbin in the Right of her Father Lorenzo de Medici, to whom Leo X. gave the Investiture to the disinherison of Francisco Maria Conte di Feltri, (who at this present was in possession thereof) as also the Donation of Reggio, Modena, Rubiera, Pisa, Ligorno, Parma and Piacenza by the Pope, or something equivalent to them, did make her thought a Match worthy of the Son of Francis, especially, when so potent a Prince should undertake her Cause, not without hope of uniting these places to the Rights he claimed in Italy. After which, the Pope was often solicited by Francis in the behalf of our King, that at least the time of declaring the Censures against him might be prorogu'd. But the Pope answering only, that tho' the term prefix'd for Fulmination were now past, yet he would omit further process till he came to Rome. Our Agents not content herewith, proceed in their Instructions, and Edmund Bonner (as I find by an Original of his to our King) getting Audience of the Pope, November 7. in respectful terms, and under protestation that his Majesty intended no contempt of the See Apostolick or Holy Church, intimated to him King Henry's Appeal to the next General Council lawfully assembled, exhibiting also the Authentick Instruments thereof (made before the Bishop of Winchester;) at which the Pope being much incens'd, said, he would refer it to the Consistory. Which being held Nov. 10. he answer'd Bonner, That, concerning the King's Appeal, he rejected it, as being unlawful, and against a Constitution of Pope Pius. Secondly, for the Council, he would procure it, as belonging to his Authority, and not to King Henry's. Thirdly, for the Original Instruments (which Bonner required back) he denied them, and so dismiss'd him; desiring Francis only, that he would persuade our King to conform himself to his ancient Devotion and Obedience to the Roman Church. Shortly after which, being the twelfth of November 1533. the Pope return'd. I find moreover that the Archbishop of Canterbury at this time suspecting the Pope would proceed against him, by the advice of our King made his Appeal also to the Council: Which he desir'd our Agents to intimate to the Pope. The success whereof yet doth not appear in our Records.

Nov. 12.

Nov. 13.
Nov. 7.
Bonner
brings K.
Henry's
Appeal
from the
Pope to a
General
Council.
Nov. 10.
The P's
Answer.

Here also, at the requisition of Francis, he made four French Cardinals, which added to six more, who held that Dignity, made the Emperor see that the Pope intended to strengthen the French Party in Rome. Besides, as the Pope did fear lest Francis should usurp upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in his Kingdom, he gave him the Nomination of the Heads and Chiefs, not in Monasteries alone, but in all Elective Benefices in his Kingdom; which was politickly done; for he prevented thereby that Power which Francis might have assum'd, especially when he had stood to the Conventions he made with our King at

their last Interview. By which means also, he dispos'd Francis to oppose the Emperor about calling a Council, shewing together how inconvenient it would be to the Roman Church, as Affairs then stood.

Francis not forgetting, this while, to send to Germany, both in favour of the Duke of Wittenberg, and to comfort the Protestant Princes in their Perseverance, promised to do all that he could for them in a defensive way: He omitted not also to send Jehan du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, to our King, both to acquaint him with all the Passages at Marseilles, and to induce him to send Ambassadors to Rome to treat with the Pope concerning the suspending of this Fulmination, which he said highly concern'd him. But our King, who was in some part acknowledg'd already *Supremum Caput Ecclesie* in his Dominions, replying he would advise with his Council hereof, one who much favour'd the Papal Authority, spake in this manner.

Sir, Your Highness is come to a Point which needs a strong and firm Resolution, it being not only the most important in its self, that can be presented, but of that consequence as will comprehend your Kingdom and Posterity. It is, whether, in this business of your Divorce, and second Marriage, as well as in all other Ecclesiastical Affairs in your Dominions, you would make use of your own, or of the Papal Authority? For my part, as an *Englishman*, and your Highness's Subject, I must wish all Power in your Highness: But when I consider the ancient Practice of this Kingdom, I cannot but think any Innovation dangerous: For if in every Temporal Estate it be necessary, not only to keep order, but to come to some Supreme Authority, whence all inferior Magistracy should be deriv'd, it seems much more necessary in Religion, both as the Body thereof seems more susceptible of a Head, than any else, and as that Head again must direct so many others. We should above all things therefore labour to keep an Unity in the Parts thereof, as being that sacred bond which knits and holds together not his own alone, but all other Government. But how much, Sir, should we recede from the Dignity thereof, if we (at once) retrenched this his chief and most eminent Part? And who ever liked that body long whose Head was taken away? Certainly, Sir, an Authority received for many Ages, ought not rashly to be rejected; For is not the Pope *Communis Pater* in the Christian World, and Arbitrer of their Differences? Doth he not support the Majesty of Religion, and vindicate it from neglect? Doth not the holding of his Authority from God, keep Men in awe, not of Temporal alone, but Eternal Punishments, and therein extend his Power beyond Death it self? And will it be secure to lay aside these potent means of reducing People to their Duty, and trust only to the Sword of Justice, and Secular Arm? Besides, who shall mitigate the Rigour of Laws in those Cases, which may admit exception, if the Pope be taken away? Who shall presume to give Orders, or administer Sacraments, or grant Pardons, Dispensations, Indulgences, and other Mysteries of the Church? Who shall be Depositary of the Oaths, and Leagues of Princes, or fulminate against the perjur'd Infractions of them? For my part, (as Affairs now stand) I find not, how either a General Peace among Princes, or any equal Moderation in Human Affairs, can be well conserv'd without him. For as his Court is a kind of Chancery to all other Courts of Justice in the Christian World; so if you take it away, you subvert that Equity and Conscience which should be the Rule

Debate
in the Pri-
vy Coun-
cil con-
cerning
throwing
off the
Papal Su-
premacy.

1533. Rule and Interpreter of all Laws and Constitutions whatsoever. I will conclude, that I wish your Highness, as my King and Sovereign, all true Greatness and Happiness, but think it not fit (in this case) that your Subjects should either examine by what Right Ecclesiastical Government is innovated, or inquire how far they are bound thereby; since, besides that it might cause Division, and hazard the Overthrow both of the one and the other Authority, it would give that Offence and Scandal abroad, as Foreign Princes would both reprove and disallow all our Proceedings in this kind, and together upon any occasion, be dispos'd easily to join against us.

To which was reply'd by one in this manner.

SIR, If he who propos'd this Question, had resolv'd it as well, I should not have needed to return an Answer. But since from Principles we admit as true, he draweth Consequences which follow not, I shall according to common reason crave leave to examine his Arguments, without insisting upon any thing urged out of either Testament, or controverted by the Theologians of this time. Nothing is more certain, than that there is a necessity of establishing some Supreme Power in Spiritual as well as Temporal Affairs; only the Question will be, whether they be better united in one Person, or divided into two? I am for one, especially while the Precincts of both be of the same extent, and the Magistrate no way obnoxious: For can we suppose a Government without Religion, or a Religion without a Government? Will the bare Precepts of Theology contain People in their Duties, unless the Secular Arm concur? Or, the inflicting Punishment with a high hand suffice to teach a good Life, or bring Men to Everlasting Happiness? Besides, can a Kingdom be safe, if the Secular Magistrate command one thing, and the Spiritual another? Must not the Subject on these terms be suspended betwixt his Obediences, or distracted into some Schism or Rebellion? Which Inconveniences as they cannot be deny'd, so neither do Examples want thereof, both anciently betwixt Emperors and Popes, and of latter times as well in this Kingdom as divers others, where not only Scandal and Dissention, but even Ruins and Desolation follow'd on this occasion. It being manifest thus, how fitly both Powers are conjoined, the next Question will be Who is most proper to exercise them in this Kingdom? But it is clear that Popes are not. For besides that they want Title, Succession, Election, Possession, or whatsoever else may establish Government for the Temporal Part, they cannot so much as aptly administer the Spiritual, while the distance betwixt us and them is so great, that they neither can take timely notice of the Proceedings and Deviations of the Clergy, or give that order and redress which is fitting; so that although by a frequent admitting of Appeals to Rome, they strive to take away this Difficulty, it is rather increased. The Causes brought thither being sometimes undecided for a long space, sometimes wholly frustrated, while People had rather let fall their Sutes, than be at the cost of bringing their Witnesses with them to so remote a place, as neither their Health or Means can reach unto. Of which, as also many other Inconveniences in this kind, the Germans in their *Centum Gravamina* have not long since complain'd, without that the whole Court at Rome could devise a due Remedy, as long as the determination of Ecclesiastical Affairs was so commonly avok'd thither. Whereby it follows that the Pope as being neither Secular Magistrate

1533. in this Kingdom, nor within a just distance to exercise the Spiritual, cannot lawfully pretend to an absolute Power in either Jurisdiction. It remains, that Princes of this Kingdom successively assume it, both as their Person and Office hath in it a mixture of the Temporal and Spiritual Power, and as the Precincts they claim in Ecclesiastical Affairs are no longer than their Swords can reach to, and secure, nor their Interests other, than to conserve at home a perpetual Peace of Religion; which also will be with so much Advantage to their Subjects, as while the same Authority animates and gives life unto all, none of the Members can easily prevaricate, or fall away. If any yet will deny this Maxim, he may be convinc'd by Examples of Popes themselves, who practise this mixed Power not only in their Territories about Rome, the *Patrimonio della Chiesa*, but in their more remote Dominions, with that singular benefit to their Vassals, that they more than any other in Italy, are exempt from being drawn into contrary parts. So that if it be clear as well by Reason as by Precedents, that both Powers may subsist together, and be exercis'd by one and the same Person, I think none will deny, but that it will be so much the more equal, to place them in a Temporal than a Spiritual Monarch, as it imports more to give good Laws, and exhibit Justice, than to dispute Controversies (where the grounds of Religion are already settled) and to resist Foreign Invasions, than to declaim against Vice, and the Non-payment of Church-Duties: Out of which therefore may be concluded, That there is no more necessity of a Pope over us, or (if you will) over all Churches in the World (when they could be converted to Christianity) than to assign one Universal Monarch over it. There being in the Frame of Government as well as all other Bodies, a certain Symmetry and Proportion, beyond which it cannot conveniently be dilated. These things thus appearing, it may be considered now, whether the Pope have not yet another Incapacity for swaying all the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Kingdom, in his being so obnoxious to other Princes. But this also is evident, since the French and Spaniard so constraining him on either side, that he must submit to the stronger, or suffer such Imprisonment and Outrages as he hath lately done, it will be dangerous to constitute him our Supreme Judge in these Affairs of Religion, which regard matter of State. For suppose he would be impartial between such Princes as may press him equally, Shall we presume he will be so to us, who stand not in the same relation of Nearness and Interest unto him? Nevertheless, I shall easily grant that he may wish us well, or bestow his Blessing on us; but where his Person or Estate will be concern'd, I do believe it would be so unsafe for him to do us Right, that it would be an unmannerly thing to ask it. But may he not in some Cases yet be retain'd as Judge in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Arbitrator of the Differences of Christianity? For my part I shall accord it, as long as he complies with his place of *Communis Pater*. But if through Interdictions, Censures, Excommunications, Fulminations, and the like, he proscribe, and exterminate those, who otherwise might give him a due respect, doth he not relinquish his Name? Especially while without regard to the Quietness of Men's Consciences, the Peace of Christianity, or the Unity of Religion, (which might easily follow, when the unnecessary Points were laid aside) he (for the conservation of his Authority in this Kingdom only) procures Foreign Princes to invade it. Whereupon therefore, he so little exerciseth his Pastoral Charge, (instituted at first for the Safeguard and Ease of the Secular Magistracy) as he now di-

1533. flurbeth all, whereas he ought so much rather to use a discreet Moderation, as he sees that Princes can both reign without him, and contain their Subjects (whether Spiritual or Temporal) in their accustomed Obedience and Devotion, out of which therefore he may collect, that until these Ecclesiastical Affairs be permitted to Princes, which cannot aptly be determin'd without them, there will be small hope of an accommodation. And for these Reasons also, we can as little admit him Arbitrer of the Temporal Causes betwixt us, and any other Christian Prince, though otherwise the Function be so necessary, as (it seems) there is no so good means for avoiding the many Wars, and deciding the Controversies betwixt them. But it is alledged still, That in deserting the Pope's Authority, some diminution of Religion may follow: Alas! if Religion stood not on firmer Principles than these, it were worse grounded than any other Knowledge; For were not the Laws of Piety and Goodness so written (at first) in the heart, as Mankind had no other Direction for attaining his everlasting Happiness, for about two thousand Years, and until the Decalogue was given? And is that again any thing else but an Explication of these Laws? Besides, is there not a Doctrine of Faith deliver'd us in some part of our Belief or Creed (and I say in some, for the beginning thereof, as well as certain Articles towards the end, are general Notions both written in our Hearts, and received in all Religions.) And have we not through the Reverend Authority of the Church for many Ages, declaring and confirming this Faith, accepted thereof, and the Ten Commandments, and therein submitted our selves to all that is required in either Testaments, and will they yet exact new Beliefs, and obtrude new Articles? When the Laws of God, only written in Men's Hearts, and the Decalogue, for so many Ages were thought to suffice for Salvation. Let them say what they will; I find no reason to believe, that the Divine Wisdom imposeth more, or proceedeth by other Rules than those that were deliver'd to our Fore-fathers; or that some such obliquation of Religion hath happen'd as the course of his Providence should be varied too. And therefore, though I shall be content, that the Illustration or Explication of some Points may be worth the Churches Labour, I can never agree that the Principles and Foundation of this Structure should be stirr'd, or exhibited on other terms. Neither indeed should the Roman Church in true Wisdom procure it, the Majesty of Religion being no ways so well conserv'd, as by asserting such a Perfection, Antiquity, Universality, and Visibilty in the more necessary parts thereof, as may argue the Care which God hath over Mankind in all Ages, without omitting, together, to represent the Doctrines of Faith, and of God's Mercy, in middle times after such manner, as may be for our Instruction. And thus their Auditors, being informed, not only what parts of Religion have been received in all Ages and Countries, but what his particular Providence hath added in sequent times, may glorify him for both. Nevertheless, if Popes shall be so far from these charitable and temperate ways, as they will still intermix and trouble all things; if they shall confound and join together the certain, and the uncertain, and compel Men equally to the Belief of all they teach, ought not Princes in this case to prevent Distractions? Ought they not to extinguish Usurpations in Religion, and together, vindicate her from Error and Neglects? While in giving a due Lustre and Protection with the Temporal Sword, they make her become more Reverend and Awful. Which Duty also is so much more requisite

in them, as it is not in the Power of any else to perform it. Neither should we fear, lest our Princes should grow too absolute thereby; when it is the most assured way for conserving, not the outward only, but inward Peace in this Kingdom. Not that this Authority may be at length devolv'd to such as would abuse it; there being a possibility of bad Popes, as well as bad Princes. And that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum*. And thus, Sir, may all Innovation be taken away in Religion, and all Defects restored by your Highness in your Dominions, without either suffering Sophistry or Pedantism to be taught instead of true Doctrine, or that the Hierarchy of your Kingdom should be devested from their ancient Dignities and Rights. Since as your Highness pretends not to create new Articles of Faith, they may continue still to expound the old, in their several kinds, and give light to the hard places in the Scripture, read Divine Service, administer Sacraments, and the like, and together, exhort Men to Piety, Charity, Good Life, Repentance, and whatever else may conduce to Everlasting Happiness: Whereof also when the Pope would take such notice, as to confirm and approve our Proceedings, we might (if your Highness so pleas'd) return that respect to him, as, upon his Publick Declaration, that he doth not only ratify our Confession of Faith, but relinquish all his Pretences, which may derogate from your Regal Authority, and behave himself (for the rest) *tanquam Communis Pater*, such Points might be refer'd to him, as your Clergy could not conveniently determine, and his Dignity together, be so far forth acknowledg'd, as he might still retain a Primacy, according to his ancient Patriarchal Right, without intermeddling yet with that Supremacy, which your Convocation-house hath already decreed for your Highness. And now to come to the present Question concerning the Divorce; I must say, I cannot find what the Pope should take ill. For is any thing done by our Archbishop, but what, not only the Pope himself, but the most famous Universities of *Christendom* have declared lawful? So that, if after six Years suspension of the Cause, we have determined the business, as himself confessed he would have done, but for fear of the Emperor; What offence can he take? Will he complain, he is not able to do us Justice, and yet be scandalized if it be done by others? Or shall the executing of what he thought reasonable, be judg'd a Fault, when the not executing thereof must (in all Equity) have made us the greater Criminals? Let us therefore send to desire his Consent. It hath been already intimated unto us, that it was not so good to ask a Licence, as a Pardon, we will hope then from him a Confirmation of the Archbishop's Sentence. And thus both the one and the other Authority may be conserv'd, without that we should need to fear any Foreign Invasion, as long as the general Vote of our Kingdom shall establish what (in a fort) it hath agreed unto.

And to this Opinion our King inclined, and so much the rather, that about this time the Pope's Sentence against him was openly set up at *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*; so that to prevent further Inconveniences, the King (as our Records shew) advised with his Council *December 2*. *First*, To inform his Subjects of his Appeal to the Council General, and the Justice thereof. *Secondly*, Of the Unlawfulness of the Dowager's Appeal to *Rome*, and the late Statute against it, which said Statute was (for that purpose) to be set upon every Church Door in *England*, as also his Majesty's said Provocation, or Appeal, whereof Transsumpts also were to be sent into *Flanders*. *Thirdly*, To

1533

Had
The
Pope's
Sentence
against
the King
set up at
Dunkirk.
Records.

1533. To command it to be taught, that the General Council is above the Pope, and that he hath no more Authority in England by God's Law than any other Foreign Bishop. Lastly, to send into Germany, to confederate with the King of Poland, John King of Hungary; the Dukes of Saxony, of Bavaria, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. as likewise the Hanse-Teutonic Towns, being Lubeck, Dantick, Noremberg, &c. These things being resolv'd on, for a final Answer, he desir'd the Bishop of Paris to certify Francis, That if the Pope would supersede from executing his Sentence, until he had indifferent Judges sent, who might hear the business, he would also supersede from the execution of what he was deliberated to do in withdrawing his Obedience from the Roman See. But the Bishop, who thought this alone not enough to reduce things into good terms, made an offer to Negotiate the business at Rome; which our King gladly accepted, assuring him withal, that as soon as he had obtain'd what was demanded, he would send sufficient Power and Authority to confirm as much as was accorded on his part, as having entire Confidence in his Discretion and Sufficiency, ever since his two Years Employment as Ambassador in this Kingdom. Whereupon the Bishop, though in Christmas Holydays, and an extreme Winter, posted to Rome: Where he came before any thing was done, more than what formerly past: And here obtaining a Publick Audience in the Consistory, he eloquently declared our King's Message, representing both what he had obtain'd of our King, and shewing withal how advantageous it would be to the whole Church. Which so prevail'd, that they prefix a Day for receiving from our King a Confirmation thereof. Inasmuch, that a Courier was dispatch'd to our King Henry, desiring his Answer within the time limited. But the term being expir'd, and no Answer brought, the Pope resolv'd to proceed to Fulmination of the Sentence; which being advertis'd to Bellay, he repair'd to the Pope and Cardinals, (then sitting in full Consistory) desiring them to stay a while, it being probable that the Courier, either through cross Winds, or other Accidents in long Journies, might be detain'd; concluding his Speech, that if the King of England had six Years together been patient, they might attend six Days; which space only he desir'd them to give him, for the receiving of our King's Answer; this Proposition being put to the question, the plurality of Voices carried it against our King, and the rather, that in this mean time, News came to Rome, that the King had printed and published the Book written against the Pope's Authority, (which yet was untrue, for it came not forth till afterward, though it was not yet kept so close, but a Copy was now come to the Pope's hands) and that there was a Comedy represented at Court, to the no little defamation of certain Cardinals. By reason whereof the Sentence was so precipitated, that, what according to their usual Forms could not be done in less than three Consistories, was now dispatch'd in one: And so by a final determination (the Copy whereof is in Fox) the Marriage with Queen Katharine was pronounced good, and King Henry commanded to accept her for his Wife, and in case of refusal Censures were fulminated against him. But two days of the six were not past, when the Courier arriv'd with ample Commission and Authority from our King, to conclude and confirm all that the Bishop had agreed in his Name. Which was this, (as the Writer of the *Concilio Tridentino* hath it) that King Henry was content to accept the Judgment of that Court, upon condition that the suspected and Imperial Cardinals should not intervene, and that indiffe-

rent Persons should be sent to *Cambray* to be inform'd of the Merits of the Cause; giving Authority further for his Proctors to appear in that Court. At which, the more wise and temperate Cardinals were so astonish'd, that they became humble Suppliants to the Pope, that he would advise how all things might be repair'd; whereupon the business was again discuss'd. But all Remedies being judg'd either late, or impossible, the Sentence stood, and the Emperor was made the Executor of it. The Bishop now returning toward France, met (as I find by our Records) *Edward Karne* and *William Revet*, who were employ'd by our King for soliciting this important business. But as they understood by the Bishop, that the first Marriage was pronounced good, and the Issue by it legitimate, so they judg'd it lost labour to proceed, and advertis'd all to our King, who became so sensible of the Indignity wherewith he was us'd in this important Affair, that he separated himself from the Obedience of the Roman Church, but not from the Religion thereof (some few Articles only excepted) as shall appear hereafter. And thus (according to the Relation of *Martin du Bellay*) did our King fall off. Who therefore in this present Condition found nothing so fitting to be done, as to cherish the good affection of his Subjects, who in a Parliamentary way he found did many ways advance and second his Designs. I shall for a conclusion add only the Censure of *Thuanus*, concerning our King in this business, *Certe in reliqua vita ita se gessit ille Rex, ut eum, si aequiores & prudentiores Pontifices nactus fuisset, sponte se subjecturum ipsorum potestati fuisse appareret.*

The Emperor (now in Spain) being much troubled at the Interview at *Marzeilles*, yet conniv'd at it, as hoping at least, the Pope would dissuade Francis from favouring our King, or assisting the Protestant Princes: Therefore he did not much endeavour to hinder it: For as he knew the Pope was passionately affected to the advancement of his Kindred, so he judg'd it lost labour to oppose him therein; since by ingrafting his Family now in France, as well as by his former Alliance with Spain, he might hold himself secure on either hand. Neither did he think that Terrors could prevail, at a time, when the Pope must know, there would be use of all the Imperial Forces against the Turk, who besides that he threaten'd a general Invasion, had now particularly besieged *Corron*, taken a Year since by *Andrea Doria*, which a Spanish Garrison held till they were forc'd to leave it again to the Turk about April 1534.

I will come now to the business of our Parliament, holden this Year from Jan. 15. till 30. of March next, wherein these Statutes were enacted:

That the Prices of Victuals should not be enhanced without just ground and reason. If they were, then upon complaint thereof, the Lord Chancellor (and others, who had Authority given them herein) should tax the said Victuals how they should be sold, either by the Owners or by Victuallers. Also that no Corn or Cartel be carried beyond Sea without the King's Licence, unless either to *Calais*, *Guines*, *Hamme*, and their Marches, or for Victualling of Ships, &c.

That no Man indicted of Murder, Burglary, or other Felony, and upon his Arraignment standing mute, to prevent the Process of the Law against himself, shall have benefit of his Clergy; but Law shall proceed against him for the Crime whereof he is indicted, as if he had pleaded to the same, and thereupon had been found guilty.

Buggery was made Felony.

Eliza-

1533.
Censur. 171
L. 1

The King separates from the Obedience, but not from the Religion of the Church of Rome.

Sander.

April 1.
1534.

Several Acts of Parliament passed.

Bellay 4.

Bp. of Paris offers to negotiate the business with the Pope.

Decemb.

But without success.

March 19. Records.

Council Tri March 23

Page 132. Marriage between K. Henry and Q. Katharine pronounced valid by the Pope and Cardinals.

1511.
Holy-Maid
of Kent
and her
Accomplices
attainted.

Elizabeth Barton (call'd the *Holy Maid of Kent*) and Complices were attainted of High Treason, for conspiring to slander the Divorce between the King and Queen *Katharine*, and the late Marriage between him and Queen *Anne*.

Because by the greediness of some, who have gotten into their hands much Cattel, and many Farms, which they have turned from Tillage to Pasture (especially for Sheep) old Rents are raised, Prices of things enhanced, and so, much Poverty and Theft ensued; it was enacted, that no Man should have in his own or Farmed Lands above 2000 Sheep (yet that every Temporal Person may keep upon his Inheritance as many as he will.) Secondly, that no Man shall take and hold above two Farms at once, and those to be in the same Parish; upon certain Penalties there set down.

The Statute of *Henry IV.* concerning Hereticks was repeal'd. And it was Enacted, That Sheriffs in their turns, and Stewards in their Leets, may make Inquiry and Presentment of Hereticks; who being by two lawful Witnesses accused, may be cited and arrested by an Ordinary, and being convict in open Court, shall abjure their Heresies, and refusing so to do, or relapsing, shall be burnt.

Also the Statute of *Richard III.* permitting free Importation of all kinds of Books, was repealed. And (for the benefit of our Book-binders) it was Enacted, That no Bookseller should buy any Books bound beyond Sea; nor any (though unbound) of any Stranger, but by engross. And if the Prices of Books chance to be raised above reason, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, the chief Justice of either Bench, or any two of them shall moderate the same, upon a certain Penalty.

Whereas the Clergy have truly acknowledged that the Convocation is always assembled by the Kings Authority, and have promis'd his Majesty, that they will not henceforth make or allege any new Constitutions, without his Highness Assent and Licence; and whereas divers Constitutions and Canons Provincial and Synodal heretofore enacted, are thought to be prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, and contrary to the Statutes of the Realm, and enormous to the People; and the said Clergy therefore hath humbly besought his Majesty, that the said Constitutions and Canons may be committed to the examination of thirty-two Men to be nam'd by his Majesty, viz. sixteen of both Houses of Parliament, and sixteen of the Clergy, who may annul or confirm the same, as they find cause; it is enacted that all Convocations shall be henceforth call'd by the Kings Writ, and that in them nothing shall be promulg'd or executed without his Highness Licence, under pain of Imprisonment of the Authors, and mulct at the Kings will. And that his Highness shall at his Pleasure (seeing the time of this Parliament is too short) appoint thirty-two Men, as aforesaid, to survey the said Canons and Constitutions, for the Confirmation or Abolition of the same.

And as concerning Appeals, they shall be made (according to the Statutes made the last year) from Inferior Courts, to the Archbishops, and for lack of Justice there, to the Kings Majesty in his Court of *Chancery*.

As concerning *Amates* us'd to be paid to *Rome* by Archbishops and Bishops, and Bulls and Palls to be had from thence, since there hath been heretofore an Act pass'd, and the Bishop of *Rome*, otherwise call'd Pope, being inform'd thereof, hath as yet devis'd no way with the Kings Highness for redress of the same; his Highness hath now confirm'd and ratified the same Act, and

every Article thereof, and the Parliament doth enact the same, with this Addition, that from henceforth no Bishop shall be commended, presented or nominated by the Bishop of *Rome*, nor shall send thither to procure any Bulls or Palls, &c. but that at every vacation of a Bishoprick, the King shall send to the Chapter of the Cathedral a Licence (as of old hath been accustomed) to proceed to Election, which Election being deferr'd above twelve days next ensuing shall belong to the King, but being made within the time limited, shall be held firm and good, and the Person so elected, after certification of his Election to the Kings Highness, and Oath of fealty taken to him, shall be styl'd Bishop Elect; and so by his Majesty, be commended to the Archbishop of the Province, to be Invested and Consecrate. And if the Persons to whom this Election, or Consecration belongeth, neglect or refuse to perform the same, or admit, or execute any Censures, Interdictions, &c. to the contrary, they shall incur the penalty of the Law of *Præmunire*.

Whereas the People of this Land hath been much impoverish'd by the usurp'd exactions of the Bishop of *Rome*, under the Titles of *Petence*, *Procuracion*, *Expedition* of Bulls, *Delegacies*, *Dispensations*, &c. It is enacted that such Impositions be no more paid; and that neither the Kings Highness, nor any Subject of his, shall sue for any Dispensation, Faculty, Delegacy, &c. to the See of *Rome*, but that any such Dispensation, &c. for Causes not being contrary to the Law of God, which were wont to be had from *Rome*, may be now granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as well to the Kings Highness, as to his Subjects: But in those things which were not wont to be granted by the See of *Rome*, the said Archbishop shall not meddle, without the Kings Licence. Provided, that all Dispensations, &c. whose Expedition at *Rome* came to four pounds and upwards, shall be confirm'd by the Kings Seal, and enroll'd in *Chancery*, those below four pounds passing under the Archbishops Seal only. That the Fees for these Dispensations shall be limited by the said Archbishop, and the Lord Chancellor, and a part of the same (be they great or small) shall always come to the Kings hands. As for all Monasteries, Colleges, Hospitals, heretofore exempt, the King only, and not the Archbishop should have Authority to visit them.

Lastly, upon the Suit of Parliament to the King for the establishing of the Succession to the Crown (the uncertainty whereof hath caus'd heretofore great division and bloodshed in this Realm) it was enacted, that the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, Wife and carnally known to his Brother Prince *Arthur* (as was lawfully prov'd before *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) as contrary to Gods Law, shall be held void: and she styl'd no more Queen, but Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and the Matrimony with Queen *Anne* shall be taken for firm and good; and the Issue thence procreate be accounted lawful; the Inheritance of the Crown to belong to the same in manner following, (viz.) First to the eldest Son begotten by the King on Queen *Anne*, and to the Heirs of the said Son lawfully begotten; and for default of such Heir, then to the second Son, &c. and if Queen *Anne* decease without Issue Male, then the Crown to descend to the Son and Heir of the Kings Body lawfully begotten, and the Heirs of the said Son lawfully begotten, and for a default of such Issue, to the second Son in like manner, &c. And for default of Sons, that then the Crown shall belong to the Issue Female of the King by Queen *Anne*; and first

1511.

K's Marriage with
Katharine
made void
by Act of
Parliament,
and she to be
no more
styl'd
Queen.

Crown to
descend
on the
Heirs of
Q. Anne.

1534. first to the first begotten the Princess Elizabeth, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten. And for default of such Issue, then to the second Daughter in like sort, &c. And for default of all such Issue, to the right Heirs of the Kings Highness. It was ordain'd that this Act shall be proclaim'd before May next throughout the Kingdom. And all Persons of Age shall swear to accept and maintain the same. They who refuse the Oath standing guilty of Misprision of High Treason; and they who speak or write against the Marriage or Succession here establish'd, to be adjudg'd Traitors.

Besides all this, the present Statute express'd certain Degrees of prohibited Marriage; (amongst which, that between the Brother and the Brothers Wife, was one) which being against Gods Laws, could not be dispenc'd with by Man, and therefore no such Marriages shall hereafter be made; and those that are made already shall be by the Ordinary dissolv'd, and those that are already so dissolv'd, shall be esteem'd justly and lawfully dissolv'd, and the issue thence proceeding Illegitimate.

March 30. The Parliament rising, Commissioners were sent abroad to require the Oath of Succession, which nevertheless John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late Chancellor, deny'd, yet so as they both profess'd a readiness to swear to the Succession, but not to the whole Act, (it containing divers other things. First, the indispensability of the first Marriage, as being against the Law of God. Secondly, of the legal proceeding in the Divorce by Cranmer: Thirdly, some touches against the Popes Authority, &c.) But which of these in particular offended them, they would not discover; therefore though Archbishop Cranmer told Cromwell it were not amiss to accept the Oath as they offer'd it, both for satisfaction of the People, and the Dowager with her Daughter, and the Emperor (who much rely'd on these Mens Authority,) they yet refusing, were sent to the Tower, where they continu'd till they were brought forth to their Tryal and Death, as will appear hereafter.

April 17. And are imprisoned.

The Pope having proceeded in those Rigorous terms with our King (as is formerly mention'd) and for more authorising his Sentence, made the Emperor Executor thereof, hop'd now to have his Revenge, but he was deceiv'd. For though the Emperor did gladly accept this Overture, for his Aunt Queen Katharine's sake, and the hope he had to dispose of the Princess Mary, as Inheritor of the Crown, yet as he had deeper designs, in aspiring to the Conquest of Italy, and indeed to an Universal Monarchy, he was no less glad of the occasion to take off our King from the Pope; howsoever each side prepar'd for War. The Emperor's intention was, to give the Princess Mary to some one, who upon her Title might pretend to the Crown, whom therefore he promis'd to second. Our King and Francis not ignorant of the Emperor's designs, agreed on the other side, partly to joyn with the Duke of Gueldres for invading the adjoining Territories to France, and partly to renew the ancient Claim to Navarre, and assail the Emperor in those quarters. Yet neither did that of the Emperor take effect, because there was no means to recover the Person of the Princess Mary. Nor this of our Kings, because Francis employing his thoughts wholly on the affairs of Italy, did not think fit to comply openly with one against whom the Pope had Fulminated. Howbeit, our King for defence of his Authority and second Marriage, neglected not to obtain from the Parliament a confirmation thereof, and of the Succession in

that Line (as is mention'd before;) sending also to Queen Katharine at Bugden near Huntingdon, in sequence thereof, Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, and Cutbert Tonsall, Bishop of Duresme, to signify unto her, that he took it ill that she still claim'd the Title of Queen, &c. the passages of which Negotiation I have thought fit to transcribe out of the Original Record, as containing many material points concerning the whole frame of the business.

Their Letter to the King, was this.

1534. Please it your Highness to understand, that An this day we repair'd to the Princess Dowager, and there I the Archbishop of York, for an Introduction to declare to her the effect of our Commission, said to her, First, that your Highness had often sent to her divers of your Council, and amongst them me, one, to declare unto her the invalidity of the Marriage between your Highness and her. Secondly, that Carnal knowledge, which is the great Key of the matter, is sufficiently prov'd in the Law, as also some that were of the Council do avow. Thirdly, that upon proof so sufficiently made of Carnal knowledge, Divorce was made between your Highness and her. Fourthly, that upon Divorce made by lawful Sentence, she was admonish'd to leave the name of a Queen, and not to account or call her self hereafter your Highness Wife. Fifthly, how that after your Highness was discharg'd of the Marriage made with her, you contracted new Marriage with your dearest Wife Queen Anne. Sixthly, that for so much as (thank'd be God) fair Issue is already sprung of this Marriage, and more likely to follow, by Gods Grace, that the whole Body of your Realm gather'd together in Parliament, hath for the stablishment of this Issue, by your dearest Wife Queen Anne, and the Succession coming of this Marriage, made Acts and Ordinances against all them that would in word or in deed withstand them, and that for these purposes, we were sent to her Grace, to the intent she might understand the true purpose of these Acts, with the pains; lest by Ignorance she should fall in any of them, and so I declar'd the Act. Which thing being thus declar'd to her, she being therewith in great Choler and Agony, and always interrupting our words to the aforesaid Points, made these Answers following. To the first, that she took the Matrimony between your Highness and her for good, and so always would account her self to be your Highness's lawful Wife, in which Opinion she said she would continually (till Death) persist. To the second, she utterly denied that ever Carnal Knowledge was had between her and Prince Arthur, and that she would never confess the contrary, and with loud voice when mention was made of that point, she said, they ly'd falsly that so say'd. To the third, she answer'd, that she is not bound to stand to that Divorce made by my Lord of Canterbury, whom she call'd a Shadow, and that although he had given Sentence against her, yet the Pope had given Sentence with her, whom she took for Christs Vicar, and therefore would always obey him, as his faithful Daughter. To the fourth, she answer'd, that she would never leave the name of a Queen, and she would always take her self for your Highness Wife. To the fifth, she said that this Marriage, made after her Appeal, which she made by your Highness leave and consent, is of no value. To

1534. To the sixth, she answer'd, that she is not bound to the Acts of the Parliament, for so much as she is your Highness Wife, and not subject to your Highness, and also because these Acts were made by your Highness Subjects in your favour, your Highness being party in this matter; with divers other unseemly words. Unto which her Answer I the Bishop of *Duresme* replying, forasmuch as she had said in her Communication, that both I and the residue of her Council had always shew'd unto her, that her matter is just and good; I said that all the question whereupon we were consulted at such time as the Legates were here, depended only upon the validity of the *Bull* and *Breve*, albeit I said, that sith that time divers other questions had risen and been debated by many Universities, the chief of Christendom, of which one was *Bononia*, the Popes own Town; and by them concluded, that after the decease of the Brother, who had had Carnal knowledge with his Wife, the Brother living might not marry the said Wife by any Dispensation of the Pope, because it was forbidden by the Law of God. And forasmuch as the Pope (albeit the said Conclusions, have been by Learned Men sent from your Highness, declar'd unto him) never made answer to maintain lawfully his power to the contrary, but rather in confirmation of the Opinions of the said Universities, said at *Mar-seilles*, that if your Grace would send a *Proxie* thither, he would give the Sentence for your Highness against her, because that he knew that your Cause was good and just, which his saying was according also to an Epistle Decretal sent hither by the Legat *Campejus*, whereof the effect was, that if Marriage and Carnal knowledge were had betwixt Prince *Arthur* and her, the Legates should pronounce for the Divorce, according whereunto proofs were brought in before the Legats, and also since, before the Convocations of this Realm, and the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and by them allow'd and approv'd as sufficient and lawful: Whereby doth plainly appear, that the Sentence given by the Pope to the contrary was not vailable, because it pronounced the Dispensation, (which he had no power to grant, seeing it was against the Law of God) to be good; therefore I had now chang'd my former Opinion, and exhorted her to do the semblable, and forbear to usurp any more the Name of a Queen; specially for that the Sentence she sticketh so greatly unto, was given after your Graces Appeal to the Council General, and intimate to the Pope, so that it could not be vailable. And that if she should so do, she might thereby attain much quietness for her self, and her friends, and that she being conformable so to do, I doubted not but your Highness would suffer her to have about her such Persons as should be to her pleasure, and intreat her as your Graces most dearest Sister, with all liberty and pleasure, with divers other things which by her much enterlacing, I was forc'd to answer unto. The specialties whereof, and of her obstinacy, that she will in no wise, ne for any peril of her Life or Goods relinquish the Name of a Queen, we do remit for tediousness unto the Wisdoms and Discretions of my Lord of *Ches-ster*, Mr. *Almoner*, and Mr. *Redell*, who like as they have very substantially, wisely, and effectually, order'd themselves in the execution of the Premisses, so we doubt not, but that they will sincerely report the Circumstances of the same unto your Highness, whom we beseech Almighty God long to preserve in much

Honour, to his Pleasure, and your Hearts desire. At *Huntington* the 21 day of *May*.

By your Highness most humble Subjects,
Servants and Chaplains,

Edovard Ebor.
Cuthbert Duresme.

Notwithstanding which answers of the Princess Dowager, such was the gentleness of our King, as betwixt the memory of his former love and pity on her present Condition, contenting himself to have dissolv'd her Family, and remov'd from her all such as would not serve her as Princess only; he pass'd them over with much calmness. Howbeit he resolv'd to punish rigorously her Adherents, and particularly *Elizabeth Barton* (call'd the Holy Maid of *Kent*) who had almost stirred up more than one Tragedy; for being suborn'd long since by Monks, to use some strange Gesticulations, and to exhibit divers feign'd Miracles, accompanied with some Wisardly Unsoothsayings, she drew much Credit and Concourse to her, insomuch that no mean Persons, and among others *Warham*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Roche-ster*, and Sir *Thomas More*, gave some belief to her; so that notwithstanding the danger that was to give ear to a Prediction of hers, that *Henry VIII.* should not live one Month after this Marriage with *Mistress Bolen*, she was cry'd up with many Voices, *Silvester Davius*, and *Antonio Pollioni*, the Popes Agents here, giving Credit and Countenance thereunto. But the Plot being at last discover'd, she was attainted of Treason in the Parliament, and executed with her chief Complices shortly after. At which time also she confess'd their Names who had instigated her to these Practices, and whom she had acquainted with her Revelations. Among whom were *More* and *Fisher*; whom yet the King pardon'd upon their several Submissions, not suffering the Bills to pass, which were put into the Parliament against them.

After many bickerings betwixt the *English* and *Scotch*, a Truce first, and afterwards a Peace was concluded betwixt our King and King *James*. On the King of *Scots* part, *March 23.* came to *London*, *William Stuart* Bishop of *Aberdeen*, *Robert Reid* Abbat of *Kinlos*, and *Adam Otterburne*, a Lawyer. To treat with these on our Kings behalf, were appointed *T. Audley* Chancellor, *Cromwel* Secretary, and *Edward Fox* Almoner.

The Treaty was for perpetual Peace, which was concluded *May 20.* during their joynt Lives, and a year after, and Sworn by King *Henry*, *Aug. 2.* and by King *James*, *July 9.* It was also agreed, that King *Henry* shall deliver to the King of *Scots* the Fortres of *Edrington*, lately taken by the *English*, and the King of *Scots* shall not impute breach of Peace to King *Henry*, if he entertain *Archibald* Earl of *Anguis* his Brother, or his Uncle, and if the said *Douglasses* should chance to invade *Scotland*, Redress should be made according to the Laws of the Marches, and the Peace remain between the two Kings. Which that it might continue during their Lives, as was then agreed, Queen *Margaret* by Letters solicited Queen *Anne* and *Cromwel* the Secretary. While this Peace was treated, I find by our Records the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was sent into *Scotland*, to carry King *James* the Order of *St. George*, whereunto he was also accepted at *Windfor* the next year, *July 28.* he had Instructions also to acquaint him, with an Interview intended betwixt

1534. our King and *Francis*, whereat he was intreated to be present, and for this purpose to pass through his Kingdom, that they both together might go to *Calais*; which favour was acknowledg'd by *James*. But as the Interview in *France* was disappointed, so our King who desir'd much to confer with his Nephew, invited him to *York*. Whereupon King *James* propos'd the business to his Council, who judging *Newcastle* to be the fitter place, made an excuse for the present, promising yet the year following to meet, if he so thought good. Nevertheless, as our King well knew upon what ground this meeting was deferred, the Lord *William Howard*, and *William Barlow*, Elect Bishop of *St. Asaph*, were sent to make certain Overtures and Propositions to that King, whereof in its due place.

June 29. This year *Charles* the Emperor being in *Spain*, intente chiefly to the proceedings of the *Turk*, and his Brother *Ferdinand* in *Germany*, desirous to govern without home-opposition, such a Peace was accorded with the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and such favourable usage given the Protestant Princes, that the Pope complain'd openly of *Ferdinand's* Partiality to them. But *Ferdinand* excus'd all with reason of State. Which also the Pope accepted the rather, in that the *Anabaptists* (who taught a Doctrine more contrary to Monarchy than the *Lutherans*) did then prevail in many places, and particularly held *Munster* in *Westphalia*. So that because the Duke of *Wittenberg*, promised to contribute some Forces to the besieging of that place, he said he had concluded an advantageous Peace. For as no Man knew how far the Innovations of these times might reach, it was thought to be of much Importance, that they had drawn one side to oppose the other.

Protestants greatly increase in France.

Flor. Ramond, l. 7.

Sleid. Com. l. 7.

Novemb.

And are grievously persecuted. Duplex De Serr. King of France enters into a League with the Turk.

De Serr.

In *France* also about this time, the Doctrine of the Evangelicks began to take Root, though so covertly, that few durst openly avow it; yet as they found favour and protection from *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, and *Anne* Dutchesse d' *Estampes*, so the King himself, whether for deciding the Cause, or love of these two Ladies (whereof one was his Sister, and the other his Favourite) refus'd not to confer privately with divers of the Reform'd, and to give some such tacit assent to their Doctrins, as thereupon growing Audacious, they adventur'd to set up Papers in the Court, and publish Libels against the Church of *Rome* in such manner, as *Francis* being incens'd thereat, caus'd the Authors to be sought out, and burnt. Not yet but that he could have been content to have had some points reform'd, and the Papal Authority diminish'd a little, but that he fear'd it might cause a division in his Realm, as he saw it had done in the Empire. Therefore, following a violent course, and improper to convince those who are well persuaded of their Religion, he condemn'd the professors thereof to the fire. While yet on the other side (as the *French* Historians confess) he entred into a League with the *Turk*, to the no little scandal of his own, and all the Christian Religion. But as this was not without some great Design, so he instituted certain Legionary Soldiers, or Regiments of Foot throughout *France*, to the number of 42000 Men, each of the Legions being compos'd of two thousand Harquebusiers, and 4000 Pikes, and Halberdiers, who were commanded by twelve Captains (having 500 a piece) under six Colonels; while to draw the People voluntarily to support this Charge, the King exempted the Gentry from the Service they ow'd the Crown, by reason of their Tenures and Fees, and the Roturier or Peasant from all Impositions, saving twenty Solz apiece. Many good Ordinances also were made for the entertaining and ordering

1534. this Militia. Neither did the King misdoubt that the putting of Arms into so many of his Subjects Hands would redound to his prejudice, or the People fear that their Liberty should be oppress'd thereby. So that it gave not only Security at home, but Reputation abroad; all which was done, while the Emperor prepar'd for a Voyage to *Tunis*, the Relation whereof also, I shall set down in its due place.

This year (Sept. 26.) Pope *Clement VII.* took his end. For as he had been troubled long with a weakness in his Stomach, which his Physician *Curtio* advis'd him to remedy by change of Dyet, so being not able in an infirm State to suffer such an alteration, he sunk under his Disease and died. This Pope was one, who having prov'd the variety of good and ill Fortune, more than any other of his sort, had learn'd at last to make use of all; he was happy in his Interviews, as returning ever with some advantage, without that the committing himself to the power of those puissant Princes whom he met, did diminish his Authority, in a time when they wanted neither will nor occasion to bring it lower. He was a passionate lover of the advancement of his Family, for which purpose also he sometimes chang'd the whole face of the affairs of *Europe*. His Riches were rather in Jewels than Money, as being more proper to dispose unto them he affected. He was provident enough in conducting all Affairs where Arms did not Intervene, but withal so timorous, that it was reproach'd to him. The Historians of those times besides note him to have been of little Faith. Both which properties seem the more credible, that he so often varied in his Treaties with our King. Inasmuch that he may be thought for more than one reason to have wilfully lost him. Into this place succeeded *Alessandro* of the House of the *Farnesi*, as being by a full Conclave immediately chosen; neither did his Age, being 67 exempt him, while every one thus might hope in his turn to succeed. Which Opinion also he so cunningly entertain'd, as he was thought to have us'd some Art to make himself thought still more sickly than he was.

Sept. 26. Death of Pope Clement VII.

Paul III. succeeds him.

Octob. 12.

Our King who still suspected that the Pope and Emperor had their designs upon him, did now labour every where to hinder them, and strengthen himself. For which purpose also this occasion was given; *Frederick* King of *Denmark* dying about this time, and leaving the Crown in competition between his Son *Christian* (yet a Child) and *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, who had married *Dorothy*, eldest Daughter to *Christiern II.* and the Emperors Sister, the *Lubeckers* and *Hamburgers* offer'd our King for the Sum of 100000 Crowns to make a King in that Country which should be at his Devotion, and thereby exclude the Interest which the Emperor or his Niece had to that Crown. Concerning which our King taking advice with his Council, it was thought fit to propose the business to *Francis*, both that our King might experiment his Affection, (which he had lately found cold) and ease himself of the Charge, half whereof therefore he desir'd *Francis* to support. But what answer *Francis* return'd, appears not; only I find by a *Dutch* History, as well as by our Records, that a great sum of Money was lent by our King, whereupon also they proceeded in their War, which yet at last being compos'd, our King demanded Repayment.

Brantmer. 1535. May 25.

The Lord *Dacres* of the North (July 9. as our Historians have it) was arraign'd at *Westminster* of High Treason, but as the principal Witnesses produc'd against him by his Accusers (*Sir Ralph Fenwick* and one *Musgrave*) were some mean and provok'd *Scottish* Men, so his Peers acquitted him,

1534. as believing they not only spoke maliciously, but might be easily suborn'd against him, as one who (having been Warden of the Marches) by frequent Inroads had done much harm in that Country. And thus escap'd that Lord to his no little Honour, and his Judges, as giving example thereby how Persons of great quality, brought to their Tryal, are not so necessarily condemn'd, but that they sometimes may escape, when they obtain an equal hearing. The 11th of August, this year, our King, as he was watchful over the voice and affection of his People, so for the finding out how they would take his design of putting down Religious Houses, began with the remove of some. And therefore suppress'd at Greenwich, Canterbury, Richmond, and other places the Observant Fryars, noted to be the most clamorous against him, and for them substituted the Augustines, placing the Observants again in the room of the Gray-Fryars, as some have it, though others mention not this latter Exchange; which passages, though of no great Moment, in regard of that which follow'd, our King was glad to find no worse interpreted, since they serv'd to establish his Authority.

K. Henry suppresses three Monasteries.

Helinhead Spiced.

Regn. 26 Nov. 3.

He is by Act of Parliament declar'd Supreme Head of the Church.

I shall come now to the Laws enacted in the Parliament, held Novemb. 3. this year, which were important, and such as testified the great respect and awe born by our Nation unto their King.

The first was to this effect: That albeit the King was Supreme Head of the Church in England, and so recognis'd by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, yet for more corroboration thereof, as also for extirpating all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses of the same; it was enacted that the King his Heirs and Successors, Kings of England, should be accepted and reputed the Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England (call'd *Ecclesia Anglicana*) and have and enjoy, united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the Title and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Pre-eminences, Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the said Dignity of Supreme Head of the same Church belonging or appertaining. And that our said Sovereign Lord his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full Power and Authority from time to time, to visit and repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend, all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reform'd, repress'd, order'd, redress'd, corrected, restrain'd, or amended most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of Vertue in Christ's Religion, and for the conservation of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquility of this Realm, any Usage, Custom, foreign Laws, foreign Authority, Prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding. Which Act, though much for the manutention of the Regal Authority, seem'd yet not to be suddenly approv'd by our King, nor before he had consulted with his Council (who shew'd him Precedents of Kings of England, that had us'd this Power) and with his Bishops, who having discuss'd the point in their Convocations, declar'd, that the Pope had no Jurisdiction warranted to him by Gods Word in this Kingdom. Which also was seconded by the Universities, and by the Subscriptions of the several Colleges, and Religious Houses so far as they bound their Successors thereunto. The particulars whereof are to be seen in our Records. Howsoever, the business was both publickly controverted in foreign Countries, and

June 1. Records.

And that the Pope has no Jurisdiction in this Kingdom.

defended here by many at this present, while they produc'd Arguments for rejecting the Popes Authority, and together maintain'd it necessary, that such a power should be extant in the Realm for supporting and strengthening of the Religion profess'd in it, and excluding the impertinent and ill-grounded Reformations of many Sectaries of those times. The Arguments of all which, may be seen in the Kings Book *De vera differentia Regiæ, & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis* (which we have formerly mention'd) as being printed, and publish'd on this occasion; whence also the Learned Bishop Andrews in his *Tortura Torti*, seems to have drawn divers assertions of the Regal Authority, to which therefore the curious Reader may have further recourse.

It was also declar'd Treason to attempt, imagine, or speak evil against the King, Queen, or his Heirs, or to attempt to deprive them of their Dignity or Titles.

Also, that no Traytor shall have benefit of Sanctuary. And though he be out of the Realm, yet upon Commission given by the King for his Tryal, if he be found guilty by the Jury, the Law shall proceed against him as effectually, as if he were present.

An Act also made the last Parliament for an Oath to be taken by all the Kings Subjects for the surety of the Succession by Queen Anne was now confirm'd, and the Oath prescrib'd, for the more validating whereof also, it was declar'd that all former Oaths concerning Succession taken by the Kings Subjects, should be reputed thenceforth vain and annihilated.

That towards the Augmentation, Maintenance and Defence of the Kings Royal Estate and Dignity of Supreme Head, the First-fruits of all Benefices, Dignities, Offices, &c. Spiritual, shall be paid to his Highness. As also a yearly Revenue, being the tenth part of all such Livings (the Prior and the Brethren of St. Johns of Jerusalem not excepted.)

Whereas also it was doubted, lest in these troublesome times some Commotion might follow in this Kingdom, and that particularly Wales, as being a strong and fast Country, might be a refuge for ill affected Persons, and the rather that there were so many Lordships Marches in those parts (the several Lords whereof having ampler power than they now enjoy, did protect Offenders flying from one place to the other) Divers Laws were enacted against Perjuries, Murders, Felonies in Wales: Passage over Severn also at unlawful times was prohibited, and Clerks convict in Wales, not to be releas'd till they found Sureties for their good abearing. Notwithstanding which, the year following upon mature Deliberation, Wales was united and incorporated totally unto the Crown of England, it being thought better to adapt that People into the same form of Government with the English, than by keeping them under more severe and strict Laws than others in the Island were subject unto, to hazard the alienating of their affections.

An Act also was made, declaring by whom; and in what manner Bishops Suffragans should be nominated and appointed, and what their Authority and Priviledges should be.

And thus after a free and general Pardon from the King, enacted, the Parliament was prorogu'd. The Act of Supremacy being thus pass'd, the King proceeded more confidently to abolish by Proclamation, the Popes Authority out of his Kingdom, and establish his own, the Doctrine whereof he commanded not only to be often preach'd in the most frequent Auditories, but taught even to little Children, injoyning further that the Popes Name should be raz'd out of

1534

First-fruits given to the King.

Wales united to England.

A General Pardon

1535.
June 25.
1535.

of all Books, his Resolution being after this time to treat with him no otherwise than as an ordinary Bishop. In sequence whereof also, he not only proceeded with an high hand against all the opposers of his Supremacy, (as shall be related in its due place) but accepted a voluntary Oath or Promise, under their Hands and Seals, from his Bishops, declaring their acknowledgment of the same, together with Renunciation of the Popes pretended Authority, and any Oath or Promise made to him heretofore. The form of this Oath or Promise given by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, Feb. the 10th 1535. may be seen in *Fox*, to which we remit the Reader.

Feb. 10.
1535.

1535.
Emperor offers the Princess Mary to the Dauphin in Marriage without K. Henry's consent.
Mar. Bill.
1535.

IN the beginning of this year *Philip Chabot* Seigneur de *Bryon*, Admiral of *France*, being sent to our King, acquainted him how the Count of *Nassau* had been on the Emperors part with the King his Master, and among other Overtures of agreement, propos'd to him two Marriages; to which yet he would return no answer without our Kings Advice. One was betwixt the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary* our Kings Daughter (which also *Bellay* mentions, adding that notwithstanding the Instances which *Francis* made, the Emperor would not declare his further intentions herein;) the other was betwixt the Emperors Son and the French Kings youngest Daughter. To which points, as also some others here following, our King commanded his Agents in *France* to return this Answer. That he marvel'd much at the Emperors Malice, in meddling with things which belong'd not to him; and therefore desir'd *Francis* to surcease this Treaty, since he knew well enough how to keep his Daughter out of the Emperors reach. Secondly, he commanded them to tell *Francis* that the Emperors intention (notwithstanding all his promises) was to divide him first from his League with *England*, and afterwards disappoint him; for though he had understood by the said *Bryon*, that the Emperor upon some Conditions had offer'd to *Francis* (for one of his Sons) a Pension of a hundred thousand Crowns, payable yearly out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and *Milan* it self after the death of *Sforza*, he desir'd him to give no credit to such Improbabilities. And here, I must observe that *Bellay* who speaks of the Pension, saith nothing of the Dutchy it self, so that it may be that *Bryon* stretched this point. And whereas the said *Bryon* had told him these things should be treated of by the two Sisters, Queen *Leonora*, Wife to *Francis*, and *Mary*, the Widow of *Hungary*, (now Regent of the Low-Countries, who, I find by the Spanish History did afterwards meet at *Cambray*) he thought he disparag'd this Business, to commit it to Women. After these points, and some others (which as they follow'd not, I spare to rehearse) he commanded them to intreat *Francis* to procure a Revocation of the censures of *Clement*, late Pope, against him. And to tell him, that he would send Commissioners shortly to treat of a Match betwixt the Duke of *Angoulesme* (his third Son) and the Princess *Elizabeth* our Kings Daughter, which should be more advantageous than the Emperors Offer. Whereupon, this year in *May*, our King who knew there was no so good way, to prevent the danger on the part of *Scotland*, as by taking off the French, and besides would have been glad that the Popes Censures were retracted, sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *William Fitz-William*, and Doctor *Fox*, to treat with the French Kings Commissioners, being *Philip Chabot* Admiral, and *Guillaume de Poyet*, afterwards Chancellor of *France*, to this effect, as I find by their Instructions.

Records.
K. Henry's
Resentment of it.

May.
Ambassadors sent to conclude a Treaty with *Francis*.

To require *Francis* together with his Children, as also his Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, to enter into bond to revoke the Censures given at *Rome*, (which I conceive had his Original from some proposition which *Francis* made of Reconcilement with the Pope.) That he, his Nobility and Universities should declare the late Marriage to be good, and bind themselves to maintain the same, which if granted, then to proceed to the Treaty of Marriage, upon certain Conditions, whereof these are the Principal.

That all former Treaties shall stand in force. That when the Parties came to sufficient years they should ratifie the Marriage. That *Monsieur de Angoulesme* should be presently sent to our King to be brought up in *England*. That if he succeeded to the Crown, the Dutchy of *Angoulesme* should be free from homage to the French Kings. That he should not change the Laws of the French Realm, and that sufficient security and caution should be given for this purpose. But some of these being thought to be high demands, our King sent shortly after *George Bolen* Lord *Rochford* with power to modify and allay some Points, yet so as he insisted still, *Francis* should bind himself and his three Sons to revoke the Censures; and to declare, that it was enough if the Duke of *Angoulesme* came hither when the espousals were to be made. At last by third Instructions our King said, he was content to accept the single Bond of *Francis* for Revocation of the Censures, and that he was pleas'd that the Duke of *Angoulesme* came six Months only before the compleat Marriage. To the first of which Points the French Commissioners agreed, but the latter they refus'd, affirming that it was sufficient, if the young Duke came to consummate the Marriage. This while Sir *John Wallop* (Ambassador in *France*) being commanded to propose the same Conditions to *Francis*, was so sharply answer'd, that our Commissioners resented it. Nevertheless, as some Articles were agreed on the part of the French Commissioners, so they again demanded what help our King would give to the King their Master towards the recovery of his Mothers Land in *Savoy*. Whereupon, as also about the Pension usually paid to our King, some wrangling words were interchang'd, while we demanding that which was in Arrear, they desir'd to be exonerated of the whole; and thus the Treaty remain'd imperfect; yet so as I find by a Letter of Sir *Gregory Casalis*, how *Francis* had propos'd this Renuntiation with much earnestness, and not a few threats unto the new Pope. Though as *Paulus III.* was by nature slow (as *Casalis* observes) and that the Emperor, besides, had his designs in *Scotland* and *Ireland* at that time against our King, so no effect followed. For which yet none suffer'd so much as the Pope himself, it being certain our King hitherto passionately, desir'd to be, if not reintegrated, yet at least in good terms with the Roman Church, as far as with his Dignity he might.

This while, *Haradin Barbareffa* King of *Argier*, that famous Pirate (who for commanding in an unbounded and higher Element than the Earth, gloried in some sort to be Superior to the Princes thereof) obtain'd the Kingdom of *Tunis*, so true is the ancient Verse, *Ille Crucem pretium Sceleris tulit, hic Diadema*. This Man being sent for by *Solyman*, and constituted Admiral in the Spring, 1534. with 100 Sail of all sorts; 8800 Soldiers, and 800000 Ducats, began his expedition for Christendom the same day that *Solyman* undertook his for *Persia*. His principal design was upon *Genoia*, as being incited thereunto by *Francis*, as the Spanish History hath it; in his

1535.

Jun: 6.

May 14.

Barbareffa the Pirate endeavours to seize *Julia Gonzaga*.
1535.
1534.

Sander.

1535. way to which, he burnt or took many Ships in Sicily or Italy, sackings divers Towns, and making many Captives; yet as he knew all this would not be such a prize for *Solyman* as the beautiful *Julia Gonzaga*, he commanded two thousand *Turks* to land by Night, and seise on her Person, being then in *Fundi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but she half naked escap'd them. Some difficulties yet appearing about the design of *Genoia*, *Barbarossa* makes for *Tunis*, which at last between Stratagem and force he took 22 August 1534. and made himself King thereof, *Muley Hazem* the true Prince flying for his more security unto the Mountains. Which being advertis'd to the Emperor, he thought fit to prevail himself of the occasion. As hoping that *Solymans* being in *Persia*, and the troubles and confusions, which are incident to unsettled and usurp'd Governments, would make his design easie. And as he was one who knew the use of Spies in any great Enterprize, he descended so low, as to give particular Instructions to one *Luis Presende*, a *Genouese*, well acquainted with *Africa*, which are at large set down by *Sandoval*. The effect of which were, that he should have certain Moneys given him, wherewith he should buy a Ship and Commodities to traffick with *Tunis*, and by those means insinuate himself into the acquaintance of the principal Persons both in the Town, and about *Barbarossa*, and thereupon either to make a Party with the discontented Citizens, with whom the Emperor might joyn, or else to penetrate the designs of *Barbarossa*; for which purpose also he had liberty, and Letters of Credence to make himself Ambassador and Negotiate with *Barbarossa*, when he thought it expedient for the Emperors Service to proceed that way; giving him Authority further, to promise Assistance to *Barbarossa* for the Conquest of *Africa*, when he might be drawn to depend on the Emperor. But whether through want of dexterity to use such different Instructions, or that otherwise another who was privy to his Employment did discover him (which some affirm) he was seiz'd on by *Barbarossa* and put to Death. Which being related unto the Emperor did but hasten his Expedition, wherein he resolv'd to go in Person.

This while, *Francis*, who was intente to the Actions of the Emperor, both as himself had his designs in *Italy* at that time, and that he had entred into a secret League with the *Turk*, thought fit to acquaint *Barbarossa* therewith, by the means of one *Monsieur de Forrest* a Frenchman, who from thence was commanded to go to *Constantinople*, and procure Succours for him; the Success whereof we shall tell hereafter; and now the Emperor being assisted by the Pope, and *John King of Portugal*, and attended by *Don Luis*, Son to the said *John Andrea Doria*, and the prime Nobility of *Spain*, set sail from *Barcelona*, May 31. and coming to *Calari* in *Sardinia*, departed thence 13 of June, 1535. with twenty-five thousand Foot, and about two thousand Horse, besides the Nobility and Adventurers, and ten thousand Seamen. All which being carried in two hundred and fifty, or three hundred Sail, came before *Goleta*, a Fort of sixty paces one way, and sixty-five the other, situate on a strait at the Mouth of the Lake or Bay within which *Tunis* stands. Which place, though defended bravely, was at last taken, together with a great part of the Fleet of *Barbarossa*. After which, the Emperor leaving the Lake on the left hand, march'd to *Tunis*, (where *Barbarossa* was) being a City of about ten thousand Houses, and three Leagues South from *Goleta*. But certain Slaves whom the Moors intended to burn with their Prison, escap-

ing out of it, and taking Arms at the same time that the Forces which *Barbarossa* sent to defend the Passage were routed by the Imperialists, *Barbarossa* with about seven thousand Men, and much Riches, fled out of the Town, quitting his Reign so, after that he had enjoy'd it not a full year. Some of the Townsmen hereupon coming to the Emperor, and acquainting him herewith, *Muley Hazem* interceded with the Emperor, that two hours space might be given before he permitted the Army to enter, alledging for this purpose also some probable Inducements; when yet the crafty Moor, intended nothing thereby, but the gaining so much time for the Townsmen to hide their most precious Riches, from the rapine of the Soldiers: To which purpose also, he gave them private warning. The Emperor at last entring, and together giving liberty to many Slaves, restor'd it to *Muley Hazem* upon these Conditions, That he should suffer him to retain *Goleta*, *Bona*, *Vizerta*, and some other places belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. That certain Churches for Christians should be allow'd. That he shall no more make Christian Slaves, or protect Pirats, from whom that King drew a great Revenue, being a fifth of all they took. And now *Charles* finding no more to be done in those parts, the year being far spent, and his Men sick of Calentures, and being not ignorant besides of the designs of *Francis* in *Italy*, came to *Trapaca* in *Sicily* the twentieth of August, 1535. from whence he went shortly to *Naples*.

During this Expedition *Francis* fell sick, the supposed cause whereof (as I find by our Records) was a grief he took, that a Servant of *Monsieur de Forrest*, returning with a dispatch concerning his Negotiation with the *Turk* was intercepted by the Duke of *Urbino*, and all the Treaty by this means discover'd to the Emperor; yet, at length taking Heart, and recovering, he sent our King word thereof, who thereupon commanded a solemn Procession to be made in *London*.

While the Emperor was at *Tunis*, *Francis* having provided a great Army under the command of *Philip Chabot*, Admiral of *France*, sent to his Uncle *Charles Duke of Savoy*, for passage through his Country, giving out that he desir'd it only to revenge the death of his Ambassador *Merveilles* upon *Francisco Sforza*. But the Duke conscious that he had lent Money heretofore to *Bourbon*, and bought lately the Contado of *Asti* (belonging to the House of *Orleans*) of the Emperor, and besides, had accepted the Emperors Order, when he refus'd the French, wanted not occasion to suspect the entrance of so potent an Army into his Country: Therefore he denied Passage. Whereupon *Francis* incens'd, sends to require of the Duke the Inheritance, falling to him by *Louise of Savoy* his Mother. Demanding also Restitution of a great part of *Piedmont*, and the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* as belonging anciently to the Counties of *Provence* and *Dauphine*, and Seignory of *Arles*. The Duke (as being allied to *Charles*, by his Wife *Beatrix*, Sister to *Isabella* the Empress) sends to him for Aid, being now in *Sicily*, and to induce him hereunto, he offer'd to give him all the Lands he held on this side the Mountains in exchange for so much in *Italy*. This being reported to *Francis*, inrag'd him so much the more against the Duke, so that he commanded his Army to enter *Savoy*; whereof in his place.

Charles seeing these preparations of *Francis*, and being unable for the present to resist them (his Army being return'd sick and much weakened from *Tunis*) for gaining of time, thought fit to renew

1535.
Aug 1.
1534.
Aug 7.

Aug 22.
1534.

Sandoval.
Nov. 14.
1634.

Sandoval.

Sandoval.

1534.
The Emperors Expedition to Tunis.

July 14.
July 20.

1535.
Barbarossa flies.

July 22.

The Emperor takes Muley Hazem.

Aug. 13.

Novemb.

Duplex

G. B. B.

1535. renew the Propositions of Alliance and Accord, formerly mention'd to Francis, not omitting the while to levy Forces in Germany. Neither did he think to find any so strong opposition in Francis, as long as he hop'd that he had given our King enough to do in the parts of Scotland and Ireland. But as that of Scotland by our Kings industry took no effect, so that of Ireland was prevented, as by this Narration drawn chiefly out of our Records may appear.

The Earl of Kildare being (as is above said) now restor'd again to his Liberty and Pardon'd, return'd into Ireland, conducted by Sir William Skeffington, Master of the Kings Ordnance, who was also made Deputy there about 1530, and O'Sory plac'd. But some stirs arising, which Skeffington was not able to quiet, the King thought fit to reinplace Kildare, as a Man much esteem'd by his Countrymen. Thus was he made Deputy in Ireland again, about 1532. where he pacified the Country, and May 19. 1533. under the Title of Deputy to Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Lieutenant of Ireland, held a Parliament at Dublin. But the old grudges between his Family and O'Sory's, beginning to break out anew, and himself being accus'd to have invited O Neale and others to spoil the Country's of O'Sory, not without suspicion of further design, he was sent for by our King, with command to substitute at his departure some able Man, who might govern during his absence. This charge was committed to Thomas his eldest Son: Who shortly after (hearing that his Father was convict, and to be put to death in England) rose up in Arms, and combining with O Neale, O Carol, &c. of the Irish Nobility, committing divers Outrages, and particularly July 26. 1534. murder'd Doctor John Allen Archbishop of Dublin, heretofore Woolsey's Chaplain and Commissary, and forc'd the Citizens of Dublin to take Truce with him till Michaelmas, and in the mean time to admit some Bands of his Men into the City, to lay siege to the Castle, (which was defended against him) while himself with the rest of the Army depopulated the Country of O'Sory. The news whereof being brought into England, the old Earl then in Prison, died as is thought of Grief, and the King appointed Sir William Skeffington by the Name of Lord Deputy of Ireland, under the Lieutenant thereof the Duke of Richmond, with a well-provided Army to suppress the Rebel. For tho' some of the Irish Nobility stood firm to our King, and particularly the Earl of O'Sory, and his Son James Lord Butler, whom Fitzgerald had in vain solicited; yet they were not able to make head against him. And here it is remarkable how politickly that Family strove to preserve it self: For though three of the five Brothers of the late Earl of Kildare were against our King, two others offer'd their Service to him: Who yet (as it was danger either to receive or refuse them) were but coldly welcom'd. Michaelmas now approaching, (when the Truce with Kildare expired) Francis Herbert having been sent from Dublin at the beginning of these Stirs, to give notice thereof to King Henry, return'd with a comfortable promise of Succours, and a command to defend themselves; whereupon the Citizens suddenly laying hold on the Rebels, who besieg'd the Castle, shut their Gates, and stood upon their Guard. Which Fitzgerald understanding, comes with an Army of 15000. and assail'd the City, which yet was stoutly maintain'd by the Townsmen, and particularly by Francis Herbert, who behav'd himself so well, that as I find by several Original Dispatches of Finglas, Chief Justice of Ireland, dated in November 1534. the City by his politick and manful Defence was pre-

serv'd; insomuch, that if he had carried three days longer, it was said, both it and the Castle had been lost. I find also by their Original Dispatches, dated in the same Month, that he shot and kill'd twenty-four of the Rebels with his own Hand, whereof twenty in one day. For which Service also, he was afterward made Knight, and one of the Kings Council in Ireland. Notwithstanding which, as he was single, and the City much press'd by Kildare, who had intercepted all Victuals, Water and Fewel, so at last they were forc'd to treat upon certain Conditions, which were, That the Citizens should set at liberty such of his Men, as they had taken, and labour to procure his Pardon of the King, within sixteen Weeks; and he on the other side should desist from Hostility, during the said Space, and redeliver their Children. Being thus departed from Dublin; two days after Sir William Skeffington arriving on the Coast of Ireland with his Army, a false report came, that the City was yielded, whereupon a Council of War being assembled, the Resolution was, that John Salisbury and Sir William Breton (two of the Captains newly come over) should be sent to Dublin with some Forces, being about five hundred Men, to relieve it (if it were possible,) and that the Lord Deputy should set sail for Waterford, where, about the same time, Sir John Suintlo, and Sir Rice Mansel, landed with five hundred Soldiers; who, joining with the Earl of O'Sory, spoil'd the Country of Kildare; while Breton and Salisbury coming during the aforesaid Truce, enter'd the Town without any difficulty, where also they resolv'd to proceed hostily against Kildare, as having during this Respite, destroy'd some part of the Country adjoining, contrary to his Promise. While affairs pass'd thus, the Generals on either side made use of the time. For as Kildare sent to the Emperor for obtaining Supplies, (in which business a Servant of the Earl of Desmond, in whom the Emperor had a special Confidence, was employ'd) so the Lord Deputy (being now come to Dublin) treated with the Nobility, to discover their Affection, as not knowing otherwise, how to form a Party amongst them, on which he might rely. For which purpose also he thought it not amiss to conclude a Truce with Kildare, until the fifth of January. Kildare in the mean time encouraging his Soldiers with hope of Succours from Spain; the assurance whereof being brought him by the the Earl of Desmond's Servant, he forgot not to write unto the Pope, complaining of our Kings defection from the Roman Catholick Faith, and together desiring that he might hold the Kingdom of Ireland from that See upon payment of a yearly Tribute. In these uncertainties, Sir John Allen Knight, formerly Secretary to the Archbishop of Dublin, now Master of the Rolls there, a dexterous Person, gave the King this Advice, that he should quickly publish, whether he would pardon Kildare, and so save Charges, or otherwise prosecute War against him; since he said, that until this were declar'd, the Gentry of Ireland durst not oppose Kildare, as fearing that when he were restor'd, he would revenge himself on all those who oppos'd him. In the mean while the Earl of Desmond dying, leaves his Estate litigious betwixt his Brother and Grandchild. The Truce now expiring, our Army (which took some few places at their last landing, and made some light Skirmishes) lay idle for the most part; insomuch that having gotten Kildare Castle, they suffer'd it to be lost again. At last, being commanded to proceed, the Lord Deputy in March following took Maynoth or Mynnow Castle, strongly fortified and defended by a hundred of the choicest

1535.

Octob. 14

Octob. 16.

Octob.

Dec. 14.

Dec. 26.

Nov. 30

Ser.

Irish Stat.
25 H.VIII.
The Earl
of Kildare
raises a
Rebellion
in Ireland

June 11.
1534

August.
Holinsh.

Sept. 24.
Holinsh.
Records.

Dublin Ca.
the be-
sieged by
the Rebels.

Records.

1535.
March 23.

Servants and Soldiers of Kildare. Which place our Records say was gotten by Battery and Assault, so that Hollinshead seems to be mistaken when he writes, it was betray'd by one Parese, Foster-Brother to Fitzgerald, the Garrison being by him made drunk the Night preceding, and that for this Treachery, instead of Reward, the Deputy commanded him to be hang'd. And further our Records tell us, that one of the said Garrison depos'd, that not only the Emperor had promis'd to send thither 10000 Men, but that the King of Scots had assur'd them of Aid; Arms in the mean time being brought in a great quantity from Flanders, and other places. Some defeats also were given to those Troops of the Rebels which appear'd. Nevertheless as they daily increas'd, and Skeffington was old, weak and slow in all his Enterprises, the Lord Leonard Gray, Brother to the Marquis Dorset, though ally'd to Kildare, was (under the Duke of Richmond, who died shortly after) authoriz'd to execute the place of Deputy Lieutenant of Ireland, to the no little grief and discontentment of Skeffington. Whereof Kildare being advertis'd, and for the rest finding himself reduc'd to some necessity, by the delay of the Emperor, and uncertainty he found in some of his Complices, thought fit to yield himself to the Kings Mercy; yet so as the Lord Gray together with the other Commanders promis'd to intercede effectually with the King in his behalf. Which I find they perform'd, and particularly the Lord Gray, whose Sister the old Earl had married. And thus Kildare was brought by the Lord Gray to London, and his five Uncles not long after; where, upon Examination, the business being found to merit Punishment, they were at last executed. Notwithstanding the earnest mediation of the Lord Gray and others. And now these Troubles of Ireland being ended, our King commanded the Deputy to make Peace with O Neale for a year or two, and together to summon a Parliament, both for giving order to those Grievances whereof the Irish complain'd, and for settling the business of Supremacy and Succession in that form it was establish'd in England. Whereupon it was assembled, May 1. 1536. And in it the Acts of Succession, of Supremacy, of First-fruits, against Appeals to Rome, &c. as also an Act for the attainder of the late Earl of Kildare and his Complices, were pass'd. And because the King had spent in this War forty thousand pounds, he demanded together with a present satisfaction for his Charges, a yearly Revenue for the future, which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal accorded in great part, the Clergy particularly giving him a twentieth part of their yearly Rents, first for ten years following, and at last for ever. And thus the Parliament was prorogu'd till the year following.

August.
Kildare and his five Uncles executed.
1537.
Feb. 3.

Supremacy and Succession settled in Ireland.

May 1.
1536.
Regn. 28.
Irish Stat.

Nov. 3.
1534.
Fox.

Cardinal Poole's Opinion desir'd by the King.

The Supremacy being (as is abovesaid) invested in the King, by the approbation of his Parliament. The Universities and Bishops of this Kingdom did not a little second him; (and particularly Stephen Gardiner, whose Latin Sermon, *De vera Obedientia*, to this purpose, with the Preface of Doctor Bonner, (Archdeacon of Leicester, and about these times Ambassador with the King of Denmark) being yet extant in Print, and by John Fox digested to a Sum) I shall not mention otherwise; my intention being not (in a History) to discuss Theological matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted, as far as the notice of them is come to me. Notwithstanding, as our King desir'd to give and receive all Satisfaction herein, so knowing that the esteem of Reginald Poole was great in foreign Countries, and especially in Italy, where he now liv'd at Padua; he

sent unto him, desiring his Opinion of his late Actions freely, and in few words; whereupon Poole writes, and dispatches to him his Book *Pro Unitate Ecclesiae*, inveighing therein against the Kings Supremacy, as also against his new Marriage, and Divorce of Queen Katharine; exciting the Emperor to revenge the injury offer'd her, concluding with an advice to Henry to reconcile himself to the Catholick Church, and the Pope as head thereof. Our King having perus'd this, and knowing it could not long lie hid in Italy, (though Poole had promis'd not to publish it,) sends for him by Post to come into England, to explain some Passages thereof. But Poole knowing that it was declar'd Treason there, to deny the King the Title of Supream Head, which he had principally intended in his Book, refus'd, desiring the King nevertheless, as being now freed from her, who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present time, and to reintegrate himself with the Pope, and accept the Council now summon'd, whereby he might have the honour of being the cause of a Reformation of the Church in Doctrine and Manners, and that otherwise he would be in great danger. He wrote also to Cuthbert Tonsall Bishop of Duresme to incline the King hereunto. But this Bishop (as appears in our Records) reproving him for the bitterness of his Book, and counselling him to burn the Original, denies that King Henry hath separated himself from the Roman Church, but only freed himself from the unjust usurpations of the Bishops of that See. (And to this purpose, another large Letter joyntly written after, from the Bishops of Duresme and London may be seen in Fox.) But Poole being at this time invited to Rome by the Pope, and utterly refusing to burn a Catholick Book (as he said) like an Heretick, our King hastned the publishing at home of a Declaration, call'd the Bishops Book, sign'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury and York, and nineteen other Bishops, wherein is alledg'd out of ancient Histories and Councils, how many hundred years had pass'd, before the Pope took on him this Supremacy over other Bishops, and that it was contrary to the Oath given, when any of them enters the Papacy; which is, that they shall observe and keep inviolably the first eight Councils, that decree a limited power to all Bishops, and particularly the first Council of Constantinople, which both excludes foreign Jurisdiction every where, and allows Bishops within their several Diocesses, an absolute power to determine Controversies arising within their Precincts; and together shews how the Papal Authority was first deriv'd from the Emperors of those times, and not from Christ, whose Kingdom they said was Spiritual and not Carnal; setting forth this Doctrine further by Arguments drawn from Holy Scriptures and some Fathers. But to return to 1535. neither the Example of others which subscrib'd, nor the Terror of the Statute could hinder divers Religious Persons to continue in their former Opinions; insomuch, that they openly spake against the Kings Supremacy. Which being made known, caus'd him to advise with his Council concerning their Punishment, some indeed thought that Imprisonment, Banishment, or the like, was chastisement enough for those, who confessing the Kings Supream Authority in all Temporal Matters, did out of Scrupulosity rather than Malice, impugn the rest. But when it was objected again, both that the Number was too great for either of those Punishments, and that the Law having made the Offence to be Death, it was not safe to go less, especially when some exemplary Justice might contain the rest in Obedience. Our King, who needed now no motive to security, resolv'd to proceed legally against them. Therefore some Priors, and other Ecclesiastical Persons,

1535.
May 23.
1536.

June 14.
1536.

July 11.

Records.

1537.

July 16.
1536.

Declaration against the Pope's Usurpations sign'd by the Bishops.

1535. Persons, that were Criminal in this kind, being found guilty of the Statute, and this year condemn'd as Traitors, were executed, being the first that suffer'd in this kind. This piece of Justice was not yet grown so familiar to our King, but that it troubled him much, for he would have been glad not to be compell'd to such violent Courses; therefore he not only mourn'd inwardly, but caus'd his Head to be poll'd, and his Beard formerly shaven, to be cut round, though others facetiously interpret it to be nothing else, than the putting upon a new Dignity, a new Countenance; but if he proceeded thus rigorously against the Opposers of his Supremacy, he did no less punish the many pretended Reformers and Contradictors of the Roman Catholick Religion. Therefore, as the last year he had condemn'd John Frith, a Sacramentary, to the Fire, so he now caus'd divers *Hollanders* in London, who had devis'd some different Opinions by themselves, concerning certain Articles of Christian Religion, to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Shortly after which again, some others were executed for denying the Supremacy. So that on both sides it grew a bloody time. Only, as our King found the terrors already given, did not suffice to keep the rest in awe, he resolv'd to make some great Examples.

Therefore, he laid hand on John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who having been imprison'd now a years space, for refusing to swear to the Act of Succession, and attainted therefore by Parliament, was now urg'd with the Supremacy; which he disallowing (as having not given his voluntary Oath or Promise thereunto the last year, together with other Bishops) incur'd the danger of the Law. Which also was taken the worse, that in the Convocation, 1530. he had yielded the Title of *Supremum Caput Ecclesie Anglicane quantum per Christi Legem licet*. Yet as the Pope for more confirming him in his Opinion, had declar'd him Cardinal of St. Vitale during his said Restraint (though he profess'd that if the Hat lay at his Feet, he would not stoop to take it up.) So our King understanding thereof was much more incens'd, both as the Pope had confer'd his most eminent Honours on a Man kept by him in Prison, and guilty of the highest punishment his Laws could inflict, and as he knew of what consequence it would be, if his Subjects were thus encourag'd to contemn his Authority: Therefore he resolv'd now to defer his Justice no longer. Whereupon, the said Bishop as publickly convicted and condemn'd for divers Points (the particulars whereof yet I have not seen, but only that on the seventh of May last in the Tower of London before divers Persons, he had Falsly, Maliciously and Traiterously said, that the King is not Supream Head of the Church of England,) was by the Kings command openly Beheaded the 22d of June, 1535. Thus did the Popes favour but precipitate the Bishops Ruine; against whom notwithstanding, I find, the King did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in singular esteem, for his Learning and good Parts. All which cannot make me believe yet, that he was Author of King Henry's Book against Luther (as Sanders and Bellarmine will have it) or Sir Thomas More (as others say) though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the Kings favour, and where it was needful also interpose their Judgment. This while, the Pope, who suspected not perchance that the Bishops end was so near, had for more testimony of his favour to him, as disaffection to our King, sent him the Cardinals Hat, but unseasonably, his Head being off. Nevertheless, as he had first desir'd Francis to mediate for him, he omitted not

afterwards publickly to justify his Actions, calling him by the name of *Sanctissimus Episcopus*, and *omnium Cardinalium Cardinalis*, and declaring, (in a Breve subscrib'd by *Blosius* (as I find it briefly mentioned in our Records, extracted by Sanders, and extant in the *Bullarium*.) of which hereafter) both that he was Innocent, and our King an Heretick, &c. But this again was defended in an Apology written here in Elegant Latin, whether by Stephen Gardiner (who as I find in our Records wrote a Justification of the King herein) or some other; which I should have inserted but for the length, and as some would judge it for the vehemency. Though, as the King retain'd still all the chief Articles of the Roman Church, it cannot be wondred if the Author thereof did the more bitterly inveigh against one that had given his Sovereign that odious Title.

Our King being thus many ways exasperated against the Pope, neglected no means of extirpating his chief Agents and Favourers, and, with them, all his Authority in this Country; therefore he proceeded against Sir Thomas More, committed at the same time, and for the same cause, with Fisher. For though (as Sanders saith) he would by the Bishop of Rochester's exemplary Death have brought More to a Conformity, yet finding that it was impossible, he commanded his Counsel in the Law to examine him concerning the Supremacy (now enacted) more particularly. But Sir Thomas More, (as his Indictment hath it) *malitiose silebat*, saying yet afterwards, I will not meddle with such matters. He was accus'd also for holding secret intelligence by Letter with the Bishop of Rochester, during their Imprisonment; which appear'd both by the confession of the said Bishop, and in that they held the same Language. It being observ'd that both of them said, in their Examinations, the Act about Supremacy was like a two-edg'd Sword, for if one answer one way, it will confound his Soul, and if the other way, it will confound his Body. Yet Richard Rich the Kings Solicitor (made afterwards Lord Rich) comes to him again, and having first protested that he had no Commission to talk with him of that matter,) as believing perchance his former Answer, or Silence had sufficiently convinc'd him,) did, as is in the Record, demand then, if it were enacted by Parliament, that Richard Rich should be King, and that it should be Treason for any to deny it, what offence it were to contravene this Act? Sir Thomas More answer'd, that he should offend if he said no, because he was bound by the Act; but that this was *Casus levis*; Whereupon, Sir Thomas More said he would propose a higher Case, suppose by Parliament it were enacted quod Deus non fit Deus, and that it were Treason to contravene, whether it were an Offence to say according to the said Act; Richard Rich replied yea, but said withal, I will propose a middle Case, because yours is too high. The King you know is constitute Supream Head of the Church on Earth, why should not you Master More accept him so, as you would me if I were made King by the supposition aforesaid. Sir Thomas More answer'd, the Case was not the same, because (said he) a Parliament can make a King and Depose him, and that every Parliament-man may give his consent thereunto, but that a Subject cannot be bound so in the case of Supremacy, Quia Consensus ab eo ad Parliamentum præbere non potest (for so it is in my Copy if it be not mistaken) Et quanquam Rex sic acceptus sit in Anglia, plurimæ tamen partes exteræ idem non affirmant. All which being produc'd together, and added to his refusal of the Oath of Succession, for which in the Parliament of November, 1534. he was attainted of misprision of Treason, as I find by the

1535.

Sir Thomas More committed on the same account

May 7. June 28.

June 12.

June 12.

His Conference with the Solicitor General.

1534

1535. Parliament Rolls, was thought sufficient to condemn him. So that notwithstanding many subtil defences made by him, while he contended to have given no offence but in Silence, (unless it were in comparing the Statute to a two-edged Sword, which yet he said, he alledg'd no otherwise, than to shew how dangerous it was to answer,) and notwithstanding also his denying utterly the passage between the Solicitor and himself in that sense (perchance he meant the Latin) which is above related, the Jury in his

July 1. Tryal, July 1. before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, &c. declar'd him guilty of imagining to deprive the King of his Title and Dignity, which by a Statute, Regni 26. was made High Treason. This great Person hereupon going shortly after to the place of Execution, met among many Friends one only Enemy, who openly revild him, for a Sentence heretofore given in Chancery, to which, yet, he made no answer, but that *if it were to do, he would do so again.* And, now being resolv'd to die, he return'd to his wonted facetiousness. Therefore, being to go up the Scaffold, he said to one; *Friend help me up, and when I go down again, let me shift for my self as I can.* Being now mounted, the Executioner (as the custom is) ask'd him forgiveness, which he granted, but told him withal, *he should never have honesty by cutting off his Head, his Neck was so short.* Then laying down his Head on the Block, he bid the Executioner stay till he had laid aside his Beard, for (said he) *it never committed Treason.* After which, coming to some private Devotions, he receiv'd his Death.

Thus ended Sir Thomas More, with so little Consternation, as even the terrors of Death could not take off the pleasure he had in his conceited and merry Language, which many attributed to his Innocence. For certainly though he fell into the danger of the Law, they thought his intentions were rather to elude it with ambiguous Answers, and an affected Silence, than to declare himself any way. Beside, by an Original of his, (about this time, written to Cromwel) it appears that heretofore upon perusing the Kings Book against Luther, he dissuaded him to exalt so much the Papal Authority, lest it diminish'd his own. Professing nevertheless both out of the reasons urg'd in that Book, as well as his private study of that question afterwards, he could not deny the Pope a Primacy, however yet he could not hold it such, as that the Authority deriv'd to him thereby, was to be prefer'd above a General Council.

This while (as I find in our Records,) our King upon the death of Clement VII. hoping better of Paulus III. gave Sir Gregory de Casalis new instructions to advise him, to regard the King of England, and to consult with some Learned Men, in his Cause, (not imitating Clement, who knowing the truth conceal'd it) and these Learned Men to be chosen out of France. To this also the Pope seem'd to give some ear, until News came to Rome, first, of the Execution of divers Monks in England for denying the Supremacy, and then of the death of More and Rochester. Whereupon the Pope resolving to proceed against our King, begins to minute terrible Bulls, whereof I find there were five several forms. But this which I find in the Bullarium, and extracted by Sanders (dated Aug. 30.) was that which was approved and made use of, being to this effect. First, objecting to him, as well the Divorce of Katharine, as the Marrying Anne, and making Laws against the Popes Authority, and punishing those who contradicted (as lately the Bishop of Rochester.) He warns the King, to reform these faults; or upon refusal cites him, and all that favour him, to appear

at Rome within ninety days to answer, which if they neglected, he Excommunicates them all, and deprives the King of his Realm, subjects the whole Kingdom to the Interdict; declares the Issue by Anne, Illegitimate, forbids Allegiance to his Subjects, commerce with other States; dissolves all Leagues of Princes with him; Commands the Clergy to depart out of England, the Nobility to take Arms against him, &c. Having resolv'd this Censure, yet I find, it was not openly denounc'd, till he saw all hope past of reclaiming King Henry, or at least that the Emperor was at leisure to execute it, of which hereafter. Our King hearing of this, entertains friendship with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and the rather that intelligence was brought, how the Pope had declar'd he would give away his Kingdom to some Roman Catholick Prince of that Country, as being (it seems) unwilling to greatness France or Spain therewith, lest afterwards himself should not be so able to sway the Balance. Which I mention not, yet, as if it were probable to be effected, or that our King fear'd any such Attempt, as long as he stood upon good terms with his Subjects, but that by strengthening himself in Germany, he might the better chastise that Person, who upon the Popes Incouragement durst undertake the Enterprize. I do find also, that the French King did concur in this Treaty with the Protestants, both, as upon the death of Pope Clement, the chief support of the great design in Italy did fall, and as he began to give some ear to the Evangeliks in Germany, as appears by his sending for Melancthon, and other passages in Sleidan, which I shall hereafter set down. Howsoever, our King as he found that with no little asperity he maintain'd his Authority at home, so he thought his care should be the greater to justify it abroad. Inasmuch that he sent unto all places, (where he held Correspondence) to give, together with an account of his Actions, the reason why he had taken on him the Supremacy. Therefore, Doctor William Barlow the Kings Chaplain, and elect Brother of St. Asaph, being joyn'd in Commission with Thomas Holcroft to James, labour'd to give him all manner of Impressions, which might bring him to a Conformity; which Buchanan also mentions, saying that James was intreated to read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding which, as they were refer'd by him to his Clergy, so (as, the same Author hath it) they together with some Learned Men, whom our King offer'd to send, for further Declaration of this Point, were for the present Rejected. Which again, being advertis'd to our King, he thought fit suddenly to employ the Lord William Howard, Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and the said Bishop, to James, to make him divers advantageous Propositions, and withal to draw him to an Interview. Whereunto, therefore, being press'd by them, and the rather that it was in sequence of a former Proposition; James, who had no disposition thereunto, sent (as our Ambassadors write) to procure by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhabiting this Journey, so that until the receipt thereof he was forc'd to make other excuses; by which, yet, I find he denied not a meeting with our King, but desir'd him only, it might be in France, and the French King present, as hoping, thereby (it seems) to be less constrain'd, than if he came single into our Kings Dominions; all which, as it did but increase our Kings Jealousie of his Nephews Intentions (for he expected War from many hands, as the Pope had threatned) so he endeavour'd but so much more to draw him on his side, as knowing of what consequence it

1535.
R. 2. 6.
Con-
demn'd
for mil-
lition of
Treason.
Life of Sir
Th. More,
by T. M.

July 6.
His fac-
etiousness
at the
place of
Execution.

1534.
March 5.
His Opin-
ion of
the Pope's
Suprema-
cy.

June 1.

Aug 30.
Sanders.

1535.
The King
Excom-
municat-
ed at
Rome.

Makes a
League
with the
Protestant
Princes of
Germany

Francis I.
sends for
Melancthon.

Buch.

1535. it was, to keep his Kingdom safe on that part; and therefore, labour'd still, not only to induce him to abrogate the Papal Jurisdiction in his Dominions, but made some other Overtures; both of creating him for the present, Duke of York (as *Buchanan* hath it) and for leaving him Successor in this Kingdom, in case he conform'd himself for the rest. But his Clergy (however Queen *Margaret* had given hope thereof) being utterly averse, dissuaded him; yet some Operation I find it seem'd to have. For by an Original Dispatch in May following, 1536. *James* certified our King, that he had sent to Rome to get impetrations for reformation of some Enormities, and especially, anent the ordering of great and many Possessions, and Temporal Lands given to the Kirk by our noble Predecessors. To which as our King not only gave credit, but a safe conduct to the Messenger, as was desir'd, so he seem'd to receive some Satisfaction, and together hop'd, he would not, at least so soon, be drawn to assist his Enemies, and therefore forbore a while to solicit this Point, pursuing, nevertheless, the propos'd Interview, but more slackly than before; but *James* had other designs, as shall be told the year following.

May 2.
1536.
K. James
writes to
Henry how
far he had
abridg'd
the Popes
Power.

Our King finding thus, that businesses were safe on this part, proceeded more confidently in his intentions of suppressing, together with the Popes Authority, all those who chiefly supported it. And because he thought Monasteries did furnish more able Men to contest with him in this Point, than any part else, he advis'd how to proceed with them. Whereupon, one said thus:

S I R,

Speech in
Council
against
suppress-
ing Mo-
nasteries.

I F in all Affairs, betwixt your Highness, and any else, at home, or abroad, it be the part of a Counsellor to give a free and impartial Advice, I shall, under favour, crave the same liberty in those things that intervene betwixt God and your Highness, both because the Duty we owe unto that Supream Majesty is transcendent, and that general and publick Errors committed against him, are of a more pernicious Consequence than any else. In confidence of Pardon, therefore, I shall presume to opine concerning the business of Monasteries now in question. S I R, if it were first propos'd now, whether it were fit to erect them, I must confess I should give my Assent, not yet that I should allow any excessive number, or perchance approve all the rules observ'd in them. But wholly to exclude so pious a Retrait for Men unapt for secular Business, or otherwise retir'd from the World, were, in my conceit, to leave those unprovided for, who of all other were most proper in a devout life to serve and glorifie their Creator. There is in my Opinion, therefore, a due place left for Monasteries; yet, when they grow to that Multitude, that either the just proportion they should bear in a State, is exceeded, or that, in effect, they should become a Receptracle only for lazy and idle Persons, I should wish to apply some convenient Remedy. But Sir, who shall give it? For if we refer all unto the Pope, how could we ever hope of a Moderation, especially while they are but Retraits for so many Servants entertain'd for him at other Mens costs. And if your Highness (especially since you have taken upon you the Supremacy) should suppress them, what a Scandal would follow? For who would think, Sir, at home or abroad, that your Highness exercis'd your new charge therein, as you ought, or complied with your place? Again, Sir, what a wrong would it be to the Founders of them, who had as much right to give

some of their Lands to that use, as their Heirs have to enjoy the rest? Would they not say this were to trench on the publick right, and to frustrate whatsoever either Divine or Human Law have establish'd? Therefore, Sir, be pleas'd not to think so much of their Overthrow, as Reformation; or if there be occasion to suppress some, as being Supernumerary, yet since they are Houses dedicated to God, be pleas'd, by all means, to convert the profit arising thence, to some other pious use, and howsoever, to reserve a sufficient number in every Shire for either Sex; and so shall your Highness both excuse all Obloquy, and together manifest the care you have to keep up those ancient Monuments of Devotion.

To which another, who better understood the Kings mind, answer'd thus:

S I R,

I F it be true, that they speak enviously (that I may say nothing else) who would reduce all reason of State to the sober Principles and Doctrines of Faith, it is no less certain, that they speak prophanely who wholly exclude them. In State there is use of all: Only as it is a Symmetrical Body, nothing in it must pass proportion. Inasmuch, as neither the Secular Magistrature or Clergy, on the one side, nor the Soldier, Merchant, Artificer and Husbandman on the other, shall exceed a just quantity. The due Composition of it being such, as there may be those who may labour and fight, as well as pray for it. Else, who would not change our Generals and Captains to Bishops and Deans, and our Shipping and Forts, to Chappels and Religious Houses? But what a proportion, Sir, doth the Clergy now hold, when the fourth part of the Revenues of the Kingdom is imploy'd that way. For Sir, when the Tenth we pay them in one kind, and the Lands they hold in another, are estimated, they amount to this rate or more, as I am inform'd, I shall not yet be hasty to suppress them. I confess all true which was now said, and do not only admit the piety of their Institution, but the use that may be made of some few, as two or three in every Shire. Neither, shall I ever consent that more should be suppress'd than were needful, and yet the Money imploy'd for your Highness's most urgent occasions only. The Supernumerary part of them, and your Forrests being by me held like Jewels of your State, which though they yield not ready Coin, may ever be converted to it; I should for this reason (when there were no other) conserve them as much as were possible. But Sir, when I consider again, how the Pope or Bishop of Rome (as your Highness commands him to be call'd) hath threatned to joyn all Christian Princes against your Highness, and that in these Monasteries he nourishes a Seminary of factious Persons that oppose your Supremacy; and what Instruments they may be of stirring Sedition in your Highness's Kingdom, at the same time that some foreign Power should invade it, I cannot but wish some good order were given. I should think fit therefore they were instantly visited, and those who were unable to keep the Vows they made at their entrance, to be permitted to go to some more active life, and the vices of the rest, not only chastis'd, but care taken to punish those who henceforth speak or behave themselves licentiously. And, so far forth, certainly your Highness will make but lawful use of your Supremacy. As for the suppression of any, not I, but some violent and inexcusable necessity must be the Counsellor. If your Highness have

1536.

Answer'd
by ano-
ther at the
Board.

Vol. II.

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any

1535. any other way to defend your self against the threatned Invasions, I shall never advise you to this; and yet that, no further than to bring your Estate to a just temper.

Our King considering the reasons on both sides, said he would cause the Monasteries to be severely visited, and the enormous Crimes of them, (having been formerly rather subject to Pecuniary Mulcts, than corrected as they ought) to be exemplarily punish'd, and a Reformation given to all Abuses. Protesting nevertheless, that he would suppress none, without the consent of his Parliament, among whom, he did politicly foresee, that some for Conscience sake, (the Roman Religion being now much cried down) and others for avoiding the charges of War (then menaced) would sooner lay the burden on those Monasteries, than take it on themselves; whereof in its due place. And now *Cromwel* the Secretary, a Man so disaffected to those Houses, as he was thought a favourer of the Reformers, being made General Visitor, employ'd *Richard Layton*, *Thomas Leigh*, *William Detre*, Doctors of the Law, Doctor *John London*, Dean of *Wallingford*, with others, giving them Instructions in 86 Articles, for visiting Monasteries every where; by which they were to enquire into the Government, Behaviour, and Education of the Persons of both Sexes. To find out all their offences, and to this purpose give them encouragements to accuse both their Governors and each other. To command them to exhibit their Mortuaries, Evidences, and Conveyances of their Lands; to produce their Plate and Money, and give an Inventory thereof. Together with which the King gave forth Injunctions to be observ'd, some tending to the establishing of his Supremacy, some touching the good Government of the Houses; as that no Brother go out of the Precinct; that there be but one entrance; that no Woman frequent the Monks, nor any Man the Nuns, &c. And some for Education, as, that a Divinity Lecture be every day read and frequented. That the Abbot daily expound some part of the rule of their Order, shewing yet that these Ceremonies are but Introductions to Religion, which consisteth not in Apparel, shaven Heads, &c. but in purity of Mind. That none shall profess or wear the habit till twenty-four years of Age. That no feigned Relicks nor Miracles be shew'd. No offerings to Images, &c.

Upon these and other Injunctions, joyn'd to the Inquisition aforesaid, the Commissioners found means to make divers Monasteries obnoxious, for upon the Petition of divers Monks who were weary of their Habit, some alledging for their excuse, that they were profess'd before they came to the years of Discretion; others, that the late Injunctions were too strict to be observ'd; the King seizing on the House, commanded that they who were profess'd under twenty-four, should be set at liberty, as being thought too young to make a Vow as they ought, or indeed to keep it. That they who were above twenty-four, when they made their Vow, might have leave to depart if they would. At which time the Men, if in Orders, should have a Priests Habit given them, and forty Shillings in Money; the Nuns should have only a Gown, such as secular Women ware, and liberty to go whither they would. The Condition yet of some being better, who for surrendering their Houses to the King (to which by threats and fair words they were induc'd) got small Pensions during their Lives. Others, by paying great Sums to the King and *Cromwel*, redeem'd their Monasteries from the present Calamity; yet so, as even from these also, divers Jewels and Church-

Ornaments were taken away to the Kings use. Which being done, *Leigh* and the rest at their return, gave that account of their Employment, and particularly of their feigned Miracles and Relicks, as well as sinful and sluggish life of the Religious Orders, as not only *Cromwel* with much violence said, their Houses should be thrown down to the foundation, but the whole body of the Kingdom when it was publish'd to them (which I find industriously procur'd) became so scandaliz'd thereat, as they resolv'd if the King ever put it into their hands, to give remedy thereunto: Yet were not all alike Criminal; for some Societies behav'd themselves so well, as their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestow'd in writing Books, Painting, Carving, Graving, and the like Exercises, their Visitors became intercessors for them. But of those, as I find not many mention'd, so they were involv'd at last in the common fate, it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the fault of Manners (which might be corrected) should be taken by the People as the sole cause of their Dissolution; and as it was pretended that the Revenues should be employ'd to some better uses. Not long after which again, the King caus'd all Colleges, Chantries, and Hospitals to be visited, not omitting to take a particular survey of all the Revenues and Dignities Ecclesiastical within his Kingdom, which was return'd to him in a Book, to be kept in the Exchequer.

Our King having thus omitted nothing which might prevent or frustrate their designs who were most able to offend him, thought it his part now, to assure those who he thought might be of most use. Therefore he sends *Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, to the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, assembled at *Smalcald*, to exhort them to an Unity in Doctrine, wherein he offered his best assistance by conference with their Divines, as being the only ground of establishing either Peace at home, or Correspondence abroad; that unless this were done, it would be a great prejudice to them in the Council now propos'd, which yet he took to be pretended only as an Intention and Artifice of the Popes to entertain time, and in the mean while to sow Division among them, as he doth now incite Christian Princes against *England* for rejecting his Tyranny. Therefore they were not to expect a free Council how much soever promis'd, yet if they desir'd a Council, they should attend till all Christian Princes were at peace with each other; and that it ought to be held in an indifferent place, it being impossible otherwise, but that it should be partial and factious. That this being done, as he had expell'd the Popes Authority out of his Dominions, so he would joyn with them to restore God's true Worship. And so the Bishop concluded, desiring only some might be appointed to whom he might speak of these businesses privately. To which after due thanks, they answer'd, that really there was no difference among them, there being none who would not stand to the *Augustan* Confession: That they took well his Highness's Admonition about the Council General, now promis'd at *Mantua*. But that, (as they had answer'd *Vergerius* the Popes Legate) they did not think either that the place was fit, or that the Pope had the sole right of calling or ordering of it, which belong'd as well to the Emperor and other Princes. For the rest, they said, they would appoint some who might communicate privately with the Bishop, as was requir'd, of which we shall speak more hereafter.

In the mean while *Ferdinand*, who more desir'd to hear of Peace in the Empire, than School-Argu-

Secretary
Cromwel
made Vi-
sitor Ge-
neral of
Monaste-
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Records.
His instru-
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his Depu-
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The Na-
tion ge-
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liz'd at
this Visi-
tation.

Dec. 4.
Dec. 6.
St. 1. 6.
Bishop of
Hereford
sent to the
Protestant
Princes in
Germany.

Dec. 11.

1535.
Slid. l. 9.

Resoluti-
on of the
Prote-
stants.

French
Ambassa-
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Francis is
in many
points of
their Opi-
nion.
Slid.

Arguments, how well soever disputed, confirm'd the Treaty made 1532. of which the Duke of Saxony (who came from him to Smalcald) advertis'd the Protestants, who (Decemb. 24) decreed, That the League betwixt them, made 1530. for mutual defence in the cause of Religion, now shortly expiring, should continue ten years longer, and that they would take into their Confederation, all who receiv'd the Augustan Confession. To this Diet Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey (employ'd from Francis) came likewise. But his advices, though for the most part conformable to our Kings, were not so acceptable. For as Francis by confederating himself with the Turk that formidable Enemy of Germany had disoblig'd the whole Nation on the one side, so by burning divers Evangelicks in France, he had on the other side much incens'd them all against him; which displeasure, being fomented many ways by Ferdinand, had interclud'd almost all Correspondence betwixt them, till by Monsieur de Langeys industry it was reviv'd. Who to appease them alledg'd not only some Excusatory Letters formerly sent, but said his Master could not make any Alliance, nor lend any Aid to any Prince against them. Nor would burn any for holding the Tenents of the Augustan Confession, unless they were both Authors of dissension in his Kingdom, and despight'd the ancient Ceremonies of the Church. After which in private Conference with their Divines, he declar'd that the King his Master, was not averse to most of their Tenents set down in Melancthon's *Loci Communes*; and particularly that he did not hold the Popes Supremacy to be founded *Jure Divino*, but *humano*; though Henry VIII. (he said) denied it either way. That Purgatory, being the ground of the Mass, and all their gainful Doctrine, he had requir'd by what place in the Scripture they prov'd it: To which all the answer they made, after divers Months space, was, that they would not give their Adversaries Weapons which might afterwards be return'd or retorted on themselves. As for Monasteries, he said, that he thought it might be obtain'd of the Pope, that none who were not of some ripe age, should vow themselves to that Life. Or if they did, they might leave it and marry if they would. But by no means, that his Master would have them thrown down, or the Revenues taken away, but rather employ'd towards the bringing up of Youth in Learning and Piety. And for marriage of Priests, he thought this the best expedient, that Men already married, might (notwithstanding their Wives) be admitted to execute the Priesthood; but for others, they should not marry, or if they would, they should relinquish the Priesthood. As for Communion under both kinds, that the King had heretofore spoken with Clement VII. at Mar-seilles, and that he thought it might be obtain'd of this Pope, that free use of both might be granted according to the Conscience of him that took it, alledging for this purpose from the King his Master, how he had heard from ancient Men, that about 120 years ago, it was the manner to communicate in both kinds, in the Chapels or Oratories, but not in the body or middle of the Church. Nevertheless, that the Kings of France receiv'd it ever in both kinds. Which when his said Master urg'd, the Priests did answer him, that Kings were anointed, and therefore might communicate in both kinds as well as they. For the Scriptures speak of the Royal Priesthood, but it was not lawful for others to do so. That in the common and ordinary Prayers, the King did acknowledge that many things might be cut off, many things should be wholly taken away. And that the care hereof was here-

tofore committed by Clement to the Cardinal de la Cruz, though not with any good Success. In conclusion, he exhorted them to send some of their chief Divines to confer with those he had in Paris; and that he would make such a choice, as if some that were appointed, were vehement, and eager, he would also joyn others that were mild and temperate Persons to treat with them, to the intent that all parts being discuss'd the truth might appear. In the mean while he exhorted them by no means to give ear, or agree to any Council, until they knew his mind and the Kings of England, who both were resolv'd to do nothing but by a mutual consent. As for those who had power to call it, that his Predecessor Louis was of Opinion, that it belong'd to the Emperors and Kings, and that the King of Navarre was of the same mind, but that Pope Julius Proscribing or Excommunicating them both, Ferdinand of Spain took that occasion to conquer Navarre. Nevertheless that the King his Master confess'd no Council was Authentical, unless it were both assembled in so safe a place, and held in so free a manner as no Man might suffer for speaking his Conscience. After all which, the said Monsieur de Langey did sollicite them much, to enter into a strict League with the King his Master. But they, whether out of favour for Ferdinand and the Emperor, with whom they had lately made their Peace, or, that otherwise they were not sufficiently satisfied of the French Kings proceedings, formerly mention'd, refus'd this. So that Monsieur de Langey, (though professing on the present Popes part, that if matters were orderly carried, he would be content to comply in many things for a common Good and Peace) return'd without effecting any thing. And thus out of I know not what mistaking or obstinacy, this great overture for bringing all the differences in Religion, to a moderate and uniform accord, was interrupted and broken off, it being probable that Francis would have subscrib'd to the Tenents of Religion, which himself propos'd, when he had found them conformable for the rest. But as Monsieur de Langey told them, they might afterwards repent their neglect of so great an offer; so it prov'd true, as by the sequence will appear. For Francis who would have been glad, both that the Power which the Pope usurp'd over Kings were something diminish'd, and the abovesaid Articles in Religion establish'd, finding there was now no probability of an Union, thought it safer to rule by his ancient Maxims, than to run the trouble and hazard of a Reformation. Yet I find by an Original from Christopher Mount a German, and Agent of our Kings, then in France, that Monsieur de Langey did once receive from the Protestants certain Articles concerning Pacification in Religion, which he deliver'd the King his Master; which thereupon being perus'd, mitigated and chang'd by the Sorbon or Parisian Divines, were again return'd to the Protestants, who likewise advising of them, said they would tolerate this change, *Modo spes Concordiae hinc accessura sit*. But this was before Langey's Oration above-mention'd, and perchance before they knew or had taken particular notice of the French Kings Actions formerly deliver'd. I find also by the same Original, that Mount was commanded by our King to hasten to Germany, and to dehort Melancthon from going to France, whether he was invited by that King, and to persuade him hither. For as about this time the German Protestants desir'd both friendship and accommodation in Religion with King Henry and Francis, into whose hands they put the arbitrement of their Differences, so both Princes sought to make

1535.

The Pro-
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not satis-
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Sept. 7.

use of Melancthon; especially our King; having, as I find in the Instructions to Mount, a great opinion of his Vertue, Learning, Temperance and Gravity, and therefore desir'd his presence here, both for framing an accord with the Germans, and (when that succeeded not) for appeasing the differences of Religion in his Kingdom, it being thought a fit work for that pious and modest Man, however he be branded by some, *tanquam De omni Religione securus*. But if Mount's Relation of his Conference with Monsieur de Langey may be intirely believ'd, or (if you will) Monsieur de Langey himself; one of the Points the said Protestants would have agreed to, was, *Se ferre Possé primatum Episcopi Romani, ad servandum Doctrinæ Confersum in Ecclesiâ, modo secundum Dei verbum omnia julicet*. Langey himself confessing *Impossibile esse probari Primatum Episcopi Romani ex Dei verbo*. And that this Point was so far acknowledged by Clement VII. that he said he was content, *Ut Primatus hic positus jure deferatur*; and that the more learn'd Cardinals in Rome were of this Opinion. But these things I leave to the credit of Mount, the discreet and diligent Sleiden not mentioning any such moderation on either side, and Mount himself giving indeed no other Authority for this, but Monsieur de Langey's word by way of Discourse, who yet when he was demanded for a sight of the Articles and Censure above related, excus'd himself.

This year some Letters from Sevil in Spain, extant among our Records, advertis'd our King, that a Million of Gold was brought the Emperor from Peru, yet that it was thought to be gotten rather out of the spoils of the Country than otherwise, no rich Mines being then found. Nevertheless, that the Inhabitants of Andalusia flock'd thither in so great numbers, that the Country was almost left empty. Which Intelligence, though of great Consideration, was yet pass'd over; the King being intentive wholly to the settling of Religion, and the right of Succession, which I find he did with all industry procure.

Brass Canon first cast in England.

It appears by our Histories that this year great brass Ordnance, as Canon and Culverins were first cast in England, by one John Owen, they having been formerly made only in other Countries, and far from the perfection of which they are at this present, as may be seen in Tartaglia, and some other ancient Authors.

Queen Katharine, or (as the King commanded her to be call'd) the Princess Dowager, finding now no assistance but spiritual from the Pope, nor reparation procur'd by the Emperor but uncertain and slow, and for the rest grieving at the prosperity and fruitfulness of Queen Anne (now with Child again, whereof yet she miscarried) fell into her last sickness at Kimbolton in Huntingdonsire, in the fiftieth year of her Age, and the three and thirtieth since her coming into England; during which time, though comforted by the King and Eustachio Chapuys, Doctor of both Laws, and Ambassador resident from Charles, she fell so desperately ill, as finding death now coming, she caus'd a Maid attending on her, to write to the King to this effect:

My most Dear Lord, King and Husband,
THE hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuse, out out of love I bear you, advise you of your Souls Health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the World or Flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many Calamities, and your self into many Troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest I commend unto you Mary our Daughter, beseeching you to be a good Father to her, as I have heretofore desir'd. I

Polyd Virg. writes to the King.

must intreat you also, to respect my Maids, and give them in Marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other Servants, a years pay besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for: Lastly, I make this Vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.

Farewell.

Besides which Letter she dictated another to Eustachius, desiring him to procure that the Emperor might put our King in mind of her request, when otherwise he forgot it.

The King having receiv'd her Letter, became so compassionate, that he wept; but her death being related shortly after, he caus'd her Goods (which I find estimated to 5000 Marks) to be imploy'd towards the Funeral chiefly, and after to those that deserv'd recompence; and her Body to be buried with due solemnity in the Monastery at Peterborough, which for the honour of her Memory, King Henry reserv'd (when all the rest fell) and erected it to a Bishops See. The News whereof, not long after, being brought to the Emperor, troubled him much, as holding his Aunt in singular esteem. But as he considered, that in her death all causes of Hostility were ceas'd, and that besides, it concern'd him more to defend himself against the Turk, than to pursue the execution of the Popes Ban (though once undertaken by him) he endeavour'd nothing more than to close handsomly with our King. Nevertheless, as he was discreet and magnanimous, he would not fully discover himself till he had founded first our Kings Disposition. After which (as I find mention'd in the instruction of our King to Doctor Richard Pace) Charles (by his Resident Ambassador here) propos'd a Renovation of the ancient Amity, upon these Conditions. First, that our King would be reconciled to the Pope, wherein he offer'd his Mediation. Secondly, that our King would aid him against the Turk. Thirdly, that (according to the Treaty 1518.) he would help him against the French, who now threatned Milan. To which our King answer'd; That the first breach of Amity proceeded from the Emperor, which if he will acknowledge, and excuse, King Henry is contented to renew it, simply and absolutely; as for the Conditions propos'd: First, touching the Bishop of Rome, the proceedings against him have been so just, and so ratified by the Parliament of England, that it cannot be revok'd. Therefore, though the Bishop himself hath made means to him for Reconciliation, yet it hath been refus'd. Secondly, for aid against the Turk, when Christian Princes shall be at Peace, then King Henry will do therein as to a Christian Prince belongeth. Thirdly, for aid against France, he cannot resolve on that, till the Amity be renewed with the Emperor, that so being indifferent friend to both, he may freely travail, either to keep peace between them, or aid the injur'd Party. And these answers of the Kings, Pace

was to signifie to the Emperor then at Rome, and to urge him to renew the Amity without any such Conditions; but, as the Emperor hearkned not thereunto, so King Henry, thinking of nothing less than embracing his friendship on those terms, imploy'd his care chiefly how to defend his Kingdom against the threatned Invasions. And therefore as he had often experienced the Love and Obedience of his Subjects, so in his important occasions at this time, he resolv'd to make use of them, commanding thereupon, the Parliament, which had been Prorogu'd, to sit the fourth of February: In which many Acts pass'd, the most material whereof I have set down briefly, not always according to the order observ'd in the Statute-Book, but rather according

1516

Jan 8. Her Death and Funeral.

Holmsted

Records

The Emperor offers to renew friendship with King Henry.

Kings answer to those offers.

April.

Feb. 4. Reg. 27. Parliament sits and pass several Acts.

1516. ding to the matters handled, remitting the Reader for the rest to the Statutes themselves. My intention being not to make an abstract of them otherwise than may serve for the illustration of the Times, and my History.

Whereas the trial and punishment of Pirates was heretofore according to the forms of the Civil Law, it was now order'd, That it should be determin'd by the Kings Commission, in like form as offences done upon Land, no benefit of Clergy yet being permitted to those who were convicted: Nevertheless, distinction to be made between Pirates, and those who took something at Sea out of necessity: As is to be seen in the Statute more largely.

Order also was taken upon Penalty, that all they who had Parks, should keep two or more Mares, according to the greatness of the Parks, of thirteen handfuls high, for breed of strong Horses; and that the Stallions should be fourteen handfuls high at least: And this was much to the increase of good Horses.

The course of suing forth Gifts and Grants made under the Kings Signet Manual, and the Clerks of the Signets Fees also were set down.

Also because many Men by Will made Feoffments of their Lands to secret uses, whereby the King and the Lords lost their Wards, &c. It was order'd, that the possession of Lands shall be adjudg'd to be in him that hath the use thereof.

Order also was taken, that no Land should pass by bargain and sale, unless it be by Writing indented, seal'd and inroll'd. And this prevented many mistakes, and took away much deceit.

And now because some Statutes following give me occasion to speak of *Wales*, it will not be displeasing to the Reader (I hope) to set down those Reasons, which I conceive were the true motives of them.

Reg. 27. History of *Wales*. *Wales* and the Marches thereof now having been for a long time so distinguish'd, as the Maritime parts thereof were held by the remnant of the ancient *Britains*, or Natives of this Island, the other by those who had got ground upon them, much diversity of Government was us'd. For as the Kings of *England* heretofore had many times brought Armies to conquer that Country, defended both by Mountains and a stout People, without yet reducing them to a final and intire Obedience; so they resolv'd at last to give all that could be gain'd there to those who would attempt it. Whereupon many valiant and able Nobles and Gentlemen won much Land from the *Welsh*: Which, as gotten by force, was by permission of the Kings then reigning, held for divers Ages, in that absolute manner, as *Jura Regalia* were exercis'd in them by the Conquerors. Yet, in those parts which were gotten at the Kings only charge, (being not a few) a more regular Law was observ'd. Howsoever, the general Government was not only severe, but various in many parts: Insomuch, that in about some 141 Lordships Marchers which were now gotten, many strange and discrepant Customs were practis'd (as will appear hereafter.) Howbeit, in the greater part, which was the Kings, and particularly those in the East, West, and North-*Wales*, being about this time administred by my great Grand-father Sir Richard Herbert (Son of Sir Richard Herbert, renown'd for that alone he pass'd and return'd twice through an hostile Army at the Battel in *Banbury-Field*, 8 *Edw. IV.*) such Justice was us'd, as I find him in our Records highly commended to the Kings Council by Rowland Lee, now Pre-

sident of *Wales*. So that they were govern'd in general according to the Laws of *England*; the Lords Marchers (who conquer'd at their own cost) ruling yet by their own Laws and Customs, and substituting Officers at their pleasure, who again committed such Rapines, as nothing almost was safe or quiet in those parts: whereupon this Statute was made.

Whereas manifold Robberies, Murders, and other Male-facts be daily practis'd and committed in the County-Palatine of *Chester* and *Flintshire* in *Wales*, and also in *Anglesea*, *Caernarvon*, *Merioneth*, *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke* and *Glamorgan*, because Justice is not ministr'd there in such form as in other places of this Realm. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, that the Lord Chancellor of *England*, or Keeper of the Great Seal, shall nominate and appoint Justices of Peace, Justices of the *Quorum*, and Justices of the Goal-delivery in the said Counties, and that they shall have like Power and Authority as those in *England*, &c. And by this means one kind of Justice was establish'd in the said County-Palatine of *Chester*, and the Shires aforesaid: So that Offenders now were kept in awe, being not able, as before, to escape and fly from one Lordship Marcher to another. Another Act also was made to this purpose.

Whereas in *Wales* and the Marches, there were Regn. 27. divers and many Forrests belonging either to the Cap. 7. King or the Lords Marchers, wherein sundry actions had been us'd a long time, contrary to the Law of God and Man; insomuch, that if any enter'd the said Forrests without a Token given (by some of the Forresters or Walkers of it) to let him pass, or unless he were a yearly Tributer or Chenfer, he was forc'd to pay a grievous Fine; but if he were found 24 foot out of the High-way, then to forfeit all the Gold or Money about him, and a joynt of one of his Hands, unless he fin'd for it at the discretion of the Forrester, or Farmer of the same. And whereas likewise, if any Cattle stray'd into the said Forrests, it was the custom of the Forresters to mark him for their own with the mark of the Forrest; Order was now given, that People should be suffer'd to pass freely, as in other places, and estray'd Cattel within a year and a day to be restor'd again, the Owners paying for the Herbage.

That whereas by the gifts of Kings of *England*, heretofore, Regn. 27. Cap. 24. divers of the most ancient Prerogatives and Authorities of Justice appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, have been sever'd and taken from the same, it was now enacted, that no Person from the first of *July*, 1536. should have Power and Authority to pardon or remit, Treasons, Murthers, Man-slaughters, or any Felonies, or their accessaries in any part of *England*, *Wales*, or the Marches of the same. That likewise none should make Justices of Oyer, Justices of Assize, Justices of Peace, or Justices of Goal-delivery, but they should be made by the Kings Letters Patents: And that all Original Writs, and Judicial Writs, and all manner of Indictments of Treason, Felony, and Trespass, and all manner of Process should be made in the Kings Name; and things done against the Kings Peace, should be suppos'd as done against the Kings Peace, and not against the peace of any other Person. Notwithstanding which, divers Priviledges were permitted, as is to be seen in the Statutes. By all which, as the vast power invested anciently in those who had Counties Palatine, and *Jura Regalia* in Lordships Marchers may appear; so we may observe how the restoring of them to the Crown, hath establish'd an uniform Justice, and taken away the

the occasions of many mischiefs done within the Jurisdictions and Precincts of the said Counties Palatine, and Lordships Marchers, as is before recited; which though a great benefit and ease to the *Welsh*, yet as they were under many constraints, they hop'd his Highness would further extend his goodness to them: And thus some (as in their name) speak to this effect;

Speech of
a *Welsh*
Gentle-
man to the
K. in fa-
vour of
Wales.

May it please your Highness,
WE, on the part of your Highness Subjects, inhabiting that portion of the Island which our Invaders first call'd *Wales*, most humbly prostrate at your Highness feet, do crave to be receiv'd and adopted into the same Laws, and Priviledges which your other Subjects enjoy: Neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that we have liv'd so long under our own. For as they were both enacted by authority of our ancient Law-givers, and obey'd for many successions of Ages, we trust your Highness will pardon us, if we thought it neither ease nor safe to suddenly to relinquish them. We shall not presume yet to compare them with these now us'd, and less shall we contest how good and equal in themselves they are. Only if the defence of them and our liberty against the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*, for so many hundred years, and lastly, against the *Normans*, as long as they pretended no Title but the Sword, was thought Just and Honourable; we presume it will not be infamous now; and that all the marks of Rebellion and Falshood, which our revilers would fasten on us, will fall on any, sooner than those who fought for so many years, and with so different Nations for our just defence: Which also is so true, that our best Histories affirm the Christian Religion to have been preserv'd only by us for many years, that the *Saxons* (being Heathen) either attempted or possess'd this Country. May your Highness then graciously interpret our Actions, while we did but that duty which your Highness would have now done by all your Subjects on like occasion; for when any should invade this Country henceforth, we know your Highness would have us to behave our selves no otherwise. Besides, had not the Assailers found some to resist, they might have despis'd a Country, that brought none forth able enough to assert it: So that we crave pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for the honour of your Dominions that some part of it should never be conquer'd. We then in the Name of whatsoever in your Highnesses possession hath in any age held out against all Invaders, do here voluntarily resign, and humble our selves to that Sovereignty, which we acknowledge so well invested in your Highness. Nor is this the first time; we have always attended an occasion to unite our selves to the greater and better parts of the Island.

But as the Kings of this Realm, weary of their attempts in Person against us, did formerly give not only our Country to those who could conquer it, but permitted them *Jura Regalia*, within their several Precincts; so it was impossible to come to an agreement, while so many that undertook this work, usurp'd Martial and absolute power and jurisdiction in all they acquir'd, without establishing any equal Justice. And that all Offenders for the rest, flying from one Lordship Marcher (for so they were term'd) to another, did both avoid the punishment of the Law, and easily commit those Robberies, which have formerly tainted the honour of our parts. So that until the rigorous Laws not only of the several Conquerors of *England*, but the attempters on our parts, were brought to an equal moderation,

no Union, how much soever affected by us, could ensue.

Therefore, and not sooner, we submitted our selves to *Edward* the First, a Prince who made both many and equaller Laws than any before him. Therefore we defended his Son *Edward* the Second, when not only the *English* forsook him, but our selves might have recover'd our former liberty, had we desir'd it. Therefore we got Victories for *Edward* the Third, and stood firm during all the dissensions of this Realm to his Grandchild and Successor *Richard* the Second. Only if some amongst us resisted *Henry* the Fourth, your Highness may better suppose the reason than we tell it, though divers foreigners openly refusing to treat with him as a Sovereign and lawful Prince, have sufficiently publish'd it. We did not yet decline a due Obedience to *Henry* the Fifth, though in doubtful times, we cannot deny, but many refractory Persons have appear'd. Howsoever, we never joyn'd our selves with the *English* Rebels, or took occasion thereby to recover our Liberty, though in *Richard* the Second's time, and during all the Civil Wars betwixt *Lancaster* and *York*, much occasion was given. For adhering to the House of *York*, which we conceiv'd the better Title, we conserv'd our Devotion still to the Crown, until your Highness Fathers time, who (bearing his Name and Blood from us) was the more chearfully assisted by our Predecessors in his Title to the Crown, which your Highness doth presently enjoy. And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently proof of a generous courage in defending our Laws and Country, we have given no less proof of a loyal Fidelity since we first rendered our selves. Infomuch, that we may truly affirm, that after our acceptance of the Condition given us by *Edward* the First, we have omitted no occasion of performing the duty of loving Subjects. Neither is there any thing that comforts us more than that all those controversies about Succession (which so long wasted this Land) are determin'd in your Highness Person; in whom we acknowledge both Houses to be happily united. To your Highness therefore we offer all Obedience, desiring only that we may be defended against the insulting of our malignant Censurers: For we are not the Off-spring of the *Run-away Britains* (as they term us;) but Natives of a Country, which, besides defending it self, receiv'd all those who came to us for Succours. Give us then (Sir) permission to say, that they wrong us much, who pretend our Country was not inhabited before then, or that it fail'd in a due Piety, when it was so hospital to all that fled thither for refuge: Which also will be more credible, when it shall be remembred, that even our highest Mountains furnish good Beef and Mutton, not only to all the Inhabitants, but supply *England* in great quantity. We humbly beseech your Highness therefore, that this Note may be taken from us. As for our Language, though it seem harsh, it is that yet which was spoken anciently, not only in this Island, but in *France*: Some Dialects whereof therefore remain still amongst the *Bas Bretons* there, and here in *Cornwall*. Neither will any Man doubt it, when he shall find those words of the ancient *Gaulish* Language repeated by the *Latin* Authors, to signifie the same thing amongst us at this day: Nor shall it be a disparagement (we hope) that it is spoken so much in the Throat, since the *Florentine* and *Spaniard* affect this kind of Pronunciation, as believing words that sound so deep, proceed from the Heart. So that if we have retain'd this Language longer than the more Northern Inhabitants of this Island (whose Speech appears manifestly

1511. festly to be a kind of *English*, and consequently introduc'd by the *Saxons*) we hope it will be no imputation to us; your Highness will have but the more Tongues to serve you: It shall not hinder us to study *English*, when it were but to learn how we might the better serve and obey your Highness: To whose Laws we most humbly desire again to be adopted, and doubt not, but if in all Countries the Mountains have afforded as eminent Wits and Spirits as any other part, ours also by your Highness's good favour and imployment may receive that esteem.

Act for an union between England and Wales. The King now considering that it was but reasonable to unite this part of the Kingdom to the rest, and that their Loyalty besides had deserv'd as much as they were Suitors for, caus'd an Act to be past for executing Justice in *Wales*, in manner as is in *England*, and reduc'd the Lordship Marchers to Shire-ground. The Statute is to this effect:

Chap. 26. That albeit the Dominion, Principality and Country of *Wales* be a Member and part of the Temporal Crown of this Realm, whereof therefore the King is Head and Ruler; yet as it hath divers Rights, Usages, Laws and Customs discrepant from the Laws and Customs of this Realm, and because their Language is different from that which is spoken here, and that many rude People hereupon have made distinction and diversity betwixt his Highness's other Subjects, and them, to the causing of much Discord and Sedition; his Highness therefore, out of his love and favour to his Subjects in *Wales*, and for reducing them to his Laws, doth by advice and consent of his Parliament ordain and enact, that *Wales* should be unite and incorporate henceforth to and with his Realm of *England*; and that his Subjects should enjoy and inherit all singular Freedoms, Liberties, Rights, Privileges and Laws which his Highness's Subjects elsewhere enjoy and inherit. And therefore that Inheritances should descend after the manner of *England*, without Division or Partition, and not after any tenure or form of *Welsh* Laws or Customs. And forasmuch as there are divers Lordships Marchers within the said Country or Dominion in *Wales*, being no parcel of any other Shires where the Laws and due Correction is us'd and had, and that in them and the Countries adjoining manifold Murders, Robberies, Felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all Law and Justice, because the Offenders, making their refuge from one Lordship Marcher to another, were continued without Punishment and Correction: Therefore it was enacted that the said Lordships Marchers should be united, annexed, and joyn'd to divers Shires specified in the said Act.

Clun. Whereupon 24 Lordships Marchers were united to *Monmouthshire*, and the Laws of *England* enjoyn'd in them: 16 to *Brecknockshire*; 16 to *Radnorshire*, eleven to *Montgomeryshire*; and ten to *Denbighshire*: seven to *Shropshire*, which were reduc'd again to certain Hundreds, as *Donn* to *Cherbury*, &c. ten to *Herefordshire*, and they likewise reduc'd to Hundreds three; and all the Lordships, &c. betwixt *Chepstowbridge* and *Gloucestershire*, to *Glocestershire*; and they again reduc'd to one Hundred; seventeen to *Glamorganshire*; eight to *Carmarthenshire*; thirteen to *Pembrokeshire*; four to *Cardiganshire*; one to *Merionethshire*: By which it appears how much of *Wales* is continued intire, and how much was gotten by the Lords Marchers. After this again, many Priviledges were given to the Lords Marchers, in regard of the Service their Ancestors rendred the Crown heretofore, in conquering those parts at their own cost, concerning which Histories, Re-

cords, &c. may be seen, to which I refer my self. 1512.

Also power was given to the King to alter any thing in this Act, within the space of three years next ensuing, whereof we shall speak again 34 Hen. viii. c. 26. More also is extant hereof, 1 Edw. vi. 10. and 21 Jacobi 10. where through that Kings goodness all power for altering the Laws in *Wales* is repeal'd.

I will now come to certain Acts of Parliament concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, of which kind there are four chiefly:

The first, having relation to one formerly recited out of 26 Henry viii. whereby the First-fruits and Tenths were given for more augmentation of maintenance of the Kings Royal Dignity, of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*, doth now declare, that no Tenth shall be exacted that year wherein First-fruits are paid. 1534.

Secondly, whereas 25 Hen. viii. it was enacted, that the Clergy in their Convocations shall make no Constitutions without the Kings assent, as also that the King should have authority to nominate 16 Spiritual, and 16 Temporal Persons to examine the Canons and Constitutions aforesaid, the said Acts were now confirm'd.

Thirdly, Order was given about Sanctuary-men, that they should wear Badges to be known by, and no Weapons; that they should not go abroad but at due hours, and not resist their Governors, &c.

Fourthly, A Court of Augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the Religious Houses that were surrendred or suppress'd; and how the Kings Revenue should be increas'd thereby, and Officers for this purpose appointed.

These Marks of the Kings Sovereignty being thus premis'd, I shall come to the Act of Suppression of Religious Houses under 200 l. yearly. Which though lamented by many, and no ways so excus'd, that I know, as by the Kings necessities, had yet those Motives. The vicious and incorrigible life of Monastical Persons, confess'd, by the whole Parliament: The Lands not employ'd according to the intent of the Donors and Founders; divers Superstitions and forgings of Miracles practis'd amongst them: That when those under 200 l. yearly were taken away, there remain'd yet many great and Religious Houses: That they were the Seminary of those that oppos'd the Regal Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters; to which some have thought the reason formerly touch'd might be added, that the Parliament was willing to lay the burthen of furnishing the Kings necessities from themselves. And the rather, that the King promis'd to imploy some of the Revenues to other Religious uses: As founding of Bishopricks, Deaneries, and Chapters, and the like. Which indeed follow'd, though not mentioned in the Statute. Howsoever, the Statute without any formal Preamble in the publish'd Book, begins bluntly thus: His Majesty shall have and enjoy to him and his Heirs for ever, all Monasteries, Priories, and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns of what Habit, Order, or Rule soever, which have not in Lands and Revenue above the clear yearly value of 200 l. as also all such Religious Houses which at any time within one years space preceding, have been given up and granted by any Abbot, Prior, Abbes, or Priorefs under their Covent Seal; (reserving yet all Right to others by Lease and otherwise, and particularly the Right of the Heirs and Successors of the Founders, Patrons, or Donors to any Possession, Rent, Fee, or Office, according to the true intention:)

Regn. 27.

1534.

Parl. Rolls. 27 Hen. 8. Religious Houses under 200 l. per Ann. suppress'd.

Reign 27.

1535. tention:) As also all Ornaments, Jewels, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, belonging to the said Religious Houses: Nevertheless, that Hospitality and Husbandry should be kept by the Farmers of the said Religious Houses, and the Lands belonging to them, upon the penalty of paying every Month six pound thirteen shillings and four pence. The King also (as I find in the Parliament Rolls) allow'd the Governors of these Houses Pensions during their Lives, and translated some of the Religious Persons into other greater Foundations.

Lesser Monasteries dissolv'd.

Cromwell's advice to the King herein.

And thus were the lesser Monasteries dissolv'd, with care yet that Hospitality should be preserv'd; for which reason also our King did pass them away at such easie rates. Nevertheless, as the Penalty being not ordinarily requir'd, due Hospitality was for the most part neglected: So the Forfeitures being great, were at the Supplication of the Parliament, 21 Jacobi, wholly abolish'd, at length, by the indulgence of that King. Notwithstanding, it is probable, that not on this occasion only, the Abbey-Lands were scattered and distributed into so many hands, since Cromwell forgot not to tell his King, that the more had interest in them, the more they would be irrevocable. But whatsoever the reasons were, it is certain, that use was not made of them which might have been, while the Revenue of the Crown was so little improv'd thereby. Since it is clear, that if the profits of those which were dissolv'd, had been employ'd for a settled entertaining and payment of a Royal Army at Land, and a great Fleet at Sea, (which as they were the third or fourth part of the Revenues of the Land, might have been easily done) our King without having recourse to any other means, might (besides securing his Realm) have given the Law in great part to all his Neighbours. And now of these ancient Monuments of Devotion, 376 being dissolv'd, a Revenue of about thirty or thirty two thousand pound yearly, fell into the Kings hands, besides Goods and Chattels; which at low Rates were valued at one hundred thousand pound. The People (especially they that got nothing thereby) in the mean while being griev'd to see the Monks and Nuns wandring abroad, and the Churches and Chappels perverted to secular and prophane uses; so that they began to murmur; which being again fomented by some Religious Persons turn'd to Rebellion, as shall be told hereafter. The respect also given to the Relicks there, and some pretended Miracles fell; inso-much as I find by our Records that a piece of St. Andrew's Finger, (cover'd only with an ounce of Silver) being laid to pledge by a Monastery for forty pound, was left unredeem'd at the Dissolution of the said House; the King Commissioners (who upon surrender of any Foundation, undertook to pay the Debts thereof) refusing to return the price again.

Regn. 27. Protestant Princes in Germany make Proposals to the King.

Dec. 25. 1535.

This fall of Abbeys yet did but set forwards the Kings designs with the Confederate Princes and Towns in Germany; who understanding hereof, and believing now the King would wholly renounce all Papistry, and knowing besides that Queen Anne was disaffected to their adverse Party, as her greatest Enemies, thought fit to make our Kings Orators (yet at Smalcald) these Propositions, as our Records shew.

I. That he should approve and imbrace the Augustan Confession, unless some things shall be alter'd therein by common consent according to the Scripture.

II. And, Secondly, in a free Council, if any be, shall defend it with them.

III. That neither part should admit any Summons for a Council, or agree upon a place for the sitting of

it, without the others Consent; yet that if such a Council were offer'd, as Vergerius the Popes Legate now propos'd, that is to say, free and pious, that it should not be refus'd.

IV. That if the Pope proceeded otherwise, that they should oppose and protest publicly against him.

V. That the King should joyn himself, as to their Doctrine, so to their League; and thereupon accept the Title of Patron and Defender of it.

VI. That the vulgar Opinion de Primatu Pontificis should be rejected for ever.

VII. That if either of the Contrabents be invaded for Religion, the other shall give no Aid against him.

VIII. That the King shall pay 100000 Crowns towards the defence of the League, and if the War be long, 200000 Crowns, upon Condition, that what was remaining should be restor'd when the War was ended.

IX. That when the King hath declar'd his mind herein, they will send an Ambassage of Learned Men to him.

These Propositions being communicated by Cromwell to the Bishop of Winchester then in France, the Bishop return'd this Advice: That if the first Article were accorded, the King shall do nothing without their consent, though otherwise he be bound in conscience to reform his Church. To the rest, that he conceives no good nor honourable League can be made with those Inferior Princes for Religion, without the Emperor, whom the King must allow to be Supreme Head of Germany, as his Majesty is of England. Again, that they could give King Henry no Reciproque, as lying at that distance: Finally, he admonished, that they be mov'd to approve the Kings Title, since he had understood in France, that they would not agree thereto, lest they should thereby grant the Emperor the same Authority over their Persons. In sequence whereof, on the twelfth of March following (1536.) the Bishop of Hereford, and the other Orators now at Wittemberg return'd the Protestants this answer: That the King their Sovereign lik'd their Propositions with some Corrections; and that though all were quiet here, and no cause why he should fear any Attempts, or when they were, that it was taken away by the death of the late Queen; yet for restoring as well as retaining the true Doctrine, he was content to disburse the sum requir'd, if once the League were made: Whereof therefore he would treat at large with their Commissioners, whom they promis'd to send: As for the honour they did him, in constituting him Patron and Defender of the League, that he render'd them due thanks, and acknowledg'd their good will. And though he understood well, to how much envy this Charge was expos'd, yet that for the publick good he would not refuse it, when they could agree among themselves concerning the First and Second Article. For unless there were an Union and Consent in Doctrine, that he should get no Honour by undertaking it. Therefore that he desir'd their Learned Men and his should concur; for until some places of their Confession and Apology were mollified by private Conference, that there was small hope of an Agreement. Therefore, that he desir'd much that they would send some Commissioners for this purpose, and among them, some one eminent for his Learning, who might confer with his Divines of the Doctrine and Essential part of Religion, as well as Ceremonies of the Church. That since he was so liberal to them, he hop'd they would not refuse, if any made War against him, to furnish for four Months, 500 Foot, or 10 Ships equipp'd at their cost; and at his cost 2000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, or in lieu of these Foot 12 Ships equip-ped; which the King shall keep and maintain as long as his occasions require. Lastly, that they should approve the Sentence given by the Divines of Wittenberg in favour of his Divorce, and second Marriage, and if any Council General were holden, should there defend it. To

To

1536.
The Pro-
testants
Answer.
April 24.

To all which the Duke of Saxony replying, that he would advise hereof with the other Confederates, this Answer finally at a meeting at Francfort on the 24th of April, 1536. was return'd, That although divers were entred newly into the League, and divers who were at a distance from home, had no Commission for giving any definitive Sentence: Notwithstanding, that in this meeting it should be resolv'd concerning an Ambassador to be sent his Highness, and they who could not resolve for the present, should declare themselves within the space of one Month. And that there was no question but they would conform themselves to the Opinion of the major part. Whereupon Instructions were given for certain Orators to be sent to England; in which yet it was (saith Sleidan) especially provided, that nothing should be treated of to the prejudice of the Emperor, or Empire. And thus in the Name of the Confederate Cities, Jacobus Sturmius was appointed; the Divines being Melancthon, Bucerus, and Georgius Draco. But as shortly after the death of Queen Anne followed; so all their proceeding (as Sleidan notes) was stopt, until upon occasion given, it was revived. As for the approbation of the Divorce propos'd to the German Divines, Luther, Jonas, Philip, and others, the King was judiciously advis'd by his Agents from thence, not to require any thing of them which would be too hard to grant; the King having attain'd his principal intent concerning the Council and Pope, and the Princes being then in such terms with the Emperor and Ferdinand, as they desir'd not to offend them without an urgent necessity.

Reg. 27.
Sleidan.

Affairs of
Scotland.

James King of Scotland, having the year before been install'd of the Garter, and in sequence thereof instructed with the causes of those changes which had follow'd in Religious Government, did not yet altogether incline to our King. For as he had an eye to the troubles that might ensue in England concerning Succession, as long as the Issue of both Queens surviv'd; so he desir'd to strengthen himself by the advice and assistance of Francis: Yet being desirous withal to conserve our Kings affection; and knowing also his designs on that part could not be long conceal'd, he thought fit to advertise our King thereof; discovering himself no farther yet, than that he intended to match in that Country: Who also approving this, rather than that he should bestow himself in the Emperors Family (which he still suspected) gave his consent thereunto, as I find by our Records; yet so as he desir'd the Match might be betwixt him and the Daughter of the Duke of Vendosme, rather than of Francis; upon condition still that the Interview might precede. But King James, who had no disposition thereunto (though I find in our Records, the Queen his Mother once perswaded him,) resolves to go secretly and in disguis'd habit to France. Whereupon also, commanding some Ships to be made ready, he set sail from Lieth, not acquainting any yet with his Journey; so that divers thought he purpos'd to land in some part of our Kings Dominions. But contrary winds arising, he being demanded what course his Pilots should hold, answer'd, to any place but England; wherewith falling asleep, he was ere he waken'd, by the advice of one of the Hamiltons (as Buchanan hath it) carried back. But at last, opening his eyes, and finding himself at home, he was much offended with the Author of this Council, and the rather, that he was thought secretly to oppose the Match: So that he commanded to set sail again. Coming thus at length to the Duke of Vendosme's, and his Daughter not pleasing him (or rather, the Daughter of Francis liking him better) he ar-

July 26.

K. of Scots
goes pri-
vately to
France.

Aug. 31.

rives at Paris, and posting thence to the Liemois, where Francis was raising an Army against the Emperor (as shall be told hereafter) he obtain'd the consent of Francis (though not without some reluctancy on his part, and wholly against our Kings will) for his Daughter Magdalen, whom he married Jan. 1. 1537. The news whereof being brought to our King, troubled him so much, that he writ to Francis, (whom he perfectly lov'd at that time) that his late Interview with the Pope, and Alliance with the Scottish King vexed him no less than it would do a perfect Lover, *De voir sa Dame entretenir son mortel Enemi*: Whereof more at large in its due place. But as Francis excuse (alleging it was better he match'd there than with his Adversaries) did in some part satisfy our King; so the new married Lady falling into a Heetick Fever, and dying the year following, they both soon return'd to some part of their former Correspondence.

1537.

Regn. 27.

July 7.
1537.

The trou-
bles of Q.
Anne.

Our King now, thought by some to be various in his appetite of Wives, by others to be only unfortunate in them, had, or found, occasion to cut off Queen Anne; I shall not yet determine whether Princes secret Actions be beyond any Scrutiny. I will only lay down the particulars, as far as by Records, or otherwise I could gather them, remitting the rest to the equal Reader.

Queen Anne being now without Competitrix for her Title, thought her self secure. But Prosperity is a dangerous estate to those that use it not reverently. Again, Beauty is not always the best keeper of it self. It may be doubted yet whether either of those did concern her; since she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to make her capable of being trusted with her own perfections, as having liv'd in the French Court first, and after in this, with the reputation of a virtuous Lady; in so much that the whisperings of her Enemies could not divert the Kings good Opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. I do reject all those, therefore, that would speak against her Honour in those times they staid in France; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her Affairs at this time; it is enough, that the Law hath condemn'd her; and that whether she, or any else were in fault, is not now to be discuss'd. This is certain, that the King had cast his affection already on Jane Seymour, (Daughter to Sir John Seymour Knight) then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that Tragedy which follow'd, may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody, but where Law, or at least pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his Actions. But suspicion in great and obnoxious Minds, is other than in the mild and temperate; and therefore is to them like a Tempest, which though it scarce stir low and shallow waters, when it meets a Sea, both vexeth it, and makes it toss all that comes thereon. So that I dare say nothing hath been Author of so much Confusion; since aggravating sometimes that which is ill, sometimes misinterpreting that which is good, it perverts all, and finally leaves the mind without Remedy; how far yet suspicion wrought on our King, is not for me to define.

Cap. 24.

The K. in
love with
Jane Sey-
mour, Ser-
vant to Q.
Anne.

To come then to the Narration, I find by our Authors, that on May-day there being a solemn Jufts at Greenwich (wherein George Viscount Rochford the Queens Brother was chief Challenger, and Henry Norreis Principal Defendant) the King suddenly departed. This much troubled the whole Company, especially the Queen. No cause hereof is related yet, unless (as Sanders hath it)

May 1.
Stow.

Regn. 27.

1536

May 2.
Q Anne
seized and
commit-
ted to the
Tower.

Others
commit-
ted.

Records.

May 6.
Archbish-
op Cran-
mer and o-
ther Bi-
shops ap-
pear in her
behalf.

it) she let fall a Handkerchief, wherewith some one (suppos'd her Favorite) did wipe his Face, and that this was perceiv'd by the King. But our Histories mention not this Passage. The Queen finding the King thus gone, retires herself. He again hastning to Westminster, takes order to commit the next Morning George Lord Rochford, and Henry Norreis to the Tower: After which, her self coming to London in her Barge, was apprehended by some of the Lords, and carried towards the Tower, who telling her Offence, she exclaim'd that she was wrong'd, and that she desir'd to see the King only before she went; but in vain, they having no such Commission. When she entred the Tower, she is said to have fall'n on her Knees, beseeching God so to help her, as she was not guilty of that whereof she was accus'd. This was about five in the Afternoon on the second of May. After which, one William Brereton Esquire, and Sir Francis Weston of the Kings Privy Chamber, and one Mark Smeton a Musician were Committed on the same occasion. The Queen being thus in the charge of Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, much Speech pass'd betwixt them, as appears by an Original of his: Yet as her Language was broken and distracted betwixt Tears and Laughter, (for she us'd both,) little can be inferr'd thence, only she seem'd to exclaim on Norreis, as if he had accus'd her; when yet she said, they both should die together. She nam'd others also, and thereupon confess'd, though not enough to condemn her, yet such Passages as might argue she took the utmost Liberty, that could be honestly allow'd her: But whether she extended it to any further Act, is not there declar'd. For amidst all her Discourses she still protested her self Innocent. By other Originals also of Kingston, it appears that he had made some difficulty to carry a Letter from her to Mr. Secretary, and that she with'd her Bishops were there: For they (she said) would go to the King for her; and that the most part of England would pray for her; and that if she died, a Punishment will fall on the Land; and in effect I find divers Bishops and Learned Men did much honour her, and particularly the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in a Consolatory Letter to the King, (which I have seen) wrote as much in her behalf as he durst; yet so as he made no Apology for her, but rather confesseth that divers of the Lords had told him of such faults as he was sorry to hear of, desiring howsoever, that he would continue his love to the Gospel, lest it should be thought it was for her sake only he had so favour'd it. After which another Letter in her Name, but no Original, coming to my hand, from more than one good part, I thought fit to transcribe here, without other credit yet than it is said to be found among the Papers of Cromwell then Secretary, and for the rest seems ancient and consonant to the matter in question.

SIR,

May 6.
The
Queens
Letter to
the King.

Y Our Graces Displeasure, and my Imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour,) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient profess'd Enemy, I no sooner receiv'd this Message by him, than I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if as you say, confessing a truth indeed, may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof ever preceded.

And to speak a truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bolen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Graces pleasure, had so been pleas'd. Neither did I at any time so far forget my self in my Exaltation, or receiv'd Queenship, but that I always look'd for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my Preferment being on no surer foundation than your Graces fancy, the least alteration I know was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my desert or desire; if then you found me worthy of such Honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine Enemies withdraw your Princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most Dutiful Wife, and the Infant Princess your Daughter: Try me good King, but let me have a lawful Trial; and let not my sworn Enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my truth shall fear no open shames. Then shall you see either mine Innocency clear'd, your Suspicion and Conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the World stopped, or my guilt openly declar'd. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Censure, and mine Offence being so lawfully prov'd, your Grace is at liberty both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful Wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that Party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose Name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But if you have already determin'd of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desir'd Happiness: Then I desire of God that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewise mine Enemies the Instruments thereof, and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his General Judgment Seat, where both you and my self must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently clear'd.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your Graces Displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of those poor Gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait Imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your Sight, if ever the name of Anne Bolen hath been pleasing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Request; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Prison in the Tower, this 6th of May.

Your most Loyal
and ever Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEN.

But whether this Letter were elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little, as what Answer might be made thereunto: Only I cannot omit to tell, that the King was so little satisfied with her Actions or Letters, that not content to have gotten proof enough to put her to Death, he would further be divorc'd from her; which also by due Order and Process of Law (as an Act of Parliament hath it, 28 Hen. VIII.) was perform'd by Cranmer. The causes being not yet set down otherwise than that they were declar'd just, true and law-ful

The King
divorc'd
from her.

1536.
Princess
Elizabeth
made ille-
gitimate.

ful impediments of Marriage: I know not how to satisfy the Reader therein; especially since the Lady Elizabeth their Daughter is thereby pronounc'd Illegitimate. For as concerning Precontracts, I find by an Original Letter of the Earl of Northumberland (who it seems, might most be suspected) that he disavows it on his part. So that unless he retracted this Protestation, or that the contrary were prov'd, I cannot so much as imagine a reason. The Letter is thus to Cromwel.

May 13.
Records
North-
land de-
nies any
Pre-con-
tract be-
tween her
and him-
self.

I Perceive that there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me. Whereupon I was not only heretofore examin'd upon mine Oath before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; but also receiv'd the blessed Sacrament upon the same, before the Duke of Norfolk, and others the Kings Council learned in the Spiritual Law; assuring you (Mr. Secretary) by the said Oath and blessed Body, which afore I receiv'd, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any contract or promise of Marriage between her and me.

But if this were not sufficient, I believe such other cause was produc'd for the Divorce, as might satisfy the People, since the Act was publick. Neither is it much material which Hall saith, that the validity of this Marriage was questioned, because the King married this second Wife before he was divorc'd from his first: For it seems contrary to the Act of Parliament, which saith, That the impediments were, till of late, unknown. Shortly after which she was Arraign'd the 15 of May, 1536. before the Duke of Norfolk, High Steward of England for the day, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the Peers: And there, notwithstanding her discreet Answers, (as our Historians term them) found guilty, and Judgment pronounc'd accordingly. Immediately after which, the Lord Rochford her Brother, was Arraign'd and Condemn'd, as also Henry Norreis Esquire, Mark Smetton Groom of the Kings Privy-Chamber, William Breveton Esquire, and Sir Francis Weston Knight, Gentlemen of it, (the Lord Mayor and divers Aldermen and Citizens being present) and the 17th of May beheaded: The Queens death yet was respited till the 19th of the same. About which time order being taken that all Strangers in the Tower should be remov'd, Kingston in an Original to Cromwel writ these words, viz.

S I R,

May 19.
The Lieu-
tenant of
the Tow-
er's Letter
concern-
ing her.

I F we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few: And I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good Woman for all Men, but for the King, at the hour of her Death: For this Morning she sent for me, and protested her Innocency: And now again, and said unto me, Mr. Kingston, I heard say, I shall not die afore Noon, and I am sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her it should be no pain, it was so fottell (for so is his word.) And then she said, she heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck, and put her hand about it, laughing heartily: I have seen many Men and Women executed, and they have been in great Sorrow; and to my knowledge, this Lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.

The 19th of May being thus come, the Queen, according to the expresse order given, was brought to a Scaffold erected upon the Green in the Tower of London, where our Historians say, she spake before a great Company there assembled, to this effect:

Good Christian People, I am come hither to die;

for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judg'd to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no Man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accus'd, and condemn'd to die. But I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler nor a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any Person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the World, and of you all; and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.

After which coming to her Devotions, her Head was stricken off with a Sword.

And thus ended the Queen, lamented by many, both as she was desirous to advance Learned Men, in which number Hugh Latimer Bishop of Worcester, and Nicholas Saxton Bishop of Salisbury are recounted; and as she was a great Almsgiver; insomuch, as she is said in three quarters of a year to have bestow'd fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds in this kind, besides Moneys intended by her towards raising a Stock for poor Artificers in the Realm. Sanders saith her Father died shortly after for Grief; but our Heralds affirm, it was not till about two years after, 1538. But that we may leave them both to their Grave and Silence, I find by our Records, that the Princess Mary did about those times much endeavour to be restor'd to the King her Fathers good favour and opinion, as hoping now that the Princess Elizabeth was declar'd Illegitimate, she should be receiv'd as Heir to the Crown: Therefore by frequent and earnest Letters written with her own hand, she both acknowledgeth her fault of obstinacy heretofore, and craveth instantly from the King to write to her, or send some token as a sign of Reconciliation. Upon which Submission, our King, by the Duke of Norfolk sent certain Articles for her to subscribe; which were,

First, whether she doth Recognize the Kings Highness for her Sovereign Lord, and King, and will submit her self unto his Highness and all Laws of the Realm.

Secondly, whether she will with all her Power obey and maintain all the Statutes of the Realm.

Thirdly, whether she will Recognize the Kings Highness to be Supream Head in Earth of the Church of England, and utterly refuse the Bishop of Rome's pretended Power, or any Interest she hath or may have thereby.

Fourthly, whether she doth freely Recognize and knowledge both by Gods Law and Mans Law the Marriage heretofore had between his Majesty and her Mother, to be unlawful.

Fifthly, for what causes, and by whose motion and means she hath remain'd in her obstinacy so long.

Sixthly, what is the cause she at this time above all others submitteth, and who mov'd her hereunto.

In satisfaction to which she return'd a Subscription, signing with her own name the four first Articles, but concerning the other two, she demurr'd; some Persons being interested therein, whom she would not discover.

What effect follow'd hereupon appears not otherwise, than that notwithstanding this and other Submissions, the King proceeded to his intended Marriage; which also he so hastned, as some say the day following Queen Ann's Death, others not till three days after, he caus'd it to be Solemniz'd; as not thinking it fit to mourn long, or much, for one the Law had declar'd Criminal; concerning the Ceremony whereof, as well as the Opinion held in these times of the different perfections of the King, and his two Queens, I shall out of our Records produce the

1536.
Her
Speech at
Execution.

Her Cha-
rity.

Princess
Mary
courts the
King's
favour.

Articles
sent her
to sub-
scribe.
Records.

She sub-
mits to
four of
them.

The King
marries
Jane Sey-
mour.

1536. censure of Sir John Russel (afterwards Earl of Bedford) who having been at Church, observ'd the King to be the goodliest Person there; but of the Queens gave this note, that the richer Queen Jane was in Cloaths, the fairer she appear'd, but that the other, the richer she was Apparell'd, the worse she look'd; but this Queen certainly deserv'd all the favour done her, as being reputed the Discreetest, Fairest, and Humblest of the Kings Wives; though both Queen Katharine in her younger days, and the late Queen, were not easily parallel'd. But we will leave them a while, and come unto foreign businesses now a long time intermitted.

Businesses betwixt our King and the Roman See were not so desperate, but that divers Overtures on either side were made for an Accommodation; for while the Pope fear'd, lest our King together with renouncing the Roman Churches Authority, would relinquish the Religion, he not only cover'd his inward and deep Displeasure, but secretly permitted Treaties in divers kinds with our King, and particularly invited him to a War against the Turk; who also gladly entertain'd the Motion, as hoping the Pope would not so soon joyn Christian Princes against him. Infomuch that Sir Gregory Casalis now residing Agent at Rome, the Pope about May 20 sent for him, and told him that he heard of the Queens Imprisonment; and was glad that God having freed the King from this unequal Matrimony, had offer'd his Majesty occasion of gaining eternal Honour, by making Peace between the Emperor and French King; which might be now done by joyning with the Roman See. As for himself, that he never did him but good Offices, as having urg'd Clement VII. to right him in his Diverce, and at Bononia, (being then Cardinal) perswaded the Emperor to suffer it with Patience. As for Rochester, that he made him Cardinal only to use him in the ensuing Council; and when his death was related, being solicited and compell'd to revenge it, he could not but yield for the time to do those things quæ tamen nunquam in animo habuit ad exitum perducere. Wherefore that he purpos'd to send a Nuntio into England to treat of a Peace in Christendom, when our King would bearken thereunto; whence shall follow a General Council, and a War against the Turk: And all this he wish'd Sir Gregory to write (as of himself) to our King; as appears by the Original, May 27. Shortly after which, I find that Cardinal Campejus sending hither his Brother Marco Antonio about other business, as regaining his Bishoprick of Salisbury, and the place of English Protector in the next Council, attempted to induce our King to a Reconciliation: But as the terms propos'd pleas'd not; so the Pope conceiving now all further Treaty to be vain, labour'd to unite all Christian Princes in a War against him, as a deserter of all Papal Authority, and an Heretick. Therefore he both gain'd Charles (who had long solicited a Council) by summoning one to begin at Mantua the year following, May 23. and to oblige James V. he sent him a rich consecrated Sword. He found not yet in France that disposition he hop'd for, the overtures of War being thought unseasonable, in a time when a general Reformation was expected on the Roman Churches part. Therefore I find by an Original dispatch of Mount's, how the Bishop of Chalons in Campagne told him, (upon notice taken in France of the Breve of the Pope, whereby (as aforesaid) he excommunicated our King, and deprived him of his Kingdom, and absolv'd his Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, unless he return'd to that See, and abrogated those Laws were made against the Papal Authority,) that the Cardinal of Lorain would warn the

Pope, and advise him not to be so bold with Princes, unless he would become a Laughing-stock to the World, (for these are Mount's words;) yet did not Francis fully comply with our King, but held a middle way: For as he approv'd not the Popes harsh proceeding, so when our King by his Ambassador gave him account of his Actions, expecting his Approbation, he return'd this Answer: That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and condescend never so much to the Right and Title of Succession in the Issue of his second Marriage, yet when foreign parts shall conceive any other, and contrary Opinion thereof, great troubles might ensue. Whereupon Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester then resident in France, was commanded by our King to tell Francis, that he marvel'd much the King his Brother, being a wise Prince, should so long insist upon these Points, since it was ever the manner of Lawful Kings to pursue their Right without demanding the approbation of others. For proof whereof, he said he could give particular instances in Francis his Predecessors, who had done many things contrary to the advice of the Popes (when they were beneficial to the Kingdom,) and that notwithstanding all opposition they had been happily achiev'd. Our King was not ignorant, yet, how much it concern'd him to keep Francis in good Correspondency, as knowing the desire he had to recover Milan (for his second Son the Duke of Orleans) was so vehement, as it would incline him wholly to the Emperor, when it might be obtain'd. And in effect I find by Bellay, that the Treaty hereof begun the last year, as aforesaid, was still prosecuted; infomuch that Charles gave hope of restoring Milan now upon Sforza's Death (who being thought the last of the Line of Aeneas and Mutius Scævola, dyed about the end of October precedent) to the Duke of Angoulesme the third Son of Francis, when he would send the Duke of Orleans his second Son to assist him in an intended Expedition against Algier, and help to reduce the Protestant Princes in Germany, and the King of England to an union with the Church; but Francis reply'd, that to give Milan from his second Son to his third, was to cause a perpetual War betwixt two Brothers. Therefore that he desir'd it for the Duke of Orleans, in which case also the said Duke should renounce all claim to Naples, Florence, Urbino, &c. That to send him to the Emperor, upon what pretence soever, was in effect to do nothing but put an Hostage into his hand: As for the Reformation and Re-union of those who had any way separated themselves from the Church, he should be glad to second him as well in Germany as in England. And that for Henry the Eighth in particular, he thought fit the Emperor should summon all Christian Princes and Potentates to assist him, and as Bellay hath it Donner main fort to constrain the said King to obey the Sentence and Determination of the Church.

During these Treaties, the French Army under the Comte de St. Paul, advanc'd so far in Savoy, as they had taken all but Montmelian, which yet at last yielded: While those of Geneva, thinking the occasion fair, shook off their Obedience to the Duke, and by the help of the Protestant Swiss, asserted themselves into the liberty they now enjoy: Expelling together their Bishop, and changing the form of both their Civil and Ecclesiastical Policy. Of all which the Emperor being advertis'd, thought how to gain time, especially till he had reinforc'd his Army, not yet fully made up since his late Voyage to Tunis, and assur'd himself of the Pope: Therefore he promis'd the Dutchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, so that the Dutcheff, being the Relict of Sforza, might be provided for, intending thereby

The Pope endeavours to bring the King back to the Roman See, but to no purpose.

May 27.
June 6.

June 2.
Endeavours therefore to stir all Christian Princes against him.

1535.

Death of Sforza D. of Milan.

Bellay. Jan.

B. Jay.

Geneva asserts its liberty and expels its Bishop.

1536. thereby (as my Author hath it) that she might be given the *Scottish King*: Yet in the manner of performing thereof, so much caution and delay was propos'd, as their former jealousies did but increase. And indeed, neither was the overture of *Francis* his requiring the Emperor to press the Pope against our King, more than device to make our King more firm unto him: Nor the Proposition of the Emperor for restoring *Milan*, other than an invention to gain time, he being resolv'd to succour *Savoy* at what price soever: And the rather, that (as is before said) there was a project of giving all that Country to the Emperor for some other Lands in *Italy*; whereby also the Emperor should have wholly invironed *France*: So that all was but dissimulation on either part. For while these things were treating, the Emperor (though injoyning silence to the *French*, and promising it himself) yet both acquainted the Pope with divers Passages, and together made him jealous of the intentions of *Francis* to invade *Italy*, and drew the *Venetians* to his side, and made sundry Propositions of Alliance and Friendship with our King, (some whereof we have before shew'd) and rais'd great Forces by Sea and Land, upon pretence of employing them against Infidels: While *Francis* on the other part, being well inform'd hereof, resolv'd so to proceed in his War, as he neglected nothing which might strengthen himself, or weaken his Enemies. Therefore, having with a choice Army of fifteen or sixteen thousand under the command of *Chabot* Admiral of *France*, taken the chief places in *Savoy*, he commanded it to advance over the *Alps* towards *Turin* in *Piedmont*, which was rendred to him, as also divers other places there. And thus it is probable they might have enter'd and taken *Milan*; for as the Duke was newly dead, and the Government unsettled; so there wanted all things which might serve to defend the Country. Nevertheless, out of I know not what scrupulosity or presumption, *Francis* commanded *Chabot* to stay until he had sent to demand again the Investiture thereof from the Emperor in the name of his Son the Duke of *Orleans*. I am not ignorant yet, that some *French* Writers say, that *Francis* checkt this command by private Instructions: But *Chabot* thought it safer to follow those directions he had under the Hand and Seal of *Francis*, than to comply with an intimated and contradictory Advice. Howbeit, the overtures of Peace continued still (at *Naples*, where the Emperor then was) betwixt both Princes, the *French* Ambassador *Monsieur de Velly* alledging, that the business of *Savoy* was but a particular difference betwixt their King and that Duke, and that it should not hinder the General Treaty. To which the Emperor seem'd to give ear also; not omitting yet to raise Forces daily, nor to march towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended him: Having for the more enlarging his entry to that City, thrown down the Relicks of the Temple of Peace built by the *Romans*: And indeed, the Popes desire was he should never put up his Sword, till he had reduc'd our King, and the Protestants to their former Devotion, and afterwards invaded the *Turk*. Of which our King being well inform'd, (for no Prince had better intelligence) commanded *Richard Pace* his Ambassador, to treat with the Emperor, though not with intention to joyn with him, so much as to discover his designs. For I find by *Bellay*, that our King had acquainted *Francis* (by means of his Ambassador then resident here) with a Letter of the Emperors, about this time sent him, wherein the said Emperor advertis'd, that he meant to go to *Rome*, and what he would say and do there; request-

ing our King further to interpose Offices with *Francis* for restoring all he had taken in *Savoy*, and to divert him from attempting *Milan*. For the rest, desiring our King to forget not only what discontentment soever had past betwixt them by reason of the Divorce with *Queen Katharine* (since she being dead, all cause of offence was ceas'd) but to renew their ancient Treaties of Confederation and Amity, and together to assist him against the *Turk*. So that by this free communication of the Emperors Letters, as well as by an Advertisement which I find *Francis* gave our King of certain following passages at *Rome*, one may perceive what strait Correspondence was then held betwixt them. Howsoever, *Pace* in his Negotiation found that the Emperor took nothing so ill as the Illegitimation of the Princess *Mary*: For though our King had given Succours in *Denmark* against his Niece, and encouraged the Princes in *Germany* to take Arms against him; yet these affronts the Emperor said might be pass'd over, but not the Princess *Mary's* Illegitimation; whom therefore he desir'd our King to restore, giving hope (as *Pace* writes from *Rome*) on that condition to procure a General Council which might give the King contentment in his desires; or if he would refer all things to the Popes Authority, to make his Peace with him, to validate his last Marriage, and together establish his Succession, Honour and Conscience in all he could wish. These were indeed thought great offers: But our King, considering that they were little more than Solicitations and Discourses of *Granvele*, and that to legitimate the Princess *Mary*, was in effect no less than to declare her his Heir, what disguise soever the Emperor would put on it, and desiring, for the rest, nothing so much, as to settle the Succession in his future Issue, (which he hop'd would be Masculine) gave no good Audience hereunto.

The Emperor having now at *Rome* saluted the Pope and Cardinals, and communicated his Reasons in private, *Monsieur de Velly* was referr'd again to them for an answer concerning his Demand of *Milan*. But the Pope gave him no hope thereof; adding, that the Emperor had no such intention; and when he should assent, the *Venetians* would not, who had enter'd into a League defensive for that Dutchy. Whereupon *Velly* goes to the Emperor, requiring performance from him: But the Emperor demanded whether he had Commission to treat thereof: But *Velly* saying he had none, the Emperor would hear him no more. Nevertheless, to shew a desire to come to a solid Peace with *Francis*, and avoid effusion of their Subjects Blood: The Emperor in the presence of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the Ambassadors of *France*, of *Venice*, and many great Prelates and Noble-men assembled, made a long Oration in *Spanish*, his Hat in his Hand; declaring first the cause of quarrel and unkindness betwixt *Maximilian* and *Lewis VII.* deducing them after to his times, with much particularity; and shewing still the fault was on the *French* side: After which, in the presence of this great Assembly, he made three offers to *Francis*, first, That if a sure Peace might be concluded, he would give the Dutchy of *Milan* to one of the Kings Children (but not the Duke of *Orleans*, since he knew *Francis* did not demand it so much to fix there, as to serve himself thereof as a step to pass further to the State of *Florence*, and *Urbino*, in the right of the said Dukes Wife: Neither would he accept any disclaim thereof, since he knew it would prevail no more, than that *Francis* had already made of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.) Therefore that he would grant it to the Duke of *Angoulesme* his third Son, when *Francis*

1536.
Bellay l. 5.

Bellay.
Records.

March.
Successes
of the Fr.
in Savoy
and Pied-
mont.

April 5.

April.

1536.

Emperor
offers to
renew his
ancient
Treaties
with King
Henry.

Records.
April 12.

Emperor
comes to
Rome.

B. 207.

April 17.

would

1536. would declare in what manner he would assist him towards the celebration of a Council, a Reformation of Christendom, and War against Hereticks and Infidels: Which because it would not be done except all offences were remov'd, he requir'd first that his Army should be withdrawn out of Piedmont. Secondly, if within twenty days Francis did not approve this, he offer'd to end the business in a Duel betwixt their two Persons; not out of bravery yet, but for avoiding the effusion of Blood betwixt their Subjects, too much whereof had been shed already. And that he thought there would be no more difficulty in assigning a fit place for this Combat, than for an Interview, and that it might be in some Isle, or on some Bridge or Boat on a River: And for Arms, he thought them all good, whether they were Swords or Poignards, in their Shirts; only in this case, that whosoever overcame, should give his Forces to the Pope, for the more strengthening him to summon a Council, and reduce all disobedient Persons to the Church, and resist the Turk: For which purposes he did there ingage himself to the Pope and Apostolick See; requiring besides, that the Duchy of Milan and Burgundy should be deposited in some good hand, and the Victor have both. The third offer was War; to which yet he protested not to come without necessity; though he had sufficient cause. Francis having taken Arms against him while he talk'd of a Peace by the entremise of one who had no power to treat thereof: Only if he were constrain'd to this course, nothing should make him leave it, till one of them both remain'd the poorest Gentleman in their Country. Thus bowing his Head to look upon a scroul lapt about his Finger, he made a pause: After which the Pope began to speak; but the Emperor interrupting him, said he had not yet concluded, but would, when he had refer'd all to his Holiness, whom he desir'd to bestow his favour on him who had most reason and equity on his side. This being done, the Pope commended the Emperor's Propositions, as tending to a Peace, and hop'd the French King would be no less inclin'd thereunto. After which, the Bishop of Maseon step'd forth, and said, the protestation being in Spanish, he understood it not well: But for the point concerning Peace, he knew the King his Master would be inclinable to it; reserving the further Declaration thereof to Monsieur de Velly, who drawing near, and desiring to be heard, the Emperor stopt him, and said he had already spoken to him too often of Peace, and that he desir'd Deeds and not Words; and that he would grant him no other Audience at that time, only what he had there publicly said, should be given in Writing, and therewith arose. So that though Velly desir'd to answer for his Master, yet the Emperor still laid the fault on him; and thus went with the Pope to Mass. But that Evening the Pope, who knew of what consequence a War betwixt these Princes was, sent for the French Ambassadors, desiring them to do good offices in their dispatches to Francis, protesting that he was surpriz'd on his part: And that whatsoever he said, he would keep neutrality betwixt them. The Emperor being now ready to take his leave of the Pope, the French Ambassador desir'd Audience, and thereupon told the Emperor in the Popes presence, That whereas he had spoken of a Combat with his King in case no Peace were made, without declaring other cause than to spare effusion of their Subjects Blood; he desir'd to know whether his Majesty had made a Challenge to fight: And that if it were so, he durst answer on the part of his King, that it should not be refus'd. And that the Emperor might well remember that heretofore there was question hereof, but not now that he knew; the King his Master desiring to have Milan by Treaty, and having given express command to his General in Piedmont, not to invade any thing in the Emperors posses-

sion. As for the Treaty betwixt them, that it was set down in Writing, and the Pope might judge of both; and therefore that he would say no more of it, but know only whether the Emperor would charge the King his Master, as having fail'd in his Word or Honour, and whether he had defied him. There were not many present when this pass'd; which the Emperor observing, call'd all those in the Sala and Chamber of Audience, and said, as he spake publicly before, so he would again. Many hereupon repairing to him, he said in Italian, That he indeed did most desire Peace; but if that could not be, he did then think best that they two in Person should end the business; which yet he spake by way of Advice, and not as a Challenge; especially since it was in the Popes presence, without whose permission he would do nothing. And therefore that he propos'd it only to avoid a greater Inconvenience, as thinking it better to do so, than suffer a War in Christendom: Which was the reason also why he appointed him twenty days time to retire his Army out of Piedmont. But these sharp words (at the Pope's request) were not openly advertis'd to Francis, nor some others, whereby he vilified the Commanders and Soldierry of that Nation in comparison of his, (as Bellay hath it;) who relates the business somewhat more in favour of his Nation, and Monsieur de Velly, than Sandoval doth, or indeed our Records; amongst which I find divers of these passages certified by Richard Pace. But though the French Ambassadors (at the Pope's intreaty) were sparing in their relation of the Emperors words, which (if we may believe Sandoval) were very high, yet order was given to his Ambassadors in France (as Sandoval hath it) to acquaint Francis with them; adding only four days more to the term of twenty formerly prefix'd: Though Bellay doth not acknowledge this particular.

While these things pass'd thus at Rome, the Cardinal of Lorain was employ'd by Francis to the Emperor: Who in his way coming to the French Army, charg'd Chabot not to march further, or innovate any thing, (which troubled him, as being inform'd that the Emperor both rais'd great Forces, and drew near him.) After which he went to Antonio de Leyva, and the Spanish Army, requiring the same of them, at least till he had spoken with the Emperor; whom yet when he found ambiguous in his answers, and uncertain, he acquainted the Pope therewith, and afterwards the French King; who having in the meanwhile understood by the Emperors Ambassadors resident with him; the effect of his Masters Oration at Rome (though yet he would give no copy of it) sent to the Pope a Justification, (set down at large in Bellay) in the conclusion whereof he return'd this Answer to the Emperors offer of a Combat, That if ever they came near each other (as might well be if they led their Armies in Person) and the Emperor then sent a Challenge, he would fight with him. But the Pope, who had more use of their Swords than to imploy them one against the other, endeavour'd still to procure all good Amity and Correspondence betwixt them: Therefore he sent (upon the request of the Cardinal of Lorain) the Cardinal de Carpi, and the Cardinal Trivulcio to mediate an end; for which purpose they were to go joyntly to the Emperor first, and then one of them to the French King, according to the occasion.

But nothing now could hinder the Emperor from going into France, where in sequence of a Protestation (as Sandoval hath it) to attend the French King thirty days to see whether he would come in Person to fight, he resolv'd to march. Having gotten together therefore an Army of about sixty thousand Men, and an hundred pieces of Artillery, he came to Asti the 22 of June 1536. Jun: 22. while

Offers publicly to end the dispute between himself and Francis in a Duel.

The Fr. Ambassadors Answer.

1536.

The Emperors reply.

Blas.

April 11

French King's answer to his offer of a Duel.

1536.

The Em-
peror in-
vades
France
with great
Force.
Aug. 15.
Sept. 15.

Octob.
Nov.

Sept. 10.

But re-
turns
without
effecting
anything.

while his Sister *Mary* (Governess of the *Low-Countries*) by his order had rais'd an Army of twenty thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse under the command of *Henry Count of Nassau*, to invade *France* on that part: It was yet advis'd whether in his way he should take the places in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, which the *French* held, or go strait to *France*. *Antonio de Leyva* said, that wild Beasts were to be fought in their Dens; and therefore wish'd the Emperor not to spend his Men in Sieges, but march on; which Counsel being follow'd (and the rather, because the Emperor desir'd personally to be in *France* to acquit himself of his promise,) the Army having first taken some Towns, came near *Marseilles*: Where *Andrea Doria* with his Gallies was appointed to meet him. But *Antonia de Leyva* (a valiant, but covetous and cruel Commander) dying there, and about thirty thousand more of Sickness and Disorder, the Emperor, who had now stay'd 33 days (as *Sandoval* hath it) in the *French King's* Dominions, return'd to *Genoia*, and (not long after) to *Spain*, leaving order yet for War in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. But whatsoever retarded *Francis*, it was not want of Courage: Though I find by *Bellay*, he was resolv'd by his Council rather to weary and famish the Emperors Army, than to fight with him; though yet having rais'd a considerable Army in those parts under the command of *Montmorency*, *Grand-Maître* of *France*, he was not unprovided to resist him; besides which, he had another under his own command at *Valence*, not far off; which he yet left at last to come to his other Army. But the Emperor, as having (even by the confession of *Bellay*) lost half his Army, was now remov'd, leaving behind him so many dead Soldiers unburied, that they infected the Air. Hereupon *Francis* took Advice, whether it were better to follow the Emperor into *Italy*, or to return and raise the Siege from *Peronne*, being then in some danger; the latter pleas'd him, his affairs in *Italy* at that time succeeding well, and Winter besides drawing on: Only before he return'd, he thought good to visit *Marseilles*, commanding the *Seigneur de Langey* to repair the ruins of *Aix*, where the Emperor had lodg'd. This being done, and he now going homewards, the glad news was brought him, that the Siege of *Peronne* was rais'd; which (as *Sandoval* hath it) hap'n'd the same day the Emperor dislodg'd from *Aix* to return into *Italy*. And thus did those vast Preparatives of the Emperor come to nothing; (great Armies as well as little ones having their Inconveniences, especially where Sickness and Disorder doth intervene.)

Francis being yet upon his way home (as *Bellay* hath it) received Letters from his Ambassador in *England*, how our King was inform'd by his Agents in the *French Court*, that the Emperor's Retreat was out of Stratagem, that the *French* might follow him, and so be taken at an advantage: And that this Rumour of his Men's Death, was rais'd only to draw them on the sooner; but that in effect he had not lost 2000 Men since his coming out of *Italy*. Upon which false Advertisements also, our King forbore to comply with *Francis* as he was wont; where he on the other side estrang'd himself a little from King *Henry*, insomuch, as he began to cherish and love the King of *Scotland* more than before; who also had promised him assistance in his Wars (which our King had neglected, contrary to *Francis's* Expectation) and was now in *France*; for which reasons he gave him his Daughter *Magdalene* (as is before related): Nevertheless, that he might proceed formally, he sent *Gilles de Pommeray* hither, to tell our King: First, the true Cause of the Emperor's Retreat: Secondly, the Cause of his accepting the *Scottish*

King for his Son-in-law: Thirdly, to propose a Marriage betwixt the Duke of *Orleans* (his Son) and the Princess *Mary*. But when the Marriage with King *James*, and the Excuse for it was produced, our King was in that Passion, that he would not hear him again for four days space; though yet he forgot not by his Council to shew how ill he took it. So that *Pommeray*, without almost daring to speak of the Marriage with the Princess *Mary*, return'd; and the rather, because our King knew well that the Emperor had a good while since propos'd it to *Francis*, only to sow Diffention betwixt both Princes. Our King finding this Coldness on the *French King's* part, began to think how he might fortify himself by the Emperor's Friendship; for which purpose also (as is aforesaid) several Overtures had been made; but the Declaration of the Princess *Mary* to be illegitimate hindred all (which though much labour'd by the Emperor, King *Henry* yet could not be persuaded to revoke) tho' he profess'd himself much inclin'd to return to his ancient Friendship with *Charles*; so that till after the Death of Queen *Jane*, being the Year following, all things remained in suspense. In which terms also, he thought fit they should be continued till he saw the Event of the War, renewed now betwixt the Emperor and *French King* with more Ardor than ever, (as shall be told hereafter;) of which occasion therefore our King thought fit to prevail himself, for giving order to his Businesses at home: Which that he might do by the Advice and Consent of his Parliament, he commanded it to sit the eighth of *June*, 1536.

The principal Act was touching the Succession of the Crown; in which after a rehearsal of the Statute 25 *Henry VIII.* touching the King's Marriages, and limitation of Succession to the Crown, and another of 26 *Henry VIII.* it is declared, That whereas a Marriage heretofore was solemniz'd betwixt the King's Highness and the Lady *Anne Bolen*, that sithence that time, certain just, true and lawful Impediments of Marriage, unknown at the making of the said Acts, were confessed by the said Lady *Anne* before *Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*; by which it plainly appeareth, that the said Marriage betwixt his Highness and the said Lady *Anne* was never good nor consonant to the Laws; and therefore his Highness was lawfully divorc'd from the said Lady *Anne*: Moreover, that she and her Complices before-mention'd, were convict by due course of Law, and have suffer'd according to their Merits.

And whereas it has pleas'd his Highness, notwithstanding the great Perils suffer'd by occasion of his first unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Katharine*, and this unlawful Marriage betwixt the Lady *Anne*, at the most humble Petition of his Nobles in this Realm, and for Conservation of the same, to enter into Marriage again with the Lady *Jane*, according to the Laws of the Church; and that there is hope she may conceive by his Highness; That it is the most humble Petition of his Nobles and Commons, that for extinguishment of all Ambiguities and Doubts, it may be enacted in manner and form as followeth. And first, that the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katharine* should be void and of no effect; as being grounded on a Dispensation, in a Case not dispensable by Human Authority; and so determin'd by the whole Clergy, and both Universities of this Realm; as also by the Universities of *Bononia*, *Padua*, *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Tholous*, *Anjou*, and divers others, in regard, she being Wife to his elder Brother Prince *Arthur*, was carnally known by him, as was sufficiently proved before *Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury*, and therefore, that any Dispensation to the contrary here-

1536.

D. Day.

The Par-
liament
sits.

8.
June 8.

The K's
Children
by his two
former
Queens
declared
illegiti-
mate by
the Par-
liament.

of

1536. of should be to all intents void, and of no effect; and the Issue procreated under the same unlawful Marriage, betwixt his Highness and the said Lady Katharine, to be illegitimate, and barr'd from claiming any Inheritance from his Highness by Lineal Descent; and that the Marriage also, betwixt his Highness and Queen Anne is of no value, no effect; and that the Divorce made between his Highness and her, is good and effectual, and the Issue illegitimate and not inheritable to his Highness, by Lineal Descent; any former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

And furthermore, sith many Inconveniences have fallen by marrying within degrees prohibited by God's Law; which Marriages yet have been often dispenced with by some usurped Power; when yet no Man hath Power to dispense with God's Law. Therefore it was enacted, That if any were married within the said degrees, or took to Wife the Sister or Daughter, &c. of her whom he had before carnally known, he might and should be separated by the definitive Sentence of the Archbishops, and other Ministers of the Church of England: And their said Sentence to be good and effectual, without suing any Appeal to or from the Court of Rome.

Further, it was enacted, that the Issue betwixt his Highness and Queen Jane should be his lawful Children and Heirs, and inherit according to the course of Inheritance of the Laws of this Realm, the Imperial Crown of the same, with all Dignities, Honours, Preheminences, Prerogatives, Authorities, and Jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging.

But if it should happen that Queen Jane should decease without Issue-male of the Body of her Highness to be begotten, then the same Imperial Crown and all other the Premises to be to his Majesty, and to his Heirs Males by any other lawful Wife, and to the Heirs of the Body of the same Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten; and so from Son and Heir Male to Son and Heir Male, and to the Heirs of every such Son and Heir Male lawfully begotten according to the course of Inheritance, as is above-said. And for default of such Issue Male, then the said Imperial Crown and Premises should be to the Issue Female, betwixt his Majesty and Queen Jane begotten, and so again to the Issue Female by any other Wife in like manner; that is to say, to the eldest Issue of the Issue Female, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and so from Issue Female to Issue Female, and to their Heirs of their Bodies, one after another by course of Inheritance, according to their Ages, as the Crown of England hath been accustomed, and ought to succeed and go, in case when there is Heir Female inheritable to the same. And forasmuch as it stands in the only Will and Pleasure of Almighty God, whether his Highness shall have Heirs, and that if they fail, and no Provision be made in his life, who should govern this Realm, that then this Realm after his transitory life should be destitute of a lawful Governour, or incumbred with such a Person that would covet to aspire to the same, that in this case, his Highness might limit the Crown to any Person or Persons in possession and remainder by his Letters Patents under the great Seal; or else by his last Will assigned with his hand, after such manner as should be expressed in his said Letters Patents; and that such Person and Persons should have and enjoy the same after his decease in as large and ample manner as the lawful Heirs of his Body should have done.

After which, order was taken to prevent Usurpation of the Crown, and the Penalty of High Treason impos'd on Usurpers, as on those also

who believ'd either the Marriage of his Highness with the Lady Katharine, or the Lady Anne, to be good; and did call the Lady Mary or the Lady Elizabeth legitimate, and who used certain Words and Actions tending to this purpose: As is to be seen more largely in the said Statute.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That if his Majesty should decease before any Heir Male of his Body inheritable to the Crown of this Realm should be of the Age of eighteen Years, or any Heir Female which should be inheritable as aforesaid, should be married, or be of the Age of sixteen Years, that then they, or any of them, shall be and remain until they came unto the said several Ages, at and in the Governance of their natural Mother, and such other his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highness should name and appoint by his last Will in writing, signed with his Hand, or otherwise to be at and in the Governance of such his Counsellors and Nobles of his Realm, as his Highness should name and appoint by his last Will in Writing, and sign'd with his Hand, (as is aforesaid) and that an Oath should be administred for performance of this Act, and the Penalty of High Treason inflicted on those that shall refuse it.

Furthermore, it was enacted, That the King should have Power by his Letters Patents or last Will, as aforesaid, to advance any Person or Persons of his most Royal Blood to any Title, Stile, or Name of any Estate, Dignity or Honour, and to give to them or any of them any Castles, Honours, Lands, &c. in Fee-simple, Fee-tail, or for term of Lives, or the Life of any of them, saving the Rights and Estates of all others, in and to the same.

Finally, it was enacted, That every Clause, Article and Sentence therein, should be taken and accepted according to the plain Words thereof. How yet this Act was alter'd, 35 Hen. VIII. shall be declared by me, God willing, in this History; referring the Reader to: Mary I. when it was repeal'd.

Howsoever, I thought fit to set it down with much particularity, both as it is Relative to many precedent Points touch'd in this History, and as it leads the way to some that follow; by which also it may appear unto the Reader, with how high a hand the King did authorize his Actions, while each part justified the other, and all his Subjects Voices being comprehended in his Parliament, no Man could accuse him, who did not in some sort first condemn himself; so that if in those two Divorces he had not reason, the chief of his Kingdom seem'd to err with him: Unless ill Arts with the Nobility, and undue Election of the Knights and Burgesses be suppos'd; which though possible in many, and (for that I have seen) there be cause to suspect it in some; yet to believe a general Corruption in the prime Persons of a Kingdom, or to allow an Argument drawn from thence only, as conclusive, what is it else but to overthrow and subvert the Columns and Foundations of Laws? And then what Statute can stand? What Decree will be in force? I will not yet take on me every where to defend the Actions of a Prince, whom so many have bitterly censur'd, as it may be doubtful whether he were more extoll'd at home in his first times, or depress'd afterwards abroad. But thus much I cannot but observe of him, that if where he did ill, he made or found many Complices; where he did well, he had almost the Glory alone; as being so active and knowing in all he undertook, that he was capable of both: Only towards his latter time, as he was thought to decline in his singular Perfections of Nature, so all things almost fell to the worse; while divers of those ill Accidents which befel him, were reveng'd some-

1536. High Treason to assert the Legitimacy of the Princess Mary or Elizabeth.

1536. sometimes with so severe a Justice, as might be called *Summum Jus*; sometimes repaired with furnishing his Wants in that large manner and extent, both on the Spirituality and Temporality, as little else remained, either to be demanded or gotten. In procuring whereof, though he lost much of his former Love and Esteem, yet he kept himself still upon the high steps of Authority, without stooping either to Fear or Necessity; so that his most irregular Actions represented such a Type of Greatness, as crooked Lines drawn every way, which tho' not so compendious and direct as the strait, seem yet to have in them somewhat more of the infinite; but as these things are set down by way of Description, and not of Apology, so I will leave them to come to my History, which for being free and impartial, will speak him better to the judicious Reader than my Annotations can.

Lord Howard imprisoned for marrying the King's Niece without Consent.

She is also committed.

Aug. 12.

Several Acts passed.

This Year *Thomas Howard*, youngest Son to *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the present Duke (but by another Mother) had so obtain'd the Favour of the Lady *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots* (then living in the King's Court) that some affiancing or privy Contract pass betwixt them: whereof the King being inform'd, was much incens'd; as conceiving that one so join'd in blood to him and his Nephew the *Scottish King*, should not be given nor taken without his consent, especially when she lived so near him; wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and she not long after. The business thus being in July brought to the Parliament, and certain Sulpicions and Accusations alledged of aspiring to the Crown, (some Circumstances being drawn thereunto) he was there attainted of High-Treason; and in sequence thereof a Statute made, that none should Marry in the next degrees of the Blood Royal, without the King's Licence first had, &c. which yet being repeal'd 1 *Edw. VI.* 12. and 1 *Mary I.* I mention no otherwise. The News hereof being brought with speed to *Margaret Queen of Scots*, afflicted her much; so that it retarded her Journey into *England*, whither she was coming; being desirous also to be reconciled to her former Husband *Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus*. Nevertheless she thought fit to write to the King, That whereas she heard he was displeas'd with her Daughter for promising Marriage to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, intending to punish her for the same, she desir'd his Majesty to pardon her; and if he so pleas'd, to send her into *Scotland*, that she come no more in his presence; and not to be extream to his own Blood. Notwithstanding which, both she and the Lord *Thomas Howard* were committed to the Tower, without suffering other Punishment, where also she remain'd till the death of the said *Thomas Howard*; but then releas'd to be a Mother of that great Offspring which after follow'd.

Besides these two Statutes formerly mention'd, I find some others concerning State-Government enacted this Sessions which therefore I shall insert here.

Whereas in the 19 *Hen. VII.* 7. a Law was made, That no Masters, Wardens, and Fellowship of Crafts, or Rulers of Guilds and Fraternities, should take upon them to make any Acts or Ordinances, ne to execute any heretofore made by them, or hereafter to be made, in disheritance or diminution of the King's Prerogative, nor of other, nor against the common profit of the People, except the same Act were examined or approved by the Chancellor of *England*, or Chief Justice of either Bench, or three of them, or before the Justices of Assize in their Circuit or Progress, in the Shire where such Acts

or Ordinances are made, upon pain of forfeiture, &c. Sith which time, divers Acts and Ordinances contrary to the meaning of the said Act have been made; it was now order'd that Apprentices should pay but little Fees at their Entry, and that no other should be given to restrain them from keeping Shops when they were Freemen. And as this was much to the benefit of those who would learn and set up Trades and Occupations, so it was thought by some it would be much more, when the Mysteries of the said Trades (as far as could be expressed by Words) might be commanded to be published in Print; to the end that all Men (who would) might learn them, and an honest Emulation (who should do best) might quicken Industry, and bring down the Prices of things: Or if this were not permitted, that at least due Order were taken, that the Masters in all Trades might be restrain'd from packing together to enhance Wares and Commodities, but by the approbation of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, &c. as being to that common profit of the Subject, (mention'd in the Statute) which is more to be esteem'd than any Man's particular Gain.

In sequence whereof, also another Act was made concerning the Prices of Wine, to this effect; that no *French Wine* should be sold by retail above Two-pence a Quart, and no *Malmesies*, *Rammies*, (being Wines of *Romania* as I take it) *Sack* or Sweet-Wines, should be above Three-pence the quart. Provided always that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the King's Council, Lord Privy-Seal, and the two Chief Justices of either Bench, or five, four or three of them should have Power and Authority by their directions to set the Prices of Wines; the said Prices to be published in Chancery, in the Term-time, or in such Cities, Towns and Places where Wines are sold in gross; the Contents or Quantity of Liquor also, to be held in every Vessel, was expressed in the said Statute; and Remedy given for loss sustain'd in those which wanted measure: § And though this prevented much Couzenage, yet Order being not taken to punish those who falsified and corrupted Wines, much Abuse in this kind followed.

Order was also taken how Pirates at Sea should be punish'd.

All Bulls, Breves and Dispensations also from the Bishop, or See of *Rome*, were declared void; nevertheless, that all Marriages solemniz'd before the third of *November*, 26 of the King's Reign, and not contrary to God's Laws, should be good and effectual. And also that Archbishops, Bishops, and all Ecclesiastical Persons and Orders of this Realm, might keep and retain their Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, &c. and exercise all things pertaining to their Dignities, Offices, Orders, Cures, &c. And that the Effect and Contents of all Bulls, Breves, Faculties, &c. purchas'd of the See of *Rome*, which be allowable, and may be lawfully granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the Authority of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, should be confirmed under the Great Seal at the humble suit of the Petitioners for the same.

Also, for the more confirmation of the King's Supremacy (enacted two Years since) it was now ordained, that every Ecclesiastical and Lay-Officer, shall be sworn to renounce the said Bishop and his Authority, and to resist it to his Power; reputing any Oath (heretofore taken for the maintenance of the same) to be void. And the refusal of this Oath shall be adjudged High-Treason.

Some Ecclesiastical Constitutions also were made, during this short Sessions of Parliament,

1536.

French Wine at 2 d. the Quart. Sack at 3 d.

Bulls, &c. made void.

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1536. (beginning the eighth of June, and ending the eighteenth of July next following.) But to leave the less important to be seen in their places, I shall here briefly set down the Resultance of certain Articles, concluded in the Convocation concerning Religion. These Articles (as I gather out of our Records) were devised by the King himself, and recommended afterwards to the Convocation-house by Cromwell, who being lately made Baron, and Lord Privy-Seal, and then Vicegerent General of the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, gave much Subject of Discourse. For tho' the King substituted him for due Administration of Justice in all Causes and Cases concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, as well as for Godly Information, and Redress of all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses of the Church, as the Act of Parliament hath it, 31 Henry VIII. 10. yet because there was no Example, either of King of Israel, they said, (tho' lawfully in their own Person, enjoying this mixt Power of Spiritual and Temporal) or of Popes, that derive their whole Ecclesiastical Power immediately on any else, especially a secular Person, they thought it strange: But that I may pass by those things whereof no Publick Reason, that I have seen, is extant, I shall in these Articles observe rather the chief variation they had from the former Doctrines, than repeat the Doctrines themselves, as being sufficiently known.

Cromwell
made a
Baron and
Privy-
Seal.
July 9

After establishing (therefore) the Bible, and three received Creeds, with the Explication of the Fathers and the four first Councils, as the grounds of Religion: He made, according to his definition of Sacraments, three only. First, Baptism for washing away of Sins. Secondly, Penance for satisfaction of Faults afterwards committed both towards God and our Neighbour. Thirdly, the Eucharist: Changing in any of them little yet of the ordinary, (as I conceive) unless Auricular Confession seem not there altogether so strictly commanded as before; nor otherwise much than in case of mortal Sin. And that Prayer, Fasting, Alms-deeds, as being *Fruitus digni Penitentia*, are not to be held as means of our Salvation by way of Merit, but of Mercy only. For Justification, that it was attained by Contrition or true Repentance and Faith, which was to be accompanied with Hope, Charity, and other Inward and Spiritual Motions and Graces, and outward good Works.

Concerning Images, That they had been used in the Old Testament, and sometimes (for the abuse of them) taken away; and allow'd in the New, (as good Authors declare) Therefore that the true use of them should be taught by Bishops and Preachers every where, they being permitted to stand in Churches no otherwise than as Representatives of Virtue, and Stirrers of Devotion; and not that rude People should take Superstition thence, as in times past, or that Idolatry should ensue; and that the Censing of them, kneeling before them, and all other Honours should be done as in the Honour of God only, although they be done before the Images of Christ, the Cross, or of our Lady, or any Saint besides.

Concerning honouring of Saints; That we should not trust to obtain at their hands that which is to be had only of God: Yet that they were to be honour'd because they reign'd in Glory, and were Examples of Virtue, as not fearing to die for Christ; and therefore to be taken (in that they may) to be the Advancers of our Prayers and Demands unto Christ, but not to be had in other Reverence and Honour.

Concerning praying to them: That it is very laudable to use these Words, *All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the*

Father, that for his dear Son Jesu Christ's sake we may have Grace of him, and remission of Sins, with an earnest purpose (not wanting Ghostly Strength) to observe and keep his holy Commandments, and never decline from the same again unto our lives end. And that in this manner we should pray to our blessed Lady, Saint John Baptist, and other Apostles, so that it be done without any vain Superstition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any Saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the same. And that we should keep Holidays in memory of him, and his Saints, upon such Days as the Church hath ordain'd, except they be mitigated or moderated by the Assent or Commandment of the Supream Head; in which case the Subjects ought to obey it.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, as using certain Vestments in God's Service, sprinkling of Holy-water, giving of Holy-bread, bearing of Candles on Candlemas-day, giving of Ashes on Ashwednesday, bearing of Palms on Palm-Sunday, creeping to the Cross on Good-Friday, and offering there unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it, setting up of the Sepulchre of Christ, the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Benedictions made by the Ministers of God's Church; as also all other laudable Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies; that they were not to be condemn'd and cast away, but to be us'd and continu'd, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, but renewing them in our memory from time to time: But that none of those Ceremonies have Power to remit Sins, but only to stir and lift up our Minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Concerning Purgatory: Forasmuch as according to due order of Charity, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers ancient Writers, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed: And forasmuch as such Uses have continued in the Church even from the beginning, That all Bishops and Preachers should instruct and teach the People not to be grieved with the continuance of the same: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the Name thereof, and the kind of Pains there also, be to us uncertain by Scripture; that therefore this and all other such things were to be remitted to God Almighty, unto whose Mercy it is meet and convenient to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our Prayers for them; referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their state and condition. And therefore that it was necessary that such should be clearly put away, which under the Name of Purgatory have been advanced; as to make Men believe, That through the Bishop of Rome's Pardons, Souls might be clearly delivered out of Purgatory and all the Pains of it, or that Masses said at *Scala Celi*, or elsewhere in any place, or before any Image, might likewise deliver them from all their Pain, and send them strait to Heaven; and other like Abuses. This was subscribed by Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuariensis, Johannes London, and sixteen Bishops more (Rowland Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield being comprized by his Proxy) and William Abbat of Westminster, with 39 Abbats and Priors; and by the Lower-House, consisting of 50 Archdeacons and Proctors of the Clergy; among whom, in the Original, I find two Italians, Polydore Virgil Arch-deacon of Wells, and Peter Vannes Arch-deacon of Worcester, who not long before was made Coadjutor to Richard Pace Dean of Salisbury, being then thought commonly distracted and out of his Wits.

And

1536.

The
King's
Zeal-
Records.

And thus the King having taken on him the Title of *Supream Head* of the Church in his Dominions, would shew how capable he was of it: Though yet he published not these Articles without much consultation with his Bishops and Divines, who stood divided in opinion; some leaning to the *Lutheran*, as *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, *St. David*, and the rest: Others cleaving to the old Doctrine and Rites, as *York*, *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwich* and *Carlisle*; whose Arguments on either ſide, the King himſelf took pains to peruſe and moderate, adding Animadverſions with his own hand, which are to be ſeen in our Records: Yet was not his Doctrine approved by the *Romiſh* Party, becauſe it took away much of their Authority and Revenue: Nor by the *Lutheran* and *Zuinglian*, (then beginning to appear in theſe Parts) becauſe it differed from theirs. But whatſoever any of the Reformed might ſay for their only two Sacraments, it was thought by ſome, that according to the King's Inſtauration, Penance might have been retained ſtill upon ſome terms as a third; both as there is no other general way than Aversion from Sin, and Conversion to God, known to all Mankind for making their Peace with him, and obtaining Pardon. And as the other two Sacraments being particular Rites only of the Chriſtian Church, are in their explication ſubject to ſo much Difficulty and Diſputes, as no leſs than a Man's whole Age is requir'd to ſtudy them; when as this other, being an uncontroverted Sign of the Operation of God's Spirit in our Hearts, produceth ſuch holy effects, as it ought to be acknowledg'd not only as a particular Sacrament of Grace, but an Universal of the reaſonable Nature of Mankind, whereſoever it be found; and therefore worthy its former Name and Authority, where Abuses in Abſolution were taken away: For performing whereof, they ſaid the Priſt ſhould never pronounce it but in caſe of ſuch a ſerious Repentance as might totally efface the Fault, and make the Sinner a new Man; without which therefore he ſhould be told, he was as much liable and obnoxious to Sin and Punishment, as if no ſuch Abſolution had ever been given. Whereas now the common Abſolution of Priſts, extending (for the moſt part) no farther than to require Attrition, or Sorrow for their Offences paſt, and to command, for the reſt, ſome formal Prayers, eaſy Faſts, or ordinary Pilgrimages, not only made Men believe they were quit of their Sins at ſo eaſy a rate, as they feared not much to return to them again, but uſurped on the Power of God, while they brought the Forgiveness of Sins within their own particular Jurisdiction, and together put off Heaven and Everlaſting Happineſs at a cheaper price than either they could juſtly promiſe, or frail Man expect. So that they concluded, that Priſts ſhould be allow'd indeed to abſolve, but ſo as Men might not think their Sins paſt, as much pardon'd as if they had not been committed, unleſs they never do the ſame offence again; leſt greater occaſion and liberty of Sin ſhould thereby be given.

And now, as the Reader hath formerly ſeen the Reformation *Francis* would have ſtood to, when it might have been imbrac'd in *Germany*; ſo here he may perceive what our King requir'd in *England*: Neither of which yet could ever be accepted, as long as contentious Preachers and factious School-men on all ſides would have rather diſturb'd the Peace of the whole World, than relinquish'd or retract'd one Particle of thoſe Opinions they had publickly taught their Auditors and Diſciples. For which Obſtinacy alſo, as the Reformers, being the weaker, ſuffer'd moſt, they

being uſually burnt in theſe times; and among them one *William Tindal*, who had tranſlated into *English* a great part of the Bible, (a witty, but violent, and ſometimes railing Diſputant) at a Town near *Brussels*; ſo on the other ſide, theſe Cruelties made the *Romiſh* Party ſo odious, as their Differences grew almoſt irreconcilable.

Our King having thus begun to rectify the Frame of Religion, endeavour'd new to prevent foreign Oppoſition: And becauſe he knew of what conſequence the General Council now appointed at *Mantua* was, he obtain'd this Decree to be ſign'd by the Bishops while their Synod Records laſted.

AS concerning General Councils, like as we (taught by long Experience) do perfectly know that there never was, ne is any thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-fathers more expedient, or more neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Heresies, and the abeliſhing of Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſt's People unto one perfect Unity and Concord in his Religion, than by the having of General Councils, ſo that the ſame be lawfully had, and congregated in Spiritu Sancto, and be alſo confirm and agreeable, as well concerning the Surety and Indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholeſome and godly Inſtitution and Uſage for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church. Even ſo on the other ſide, taught by like Experience, we eſteem, repute, and judge, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more peſtilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Chriſtendom, or where by the Truth of God's Word hath in times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced and ſubverted, or whereof hath and may enſue more Contention, more Diſcord, and other devilish Effects, than when ſuch General Councils have or ſhall be aſſembled not Chriſtially, nor charitably; but for and upon private Malice and Ambition, or other worldly and carnal Reſpects and Conſiderations, according to the ſaying of Gregory Nazianzenus, in his Epiſtle to one Procopius, wherein he writeth this Sentence following: Sic ſentio, ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Episcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum. Nam Cupiditates Contentionum, & Gloria (ſed ne putes me odioſum eſſe ſcribentem) vincunt rationem. That is to ſay, 'I think this, if I ſhould write truly, that all General Councils be to be eſchewed. For I never ſaw that they produced any good end or effect, nor that any Proviſion or Remedy, but rather increaſe of Miſchiefs proceeded of them. For the deſire of maintenance of Men's Opinions and Ambition of Glory (but reckon not that I write this of Malice) hath always in them overcome Reaſon. Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes eſpecially and above all things ought and muſt, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence foreſee and provide, Ne ſanctiſſima hac in parte Majorum inſtituta ad improbiſſimos Ambitionis aut Malitiæ effectus explendos diverſiſſimo ſuo fine & ſcleratiſſimo pervertantur. Neve ad alium pratextum poſſint valere & longe diverſum effectum Orbi producere, quam ſanctiſſima rei facies præ ſe ferat. That is to ſay, 'Leſt the moſt noble wholeſome Inſtitutions of our Elders in this behalf be perverted to a moſt contrary and moſt wicked end and effect. That is to ſay, to fulfil and ſatiſfie the wicked Affections of Men's Ambition and Malice; or leſt they might prevail for any other colour, or bring forth any other effect, than their moſt virtuous and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the World ſhew or pretend. And firſt of all, we think that they ought principally to conſider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, whether the Cauſes alledg'd be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily

1536. necessarily they require a general Council, nor can otherwise be remedied. Thirdly, who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, what order of proceeding is to be observed in the same, and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be consulted or asked. Fifthly, what Doctrines are to be allowed or defended: with divers other things which in General Councils ought of reason and equity to be observed. And as unto the first point, we think that neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any one Prince of what Estate, Degree, or Preeminence soever he be, may by his own Authority call, indite, or summon any General Council without the express Consent, Assent, and Agreement of the residue of Christian Princes; and especially, such as have within their own Realms and Seignories Imperium merum, that is to say, of such as have the whole intire and supreme Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without acknowledging or recognizing of any other Supreme Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think by many and sundry, as well Examples, as great Reasons and Authority. The which, forasmuch as it should be over-long, and tedious to express here particularly, we have thought good to omit the same for this present. And in witness that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion, and Judgment touching the Premises, we the Prelates and Clergy under-written, being Congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and representing the whole Clergy of the same, have to these presents subscribed our Names the twentieth of July, in the year of our Lord, 1536. 28 Hen. 8.

Thomas Cromwell
Thomas Cantuariensis.
Johannes London.

With 13 Bishops: And of Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks and other Ministers, 49.

See
Injunctions
laid
on the
Clergy.

After which, he set forth an Injunction to restrain the number of Holy-days, now grown to that excess, that there was scarce time to gather in Harvest, or hold the seats of Justice in Term time; which as it was inconvenient, so again the abuse of Holy-days in Drinking, and other Vices and Idleness was so great, as many Riots and Disorders were committed; for which reason, though the number was limited, yet Priests were suffered to do their duties in Churches on these days, and all who would to hear them. And now as the poorer sort were at liberty to work for their living on those days, so they approved well this Reformation. Whereby it came to pass that the Reverence of supposed Saints (whereupon much of the Roman Religion was built) growing to an excess, became one of the first degrees to the Ruine thereof in this Kingdom. In sequence of which, the same year he commanded (under the name of Cromwell his Vice-gerent) these Injunctions following to be observed of the Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendiaries resident, or having care of Souls each where.

Ex.

1. And First, that in all Parishes and places of Preaching, once every Sunday for a quarter of a year together, the Doctrine of Supremacy should be taught, and the Laws to that purpose read, and that the Bishop of Rome's Authority having no establishment by the Law of God was justly taken away.

2. That in the Kings Articles, lately set forth, the Real Doctrine of Salvation should be distinguished from the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, and so taught the People as they might know, what was necessary in Religion, and what was instituted for the decent and politick order

of the Church, according to such a Commandment given heretofore in that point.

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3. That the late order concerning abrogating of certain Superstitious Holy-days, should be read to the People, and they persuaded to keep it.

4. That they should not extol or set forth Images, Reliques, or Miracles, or allure People to Pilgrimages otherwise than as permitted in the late Articles, but rather exhort them to keep Gods Commandments, and provide for their Families, and what they can give, to bestow it rather on the Poor, than upon the said Images, or Reliques.

5. That in their Sermons, they admonish Fathers to teach their Children the *Pater noster*, Articles of our Faith, and Commandments in their Mother-tongue; which also should be often repeated by the said Youth, and to bring them up in Learning, or some honest Occupation or Trade, whereby to avoid idleness, and get their Living.

6. That Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently administered by the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates; and if any be absent from their Benefices by Licence, that Learned Curates be left in their place.

7. That every Parson or Proprietary of a Church should provide a Bible in *Latine* and *English*, and lay the same in the Quire for every Man to read, exhorting them thereunto, as being the word of God, teaching them withal to avoid Controversie amongst themselves in the places they understood not, but to refer themselves therein to the better Learned.

8. That the said Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates should not haunt Taverns nor Ale-houses, or use Tables, Cards, or any unlawful Games, but rather at their leisure that they should read the Holy Scripture, and be example to others in purity of life.

9. That because the Goods of the Church are the Goods of the Poor, and yet the needy in these days not sustained with the same, therefore all Parsons, Vicars, and Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men, which may dispend twenty pounds yearly, or above, should distribute amongst the poor Parishioners in the presence of the Church-wardens, the fortieth part of the Revenue of their Benefices, lest they should be noted of Ingratitude, as receiving thirty-nine parts, and yet not vouchsafing to bestow the fortieth.

10. That every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or Beneficed-man, being able to dispend in Benefices or Promotions of the Church 100 l. yearly, or more, shall for one, or every of the said 100 l. yearly, give a competent exhibition to maintain one Scholar, or more, either in Grammar-Schools, or the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who when they have profited in Learning, may be partners in their Patrons Cure and Charge, in Preaching and otherwise, or else profit the Common-wealth with their Council and Wisdom.

11. That all Parsons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels, or Mansions, shall bestow yearly upon the said Mansions or Chancels of their Churches (being in decay) the fifth part of their Benefices, till they had fully repaired the same.

That all these Injunctions should be observed, under pain of Suspension and Sequestration of the Benefices until they were done.

Other Injunctions also at divers times were set out, which may be seen in *Fox*. But as the People were not generally satisfied with the Kings alterations, and proceedings in Religion and

The People
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1536. and Laws: So certain fifteenths, granted by Act of Parliament, which were demanded of them (about these times) being more than for their Poverty and former Taxes they were well able to pay, made them not a little murmur; but if this were a Crime in them, Cromwel was not altogether free from Error; since to charge the Purse at the same time, that he would make a Reformation plausible, could be no safe Counsel; and in effect, it prov'd so. For the People did rise in many places; though as they agreed not alike in the causes of their Discontentments, they neither took Arms at once, nor altogether for the same Pretexs. The *Lincolnshire-men* set on by one Doctor Mackrel (Prior of *Barlings* in the said County, but calling himself Captain Coblet) began first, though the moderatest in their demands, as hoping, perchance, the sooner to have them granted. But as this was not the way, so neither could they long subsist, when no such necessary motive united them.

The Grievances they sent the King in the quality of most humble Supplicants, were, *The suppression of so many Religious Houses: The Act of Uses, as restraining the Subjects liberty in the Declaration of their Wills: The fifteenths, for which yet Poverty is only pleaded: That his Grace had ill Counsellors, and of mean Birth about him, (among which Cromwel was not forgotten;)* That divers Bishops had subverted the Faith, and that they fear'd the Jewels and Plate of their Parish Churches should be taken from thence, as lately from the Religious Houses. For Reformation of which, yet, they, as his poor and true Subjects, humbly desir'd his Gracious Majesty to call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and to see such order and directions concerning the Premises given, as they might accept his Grace to be their Governour and Supreme Head of the Church of England, which they did acknowledge to be his Graces true Inheritance and Right: And that his Grace should have the Tenth, and First-fruits of Spiritual Promotions of the value of twenty pounds and above, and of all other under the said value, which do not keep Residence and Hospitality.

And now these Articles being publish'd in the Neighbourhood, and thence voiced abroad, drew many to them; while yet for more colouring their Actions, they swore to be true to God, the King, and Common-weal. Nevertheless, as they reserv'd the interpretation of the Oath to themselves, they began a dangerous Rebellion. All which being advertis'd to our vigilant King, caus'd him immediately to dispatch *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk*, against them, about the seventh of October (as I find by an Original) with Commission to raise Forces: Together with which he writ a Letter to them in such a Stile, as though he might promise Justice, he yet requir'd many things, and particularly that two of the chief Rebels should be deliver'd to him. Whereupon the Knights and Gentlemen, who were associated with these Rebels, wrote to the Duke of Suffolk, how ill the People were satisfied with the Kings Reply; and that upon reading of it, they cry'd they would march on, and make the Gentlemen go along, or else destroy them. And that for this cause they had taken on them to be their Heads and Captains; as also that by Policy they might the better stay them: Which yet they thought would be hard to do, in regard the People rose in so many other parts. Adding further, that if they had not found means to keep them back, and perswaded them to Petition the King, they had before then been at *Huntington*; and that there was no ways to appease them but a General Pardon. This Letter made it self considerable; for when it were a true Allegation, it had its Pretext, though

not sufficient to excuse the Gentlemen: And when nor, it was cunningly remonstrated; for it serv'd both ways. Howbeit, the Duke of Suffolk finding that the end thereof, at worst, was to obtain a General Pardon; and that the Commotion might end thereby, solicited on their behalf: Yet so as he offer'd withal to go against the Rebels with the Forces he had there assembled, if the King gave him leave. In the mean while, he order'd the business in that manner, that he obtain'd of them not to proceed till the Kings Answer were return'd. But the King, who was inform'd already from divers parts (but chiefly from *Yorkshire*) that the People began there also to take Arms; and knowing of what great Consequence it might be, if the great Persons in those parts (though the rumour were false) should be said to joyn with him, had commanded *George Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Manners Earl of Rutland, and George Hastings Earl of Huntingdon*, to make a Proclamation to the *Lincolnshire-men*, summoning and commanding them under their allegiance and peril of their Lives to return: Which as it much disheartned them, so many stole away, while the rest (being assured from the Duke, that as long as they were in Arms, it was in vain for him to mediate their Pardon) scatter'd themselves to divers parts; the more stubborn and poorer sort yet retiring to the *Yorkshire-men*. Besides they had heard, that (notwithstanding the foul ways of this Country, and the Winter season approaching) the great Ordinance was coming on, and the King in Person following: All which Considerations, together with the danger that divers of the principal Ring-leaders found themselves in, as being Men of good Fortunes, and sure to suffer most, caus'd them to persuade those who remain'd, to make their submission as the King requir'd; which was, That they should acknowledge their fault, deliver up their Armour, and approve and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made since the Kings Reign.

And so this business ended: Though not that of *Yorkshire*, which pass'd in this manner: While the *Lincolnshire* Commotion was on foot, the *Yorkshire-men* made an Insurrection under the command of one *Robert Aske*; they would have it call'd yet only a *Pilgrimage of Grace*; while, for giving it Reputation, certain Priests with Crosses led the way, the Army following with Banners, wherein were painted the Crucifix, the five Wounds, and the Chalice. And because they desir'd to draw in as many good Persons as they could, they attempted first *William Lord Dacres of Gilsland*, advising him (as being of late wrongfully accus'd, and in danger, had not his Peers acquitted him) to joyn with them, but he refus'd: Then they sent to invite divers others, using threats, where persuasions serv'd not; insomuch, that at last they made fundry Persons of quality swear to be faithful to them: For they pretended only the good of the King and Commonwealth, the Church and Religion, and the depressing of Hereticks.

They being now assembled in great number, the dispossessed and discontented Monks every where made Petitions to *Aske* for remedy; who I find also re-establish'd them in divers places, wishing them to pray for the King, and to take up Victuals of the Farmers of the said Monasteries upon Bill, till their suit were granted. Which being advertis'd to the King on the one side, and (presently after) that the Commons of *Richmont, Lancashire, Durham, Westmerland, &c.* were up in another place, and had fir'd the Beacons, made him think what he had to do: Yet was not his Service neglected by some of the Nobility

Alterations in Religion.

Rebellion in Lincolnshire.

Grievances of the Rebels.

1536.

The Rebels dispersed.

Insurrection on in Yorkshire.

1536.

And in other Places.

1536. lity there, especially *George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury*, who raising many Men before he received the Kings Commission for it, did by this dangerous discretion much advance his Service. For though his zeal for the welfare of the State were above scruples, and that some Learned Men in the Law besides had told him, that his Intention being good, his Action could not be construed ill: He yet said, he knew his danger so well, as he had sent to the King for a Pardon; while for deterring the Rebels, as well as the satisfying many, who otherwise might have suspected him, he gave an Oath to his Men to be true unto the King; protesting further, that according to the ancient Loyalty of the *Talbots* to the Crown, when it had been upon a stake, he would have liv'd and dy'd in defence of it. And now the first order the King gave was to command the Duke of *Suffolk's* stay in *Lincolnshire*, lest they should rise again. Then he appointed the Earl of *Shrewsbury* as his Lieutenant, to march with a great Army and the Canon, against the Northern Men: He writ also to *Edward Stanley Earl of Derby*, to raise what Forces he could, promising to repay his Charges. *Henry Courtney* also Marquis of *Exeter*, Cousin-german to the King, and the Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Rutland* offer'd themselves to the Kings Service. And because now divers Monks in those parts were restor'd to their Monasteries by the Rebels (as I find particularly those of *Sally*, *Whally*, *Norton*, and *Hexam*) he commanded them to be taken out, and Martial Law to be us'd against them. Yet as the noise of this Insurrection was by continual Courriers augmented, *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk* about the twentieth of October, was dispatch'd with Forces to assist the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: Who writ to the King, that the *Yorkshire-men*, as being us'd to Arms, were more considerable than those of *Lancashire*, yet that they could not long continue together, but for lack of means to provide Victuals otherwise than by Rapine; and the season of the year: And that the best way was to persuade them to lay down their Arms, or sow Sedition among them.

They force the Arch-bishop of York and Lord Darcy to take their Oath. This while *Aske* and his Company advancing forward, forc'd *Edward Lee Archbishop of York*, and *Thomas Lord Darcy* to surrender to them *Pomfret Castle*, and take the Oath; which was, That they should enter into this Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preservation of the Kings Person and Issue, the purifying of the Nobility, and expelling all Villan blood, and evil Counsellors; and for no particular profit for themselves, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to slay nor Murder any for Envy; but to put away all fears, and take afore them the Cross of Christ, his Faith, and the Restitution of the Church, the Suppression of Hreticks and their Opinions. But as this Castle was strong, the Archbishop and Lord Darcy (though pretending want of Furniture and Provision to hold out) were suspected to have render'd it in favour of the Rebels. They stay'd not yet so, but took the City of *York* and *Hull*; and betwixt Force and Intreaty drew most of the great Persons in those parts unto them. While not content to have pretext of Religion, they by false tales got many Partizans: Therefore they gave out as before they had done in *Lincolnshire*, that all the Gold in *England* should be brought to the Tower to be touch'd; and that the King claim'd all the Cattel unmark'd as his: As also all the Goods and Ornaments of Parish Churches; that they should pay Fines for Christenings, Weddings and Buryings, and for Licences to eat white Bread, and the daintier sorts of Mears, &c. And this again stirr'd rancor in the Peoples Hearts.

Aske and his Followers being now in *Pomfret*, *Lancaster* the Herald came with a Proclamation from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, requiring it to be read. But *Aske* sitting in State, and having the Archbishop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, desir'd first to know the Contents; which being told, he said it should not be proclaim'd. Nevertheless, he gave the Herald a safe conduct, as long as he wore his Coat. But the Rebels not contented thus, requir'd *Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland* (being then in his Castle of *Skipton*) to joyn with them: But he by Letter assures the King, that though 500 Gentlemen (retain'd at his cost) had forsaken him, he would yet continue the Kings true Subject, and defend his Castle (in which he had great Ordnance) against them all. Sir *Ralph Evers* also kept *Scarborough Castle* with no less courage against the Rebels; he and his Company having no sustenance but Bread and Water for the space of twenty days that they Besieg'd him.

The King being now in *Windfor*, intends in Person to go against the Rebels, commanding his Nobles for this purpose to meet him at *Northampton* November 7. And it was time to take some good order, for they were now grown to be thirty thousand Men; in which number (being divided into three Battels) they presented themselves before *Doncaster*: Near which, the Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Marquis of *Exeter* were encamp'd with an Army, though little in number (as being but five thousand) yet better furnish'd. And two ways they had to pass the River *Don* to the Town; a Bridge, and a Foord: The Bridge the Duke took on him to defend; not neglecting yet to entertain them with a Treaty, as expecting daily more Forces: The Foord was undertaken by the rest of the Army. This alone yet could not have stay'd the Rebels; but a great Rain falling that Night, so increas'd the Water, that it was not passable the next day: Besides, by the coming of some Shot, the Bridge was so fortified, that it was now defensible. This hindered not the Treaty; for the Duke of *Norfolk* and the rest knowing of what Importance it was to gain time till all the Kings Forces were assembled, and having intelligence besides among the Rebels, got a Petition from them to be deliver'd to the King, which Sir *Ralph Elecker* and *Robert Bowes* should carry, (who though manfully defending *Hull* against the Rebels, were at last forc'd to joyn and take the Oath.) The Duke himself also promis'd to go with them, upon condition that there might be a Cessation from Hostility in the mean time; which was condescended to. Coming thus to Court, and the Duke being first heard (who acquainted the King with the state of all things) the aforesaid Commissioners presented the intrusted Petition with many excuses on their own part. But the King, who desir'd still to gain more time, would return no present answer; and the rather, because he was inform'd by the Duke that the Rebels began to disband; for the Treaty disheartned and divided them, while Rumours were dispers'd every where, that some of the Chiefs would compound for themselves, and leave the rest to the Gallows. In-somuch that daily and nightly they ran away, especially the poorer sort, who had neither means to subsist, nor might have leave from their Captain to take any thing by force; which being advertis'd to the King, made him both give private order to discharge those Troops he had appointed to meet him at *Northampton*, and to detain *Elecker* and *Bowes*, upon pretext that some Innovation had been attempted by the *Yorkshire-men*.

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men since their coming up; nevertheless, at last for clearing all suspicion (since the Commons took this detention of their Messengers so ill, that they encourag'd one another to be in Arms again at an hours warning) the King thought fit to send his answer; yet not by them, but by the Duke of Norfolk, together with a safe conduct (under the Great Seal) for three hundred Persons to meet in the Town of Doncaster for concluding all things; neither did the King doubt to admit this great number, as being confident they would not only less agree among themselves, but that some would be won to his Party. After which, the said *Elecker* and *Bowes* had their dispatch too, as being commanded to say, that his Majesty took it marvelous unkindly at their hands, that knowing his Benignity, they would rather rise in Arms than Petition his Majesty, and that they had left their Country open to the Scots, who prepar'd to invade them; referring the rest to the Duke of Norfolk, who brought (as I gather out of those Originals I have seen) the offer of a Pardon to all, except six nam'd, and four un-nam'd, when the rest would submit. But as the four un-nam'd concern'd every body, so it was declin'd. Nevertheless, certain Books the King sent down, which were, as I take it, the Articles of Religion, devis'd by himself, being receiv'd by them, took away much misunderstanding and ill impression which their discontented Priests had given; while for accompanying hereof, express order was sent to the Bishops in their several Diocesses, not to neglect the usual Ceremonies of the Church. Hereupon the Clergy of those parts met at *Pomfret*, and agreed on certain Articles of Religion, to be propos'd in the following Treaty. The Archbishop of York being present, and taking occasion to tell them, that though Pilgrimages were good, yet an arm'd Pilgrimage could not be lawful. After this, a day of meeting at Doncaster was appointed, in which *John* Lord Scroop, Lord Latimer, *John* Lord Lumley, and *Thomas* Lord Darcy, Sir *Thomas* Percy, *Robert* Aske, and about 300 Persons, were to treat with the Duke of Norfolk, Sir *William* Fitz-William Admiral of England, and the rest: But concerning Aske, there was some difficulty, the Rebels demanding Hostages for his safe return. But the King inform'd hereof, answer'd, that he knew no Gentleman or other, whom he esteem'd so little, as to put him in pledge for such a Villain; therefore he wish'd the Duke of Norfolk and the rest, to assure the passages over the River Don, and to secure Doncaster: And whereas the Rebels had demanded an abstinence from War for fourteen days, in case no agreement should be made; not to grant it, as being time given them to fortifie themselves, whereas he should rather win it from them by Policy for his own Advantage. But the Duke of Norfolk supposing, that a General Pardon and a Parliament in those parts (which they requir'd) might quiet all, had by Letter to our King, perswaded him to accord it, or else to march towards the Rebels with an Army of Gentlemen and Household Servants, and not to trust the Commons; since the Rebels, though they had laid down Arms, had yet (upon firing of Beacons and other Signals) agreed among themselves to resume them again on all occasions. And now on December the sixth, the 300 on the part of the Commons came to Doncaster to the Kings Lieutenants, where their first demand was a General Pardon, then a Parliament to be held in those parts, and a Court of Justice, that none beyond Trent might be cited to London in Law-Suits. After which, they desir'd a repeal of the Act of Parliament for the last Sub-

sidy, for Uses, for Misprision of Treason for words, for Tenths and First-fruits; then that the Lady Mary might be restor'd to her Legitimation, the Pope to his wonted Jurisdiction, and the late expuls'd Monks to their Houses; the *Luthe-rans* to be punish'd, the Lord Privy-Seal and Lord Chancellor to be excluded from the next Parliament, and the Doctors *Leigh* and *Layton* to be imprison'd for Bribery and Extortion. But as these demands were more insolent than those of the *Lincolnshire-men*, and howsoever such as the King would not accord, the Lords rejected them; whereupon the Rebels assembled in great numbers, divers others also, desirous to know the Success, appearing among them. Which caus'd the Duke of Norfolk to write again to the King what a multitude was gotten together, and if no agreement follow'd, his Highness Army was in ill estate to resist. Therefore, he and his Associates desir'd his Grace to send them instructions for divers degrees of proceeding with the Rebels, and that the last might be for gaining of time, in case they came to no Agreement.

The King finding these difficulties, and suspecting besides that the Emperor had or would have a hand therein, and that the Rebels might have assistance from Scotland; and for the rest, believing that all was but mis-understanding in the simpler sort, which yet he hop'd his Book of Articles, and other good orders would in time rectifie, sent to the Duke of Norfolk a General Pardon for the Rebels, and promise of a Parliament, with directions yet to the Duke, that he should not make use thereof, but in case of extremity. But the Duke and the other Lords finding so many gather'd together, as their number was very great; and being not able to distinguish those who came on the Rebels part, from such as curiosity only brought thither; and considering that the first denial of their demands had so inflam'd them, that they intended to have fallen upon the Town of Doncaster, (had not the River this second time swelling by Rain the Night preceding, prevented their attempt) made use of the Kings General Pardon and Promise of a Parliament, which they all gladly accepted, and return'd home. The Contents of this Pardon, dated December 9. at Richmond, and Sealed with the Great Seal, was, as our Records shew, that the King granted them all a general and free Pardon of all Rebellion, Treasons, Felonies, and Trespases, unto the day of the date hereof; provided that they make their Submission to the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Shrewsbury (the Kings Lieutenant,) and that they rebel no more. I find also by our Records, that to the Petition (formerly mention'd) sent by *Elecker* and *Bowes*, the King sent a Reply pen'd by himself; which I doubt not gave much satisfaction (as another had before done to this effect sent to the *Lincolnshire-men*.) It was this:

First, as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the terms be so general, that it would be very hard to make certain answer to the same; but if they mean the Faith of Christ, to the which all Christian Men be only bound, we declare and protest our self to be that Prince that doth intend, and hath always minded to live and die in the Maintenance, Defence and Observation of the purity of the same. And that no Man can or dare set his foot by ours, in proving of the contrary. Marvelling therefore much, that ignorant People would go about to take upon them to instruct and teach us (which hath been noted something Learned) what the Faith should be. And also, that they being ignorant People, be so presumptuous (seeing that we and our whole Clergy in Convocation, hath in Articles declar'd

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1536. declar'd it) as to take upon them to correct us all therein. Or that they would be so ingrate and unnatural towards their most Rightful King, and Natural Sovereign Lord, without any our desert, upon false reports or surmises to suspect us of the same, and give rather credence to forged light Tales, than to the very truth by us these twenty-eight years us'd, and by our Deeds approv'd.

The second, which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the Liberties of the same; we say it is so general a Proposition, that without distinctions no Man with troth can answer; neither by Gods Laws, nor by the Laws of the Realm. For first, the Church which they mean, must be known. Secondly, whether those things which they call Liberties, and say they would maintain, be things lawful and beneficial to the Prince and Commonwealth, or otherwise. And these known, we doubt not but they shall be answer'd according to Gods Law, Equity, and Justice. Nevertheless, for all their generality this we dare affirm, that (meaning what Church they list) we have done nothing that may not be abiden by, both by Gods Laws and Mans Laws, or that is prejudicial to our Commonwealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently consider'd. And in our Church of *England*, whereof we be the Supream Head on Earth, we have done nothing so onerous and chargeable to them, as many of our Predecessors have done upon much lesser grounds. Wherefore, sithence this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they bear any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great unkindness and unnaturalness in them, which had leaver a Churl or Twain should enjoy those profits of their Monasteries for the supportation and maintenance of abominable Life, than that we their Prince should receive the same, towards our extreme Charges done, and daily sustain'd for their defence against foreign Enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things, the First is the Laws, the Second is the Commonwealth, the Third the Directors of the Laws under us. Touching the Laws, as it becometh not blind Men to judge of Colours, ne to take upon them to be Judges of the same; so we dare expressly and boldly affirm, as a thing that may be easily and duly prov'd; that there were never in any one of our Predecessors days, so many wholsom, commodious and beneficial Acts made for the Commonwealth, as have been made in our time; and sithence some of them had credit and doing in our Affairs, that would now perchance pick them thank without desert; for our Lord forbid that both we and our Council should have lost so much time, as not to know better now, than we did in the beginning of our Reign, what were a Commonwealth, and what were against the good and commodity of the same; seeing we have been a King these twenty-eight years, and by experience learn'd the perfectness thereof. And although the folly and unkindness of some will not perchance let them so knowledge it, yet we trust and doubt not but the most part of our loving Subjects, especially those which be not seduc'd by false report, do both think it, accept it, and find it so. Now touching the Commonwealth, what King hath kept his so long in Wealth and Peace, so long without taking or doing wrong one to another, so indifferently ministred Justice to all Estates both high and low, so defended them from all outward Enemies, so fortified the Frontier of his Realm to his no little, and in manner inestimable Charges, and all for their Wealths and Safeties? What King hath given among

his Subjects more general and freer Pardons? What King hath been loather to punish his Subjects, or shew'd more Mercy among them? These things being so true as no true Man can deny them; it is an unnatural and unkind demeanour of you our Subjects, to believe or deem the contrary of it, by whose report soever it should be set forth against us. And at the beginning of our Reign where it is said, that so many Noblemen were Counsellors, we do not forget who were then Counsellors; for of the Temporality, there were but two worthy to be call'd Noble, the one the Treasurer of *England*, the other the High Steward of our Household. Others, as the Lord *Marney* and *Darcy*, but mean born Gentlemen, nor yet of any great Lands, till they were promoted by us, and so made Knights and Lords; the rest were Lawyers and Priests, saving the two Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*. If these be then the great number of Noblemen that is spoken of, and that our Subjects seem'd then contented withal, why then be they not much better contented with us which have so many Nobles indeed, both of Birth and Condition of our Council. For first of the Temporality of our Privy Council, we have the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Lord Steward, (when he is present) the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Suffex*, the Lord *Sands* our Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral Treasurer of our House, Sir *William Paulet* Comptroller of our House. And of the Spirituality, the Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*: And for because it is more than necessary to have some in our Privy Council Learned in our Laws and Pactes of the World; we by the advice of our whole Council, aforementioned, did elect and chuse into our Privy Council, and also in their Rooms, our Chancellor and Privy-Seal; thinking them Men in all our Opinion most meet for the same Rooms; and we with our whole Council think it right strange, that ye which be but Brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet for our Council, and who be not. Mark therefore now, how these seditious Persons, which thus wrongfully have born you thus in hand, have falsly abus'd you; that reckon there were then more Noble-men in our Privy Council than be now: But yet though of our great Clemency and Princely goodness we declare now the truth to pull our Subjects from that error and blindness they were led and train'd to by false and untrue surmise and report; we would again that every of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject to presume to take upon him the appointment of his King and Sovereign Lord's Council, ne for our part we will take any such thing at any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore, we would that from henceforth they should better remember the Duties of good Subjects to their natural Liege Lord, and meddle no further with those or such like things as they have nothing to do withal.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons do name certain of our Council to be subverters both of Gods Law, and the Laws of this Realm, we do take and repute them as just and true executors both of Gods Laws and ours, as far as their Commission under us doth extend. And if any of our Subjects can duly prove the contrary, we shall proceed against them, and all other offenders therein according to Justice, as to our Estate and Dignity Royal doth appertain. And in case it be but a false and an untrue report, as we verily think it is, then it were as meet, and standeth as well with Justice, that they should have the self-same punishment which wrong-

1536. wrongfully have objected this to them, that they should have had if they had deserv'd it. And one thing among others causeth us to think that this slander should be untrue, because it proceedeth from that place which is both far distant from that where they inhabit, and also from those People which never heard them Preach, nor yet know any part of their Conversation. Wherefore we exhort all ye our Commons to be no more so light of credit in believing of evil things spoke of us your natural Prince and Sovereign Lord, nor of any of our Prelates and Counsellors; but to think that your King, having so long reign'd over you with the advice of his Council, hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsellors, as those, whofoever they be, that have put this in your heads, or ye either, being but ignorant People, and out of all experience of Princes Affairs.

Here in this final Point, which ye our Commons of *Yorkshire, Westmerland, Cumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, Richmond-shire, Craven, Dent, Sedbane*, and all other places that have been seduc'd to this Insurrection to desire, and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions; we verily think that the rest of all our whole Commons of many Countries, to whom you be in manner but an handful, will greatly disdain, and not bear it, that you take upon you to set order to Us and them, and especially to Us, being Sovereign Lord to you both. And that (you being Rebels) you would make them as bearers and partakers of your Mischief, willing them to take Pardon for Insurrections, which verily we think and doubt not, they never minded; but like true Subjects, to the contrary, have both with Heart and Deed been ready to our call to defend both Us and themselves. And now for our part, as to your demands, We let you wit, that pardon of such things as you demand, lyeth only in the will and pleasure of the Prince: But it seemeth by your lewd Proclamations and safe Conducts, that there be among you, which take upon them both the parts of Kings and Counsellors, which neither by Us, nor by the general consent of our Realm hath been admitted to any such room. What Arrogance is then in those Wretches, being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subjects without Commission or Authority; yea and against Us, under a cloaked colour of your Wealth, and in our Name, and as the success and end would declare, if we should not be more merciful unto you, than you have deserv'd, to your own utter Confusions? Wherefore, we let all you our said Subjects again wit, that were it not that our Princely Heart cannot reckon this your shameful Insurrection, and most ingrate and unnatural Rebellion to be done of Malice or Rancor, but rather by a lightness given in manner by a naughty nature to Communalty, and a wondrous sudden surreption of Gentlemen; we must needs have executed another manner of punishment, than if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selves to our mercy, we intend to do (as by our Proclamations we doubt not ye be inform'd.)

And now this great Company being dispers'd, began to take Books of Controversies in hand, and inform themselves concerning the Kings Articles of Religion. But the Clergy of the North in general wholly opposing the Kings Reformation, kept the Rebellion still on foot, though outwardly smother'd for a while (as will appear in his place.)

Sandov. I shall come now to Foreign History.
Barbarossa being driven from Tunis, repairs to

the Turk, newly return'd from the Expedition to Persia; and persuades him to take Arms against the Emperor; who wanted (he said) only *Albarbarossa* to command intirely all that Coast of *Affrica*. The Counsel pleas'd him; and the rather that *Monsieur de Forrest* the French Ambassador concurr'd therein, and one *Pignaselo* a Renegado of Naples. Assembling thus an Army of 200000 Men, and 400 Gallies and Ships, (in which were 3000 Pieces of Ordnance) under the command of *Lutifi Bassa*, he appointed them to be ready at *Velona*, being not above 15 Leagues distant from *Otranto* in Italy; from whence a small part of the Fleet being sent to enter that Continent, they chose rather to fall on *Castro* than *Otranto*, or *Brindisi*, being stronger than that they could be gotten easily. This great preparative yet, at last, came to nothing: For those of *Apulia* not rising in favour of the French (which was hop'd) nor *Francis* having any Army near to second him, and *Doria* (besides that) having taken some of their Gallies from them, the *Bassa* having gotten *Castro*, and taken store of Captives, neglected the Enterprize, and return'd; while *Forrest* the French Ambassador died at *Verona*.

About this time *Alexandro de Medicis*, first Duke of Florence, was betray'd by his Kinsman *Lorenzo de Medicis*, who promising to help him to a Lady much desir'd by the Duke, entic'd him to his House in the Night: But in stead of the Lady, *Lorenzo* with two Assassins came in and kill'd him; which yet was reveng'd by *Cosmo de Medicis*, his Successor.

Though the Emperor were now retir'd to Spain, (as is told before,) he yet continu'd his Wars against the French in the Low-Countries (and the rather, that our King had promis'd to be Neuter betwixt them,) giving order thereupon to besiege *Therouenne*; which being advertis'd to *Francis*, caus'd him to raise an Army of 25000 Men under *Anne Montmorency* his Lieutenant, wherewith (the King being present) *Hesdin, St. Paul*, and divers other places were taken: While by a publick Act in *Paris* the Emperor was declar'd a Rebel and Felon, and that he had forfeited all the Estate he held of the French Crown, being *Artois, Flanders, Charolois*, and some others. But some considerable Forces being rais'd on the Emperors part, and half the French Army being diminish'd by reason of Garrisons put into the Towns won, and other occasions, *Francis* with the rest of his Army return'd. The Imperial Army hereupon, commanded by the Count de *Bures*, took * back *St. Paul*, † surpris'd *Monstruel*, and defeated *Claude de Annebault* Mareschal of France, though bravely defending himself after his Victualling of *Therouenne*. Things being brought to these extremities, *Mary Queen of Hungary*, Regent of the Low-Countries, mediated and effected a Truce on those parts between the two Princes for three Months: While in *Savoy* some Towns revolting, the Count de *St. Paul* was sent thither by *Francis*, who recover'd all again, and freed *Turin* then besieged by the Imperials. Yet *Alonso de Avalos*, Marquis of *Guasto*, won back the greatest part of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo* in the behalf of *Francois* Marquis thereof; who for falling away to the Emperor, was by the French King not long since depriv'd of his Possessions. But the Marquis enjoy'd not this Restitution, being kill'd soon after with a small shot, while he play'd the part of a Canoneer at the Siege of the Castle of *Carmagnola*, *Francis* understanding now the progress of the Spaniard in those parts, commands the *Seigneur de Humieres* with some German Foot to pass to *Piedmont*, both to defend the places he had gotten there, and take others; who thereupon besieged *Asti*, but in vain, it being

1536. ing well defended; so that raising the Siege, he went to *Albe*, which was rendred him without Resistance.

Octob. 10. Busineses passing thus with various Success on both sides, *Francis* thought fit to send *Henry* the new *Dauphin* (his Elder Brother *Francis* after four days Sicknes, being the last year dead of a Surfeit of drinking cold water after Tennis-play, rather than Poyson by the Emperors procurement, though one suffer'd for it) and *Antonie de Bourbon* Duke of *Vendosme*, and *Montmorency*, who made their way over the *Alps*, by force took divers Towns, and perform'd many brave Exploits; which being advertis'd to the King, made him resolve to go thither in Person, where advising with the *Dauphin*, and *Montmorency* what was further to be done, News was brought of a general abstinence of War concluded by the mediation of the Queen of *Hungary*, from that time being 28 of November 1537. till the 22th of February following; for as upon a Truce made a little before in *Picardie* for three Months (as above said) Commissioners were sent to the Emperor to treat of a Peace, or at least a General Truce, and that for a longer time, so this Cessation was accorded: And the rather, that the Pope had now a long while mediated it. And by this means, as the Siege was rais'd from *Therouenne*, so the *French* remain'd in possession of all they had in *Piedmont*. This Truce being publish'd, the Marquis of *Guaſto* demanded leave to kiss the hands of *Francis*; which being granted, he with many *Spaniards* in good Equipage came towards the Army at *Carmagnola*, while *Francis* for more honouring of *Montmorency*, (as a Man who for his rare Merits, he thought deserv'd that Esteem) took him in the middle, betwixt himself and the *Dauphin*, and so expected the Marquis, who having first done his due Respects, and after treated of an agreement concerning the *Soldatesque* in the places taken on either part, departed with much satisfaction of the Reception which *Francis* had given.

Nov. 28. The Emperor this while not unmindful of the Princess *Mary*, us'd all means for restoring her to her Legitimation and Possibility of Inheritance. Therefore, desiring of the Pope that *Reginald Pool* (who a little before had written his Books de *Unione Ecclesiastica*) should be made Cardinal, the Pope both easily granted it, and in the beginning of 1537. imploy'd him as Legate to *Flanders*, that by this means he might confirm the *Roman Catholics* in *England*, and advance his Designs, being to stir up Enemies to our King. Though as *Pool* was of the Blood-Royal (his Mother *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, being Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward IV.*) many wanted not, who believ'd that his zeal was complicate with some Ambition to intitle his Line to the Crown, when our King might be depos'd, and his Posterity, especially by Queen *Anne*, declar'd Illegitimate. Being now on his way, our King who was inform'd hereof, writ to *Francis* to deny him passage through his Kingdom, or to deliver him up as a Rebel, or at least not to treat with him as a Legate; who thereupon dismiss'd him. Coming thus to the *Low-Countries*, his Servant *Michael Throgmorton* was very inquisitive (as our Records tell us) whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Physicians to bear a Man-child or Female: Which, as it made the intentions of the Cardinal more suspected, so it gave occasion to *John Hutton*, the Kings Agent in the *Low-Countries*, to gain *Throgmorton*. He was also commanded by our King to charge the Queen-Regent there with breach of Treaty, if she receiv'd the Cardinal, being (as he call'd him) a

Traitor; which he seconded also in that manner, that though at first she said it was not fit for her to refuse the Pope's Legate, yet being now urg'd again, at a time when she was (as is before related) in War with *Francis*, she forbade the Cardinal to enter; telling him, that since he was an *Englishman* of that Quality, his Negotiation could not be hidden, and that it might be to her prejudice. Howsoever, the Cardinal sent a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, to clear himself of all design against our King, and dispatch'd *John Matthei* Bishop of *Velona* to the Regent, both to charge her with disobedience to the Apostolick See, and to protest that Legate was never so us'd: Adding, that his business was chiefly to dispute the errors of our Kings Reformation. But the Lady Regent not liking disputations of Religion in her Dominions, again refus'd him: So that he was forc'd to hold his Correspondence in *England* by more clandestine means: Whereof, as also his other proceedings, his Servant *Throgmorton*, and one Frier *Peto* certified some part, as I find by our Records; as also his return to *Rome* in November 1537. where he was receiv'd with much Triumph (as the said *Throgmorton* affirm'd.) This proceeding of the Pope's on the other side made our King cherish the Princes of *Germany*: For November which he took this Occasion.

The Protestants finding their late Pacification with the Emperor not observ'd in all Points, met again at *Smalcald*, Feb. 7. 1537. to consult what was to be done. Hither *Heldus* came on the Emperors part, who exhorted the Princes, First, to accept the Council indicted: Secondly, to aid the Emperor with Money against the *Turk*; or (if he stirr'd not) against the *French* (now usurping *Savoy*,) &c. Thirdly, he objected to them, that they had receiv'd into their League new Confederates since the Treaty at *Noremburg*. To this the Protestants answer'd, that for the Council, it was not propos'd in a due manner nor place (the Emperor and Princes having decreed that it should be in *Germany*,) therefore they could not admit it. For the Treaty of Peace at *Noremburg*, it was not broken by them, but by the Emperors Officers, who in the *Camera Imperialis*, contrary to the Conditions agreed on, had question'd Men for causes touching Religion. And as for those entred into their League since the Treaty of *Noremburg*, it was desir'd that they also might be comprehended in that Peace; upon which condition they promis'd to furnish the Emperor such Monies as he requir'd. Howbeit, if he offer'd violence to them, they protest- ed to defend them as their Confederates.

Things standing thus, King *Henry* privately dispatch'd *William Paget* and *Christopher Mount* to *Smalcald*, with Instructions to take *France* in their way, and acquaint *Stephen Gardiner* his *English* Ambassador, and the *French* King therewith, and by their directions to do all things, and that the Voyage was to be perform'd in disguis'd Habit. In conclusion, the sum of their Instructions was, to dehort the *German* Princes from according either with the Emperor, or to the Council indicted; but rather to refer all their differences to him and the *French* King. And herein as the King pretended to shew his love to the said Princes, (who, if the Emperor made a Peace with them, should (he said) be singly and separately oppress'd) so he had his own ends, as knowing that if a Council were held, his Actions would receive no favourable Censure; so that though not only the *French* King, but the Emperor had promis'd (as I find in our Records) that in the Council his Affairs should not be question'd; yet he gave them no intire credit. There-

Dec. 10.
1536.

March.

Cardinal
Pool sent
Legate to
the Re-
gent of
the Low-
Countries,
but is not
receiv'd
there.

The af-
fairs of the
Prote-
stants in
Germany
Feb. 7.

The King
sends Am-
bassadors
to them
with In-
structions

Feb.

1537.
March 25.
He pub-
lickly pro-
tests a-
gainst cal-
ling a Ge-
neral
Council.

Therefore, after the Protestants had sent him their Recusation of the Council, he made a publick Protestation against it; shewing, that the Indiction belong'd not to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Emperor, and the Princes who should send or come thither. That the time was unfit, War being then betwixt the Emperor and Francis; the place inconvenient for the English, as being in Mantua, whether they could neither come safely, nor declare themselves freely; that the manner of deciding Controversies in Religion was unjust, the Bishop of Rome being Judge in his own Cause; that therefore the Pope's intention was rather to establish his Authority on this occasion, than to yield to a Reformation, and after all to glory that a Council had damn'd the contrary Opinion. That for his particular therefore, he would not come there, as having more reason to keep home, and provide against the Rebellions and Mischiefs that the said Bishop had now for three years space procur'd or rais'd in his Kingdom, than run new dangers. In conclusion, that nothing remain'd to be done, but that every Prince should reform in his own Kingdom; all other ways being suspect, perillous, and unequal: Yet if any could shew a better Expedient, he would give ear to it. The French King would not declare himself yet so far; and indeed he had use of the Pope at this time. Nevertheless, he publicly protested again to the Princes, that he would never consent to a Council which was not assembled in a safe place, and free manner: And that his Son-in-Law, the King of Scots was of the same mind.

Cont. Trid.

May now approaching, Frederic Duke of Mantua requir'd Money of the Pope to maintain a Guard for the security of his City during the Council. But the Pope denying this, or at least requiring, that if he paid this Guard, it might be at his command, found the Duke averse; so that he deferr'd the Council from May to November, and then to May next, and lastly, transferr'd it to Vicenza, being in the Venetian Territory.

Cont. Trid.
Sleid.

And because (by reason of these delays) many doubted whether the Pope really intended a redress to the Enormities then generally complain'd of, he resolv'd privately to proceed in a Reformation a year since propos'd. And this was a singular ingenuity: Yet as he referr'd the business to the Cardinals Contarino, Theatino, Sadoleto, and Reginald Pool, and some others who were passionate on their own side, they produc'd, after many Conferences, no more than a Remonstrance of divers abuses in the Government and Administration of Ecclesiastical Persons and Affairs; for in the Church Doctrine they would not admit an Error. But there were few Princes then living who would not have been glad that something more had been done; but as their Subjects were so much at the Pope's dispose (when he would use his Authority,) and as no little Sums were drawn out of their Kingdoms; that I may say nothing of Theological Points vexed on either side. Howbeit, this Reformation (being extant in Sleidan lib. 12.) is worth the seeing: For certainly it was the occasion of rectifying divers abuses in that Church; so that it hath been better, or at least warier ever since: Whereby it appears, that Controversies in Religion, though they produce many pernicious effects, have yet this one good, that they make both sides more careful not to offend; while fear lest personal faults should redound to the detriment of the Religion they profess, becomes a caution for Verrue and good Example; so can God draw good out of evil; and so can Man pervert all again: For though indeed there was hope at this time that a further Reformation

Sleid. Com.
lib. 12.

might have follow'd, (and certainly it had been the safest way to begin there) yet as Luther, Stermius, and others hearing what was done by the Delegates at Rome, both irrided it publicly, and rejected all Reformations but their own; so all hope of Reconciliation in this kind was precluded: While the Pope and Cardinals hearing thereof again, found now so little probability of an accord by endeavouring to come nearer the Protestants, that they thought it would rather derogate from the Authority of the Church (as if it might err) than establish a General Peace.

It is time I return now to those home Affairs which pass'd while those foreign Businesses formerly related were in Action.

The Insurrection of the North was not yet so quieted, but that the King thought fit to hold a hand over them: Therefore he commanded the Duke of Norfolk to stay there, and together with the Earl of Shrewsbury to compose all things: Who thereupon took the submission of the Commons; which was, First, to revoke all Oaths and Promises made in the former Insurrection, asking the King forgiveness on their Knees. Secondly, to be true to the King, his Heirs and Successors. Thirdly, To observe and maintain all Acts of Parliament since the first year of the Kings Reign. Fourthly, Not to take Arms again, but by his Highness's Authority. Fifthly, To apprehend all seditious Persons. And Sixthly, To remove all the Monks, Friars and Nuns they had replac'd in the late dissolv'd Monasteries. Together with which these Lords had private Instructions to bring in the Lord Thomas Darcy and Robert Aske; and for Aske, I find by our History and Records, that he came to our King, and that upon the Submission aforesaid, and Oath not to depart for any long season without the Kings leave, being well receiv'd for the present, he was dismiss'd again. But the Lord Darcy, suspecting he should be question'd, excus'd himself to Cromwel; saying, that all he did was only for retaining so much credit among the Commons, as might better enable him to do his Highness Service: Adding thereunto a note of the Services he had done the King and his Father for fifty years. But this did not avail; for he was sent for to London, and Imprison'd, that so he might no more run such hazards, the King foreseeing the Rebellion would break out again, as indeed it happen'd: For Nicolas Musgrave, Thomas Tilby, and others Besieg'd Carlisle with 8000 Men, but were repuls'd by the City; and in their return encountred by the Duke of Norfolk, who caus'd all the Captains (save Musgrave, who escap'd) and about seventy Persons, by Law-Martial to be hang'd on Carlisle Walls.

Sir Francis Bigot, and one Halam attempted also to surprize the Town of Hull; but were prevented, and they both taken and executed. For which Insurrections, and some lesser which follow'd, I find yet no reason deliver'd, but that the People were unsatisfied because a Parliament was not held at York, according to their expectation; and that they imagin'd the Duke of Norfolk had order secretly (notwithstanding the Pardon) to chastise the principal Offenders. But our King on the other side, alledg'd, that since they had not restor'd all the Religious Houses, in which they had replac'd the Monks, he was not bound strictly to hold promise with them. Howsoever, these new Revolts ended quickly: And now the Duke having this occasion, proceeded severely; for having by the King's Commandment spread his Royal Banner, he thereupon executed Martial-Law where he thought it needful. In conclusion, so many were found to

1537.

1537.

Aske comes to Court

Feb.

Lord Darcy Imprison'd.

Musgrave and the Rebels defeated in Cumberland.

Sir Francis Bigot rebellious, is taken and executed.

Feb.

1537. be Complices in Treason, or the Conspiracy of it, that the Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his Wife (or Paramour,) Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, were taken and brought Prisoners to London; and in June following, the Lord Hussey for the Lincolnshire business, and the Lord Darcy were Arraign'd at Westminster before the Marquis of Exeter then High Steward, and found guilty of High Treason.

The Lords
Darcy and
Hussey Be-
headed.

The Lord Darcy was Beheaded at Tower-Hill, and the Lord Hussey at Lincoln: Others were hang'd at Hull, and at York, some elsewhere, among whom were divers Religious Persons: The news whereof being certified by the Duke of Norfolk to Court, the King by Letter to him, said, he would close this Tragedy: For he sent now a General Pardon; which was receiv'd with great joy, many being terrified with the Dukes proceedings. All this great Service of the Duke of Norfolk yet could not exempt him from Calumny: For the Lord Darcy during his Imprisonment, had accus'd him, as favouring the Rebels Articles when they first met at Doncaster. But the Duke denied it, offering the Duel; saying, that Aske (who suffer'd at York before the said Lord) told him the said Lords Intentions; who (he said) bare him ill will ever since the Duke had solicited the said Lord to deliver Aske into his hands, when he was in chief credit with the Rebels; which Darcy denying, some expostulation had pass'd betwixt them. Nevertheless, I find the King was so well satisfied of the Duke, that those things were pass'd over without further questioning.

Aske
hang'd.

Nov. 14.
1536.

Of all which proceedings (from the beginning) though James the Scottish King (now in France) were advertis'd; yet he stir'd not. And it was happy for our State; for had he joyn'd, he might have endanger'd the Northern parts, as People stood then affected. Howsoever, our King who thought his absence was not security enough, had employ'd Sir Ralph Sadler thither, with command to reside till James return'd, (which was about Whitsontide, 1537.) and to inform him of all Occurrents. Howbeit, I find that James in his way touching on the Coast of England, divers English cast themselves at his feet, and desir'd him to assist them, saying, he should have all: (For so the Original hath it.) But the King would not suddenly discover himself. Coming thus to Edinburgh with his new married Queen, (who was brought up under the Queen of Navarre, and not disaffected to the Reformation of Religion) he was receiv'd with much joy, which yet continued not long, the dying shortly after of an Heetick Fever: (As hath been formerly related.) Whereupon Cardinal Beton and Robert Maxwell were sent into France to treat of a Marriage betwixt him and Mary of the House of Guise, and Widow of the Duke of Longueville, which also follow'd.

Records.

Scott King
returns to
Scotland
with his
new-mar-
ried
Queen.

Jun. 1538.
The Af-
fairs of
Ireland.

The King having appeas'd all things in these parts, procures the establishment of his Authority in Ireland; but as now the vigorous and many Executions done upon all sorts of Persons had made him terrible; so that sweet temper of love and fear, which ought to be equally mix'd in all Subjects Hearts, was turn'd into that awe and dread as few thought themselves safe; which though it might have caus'd some apprehension in him, had he been capable thereof, yet without being troubled for any thing, he resolv'd to hold his way, and where occasion was, to punish severely: Therefore he gave order that Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Son to the Earl of Kildare, and five of his Uncles after a long detension in Prison, at this time should suffer

death at Tyburn; who yet had he not hop'd for Pardon by the intercession of the Lord Grey, to whom he yielded himself, (as is formerly mention'd,) he would have died some other Death. All the race yet ended not so; for Gerald, younger Brother to Thomas Fitz-Gerald, being sought for, was packt up in a bundle of Clothes, and convey'd to his Friends in Ireland, and so to France, and from thence to the Low-Countries, in both which places being requir'd of our King, he did at length fly to Cardinal Pool in Italy, who being his Kinsman, and finding him a fit Instrument for his Purposes, kept, and cherish'd him, until he obtain'd in after-times, that he might be restor'd to his Country and Place.

This being done, our King devis'd certain Acts to pass in the Parliament of Ireland; being for the avoiding of all Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, &c. granted by the Pope; and that the People should use the English Tongue. That Marchers should dwell upon their March Lands: That certain Religious Houses there should be suppress'd: Against alliance with the Rebels; for establishing Succession; for the First-fruits and twentieth part of Spiritual Promotions; that those who took part with Kildare might be pardon'd, when they find for it, &c. of which more may be seen in the Irish Statutes.

This year at Hampton Court Prince Edward was born, October 12. 1537. who (to use Polydore's words) was *Princeps natus ad Imperium*; yet was not the happiness entire; for Queen Jane, two days after her delivery, died, and was buried in the Quire at Windsor; whose loss much afflicted the King, as having found her always Discreet, Humble, and Loyal; for which reason also, he was not so forward to match again. Inasmuch that notwithstanding some good offers made him, he continu'd a Widower more than two years; which in his declining Age and Corpulence (for he grew now very unweildy) was a long space. The Prince yet not being above six days old, was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester: Sir Edward Seymor also, Brother to the Queen, lately made Lord Beauchamp, was created Earl of Hertford. And Sir William Fitz-Williams (made Admiral of England lately) Earl of Southampton. And in March following Sir William Paulet, Treasurer of the Kings House, was made Lord St. John; and Sir John Russel Comptroller, Lord Russel.

And now (as I find by our Records) Queen Margaret hearing of this Princes Birth, Congratulates it, and together complains of some unkindness in her Son, desiring she might end her days (being now about forty-nine) in quietness; but if our King could give no remedy thereunto, it comforted her yet, that she understood how (upon the Death of the Lord Thomas Howard) her Daughter was at this time releas'd out of the Tower.

I shall conclude this year with a prodigious effect of Mount Aetna, the flames whereof lifting up a huge mass of burning Sulphur, by slow degrees, to a great height, sustain'd it there, till at length it scatter'd over all the Country, and kill'd (as my Author Sandoval hath it) innumerable Men and Beasts.

In March 1538, the Protestants meeting at Brunswick, our King sent thither Christopher Mount, with Instructions, First, To see who were the Confederates. Secondly, Whether their League was for General Defence, or limited to matter of Religion only. Thirdly, To require a final Answer, whether they would send the great Legation with Melancthon, as they had promised. But they desiring King Henry should first declare what Points he disliked in their Confession, lest the Ambassador should after so great expecta-

1537.
Feb. 3.
1538.

Several
Irish Acts
pass'd.

Octob. 12.
Nov. 8.
Prince Ed-
ward born
and the
Queen
dies in
Childbed.

Halenhead.
Octob. 12.
1536.
Aug. 16.
1536.

Octob. 11.

Sandoval.

1538.
March.
Mount
sent with
Instruc-
tions to the
Protes-
tants in
Germany.

1538. expectation return without effect, excused themselves in this last Point, pretending that they had present use of their learned Men, &c. And as to the other two Articles, they declared, that their League was only in the Cause of Religion, and sent the Names of their Confederates, being (as the Record shews) twenty six Cities and twenty four Princes; among whom the King of Denmark was newly admitted. Nevertheless, to ripen matters for a further Treaty, they gave Commission to their Agents now sent (being Francis Burgrat, and two other Men not unlearned) to dispute with the English Divines about Religion, which they did, till being recall'd home, they craved dismissal of the King, leaving with them their Remonstrance touching divers Abuses in England: As, I. The Administrations of the Eucharist in one kind only. II. Private Mass. III. Celebration of Priests. Against which they urged Scripture, and the ancient Fathers; adding, that their Princes would never admit the same; and that it belongs to his Majesty to restore the Purity of Religion, as did the Kings, David, Josias, Jehoshaphat, Ezekias, &c. This, though commended to the King and Cromwel by Archbishop Cranmer, was yet opposed by divers others, and particularly by Cuthbert Bishop of Duresme, (who extracted the said Declaration for the King, and gave him Arguments against it.) So that the King for all Answer to the said Orators, defended the Points they would have reformed. Infomuch, that they return'd unsatisfy'd and frustrate. King Henry the while proceeding in his own Reformation, as hoping the Protestants in Germany would be drawn to him. And because he had been often importuned to authorize a Translation of the Bible, He committed the Care thereof to Cromwel, and the Printing to Richard Grafton; who pretending the want of good Paper here, got our King's and Francis's License to print it at Paris, both in Latin and English, in a large Volume: Which therefore by Cromwel the Vicegerent's Injunctions this Year (1538) was to be set in every Church for the People to read; yet so, as the King by Proclamation gave them to understand, that this was not his Duty, but his Goodness and Liberality to them; who therefore should use it moderately, for the increase of Virtue, not of Strife. And therefore no Man should read it aloud to disturb the Priest while he sang Mass, nor presume to expound doubtful places without advice from the Learned.

The King having Issue Male, proceeded more confidently in his Designs: And because he knew that the pretended and false Miracles of Priests had seduced many ignorant People to a superstitious Obedience to the Romish See, and Reverence of Monasteries, he resolv'd to detect them, at least, as many as he could; for divers were so cunningly represented, as they had kept their Credit for some Ages; the manner of these times being, if a Man were restor'd to his Health upon a Pilgrimage, or obtain'd any thing he desir'd upon a Vow to some Saint, never to study other Cause.

And here out of our Records I shall mention some of the Images and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of these times brought Devotion and Offerings; as our Lady's Girdle, shew'd in eleven several places, and her Milk in eight; the Bell of St. Guthlac, and the Felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, both Remedies for the Head-ach; the Pen-knife and Boots of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a piece of his Shirt, much reverenc'd by great-belly'd Women; the Coals that roasted St. Lawrence; two or three Heads of St. Ursula; Malchus's Ear; and the paring of St. Edmond's Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing,

which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierc'd Christ's Side; an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her Hand, which burnt nine Years together without wadding, till one forswearing himself thereon, it went out; and was now found to be but a piece of Wood; our Lady of Worcester, from which certain Veils and Dressings being taken, there appear'd the Statue of a Bishop ten Foot high. These and others were now brought forth, and with great ostentation shew'd to the People; among which were two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; one was the Rood of Grace at Boxley in Kent, which being made with divers Vices to turn the Eyes and move the Lips, was shew'd publicly at Pauls Cross by John Bishop of Rochester, and there broken and pull'd in pieces. The other was at Hales in Gloucestershire, where the Blood of Jesus Christ brought from Jerusalem, being kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, had drawn many great Offerings to it from remote places: And it was said to have this Property, That if a Man were in mortal Sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise, very well: Therefore every Man that came to behold this Miracle, confess'd himself first to a Priest there, and then offering something to the Altar, was directed to a Chappel where the Relick was shew'd; the Priest who confess'd him (in the mean while) retiring himself to the back part of the said Chappel, and putting forth upon the Altar a Cabinet or Tabernacle of Crystal, which being thick on the one side, that nothing could be seen thorow it, but on the other side thin and transparent, they used diversly: For if a rich and devout Man enter'd, they would shew the thick side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms as they thought fit; after which (to his great Joy) they permitted him to see the thin side, and the Blood. Which yet (as my Author, a Clerk of the Council to Edward VI. and living in those times, affirms) was proved to be the Blood of a Duck every week renew'd by two Priests, who kept the Secret betwixt them. Besides which, the Images of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, of Penrife, of Iffington, and St. John of Osulston (called otherwise Mr. John Shorne) who was said to shut up the Devil in a Boot; and divers others were publicly burnt: Infomuch, that a huge Image call'd Darvel Gardner being fetch'd out of Wales serv'd to burn Frier Forrest, (Condemn'd for counselling People in Confession not to believe the King's Supremacy) and to elude I know not what old blind Prophecy.

And by this means the Monasteries grew infamous where most of these Images were kept, and divers were undeceived, who before held a reverend Opinion of these pretended Relicks and Miracles; yet, as this way, there was danger left the People should not believe those Miracles which the Church had delivered for true, the King held a hand over his Subjects, and found means to humble them; for they were taught, that howsoever the Miracles of those later times proved counterfeit and false, yet that God hath done, and can again do Miracles, when it is for his Glory and Service; and that it did not repugn to Faith, that for honouring the Memory of his Saints, he permitted them sometimes, where the People were not withdrawn thereby from his Worship, to the Worship of the Creature.

Upon the Cessation of Arms betwixt the Emperor and French King formerly mention'd, the Pope endeavour'd a further Peace and good Correspondence, as thinking them capable both of making War with the Turk, and revenging his Quarrel on our King, against whom he was much

May 12.

August 5.
The Protestant Princes object against Henry's Reformation.

Sept.

A Translation of the Bible printed by Authority.

1538.

Feb. 24.

Nov. 24.

May 22.

1538. much intente to join them. But there are many Difficulties in procuring two potent Princes to concur in the same Enterprize, when it was for nothing else, but that they can never agree who should have the Advantage of it. Nevertheless, both of them were disaffected to our King at this time, not yet so much for their particular Interests, as that his overthrowing of Religious Houses, and many rigorous Executions of his Subjects, had given ill impressions of him; which our King understanding, procures to hold his Treaty with Francis. And therefore recalling from Spain Edmond Bonner elect Bishop of Hereford, and his Ambassador then with the Emperor, he employ'd him in France in the place of Stephen Gardiner, who had soured all things; since, being one who both disliked the King's late Proceedings, and secretly favour'd the Emperor, he did his Master little service in that Court. Bonner being now come, was roughly received by Gardiner, and coldly by the French King (as I find by an Original;) yet he obtained at first that the Old and New Testament in English might be printed at Paris in the largest Volume, whereof yet Complaint being made by the Clergy there, the Press was stay'd, and as much as was already printed, publickly burnt, save some few Copies, that being gotten for Waste-paper, were recover'd and sent into England, whither also the Printers themselves follow'd shortly after, and finished their Work. Howbeit as Bonner had in his other Affairs here but little satisfaction, he was repeal'd at last on this occasion; being commanded by our King to deliver a high Message, concerning his Pension, now four Years detain'd, as also touching a Fugitive and Traitor, who was receiv'd and favour'd by Francis, he utter'd it in so haughty a manner (as was thought) that Francis return'd both to our King and him some harsh Language; nevertheless, as he fear'd lest it should cause War, he sent to England an express Messenger both to interpret and excuse himself, and to desire Bonner might be recall'd; which the King did, (as thinking him henceforth an unuseful Servant in that place) yet so as he forgot not to bestow the Bishoprick of London on him for his Reward, and to employ him to the Emperor afterwards. But as Francis (having about this time made a ten Years Truce with the Emperor, as shall be told hereafter, and a Treaty with Scotland) talked louder than before; so the Lady Regent in the Low-Countries, permitting divers Exactions on our Merchants, shew'd disaffection to our State, without that our King in his present condition knew well how to repair himself, since being resolv'd to take order about his Home-busineses not yet fully settled, he thought of Foreign Affairs no otherwise, than to attend the occasion, and confederate himself where it might be for his best Advantage. For which at last divers Overtures were made. The first it seems came from the Emperor, whose Ambassador here signified to Cromwel Lord Privy-Seal his Master's Desire, that a Match might be had betwixt our King and Christiana the Dutches of Milan, being a beautiful Lady, and at that present lately come into the Low-Countries. Cromwel answer'd, that he would first see her Picture, and then speak to the King; which being granted, one Hans Holin (or Holbin I believe) being the King's Servant, was sent over, and in three hours space (as John Hutton our Agent there hath it) shew'd what a Master he was in his Science. Our King hereupon seem'd inclinable, giving charge to Hutton to treat of the business. But the Lady Regent (though said to have sufficient Power) referr'd all to the Emperor, who having appointed an Interview with Francis, was so slow in return-

ing an Answer, that our King understood it as a delay, and therefore neglected the business a while: And he had reason; for a Treaty was now formed betwixt Francis and the Emperor, for his Son the Duke of Orleans and her, and the place nominated at Comptean, where Francis (now return'd from the Interview, whereof hereafter) met Queen Mary Regent of Flanders: Whereof our King being advertis'd, sent some privately thither, to inform him of that which pass'd; but Milan being refused as Dowry to the Duke, the Treaty was suspended. This made our King proceed again, employing Thomas Wriothesly, and some others, to the Lady Regent for this purpose; but this Treaty produced others, so that a Match was propos'd betwixt Don Lewis of Portugal and our Princess Mary, in the terms she then was, excluded by Act of Parliament from all Claim to the Succession, except such as the King shall give her: As also a strict Confederation and Amity. The Conditions our King requir'd with the Dutches of Milan were great; for though she was but the second Daughter of Denmark, Dorothea the elder being married to Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavier, yet he demanded with her the whole Kingdom of Denmark, (there being no Issue Male now alive of Christiern II.) desiring for this purpose the Emperor's assistance, which also the Emperor seem'd to promise, as offering to treat with Duke Frederick about renouncing his Title to it; and the rather, that he was more suspected at this time in the German Affairs, than that the Emperor desir'd to greaten him, by such an accession. And with Don Louis the Emperor offer'd Milan, when the King would shew how to defend it, and give only a Dowry of three hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand Crowns; promising further, if the French King, upon this occasion, deny'd the Pension usually paid our King, to take no Peace with him till he had paid it; he offer'd also to endeavour a Reconciliation with the Pope, if our King so pleased. Nevertheless, divers Jealousies and Cavils arising (especially after the Interview) betwixt the Emperor and Francis, (whereof presently) the Treaty, though continuing, went on but coldly; the Lady Regent objecting sometimes that our King treated of a Match in France with the Daughter of Guise; another while saying, that in regard of the Dutches's nearness of Blood to the late Queen Katharine, there needed a Dispensation from the Pope, which she knew the King would hardly accept; but these Answers being taken as illusory, the Treaty at last not only broke off, but a cruel War was intimated betwixt the Emperor and our King; especially after he heard of the Treaty betwixt him and the Lady Anne of Cleves, which follow'd. But Francis omitted not likewise to make his Propositions, offering our King what Lady he pleased in his Country, which yet came to nothing, as will appear hereafter; neither ought their Motions of Alliance to seem strange, both as there were ever Causes of Jealousy betwixt these great Princes, and as they knew well, our King had settled his Affairs at home.

While things pass thus, the Truce expiring in February betwixt the French King and Emperor, the Pope obtain'd yet that it should be continued for six Months; hoping in the interim to conclude a Peace; whereunto as his good Intentions might concur, so his particular Interests wanted not; he employing the Cardinal Carpi to the Emperor, and Cardinal Jacobaccio to the French King for concluding two Matches for his Family; one betwixt his Grand-child Ottavio Farnese and Margaritha Relict of the Duke of Florence, natural Daughter of the Emperor: The other betwixt Victoria Farnese

July 7.
1537.

Bonner
sent Am-
bassador
to France.

Aug. 1537.
Fox.

Dec. 17.

Fox.

But is re-
call'd at
the French
King's de-
sire.

Octob. 20.
1534.

March.

Hans Hol-
bin sent to
take the
Dutches
of Milan's
Picture
for the
King.

1532.

Octob.

March

propos'd

between

Don Lewis

and the

Prin-

cess Mary

Records

Treaty of

Marriage

between

K. Henry

and Anne

of Cleves

Feb. 22.

1531.

Sand. 1. 34

1538. Farnese and Antoine de Bourbon Duke of Vendosme; and for bringing them to an Interview, at which himself would be present. All which was accorded, and the time and place of meeting appointed at Nizza about the beginning of June, 1538. where they all came; but so as the Emperor being lodg'd in Villa-Franca, and the French King in Villa-Nova, they neither saw one another in their several Courts, nor at the Pope's at Nizza: Infomuch, that notwithstanding the Pope's solicitation, their mutual Jealousies of the Pope's Affection, the number of their Attendants not to be regulated as long as third Persons interven'd, their late Defies, and greatness of Business to be determin'd betwixt them, permitted no safe terms of meeting. Nevertheless, the Pope (after he had in vain desir'd them to send some Bishops to the Council now at Vicenza) concluded a Truce betwixt them for ten Years, and so the Meeting dissolv'd. The Pope presently recalling his Legates from Vicenza, and deferring the Council till Easter the next Year.

June 18. And now the Emperor and Francis being near each other, and, for the rest, Princes of so great Courage, as they heard with some Indignation the Difficulties their Counsellors had represented about an Interview, resolv'd betwixt themselves to meet. Francis sent an Invitation to him to repose at Aiguemortes and Marseilles, in his way to Spain; and Charles accepted it; who coming thereupon near the Shore, Francis, attended with Montmorency (now Constable) and few others, without all difficulty pass'd in a Shallop to the Emperor's Galley; and after an hour's stay, and some Complements in French (which Language both spake) Francis return'd to Land. And now the Emperor was pensative and doubtful whether he should go on shore; many of his Council oppos'd it; but the Duke of Alva said generously, He should go; which Counsel the Emperor follow'd: And thereupon landing, the French King and his Queen, the Dauphine, and a huge Train, receiv'd him with demonstration of Joy: And two Meals they did eat together, at which the Dutcheff of Estampes (much regarded by Francis) was present. But the next Day after, (being the sixteenth of July) rich Gifts having pass'd on both sides, the Emperor departed for Spain.

July 15. Emperor and French King have an Interview. And now it was disputed at Rome, Whether these two Princes should join in a War against the Turk, or bring our King to reason? The former took place; the Turk, as being much animated against the Christians, having made great Preparatives: And when he had not, our King being a Person with whom they would not easily have fought in the Pope's Quarrel: Which also is the more probable, for that Francis would not so much as concur with him in a War against the Turk, though solicited by the Pope, Emperor and Venetians, no more than our King: Tho' (as I find by our Records) intreated by the said Venetians, as having a particular War with the Turk at this time in Morea and Sclavonia; so that they above-named only join'd, according to a League made at Rome, Feb. 8. the Pope furnishing thirty six Gallies, the Emperor eighty two, and the Venetians as many; who yet being led by Andrea Doria, and coming to fight with the Turkish Fleet of 130 Vessels, under Barbarossa, were on the Coast of Epiro, towards Night, September 24. defeated; when such a huge Tempest of Thunder and Lightning arose, as scatter'd them every way: Yet few Days after they took from the Turk Castel Novo, a Fort in the Gulf of Cararo, and leaving a Garrison there, return'd.

All which Engagements of War, though in effect they were so many diversions of it from us, could not secure our King from suspicion either

of Treachery at home, or Invasion from abroad. 1538. Therefore he took especial Care of the Sea-Coasts, and particularly had an eye to the Actions of those who might stir in favour of Cardinal Pool; who being encouraged by the Pope, had no little Intelligence from our Kingdom. Notwithstanding all which Attention, divers Messages pass'd betwixt the said Cardinal and his Friends and Kindred; which cost some of them their lives not long after.

And now the King knowing that while any superstitious Worship reigned here, the Fryers and Priests would oppose his Reformation, especially as long as such were accounted Saints who had resisted their Prince, resolv'd, after he had burn'd so many Images, to burn the Bones of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Henry II. (though others mention not the burning; and one living in those times, affirms only, that his Bones were scatter'd amongst so many dead Men's, that they could not be found again without some great Miracle.) Together with which, our King seiz'd on that immense Treasure and Jewels which were offer'd to his Shrine; there being few since Henry the Second's time which pass'd to Canterbury, that did not both visit his Tomb, and bring rich Presents to it. Among which, there being one Stone eminent, which it was said, Louis the Seventh coming hither on Pilgrimage from France, Anno Dom. 1179. bestow'd; our King wore it in a Ring afterwards. For which reasons, as also for being so great an Example of Contumacy against his King, he was (as Sanders hath it) constrain'd *Causam iterum ad Tribunal dicere*; that is to say, his Life and Actions being examin'd, it was declar'd by our King that he deserv'd no Canonization; and prov'd besides, that the Skull which the People did so much venerate (and which was now burnt as an Imposture) was not his own, (it, together with his Bones, being found in his Tomb) and scatter'd, as aforesaid) and that there was Forgery in divers Miracles there exhibited; with which yet our King being not content, caus'd his Name to be raz'd out of the Kalendar, and forbid the keeping of his Holiday. But that it may appear what a kind of Saint this Man was, I will repeat some part of his Life; not out of his Legend, or indeed *Polidore Virgil*, who most fabulously affirms, that certain Men of Kent for cutting of Becket's Horse Tail, their Progeny ever after, as long as any of them remain'd, had Tails like Beasts; but out of a Book of the said Clerk of the Council, formerly mention'd, leaving to every Man yet the choice of believing what relation he pleaseth.

This Man (as my Author hath it) being born of an English Merchant, and a Woman of Barbary, having been brought up in Learning, and promoted to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, contested with King Henry II. for the Pope's Authority: Infomuch, that in his Pontificalibus, with his Mitre upon his Head, and gilt Cross born before him, he publicly excommunicated all those who oppos'd the Church; wherewith the King being offended, Becket fled to the Pope, who cherish'd him so much, as in contemplation of him, he excommunicated the King and Kingdom; so that for about four Year's space, neither Mass, nor other Publick Service was used in the Church. But by the Intercession of the French King, Becket and the Mass being restor'd, and our King and Kingdom absolv'd, all things seem'd quiet, till he began new Quarrels: At which the King being displeased, said, If he had faithful Servants, he should not be so wronged; which some Gentlemen that served him hearing, went to Canterbury, and taking their time, upon some ill

Bones of Thomas Becket burnt. Will. Thom. II. Pel. Ing.

Treasures of his Shrine seiz'd.

Aug. 23. 1179.

Sand. Seb. Angl.

Kentish long Tails.

Will. Thom. II. Pel. Ing. Becket's Life.

1165.

1170.

1538. ill Language given, kill'd him in the Cloister of his Cathedral Church, and so fled. Whereupon the Monks shut their Gates, and persuaded the People that the Bells rung of themselves; nor content herewith, they cast a certain Composition into a Well adjoining, and made the People believe that it appeared bloody by Miracle, for that holy Martyr, which at last obtain'd such credit, that Henry II. came in Person, together with Louis of France, to visit that holy place, and give many rich Possessions to the Monastery; for further testimony of his favour to them, refusing ever to receive again, or pardon the Murderers; yet these Wonders ended at last, for our King on some occasion coming to Canterbury, discovered the Fraud of the Well, and abolished the Miracles.

Pope ex-communicates K. Henry in Flanders, Scotland, and France. Dec. 17. But what Pretext soever our King had to proceed thus with Becket, nothing was taken to be a greater Cruelty and Rapine: Infomuch, that upon News hereof, the Pope deferred no longer to publish his Bull of Excommunication (formerly decreed 1535) against our King; wherein he also mentions this Fact with much Horror and Detestation; sending also his Agents abroad with the said Bull, who set it up in divers places of Flanders, France and Scotland; being such a Bull (saith the Writer of the Council of Trent) as neither his Predecessors left him Example for, or his Successors ever imitated. But the Pope gain'd little hereby; for all his Rigours were but so many Incentives to King Henry to oppose him; therefore as he had sent Publick Protestations every where against the Council to be assembled at Vicenza, affirming the same Difficulties would be about holding of it there, which must have been at Mantua; so having made way by the discovery of the former Impositions, he suppress'd more Monasteries, and every day more and more divested the Clergy of their former Authority. Howbeit, on the other side, he oppos'd all Reformation but his own; as appears both by burning two Dutch Anabaptists, and by a Dispute he publickly held in Westminster-Hall, with one John Nichelson alias Lambert, a Priest; against whom he maintained the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, after the manner he set down in his Articles; concluding, that he should have mercy if he recanted; otherwise, that he should be burnt. But Lambert despising Mercy on those terms, the Sentence was executed. So deep a tincture doth Religion give to the Soul, as being once thoroughly enter'd, nothing afterward can either change or efface it.

Nov. 19. Two Dutch Anabaptists and one Popish Priest executed. Nov. 22. The King having thus made it appear, that howsoever he rejected the Papal Authority, he concurred not every where with the Reformers, thought he might with more reason now confront the Report which Cardinal Pool and his Friends had rais'd, that he had wholly altered his Religion. In which number, because Henry Courtney Marquis of Exeter (the King's Cousin-german, as being Son of Katharine, Daughter to Edward IV.) and Henry Pool Lord Montacute, and Sir Edward Nevil Brother to the Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Jeffery Pool Knight, were eminent; he took occasion (upon secret Information given by Sir Jeffery) to cause them to be indicted, for devising to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pool late Dean of Exeter, Enemy to the King, beyond the Seas, and to deprive the King; upon which the two Lords, before Thomas Lord Audley (for the present sitting, as his High Steward of England) were found guilty: Not long after which, Sir Edward Nevel, Sir Jeffery Pool, two Priests, and a Mariner, were arraign'd, and found guilty also, and Judgment given accordingly. The two Lords and Nevil were beheaded,

the two Priests and Mariner hang'd and quarter'd at Tyburn, and Sir Jeffery pardon'd: Sir Nicholas Carew also (Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King) for being of Council with the said Marquis, was beheaded. The particular Offences yet of these great Persons are not so fully made known to me, that I can say much. Only I find among our Records that Thomas Wriothesley Secretary (then at Brussels) writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyatt (his Highness's Ambassador in Spain) said, that the Accusations were great, and duly proved. And in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal Money.

I find little more of this Year for our parts, save that notwithstanding all these Severities, neither was one Combesby, Groom of the King's Chamber, deterr'd from counterfeiting the King's Seal Manuel; nor one Clifford from counterfeiting his Privy Signet; both which therefore suffer'd death.

The Emperor now in Spain, among his home-busineses, thought none more requisite, than to take order for Money: Therefore he assembled at Toledo a Cortes or Parliament of both States; so that the Grandees of Castilla and Leon on the one side, and Cardinal of Toledo and Clergy on the other, did enter into it: Where the Emperor's Necessities being represented by occasion of his late Wars, it was declared, That neither his ordinary Revenues, nor the Indies, nor the Cruzades, Tenths and other Helps granted by the Pope, did suffice to keep him out of debt. Wherefore the Emperor desir'd, that at their Charge all his Estate and Dominions every where might be preserv'd and secur'd both by Sea and Land; so as he might have the ordinary Rent of Castilla and the Indies for paying his Debts, and spending Money. The Clergy hereupon agreed, That their most ready and equal way for supplying the Emperor's Wants, was to grant a Sisa or Tax for a certain time, with a limitation to what it should extend; since less Corruption and Extortion would follow this way than any other: Only they desir'd the Emperor, That he should procure a License and Commandment from his Holiness to this purpose. But the Grandees and Nobles, who had immediate Power in their hands to consent unto the Emperor's Demand, would yet resolve nothing suddenly in their own Name or the Peoples, nor before they had committed the Business to twelve elect Persons among them; among which the Condestable being chief, spake much against Impositions; desiring rather to supply the Emperor some other way: And that they might confer with the Burgeses or Procuradors of the chief Cities hereof; beseeching his Majesty withal, that he would stay at home and study Peace, as having made eighteen Years of continual War both by Sea and Land: Which Answer being brought the Emperor, it was reply'd on his part, that he demanded Money, and not Advice. Hereupon, certain amongst them propos'd to lay Imposition upon Commodities exported; but the rest agreed not. Whereupon the Cardinal of Toledo came and told them in his Majesty's Name, That he assembled them to the intent he might communicate his own and his Kingdom's Necessities; it seeming reasonable, that as they were general, so should the Remedy be: But by as much as is done, he conceiveth there is no cause to detain you any longer, and therefore gives you leave to depart.

The Cortes being thus dissolv'd, the Emperor upon occasion, told the Conestable he had done ill, and deserv'd to be thrown out of a Corredor or open Gallery, where they were: To which he answer'd, of Castilla, Your Majesty will please to advise; for though I am little, Charles V.

1539. little, I weigh much. But it seems the Emperor spake neither in earnest, nor the Constable as one that resented; so that nothing follow'd. Howsoever, the Grantees and Nobles of Spain behav'd themselves insolently at this time to the Emperor; who having commanded a Just or Tourney, wherein all the principal Persons were, to meet: It happen'd as they rode in their Equipage and Order to the place, an *Alguazil* strook the Duke of *Infantados* Horse, on some occasion; whereupon the Duke turning about, demanded, *Do you know me?* And the *Alguazil* saying, *yea*: He with his Sword cut him on his Head; who with blood about his Ears, coming to the Emperor (then on Horse-back,) incens'd him so much, as he sent presently to apprehend the Duke; But the Constable being present, said to the Officer, you have no Authority, as long as I am in place; and so forc'd him thence. The Emperor now much offended, that all these *Accevements* were done in his presence, sends another Officer to apprehend the Duke; at which the Grantees and others were so displeas'd, that they all rode away in a Troop; so that the Emperor having few or none to attend him in this great Solemnity, was forc'd to desist and return; both to his own great Scandal, and those who came to be Spectators. But the Emperor found means afterwards, to let them know how sensible he was of this Contempt.

The German Protestants, this while, being solicited for Aid against the Turk, and denying it, unless the Emperor first granted them such a solid and intire Peace in the cause of Religion, as might comprehend both the present and future Confederates; the adverse Party enter'd a Counter-league to that of *Smalcald*, calling it Holy, and stipulating mutual Defence, if they were molested for the Roman Religion. The Emperor notwithstanding giving Commission to *Heldus* and others, to treat with the said Protestants of an Accommodation; which yet took no effect, though there were a meeting held at *Francfort*, to this purpose. Howsoever, our King omitted not to send his Agents (*Christopher Mount* and *Thomas Paynel*) thither, shewing, he took it ill, that they treated of a Pacification without his knowledge, desiring to understand the Conditions thereof, and whether they intended to be constant to their profess'd Doctrine: To which, *Burgart* and others in their Name, April 23. coming to England, brought Instructions to this effect, that their manifold Troubles suffer'd them not hitherto to signify the said Pacification, which yet was not likely to take effect, no Conditions being so much as propos'd. Neither would they accept any contrary to the *Augustane* Confession; so that there needed be no doubt of their Constancy: But they are inform'd, that his Majesty had set forth a Proclamation, injoyning rigidly and under heavy Censures, those Points which the last year their Ambassadors desir'd as Abuses might be reform'd; which unless his Majesty pleas'd to mitigate, they could determine nothing of the Legation of Learned Men, which he expected. For we have, say they, disputed enough already, and the King is not ignorant of our Opinions touching Private Mass, Communion in one kind, and Celibate of Priests. And unless we understood that our Doctrine herein were prescrib'd by God, we would not undergo the dangers we do for maintenance thereof: Neither let the King imagine, that we will now either deny the said Doctrines, or send any of our Divines into England, to give approbation to the contrary. Together with which, *Philip Melancthon* sent a Letter to the King (superscrib'd *Serm. &c. Capiti Anglicæ Ec-*

clesiæ, post Christum Supremo.) exhorting him to perfect the Reformation begun, and not hearken to those who would hinder it, by exacting too severely Ceremonies and things indifferent; wherefore, he desires his Majesty to mitigate the late Proclamation. What Answer our King gave to this, doth not appear to me: But the King was so far from condescending thereunto, that he obtain'd a Confirmation of the said Articles in the next Parliament, under greater Penalties, as shall appear in its place. In the mean time he consulted to strengthen himself at home, by enriching his Treasury. Therefore, having formerly gotten the consent of his Parliament, for dissolving all Religious Houses under 200 l. yearly, he did now attempt the rest; so that though divers of the Visitors had heretofore petition'd, that some might be spar'd, both for the virtue of the Persons in them, and the benefit of the Country (the Poor receiving thence relief, and the richer sort good education for their Children;) and though *Latimer* mention'd, that some two or three might be left in every Shire for pious uses, *Cromwel* yet (by the Kings Permission) invaded all; while betwixt Threats, Gifts, Persuasions, Promises, and whatsoever might make Man obnoxious, he obtain'd of the Abbats, Priors, Abbesses, &c. that their Houses might be given up. Among which, those that offer'd their Monasteries freely, got best Conditions of the King; for if they stood upon their Right, the Oath of Supremacy, and some other Statutes and Injunctions brought them in danger, or their Crimes at least made them guilty of the Law; which also was quickly executed. And particularly on the Abbats of *Gloucestrebury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, who more than any else resisted.

In conclusion, the Title made to these, seems not to be grounded upon a grant by Statute, or claim of Right, but was some voluntary Surrender, Purchase, or Forfeiture. Howbeit, the King thought fit to have this proceeding presently confirm'd by Act of Parliament: Therefore by his Writs he summon'd it to begin April 28. 1539. In the mean while, rumours were every where dispers'd, that Cardinal *Pool* labour'd with divers Princes, to procure Forces against the Kingdom, and that an Invasion was threatned. And this again seem'd more credible, in that the Truce concluded between the Emperor and the French King was generally known, and that neither of them wanted pretext to bring an Army hither. This also was seconded by a sudden journey of the King unto the Sea-coast; into divers parts whereof he had formerly sent sundry Nobles and expert Persons to visit the Ports, and places of Danger, who fail'd not for their discharge upon all event, to affirm the peril in each place so great, as one would have thought every place had needed Fortification; besides he caus'd his Navy forthwith to be in a readiness, and Musters to be taken over all the Kingdom. All which preparatives being made against a danger which was believ'd imminent, seem'd so to excuse the King suppressing of Abbies, as the People (willing to spare their own Purfes) began to suffer it easily; especially when they saw order taken for building divers Forts and Bulwarks upon the Sea-coast; many, if not most of these we have at this day, being thought not so exact as the modern, yet of his raising. And that they suspected the discontented Religious Orders (sooner than any else) would assist an Enemy. But if the reasons of these proceedings were held by some as current, by others they were taken to be no more than Palliation, and by the Clergy but Rapine, who divulg'd beyond Seas the miserable ruines of themselves,

1539. Melancthon's Letter to K. Henry.

1539.

Records.

The great Monasteries suppressed by Surrender, Purchase or Forfeiture.

Fort built.

1539. and Houses, in such terms, as the Christian World was astonish'd; for though their excessive number excus'd the King in some part for the first Suppression, this latter (they said) had no such specious pretext, when yet surrender, purchase, or the like were urg'd; So that notwithstanding the Kings necessities, no little occasion of scandal and obloquy was given.

645 Monasteries suppressed. Camb. Brit.

The number of Monasteries first and last suppress'd in England and Wales were (as *Cambden* accounts them) six hundred forty five; whereof these had voices among the Peers: The Abbat of St. Albans (being as I take it) declar'd the first Abbey of England (whether in favour of Pope Adrian IV. his Father, call'd *Breakpear*, who upon his Wives death rendred himself a Monk there, or S. Alban himself Protomartyr of England) St. Peters in Westminster, S. Edmondsbury, S. Bennets of Holm, Bredsey, Shrewsbury, Crowland, Abingdon, Evesham, Gloucester, Ramsey, S. Maries in York, Tewsbury, Reading, Battail, Winchcombe, Hyde by Winchester, Cirencester, Waltham, Malmesbury, Thorney, S. Augustine in Canterbury, Selby, Peterborough, S. Johns in Colchester, Coventry, Tawestock.

9. Colledges demolished. Spect. Chantries 3174. Hospitals 110. in value 161100 l.

Of Colledges were demolish'd in divers Shires, ninety. Of Chantries, and fire-Chappels, 2374. And Hospitals 110. The yearly value of all which were, as I find it cast up, 161100 l. being above a third part of all our Spiritual Revenues; besides the Money made of the present stock of Cattel and Corn, of the Timber, Lead, Bells, &c. and lastly, but chiefly, of the Plate and Church-Ornaments; which I find not valued, but may be conjectured by that one Monastery of S. Edmondsbury, whence was taken (as our Records shew) five thousand Marks of Gold and Silver, besides divers Stones of great value. All which being by some openly call'd Rapine, and Sacrilege, I will no way excuse: Though I may say truly, that notwithstanding so many Religious Houses were destroy'd, there are yet in every kind (the suppress'd Abbies and Chantries only excepted) left standing so many, as give no little increase to Learning, splendor to Religion, and testimony of Charity to the Poor. So that although I cannot but pity the ruine of so many pious Foundations, as affording a singular conveniency to those who desir'd to retire to a holy, private, and contemplative Life, when abuses were taken away; yet I have thought fit to mention these Particulars, that it may appear to foreign Nations, we are not destitute of many Monuments of Devotion: Of which also our King had such regard, that he did not employ all the profits arising from the aforesaid Dissolutions, on Fortifications or the like; for he not only augmented the number of the Colledges and Professors in his Universities, but erected (as he had promis'd) out of the Revenues gotten hereby, divers new Bishopricks; whereof one at Westminster, one at Oxford, one at Peterborough, one at Bristol, one at Chester, and one at Gloucester; all remaining at this day, save that of Westminster, which being revok'd to its first Institution by Queen Mary, and *Benedictines* plac'd in it, was by Queen Elizabeth afterward converted to a Collegiate Church, and a School for the teaching and maintenance of young Scholars: Besides, many of the ancient Cathedral Churches formerly possess'd by Monks only, were now supplied with Canons, and some new ones erected and endow'd; the Revenues allotted by the King to those new Bishopricks and Cathedrals amounting to about 8000 l. per Annum. So that Religion seem'd not so much to suffer hereby, as some of the Clergy of those times and ours would have it believ'd: Our Kingdom in the mean while having (as *Cromwell* pro-

Six new Bishopricks erected.

jected it) instead of divers supernumerary and idle Persons, Men fit for Employment, either in War or Peace, maintain'd at the cost of the aforesaid Abbies and Chantries: So that the Desolations (appearing in their stately Foundations at this day) are by our Politicks thought amply recompenc'd. Besides, the King in the demolishing of them, had so tender a care of Learning, that he not only preferr'd divers able Persons which he found there, but took special care to preserve the choicest Books of their well-furnish'd Libraries: Wherein I find *John Leland* (a curious searcher of Antiquities) was employ'd. But hereof enough, since I do not intend to exceed the terms of an Historian, and therefore shall come now to the Parliament, which being compos'd of Persons well-affected to the Kings Service, (as his manner was always with great industry to procure such,) these Statutes among others were enacted:

That Religious Persons being put at liberty, might purchase, sue, and be su'd; but not claim any Inheritance, as descending on them: And that if they had made a vow of Chastity after one and twenty, they should not marry. But this enabling them not to buy, they thought no sufficient amends for the loss of their present Maintenance.

That the King by the advice of his Council, or the more part of them, might set forth Proclamations under such penalties and pains as to him or them shall seem necessary, which should be observ'd as though they were made by Act of Parliament: But that this should not be prejudicial to any Persons Inheritances, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels or Life, &c. But this was repeal'd 1 Edw. 6. 12.

That the King might nominate such number of Bishops, Sees for Bishops, Cathedral Churches, and endow them with such Possessions, as he will. [Which, though repeal'd 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. yet order was taken therein again 8 Eliz. 1.]

It was declar'd also how Lords in the Parliament should be plac'd.

That Leases made of Manors belonging to Monasteries dissolv'd, or to be dissolv'd, and assur'd to the King, should take effect: Wherein is express'd, that the King should hold, possess, and enjoy to him, his Heirs and Successors for ever, all Monasteries, Abbacies, Priories, Nunneries, Colledges, Hospitals, Houses of Friars, or other Religious and Ecclesiastical Houses and Places, which since the fourth of February 27 Hen. 8. have been dissolv'd, suppress'd, renounc'd, relinquish'd, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his Highness; or which shall be dissolv'd, &c. As also all Mannors, Lordships, Lands, Tenements, Rights, Liberties, &c. belonging to them. All which (except such as came by attainder of Treason) should be under survey and governance of the Kings Court of Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown. Other Mens Titles yet sav'd.

It was also particularly enacted, that whereas *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* by the Kings assent had purchased of one *William Flatbury*, late Abbat of the Monastery of *Sipton* in *Suffolk*, the said Monastery, with all, &c. And whereas *George Lord Cobham* had likewise purchas'd the Colledge or Chantry of *Cobham* in *Kent*, it was enacted, that the Act above-written should not be prejudicial to the said Duke, or Lord *Cobham*. Whereby it appears, the Kings intention was to unite all the Abby Lands, &c. to the Crown, save these so specified.

The Six Articles, call'd by some the Bloody Statute, were also enacted this Parliament: Being,

I. If

1539.
by Act of
Parliament.

I. If any Person by Word, Writing, Printing, Cyphering, or any otherwise, do Preach, Teach, Dispute, or hold Opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the Consecration thereof) there is not present really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; Or that after the said Consecration there remaineth any substance of Bread and Wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and Man; or that in the Flesh under form of Bread, is not the very Blood of Christ; or that with the Blood, under the form of Wine, is not the very Flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or affirm the said Sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed Sacrament: Then he shall be adjudg'd an Heretick, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the King all Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, as in case of High-Treason.

II. And if any Person preach in any Sermon, or Collation openly made, or teach in any common School or Congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the Communion of the blessed Sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of Mans Soul, or ought or should be ministr'd in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be receiv'd by any Person, other than Priest, being at Mass, and Consecrating the same.

III. Or that any Man, after the order of Priesthood receiv'd, may marry, or contract Matrimony.

IV. Or that any Man or Woman which advisedly hath Vow'd or Profess'd, or should Vow or Profess Chastity or Widowhood, may marry or contract Marriage.

V. Or that private Masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be us'd, or be not agreeable to the Laws of God.

VI. Or that Auricular Confession is not expedient and necessary to be us'd in the Church of God: He shall be adjudg'd to suffer death, or forfeit Lands and Goods as a Felon.

If any Priest, or other Man or Woman which advisedly hath vow'd Chastity or Widow-hood, do actually marry or contract Matrimony with another or any Man which is, or hath been a Priest, do carnally use any Woman to whom he is or hath been married, or with whom he hath contracted Matrimony; or openly be conversant or familiar with any such Woman, both the Man and the Woman shall be adjudg'd Felons. Commissions also shall be awarded to the Bishop of the Diocese, his Chancellor, Commissary, and others, to enquire of the Heresies, Felonies, and Offences aforesaid. And also Justices of Peace in their Sessions, and every Steward, Under-Steward, and Deputy of Steward in their Leet or Law-day, by the Oaths of twelve Men, have Authority to enquire of all the Heresies, Felonies, and Offences aforesaid.

Margaret
Countess
of Salisbury,
Cardinal Pool
and others
attainted.

In this Parliament also, Margaret Countess of Salisbury (being Grand-child of George Duke of Clarence, Brother of Edward IV. and Mother of Cardinal Pool, as also the Cardinal himself, and Gertrude Wife to the late Marquis of Exceter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Thomas Dingley Knight of S. Johns, were attainted of Treason. Against Margaret and Gertrude it was alledg'd, that they were complices with the Marquis of Exceter, and other Traitors: Our Records also tell us, that certain Bulls granted by the Bishop of Rome were found at Cowdrey, being then (as I take it) the Countess of Salisbury's House; and that the Parson of Warblington convey'd Letters for her to her Son the Cardinal; and that she forbad all her Tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any other new Book the King had priviledg'd. But whatsoever the cause was (for our Parliament Records are short in the Particulars) I find

by a Letter from the Earl of Southampton, and Bishop of Ely to Cromwell, That (though she were seventy years old) her behaviour yet was Masculine and Vehement, and that she would confess nothing. Howsoever, the testimonies brought convincing her, she was condemn'd.

Against Cardinal Pool it was alledg'd, that he had conspir'd against the King with the Bishop of Rome, and taken preferment of him.

Against the rest, I find no more, but in general, that they were Complices. Howsoever, Fortescue and Dingley suffer'd first; for Margarets Execution was deferr'd for two years, as shall be told hereafter; and Gertrude died a natural Death: And for the Cardinal, he could not be taken, though I find our King requir'd him earnestly of all those Princes that receiv'd him in their Dominions.

The six Articles being now publish'd, gave no little occasion of Murmur, since to revoke the Conscience not only from its own Court, but from the ordinary ways of resolving Controversies, to such an abrupt decision of the common Law (as is there set down) was thought to be a diverting of Religion from its right and usual course; since the Conscience must be taught, not forc'd; without that it should at any time be handled roughly, as being of so delicate a temper, as though it suffer an edge to be put on, who doth more, diminisheth or breaks it. Besides, to make the contravening of Doctrines to be Capital, before they be fully prov'd, is prejudicial to that liberty, without which no Man can justify himself before God or Man. For if it be death to believe otherwise than we are commanded, how unsafe will it be to make exact enquiry? And without it who can say his Religion is best? Besides, the example is dangerous; for if Infidels and Heathens (to retain their People in Obedience) should do the like, who would ever turn Christian? Therefore Crammer for three days together in the open Assembly oppos'd these Articles boldly; though yet it appears not what Arguments he us'd. Only I find the King sent to him for a Copy of them, and mislik'd not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere Intention; though some thought he had a private Interest, as being himself a married Man, though fearing of this Law, he sent away his Wife for the present into Germany, she being Kinswoman to Hosiander the Divine of Noremberg, whom he married during his Ambassade with the Emperor about Anno 1532.

But that it may seem less strange why the King, who before was much dispos'd to favour the Reformers, did on a sudden so much vary from them, I have thought fit to set down some of the Motives, as I conceive them. In which number certainly, the Objections of Stephen Gardiner formerly mention'd may have place, while speaking against the Treaty with the Protestants in Germany, he alledg'd that they would not allow the Kings Supremacy, lest they should infer an investing of the same Authority in the Emperor, whose absolute Power they seem'd to fear more than that of the Pope himself: And as this suspicion alienated secretly the mind of our King, who saw that if he embrac'd their Reformation, they would abridge his Power; so they not only deny'd to approve his Divorce, but lately (as is shew'd) in a peremptory manner refus'd all Accommodation, unless our King yielded wholly to the Augustan Confession. Again, the Duke of Saxony about this time particularly shew'd some disaffection to him in the overture of his Match with Anne of Cleve.

Lastly, as affairs then stood, the King was both in that danger of Rebellion at home, and

1539. Invasion from abroad, as he thought it not safe to reform any further in Religion; for which reason also he was severe against all new Sectaries, especially *Anabaptists*; so when occasion was given, he still testified his desire as far as was possible to keep an unity with the *Roman Church*, affirming that the Pope had slanderously call'd him Heretick. Inſomuch that the ſame time he publickly diſputed with *Lambert* in *Westminster-Hall*, he declar'd his Reſolution to continue in the Religion he had openly profeſs'd. For theſe Reaſons therefore (for I ſhall not here intermeddle with thoſe of Conſcience) it ſeems our King was the more diſpos'd to keep him to the ancient forms of the Church. And now the Proteſtants in *Germany*, deſpairing of accord with the Emperor, aſſembled at *Amſtet* in *Thuringia*, Nov. 9. to conſult about mutual defence. To which purpoſe, they ſent Ambaſſadors to our King; who told them, (as I find in our Records that he would make a League with them in honeſt Cauſes, as he had done with the Duke of *Juli*, and after that he would treat of an accord and league in Religion. Though *Stellan* (a little differing herein) writes that King *Henry* told them plainly, he thought their Doctrine touching Communion in both kinds, private Maſs, and Priests Marriage erroneous, and that his Learned Men ſhould diſpute herein. And that *Cromwell* thereupon told them the beſt way was to ſend an honourable Ambaſſade, and *Me- lanchton* aſſuring them if they came to any reaſonable agreement of Doctrine with our King, he would not only furniſh them with a vaſt ſum of Money for their occaſions, but enter into a ſtrict League with them for defence in general. But they ſtanding firm to the *Auguſtin* Confeſſion, and intending no League but in caſe of Religion, the buſineſs ended for the preſent, in a reſolution to answer the Kings Arguments concerning the ſix Articles in writing, and ſend it in a Book to him, and to deſire an abolition of them.

1540. April 13. And now the ſix Articles caus'd no little apprehenſion in all the Reformers; yet I do not find the Law was us'd with much rigour till *Cromwell's* Death. Nevertheless, the terror of it made *Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Sbaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury* (being committed to Priſon) to reſign their Biſhopricks to the King, they being unwilling it ſeems to have a hand in the approbation or execution of them. So that if Sir *Thomas More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had their ſcruples about the Supremacy; theſe Men were as conſcientious about the ſix Articles.

July 1. Two Biſhops reſign their Biſhopricks rather than conſent to the ſix Articles.

August 7. This year the Emperor glad to repoſe himſelf a while from War, attended his pleaſure in *Spain*, while *Barbaroſſa* with a ſtrong Fleet keeping the Seas, and landing his Men, did miſchief in many places. Recovering ſo after a brave reſiſtance by *Sermiento* a *Spaniard*, the place of *Caſtel-novo* in the Gulf of *Catara*; which though it excited the Emperor to proceed in War againſt the *Turk*, yet a Mutiny ariſing in *Gaunt* (his native Town) made him reſolve in Perſon to go and appeaſe it. And the rather, that having now loſt his Empreſs, and check'd a little the greatness of ſome principal Perſons in *Spain*, he thought himſelf more free and diſengag'd. All the difficulty was what way to take; for if the Sea were full of hazard, there was no ready Land-way, but by *France*; which though beſt, when it could be handſomly procur'd, yet (the buſineſs being brought to his Council) was judg'd impoſſible; nevertheleſs, an overture thereof being ſecretly given to *Francis*, and a promiſe of *Milan* to one of his Sons (as the *French* write) he both gladly embrac'd the occa-

ſion, and offer'd his two Sons for Hoſtages of his ſafe paſſage. This was thankfully receiv'd by the Emperor, but as the Age was full of ancient honour, (which I never found intermitted but in barbarous times) the Emperor would have no ſecurity, but only a ſafe conduct under the Hand and Seal of *Francis*; taking that pledge only for his life and the Empire, while *Francis* that he might exempt his magnanimous Gueſt from jealouſie, ſent his two Sons and *Anne de Montmorency* the Conſtable to receive him at *Bayonne*, whither in his mourning Weeds, he came with twenty ſix Perſons only, (as our Records have it) in the end of *November*, 1539. And ſo like Knight Errant following his journey, he every where (as *Francis* had permitted) deliver'd all Priſoners. Coming thus to *Caſtel le Herand*, the King (though troubled with an Ulcer in his ſecret parts) and the Queen and Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* his Favorite, and a great train of Noble Perſons welcom'd the Emperor with all demonſtrations of Love. This confident paſſage having (it ſeem'd) abolish'd all memory of their former Rancour; holding their way thus to *Amboiſe*; the Emperor was there almoſt ſtifled by a thick and ſudden ſmoak, which (though the *French* report it to have been the caſual burning of ſome Hangings near his Chamber, and alſo might be true, yet one *Style*, imploy'd there by our King to write him the ſucceſs of this Journey, ſaid) came thus. They who had charge from *Francis* to make the Emperors Reception, had hung a long iron Chain from the top of the Caſtle to the bottom, cover'd all over with Pitch, Tar, and Roſin in very great quantity, which being lighted at the Emperors coming (ſomewhat in Night) did afterwards upon ſome accident, go out in that ſnuff and ill ſavour, as the Emperor ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe to choak him; but theſe jealouſies were ſoon clear'd, Succours not only coming in quickly, but *Francis* commanding the Authors of this diſturbance to be hang'd, had not the Emperor interceded for them. And here, during ſome ſtay, both Princes (who formerly would have us'd their Arms againſt each other) ending their emulation in ſhooting a Stag, which they both hit at the ſame time with their Hand-guns, (as *Style* his Recept relates) departing hence to *Paris*, the Court of Parliament in their Robes, the Chancellor and Officers of the City met him, with a brave Equipage, which yet the Emperor ſeem'd not much to affect; his black Cloth Suit, and private Train being not proper, as he thought, for ſuch ſhews; ſo that he wiſh'd they had been ſpar'd. Nevertheless *Francis* would not omit any thing which might ſerve either for Oſtentation or Magnificence, ſo that in the ſplendor thereof, all note of their former diſſenſion ſeem'd hidden or effac'd. Howbeit, there wanted not ſome who perſuaded *Francis* to cancel the Treaty of *Madrid*, and make a new one at *Paris*, and that *Milan* ſhould be reſtor'd into the bargain. But as the Conſtable *Montmorency* (a Perſon of great worth) oppos'd this Advice, ſo *Francis* abhor'd it. Beſides, the Dutcheſs of *Eſtampes* (who at firſt ſeem'd averſe) being gain'd by a Diamond, which the Emperor having purpoſely let fall, had after given, (upon her taking it up) chang'd her Language, and now began to ſerve the Emperor. Seven days thus being paſt, either in Masks, Tilts, Turneys, and other Royal Diſports and Triumphs, or in friendly and private Communication, the Emperor thought fit to depart, giving by way of ſatisfaction for his good entertainment, many aſſurances of his love to *Francis*, who alſo for making it more entire to him, as well as withdrawing it from our King,

1539. King, had discover'd some secrets (formerly past betwixt them) which diverted the Emperor much from making any new Alliance in our Parts. But as this, at last, was disclos'd again to our King, the unkind usage he receiv'd herein, made him attend an occasion to resent it. And now the Emperor and Francis leaving Paris, the Countess of Chantilly: The admirable situation whereof, and variety of Country pleasures about it, was such, as it made the Emperor wish that he had such another place, when it had cost him one of his Provinces. Both Princes going hence to St. Quintin, bid adieu to each other, leaving nothing to be admir'd, in all the Passages betwixt them, than that they never spake of any particular difference, but by way of gentle discourse, or urg'd it further, than either of them pleas'd to give ear; so much did civility prevail with them over all other Considerations: And thus at length, in February the Emperor came to Valenciennes; whither Francis his Children having accompanied him, and receiv'd both from him, and his Sister Mary, Lady Regent there, all kind and regal usage (excepting an absolute promise to restore Milan) they departed and left the Emperor to attend his great occasions in those Countreys. Where being happy in nothing more than that his adventure of passing through France, (which nothing could justifie but the Event) had succeeded so well, he compos'd the stirs there shortly after.

The passages of this Interview being advertis'd to our King, made him attempt betimes to break off their new Alliance: Or when that could not be done, to prevent the Consequences. Therefore, immediately upon the departure of the Emperor from Paris, he sent the Duke of Norfolk to treat with Francis to this effect: To offer him assistance for recovery of Milan. And for this purpose, that the arrearages of the Pensions due to our King, and Salt-money should be remitted: Furthermore, that with all industry he should make him jealous of the Emperors Ambition. And lastly, to propose a strict League with him, even to the exclusion of the Pope from their Dominions, as he said: He said he had already contracted with the Duke of Cleves, and in a manner with the Duke of Saxe, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Dukes of Bavaria, John Marquis of Brandenburg, the Lantgrave of Hesse, and the Marquis Joachim Elector, and other Princes of Germany. The Duke coming thus to Paris, had audience of Francis; but finding him resolute not to break with the Emperor, if he perform'd his part, he return'd before the end of February.

Having thus deliver'd together the whole business of the Interview, and Success thereof, lest the Reader should be interrupted with broken and imperfect Narrations, I shall look back on some other Affairs which pass'd this while.

1539. Our King having found that neither the Marriage propos'd betwixt himself and the Dutches of Milan, was like to take effect, nor any other in France, consider'd now where he might bestow himself with most advantage: Whereupon Cromwel advis'd him to a Treaty with Cleves; and the rather, that he might oppose the Emperor, who did still retain such a grudge against him for disinheriting the Princess Mary, as it was thought he would endeavour to execute the Popes Sentence: So that hereunto certain considerations of State, rather than Beauty or Riches, did conduce. For as John Duke of Cleves was next Neighbour to the Emperors Dominions in the Low-Countreys, and Father-in-Law to

the Duke of Saxony, he seem'd most proper to joyn with in League to this purpose. But the old Duke John dying shortly after, the Treaty was renew'd with Duke William his Son, to whom also the Princess Mary was propos'd, when he demanded her upon fitting terms. But difficulties appear'd in either of these Affairs; for the Lady Anne having been demanded by the Duke of Lorain's Son, the old Duke of Cleves had in great part accorded it: And for the other Match, it was much cross'd by the Emperor, who offer'd Duke William the Dutches of Milan, not without some hope that he would release Guelders, which the said Duke claim'd by the gift of Charles of Egmond, late Duke thereof. Howbeit, the treaties with our King went on; but so as they were by the Cleves cunningly delay'd, till a meeting with the Emperors Deputies at Brussels had past, and advice was taken with the Duke of Saxony: Yet were not these the only impediments; for the Lady Anne understood no Language but Dutch; so that all communion of Speech betwixt our King and her was interclud'd. Yet, as our Ambassador, Nicholas Wotton Doctor of Law, employ'd in this business, hath it, she could both write and read in her own Language, and few very well; only for Musick, he said, it was not the manner of the Country to learn it. But for her better description, Hans Holbin the Kings Servant took her Picture, and her younger Sister Amelies, and sent them hither; upon whose excellent representation of the Lady Anne, the match being resolv'd on, was fully concluded at the coming over of Frederic Duke of Bavaria Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the several Ambassadors of the Dukes of Saxony and Cleves; and shortly after the Lady with a brave Equipage was sent into England. The other Treaty yet succeeded not; for the young Duke of Cleves finding no disposition in the Emperor to release Guelders, concluded a Marriage with the only Daughter of Henry King of Navarre, and Margurita the French Kings Sister, the year following; which yet took no effect. This Lady being on her way now as far as Rochester, the King came disguis'd to her on New-years day: But the sight so dislik'd him, that he was glad (as his own words were afterwards) that he had kept himself from making any part of her Bond with her, and that he was woe that ever she came into England; and that he thereupon deliberated with himself how to break it off; though, as he consider'd it would make a ruffle in the World, and drive the Duke her Brother into the Emperor or French Kings hands, he said, it was too far gone. The truth of all which is so declar'd by our Records, that I make no question but if her coming had hapned at any other time than when the Emperor and French King were together in France, as is before related, he would have sent her back. Howsoever, he thought fit to discover himself at last to her; who thereupon fell on her Knees, but he taking her up lovingly, kiss'd her, without making shew of any inward discontent, which also he had so at length digested; that he resolv'd to marry her, when the ensurance made by her to the Duke of Lorain's Son were clear'd; which business being committed to Cromwells care, who was a special Counsellor of the Match, he said (as the King afterwards charg'd him under his hand) that a sufficient Instrument for this purpose was brought: But whether Cromwel did forget himself herein, or his Master, it is hard out of our Records to determine; for I find in an Original written by Cromwel, 25 of June, to the King, out of the Tower, that Olesleger and Hobsteden (the Duke of Cleves Commissioners for bringing over the Lady) had with them indeed

1539.

1539. May 15. Prince's Mary propos'd in Marriage to the D. of Cleves.

1533.

Aug. 1539.

Decemb.

Ann. of Cleves comes in to England.

1539.

Dec. 31.

Jan. 1.

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1539. no such Instrument, nor any Discharge or Declaration touching the Covenants of Marriage betwixt the Duke of Lorain's Son; nevertheless, that *Olesleger* offer'd to remain here as Prisoner, till a revocation of all the aforesaid Covenants and Contracts of Marriage were brought; and that this being told the King, made him say, he was not well handled in this business. Howsoever, all was remitted to the Council-Table, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of *Duresme* said, if nothing but Sponsals had pass betwixt them, such a Renunciation as was offer'd would serve; and that then the making a Protestation in an Honourable Presence before certain Notaries, should be a sufficient discharge in Law: And now the procuring of the said Instrument in writing being undertook by the aforesaid Commissioners, the King requir'd the Lady to make a Protestation before the Lords to this effect: Which being done, he said to *Cromwel*, that *there was no remedy now, and therefore he must put his neck in the yoke* (as the words under his hands are:) Whereupon, the next day after he solemnly married her at *Greenwich*, resolving to confederate himself with the Princes of *Germany*, if they would come to some moderate accord in Doctrine. But in the Morning *Cromwel* coming to him, and demanding whether he lik'd her better than before, he answer'd, *Nay, much worse; for that he having found by some signs that she was no Maid, he had no disposition to meddle with her*: Nevertheless, he outwardly cherish'd her; without making any publick demonstration of dis-favour towards her, or neglect of any Solemnity for her Reception at *London* and else-where. All which made the greater shew, that the King remembring what Enemies he had abroad, and discontented Persons at home, had renew'd his Guard of Fifty Pensioners, intermitted since the first year of his Reign.

Scotts Affairs. It is formerly related, how not only *James* King of *Scotland* desir'd in Marriage *Mary* the Daughter of the Duke of *Guise*, and Relict of the Duke of *Longueville*; but a touch given that our King had some inclination to her: Howbeit, *Francis* chose rather to give her to *James*, as knowing that less States united to greater, depend on them; whereas the equal for the most part live in jealousy with their Neighbours: Therefore the Match being concluded, she was brought to *Scotland*, and soon after with Child, which being a Son, the Grandmother *Margaret*, Queen of *Scots*, and Sister to our King, having Christned, shortly after died, aged about fifty years, and was buried in the *Carthusians* Church in *Perth*. But neither that Child, nor another born the year following, liv'd long; they (tho' in several places) ending their lives within six hours one after the other, the same day (as the *Scottish* History hath it.) I find little else by our Records, of *Scotland*, for this year; save that some Libels and Prophecies being divulg'd in *Scotland* against our King, the Authors were punished by *James*. The year following Sir *Ralph Sadler* Secretary was dispatcht thither, about the time that the Emperor and *French* King were together; for our King knew well how much it concern'd him now on every part to prevent danger. The Instructions given to *Sadler* were (after presenting the Kings love, and some Horres) First, *To bring David Beton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews, into suspicion with that King, as having written to Rome in other terms than he should; which Letters being intercepted in England, were now to be shewn. But King James did not much weigh this.*

Secondly, *To persuade him, for augmenting his Estate, to take into his hands the Abbeyes; which James*

likewise refus'd, saying, *what need I take them into my hands, when I may have any thing I can require of them? And if there be abuses in them, I will reform them; for there be a great many good.*

Thirdly, *To discover his affection, by telling him how rumours were dispers'd (which the aforesaid Interview made probable) that the Emperor, French King, and Bishop of Rome would invade England; and that it was said, King James would do the same.* But he protested with many Oaths against it. Whereupon *Sadler* told him how near he was to the *English* Crown; and that he should esteem his Uncles friendship above any others, desiring again there might be an Interview; which *James* approv'd, when the *French* King might be present; but afterward by a particular Message excus'd it: So that some jealousies pass'd betwixt them; which also appear'd by certain Fortifications rais'd about this time upon the Borders by our King, and a Navy of fifteen Ships, and 2000 Men made in readines by *James*: Who wanted not Money, his Clergy giving great Sums only that their Houses might not be dissolv'd. What the occasion of these Preparations yet was, I cannot tell; but I gather out of our Records, that about this time certain *Irish* Gentlemen came to invite him to their Country, promising to acknowledge him their King, and that divers Nobles and Gentlemen of *Ireland* should come over to do him Homage. How this offer was accepted, appears not; but the Preparatives came to nothing, by the good order which our King gave; who both by frequent and kind Messages, and securing his Borders, kept his Nephew in good intelligence. One doubt yet remain'd undecided, as I gather out of our Records, which was, that our King took it ill, that *James* assum'd to himself his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, only adding the word *Christian* unto it, as if (said he) there were any other Faith.

That Beauty and attractive which should take the Kings eye in *Anne of Cleve*, not appearing, nor that Conversation which should please his Ear; and her Brother besides excusing himself in the performance of some Articles of the Treaty, he did more willingly think of a Divorce; for which purpose, the Pre-contract with the Duke of *Lorain's* Son was chiefly pretended. For though *Olesleger*, Chancellor of *Cleves*, had according to his promise, 26 Feb. 1540. procur'd an Instrument in writing out of the Records of *Dusseldorp*, dated Feb. 15. 1535. testifying the *Sponsalia* heretofore made by the Parents betwixt the Duke of *Lorain's* Son, and the Lady *Anne*, should not take effect. Yet this it seems either was not shew'd, or did not satisfy our King. Howsoever it was not deposited in *Archivis Regiis*, but found among *Cromwel's* Papers after his apprehension. And now although all scruples seem'd the more considerable, in that so many doubts had been already cast concerning the Kings former Marriages, yet the King determin'd at what price soever to separate himself from *Anne of Cleve*, and together to ruine *Cromwel*. For though he had not long before made him Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex*, and High Chamberlain of *England*, yet as he was odious by reason of his low birth to all the Nobility, and hated particularly by *Stephen Gardiner*, and the Roman Catholics, for having operated so much in the dissolution of Abbies; and that the Reformers themselves found he could not protect them from burning; and lastly, that besides a Subsidy that the Clergy gave of four shillings in the pound, he had gotten in the present Parliament, not without much Reluctation, one Tenth, and one Fifteen parts of all Lay-mens Goods; he was universally hated: Which our King considering, and having besides divers Articles brought

1540. brought against him, he now judg'd him no longer necessary: Therefore he gave way to all his Enemies Accusations; which could not but be material; it being impossible that any Man, who meddled so much in great and publick Affairs, should not in divers kinds so mistake, forget, and err, as to incur the note of a Criminal, when severe inquisition were made against him. And now the King having gotten sufficient proof against Cromwel, caus'd him to be arrested at the Council-Table by the Duke of Norfolk, when he least suspected it: To which Cromwel obey'd, though judging his Perdition more certain, that the Duke was Uncle to the Lady Katharine Howard, whom the King began now to affect. The News whereof, and his commitment to the Tower being divulg'd, the People with many Acclamations witnessed their Joy; so impatient are they usually of the good fortune of Favorites arising from mean place, and insolent over the ill: Whereof the King being inform'd, proceeded more overtly, both in his Parliament business, and the Divorce; and the rather, that all former faults being now imputed to Cromwel, every body began to hope of a better Age. But Cromwel (if we may believe some of our Authors) foresaw his fall two years before, and therefore provided for his Family; neither did the late Honours give him much comfort or security, when he thought they were conferr'd only to make him the greater Sacrifice. It cannot be deny'd yet, but the Crimes whereof he was attainted in Parliament, are in the general terms great and enormous, and such as deserv'd the most Capital Punishment; though as some of the Accusations were conceal'd two years after they were alledg'd, and the particulars of some others not specified; and lastly, as he was not permitted to answer for himself, the proceedings against him were thought rigorous; but so few pittied him, that all was easily pass'd over: Nevertheless, I find by an Original, that Cranmer writ to the King in his behalf boldly, considering the times; for though (as is in his Letter) he heard yesterday in his Graces Council, that he is a Traitor; yet, he saith, who cannot be sorrowful, and amaz'd that he should be a Traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanc'd by your Majesty, he whose surety was only by your Majesty, he who lov'd your Majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your Majesties Will and Pleasure; he that car'd for no Mans Displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a Servant, in my Judgment, in Wisdom, Diligence, Faithfulness, and Experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all Treasons, that few could be so secretly conceiv'd, but he detected the same in the beginning? If the Noble Princes of memory, King John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, and overthrown as those good Princes were: After which, he says again, I lov'd him as my Friend, for so I took him to be, but I chiefly lov'd him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your Grace singularly above all others: But now, if he be a Traitor, I am sorry that ever I lov'd him, or trusted him, and I am very glad that his Treason is discover'd in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Graces chance herein, I wot not whom your Grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day to send such a Counsellor in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your Grace like to him, and that will have so much sollicitude and care to preserve your Grace from

all dangers, as I ever thought he had. All which, as being a Character of Cromwel in Cranmer's Opinion, I have faithfully copied out of the Original. Not yet that I will pretend excuses for him, whom the Laws have condemn'd; (though Fox doubts not to say, That as General Councils have sometimes been observ'd to err, so Princes and Parliaments may be sometimes inform'd by sinister Heads;) but that his punishment may serve as a caution for those that serve severe Princes, to procure sufficient warrant for all that they do. The Crimes objected to Cromwel seeming to be chiefly an usurpation of power, to set at liberty certain Persons not capable of it, and granting certain Licences, and making certain Commissions in high Affairs, without the Kings knowledge: For which, though Cromwel in his discretion might have found due Motives; yet as he proceeded not warily therein, he fell into the danger of the Law. Furthermore, he was accus'd for being an Heretick, and favouring them: (But then, that the Head of the Churches Vicegerent in Spiritual Affairs, should be an Heretick and favourer of them, to some seem'd strange, to others gave occasion of Merriment.) As for his speaking certain high presumptuous words concerning the King, and sundry of the Nobility, many thought it proceeded rather out of mistaking and rashness, than any ill intention. Cromwel thus unheard, and almost unpried, being condemn'd while he was in the Tower, omitted not yet to write unto the King, whereof hereafter. The context of my History requiring, that I come to the proceedings of the Kings Divorce.

I find by an Original, that John Clark Bishop of Bath, was sent to the Duke of Cleves at the end of June, to tell him, That the King never consented heartily to the Matrimony with his Sister; and that he never did, nor intended to consummate the same; especially since he could not but take notice of the precontract with Lorain: Besides which, that there were secret Causes, which the King without great necessity would not have disclos'd, because they touch'd the honour of the Lady; yet that all her Jewels should be restor'd with an honourable Augmentation in Revenue, &c. And so that she should be transported into her Country. Besides, that assurance should be given the Duke of the Kings Love, in all his occasions with the Emperor. After which, if the Duke should remain perverse, to tell him, that the matter is already so debated by his Majesty, and the whole Realm, (as the Reader will see hereafter) the Parliament now sitting, that they be utterly resolv'd to proceed to Justice. But these Instructions again were check'd by others of July 3. and he commanded to persist only in the point of precontract with Lorain, which was upon Remonstrance of the Lords in the Upper House, to be debated in Parliament, since they found the Instrument for Revocation thereof was of no value: And that certain Persons were appointed of both Houses, who should repair to the King, to beseech him by way of humble Petition, that it would please him, both to grant, that the Bishops and the Clergy of the Realm, might examine the matter, and thereupon declare their Judgment, and Sentence; and also to abstain from her Company, till the case were decided: Whereunto his Majesty condescending and agreeing, upon Thursday next it should be opened to the Parliament, and brought to the King, and from thence, remitted to the Bishops and Clergy; and also notified to her. All which tending only to an Examination, his Majesty could not deny, not doubting but the said Duke considering that it is the general motion of the whole

1540.
Reg. 1.

June 23.
Is arrested
by the D.
of Norfolk.

Fox p. 514.

June 14.

Records.
Cranmer's
Letter to
the King
in his
favour.

1540.

Cromwel's
Accusation.

Sauers.
Schilm.
Angl.

His Con-
finement.

June.
Records.
The K's
Divorce
from Anne
of Cleves
pursu'd.

July 3.

July 6.

1540. whole Realm, and remembering the effusion of Blood which hath been in the same, by uncertainty of Titles, will think it reasonable, that this last Matrimony, for their more certainty, and the Kings discharge, should be examin'd. These second Instructions (sign'd by the King as the former were,) yet did not please: He being finally commanded to urge for his best Argument *Authoritatem rei judicate*: All which Instructions were sent the Bishop in his way, and before he came to *Bruges*, where the Emperor was; whom he was commanded to salute on his Majesties part, and to deliver him certain Letters. The particulars whereof, though not extant in our Records, yet (as I gather by some Circumstances) tended to a Reconciliation with the Emperor, whom the King in this Match had disobligh'd. Of the delivery whereof also, the Bishop (being not yet come to the Duke of *Cleves*) advertis'd our King, who this while commanded the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Thomas Wriotbesly* to acquaint the said Lady therewith; (who, upon pretence of better Air, was lately remov'd to *Richmond*.) But the news struck her into a sudden weakness and fainting, till at last recovering her self, she was by little and little persuaded, First, to refer the matter to the Clergy: Secondly, to relinquish her Title of Queen; instead whereof, the King had devis'd another which he thought might content her: And this was (as I find by our Records) that she should have the Name and Dignity thenceforth of his Adopted Sister; which stile yet, afterwards gave some subject of Discourse: Howsoever she accepted it, and subscrib'd (in these terms) a Letter to the King. Besides, she sent another to her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, acknowledging the Justice of the proceedings; and that she was untouch'd by the King, and that she was well intreated in *England*, and therefore desir'd to stay: Lastly, she promis'd to shew the King all Letters receiv'd from her Brother, Mother, or any else. Whereupon, the Officers which before attended her as Queen, were discharg'd, and others appointed to wait on her in the quality of the Kings Adopted Sister.

July 6. And now the Duke understanding by the Bishop of *Bath*, and *Nicolas Wotton* Resident there, that our Clergy assist'd by the Court of Arches, had declar'd (upon her Testimony, that she was untouch'd by our King) that the Marriage was void, and that either part might marry freely; and that the whole Parliament had confirm'd the Sentence, and she accepted it, remain'd much perplex'd, as with tears he witnessed; yet finding it a business publickly resolv'd, he said little; especially, after he heard that *Richmond House*, and other fair Lands, were allotted her for Maintenance; and that she should have precedence before all, save the Queen, and the Kings Children. Howbeit, he would never consent to the disannulling of the Match; so that the Bishop return'd, leaving the Duke no otherwise satisfied, than that his Sister had sped no worse. Thus at length the Law pass'd, declaring the Marriage void, both by the judgment of the Clergy of *England*, and also by her own consent, and that it was High Treason to judge or believe otherwise.

July 12. Their Marriage declar'd void.

Several other Acts pass'd.

Another Act also was made, shewing, what Marriages were lawful, and what not. Wherein is ordain'd, that all Marriages (without the degrees prohibited by Gods Law) made and consummate by carnal knowledge, shall be firm and good. Notwithstanding any precontract, which hath not been so consummate. But this Law was repeal'd, 1. and 2. *Phil.* and *Mar.* and 1. *Eliz.* 1.

Other Acts also pass'd this Session of Parliament, which began *April* 12. Among which I thought fit to remember these:

An Act declaring in what cases a Man may dispose all his Lands by his last Will in Writing; and in what, but part thereof. And in what cases the King, and other Lords shall have their Wardships.

That no Person should sell or buy any Right or Title, or maintain it, or procure Maintenance in any Suit.

The punishment also by Death of Priests married, or unmarried; and of Women offending with them by Incontinency, was Repeal'd. For as the Clergy of these times thought it (though one of the Six Articles) too severe; the punishment (upon their Remonstrance) was laid on their Goods, Chattels, and Spiritual Promotions; and this also better pleas'd the King.

Sanctuaries also, and priviledg'd places were reduc'd to a few, and certain Rules prescrib'd to them.

That Horses feeding on Commons, not being of a lawful height, (that is to say, not being fifteen hands high, at two years old) should be seiz'd on by any Man for his own use.

That Forests, Heaths, Commons, &c. should be driven once in the year, and unlikely Tits in them to be kill'd. Nevertheless, that Horses of small height might be put where Mares were not kept.

The Statutes also of 5 *Rich.* 2. 3. 6 *Rich.* 2. 8. 4. 4 *Hen.* 7. 10. and 23 *Hen.* 8. 7. touching freighting in *English* Ships, were only rehears'd and confirm'd, and a rate set down what should be paid for the freight, or portage of the several sorts of Merchandizes from the Port of *London* to other places, and from thence to *London*.

That no Alien nor Denizon shall set up any Trade in the Kings Dominions, and they who are Denizons should be bound by and unto all the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, particularly those of 14 *Hen.* 8. and 21 *Hen.* 8. above-mentioned.

That *Trinity Term*, in regard of impediment of Harvest, and danger of Infection, should be abbreviated. Certain Priviledges also were granted to Physicians in *London*; as that they should not keep Watch and Ward, nor be Constables; and that they might practise Chirurgery: Barbers and Chirurgeons were also made one Company, and certain Priviledges given them; as not to bear Armour, or to be put in any Watches or Inquests.

A Court also of the First-fruits, and Tenths, granted to the King, was erected.

The Court of the Kings Ward also, and the Names and several Duties and Offices thereof was erected.

It was enacted also, That the Lands and Goods of *St. Johns* in *Jerusalem*, should be in the Kings disposition; for which these Reasons chiefly were pretended: Because the Knights of *Rhodes* or *Saint John*, otherwise call'd Fryers of the Religion of *Saint John*, drew yearly great sums of Money out of the Kingdom; that they maintain'd the usurp'd power of the Bishop of *Rome*; that they defam'd and slander'd the King and his Subjects; that the Isle of *Rhodes*, whence the said Religion took its name, was surpris'd by the *Turks*; that the Revenues might be better employ'd for defence of the Realm; nevertheless, certain Pensions were allow'd unto the Prior, and others of the said Order, that were dutiful Subjects. But all their Lands, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, were granted to the Kings Majesty, to be in the Survey, Rule, and Governance of the Chancellor, and others, Officers of the Court of

1540. of Augmentations. And thus fell that ancient and pious Order, not without much Scandal abroad, both to the King and Government. Tho' yet, the envious Disrespect shew'd unto the English being such, as they never attained higher Dignity than the *Turcoplier* or Captain's Place of the Light-Horse in the Isle of *Rhodes*, did (in the opinion of some) extenuate this Proceeding: The King yet grew not much the richer hereby, as giving great Portions of the said Lands to divers of our Noblemen and Cavaliers, who lately had held a solemn Jufts, Tournay and Barriers in *Westminster*, and feasted sumptuously both the King and Court.

May 1. Hall. Act of Indemnity. June 25. Cromwell writes to the King after Condemnation. July 28. Is beheaded. His Defect and Fortune. Lastly, a general and free Pardon was granted of all Heresies, Treasons, Felonies, and Offences, (some particular Persons and Matters only excepted) in which number *Cromwell* was not yet included. For, though divers Letters and Messages passed from him to the King; and one particularly written after his Condemnation, and extant in our Records, wherein he much excus'd himself, saying, That if his Medlings under his Majesty were great, so his Majesty's Authority was great; and that he protested, besides, under many Execrations, that he was innocent in his Intentions; and, lastly, utterly deny'd all Treason and Heresy, as that he was no Sacramentary, &c. yet he could not prevail. And thus the twenty eighth of July (being four Days after the Dissolution of the Parliament) he was brought to the *Tower-Hill*, where, after Profession that he would die in the Catholick Faith, his Head was cut off.

And to this End came *Cromwell*, who from being but a Blacksmiths Son, found means to travel into divers foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars, (being a Soldier of *Bourbon* at the sacking of *Rome*;) whence returning, he was receiv'd into the Cardinal *Woolsey's* Service: To whom he so approv'd himself by his Fidelity and Diligence, that the King after his Fall voluntarily took him for his Servant; in which place he became a special Instrument for dissolving the Abbies, and other Religious Houses, and keeping down the Clergy; whom in regard of their Oath to the Pope, he usually term'd the King's half Subjects: And for expelling the Monks, he said it was no more than a restoring them to the first Institution of being lay and labouring Persons: Neither did it move him, that so much Strictness and Austerity of Life was injoin'd them in their several Orders, since he said they might keep it in any Condition. But as these Reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able Persons, so he got him many Enemies, who at last procur'd his Fall; but not before he had obtain'd successively the Dignities of Master of the Rolls, (a) Baron, (b) Lord Privy-Seal, (c) Vicegerent to the King in Spiritualities, (d) Knight of the Garter, (e) Earl of *Essex*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, &c. He was noted in the exercise of his Places of Judicature to have used much Moderation; and in his greatest Pomp, to have taken notice, and been thankful to mean Persons of his old acquaintance, and therein had a Virtue which his Master the Cardinal wanted: As for his other Descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of *Cranmer's* Letter formerly mention'd, with some deduction; for it seems written to the King in more than ordinary favour of his ancient Service.

(a) July 9. 1536. (b) (c) Jul. 18. 1536. (d) Aug. 26. 1537. (e) Ap. 14. 1540. At the same time with *Cromwell*, *Walter Lord Hungerford* suffer'd. The Crimes objected to him were, For taking into his House as Chaplain one *William Bird*, who had called the King Heretick, &c. That he had procur'd certain Persons to conjure, to know how long the King should live; also, That he had used the Sin of Buggery.

Shortly after which, divers great Persons from *Italy*, and other places, came to see the King, whom he very courteously receiv'd, and being richly rewarded, dismiss'd them.

The King continued yet his Rigor to those that disputed either his Authority, or Articles; insomuch, that both the Reformers and Maintainers of the Pope's Authority suffer'd so frequently, that his Enemies said, While he admitted neither side, he seem'd to be of no Religion. Howbeit, this was but Calumny, for he stood firmly to his own Reformation.

And now the Lady *Anne of Cleves* contenting her self with the stile of the King's adopted Sister, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Daughter to *Edmond* the third Son of *Thomas*, first Duke of *Norfolk*, and Brother to the present Duke, was married to the King, and presently after shew'd publicly as Queen.

Our Historians say, That in *August*, this Year, there was so great a Drought, that the Springs failing, the Salt-water flow'd above *London-Bridge*. I find also, that *Frederic Count Palatine of Bavaria* was in *England*, to obtain Aid of the King, for the restitution of his Father-in-law the King of *Denmark*. But as our Records do not set down the time exactly, so I know not whether to place him in this Year, or the Year preceding. Howsoever, he found some Difficulty in his Business, and the rather, that he asked so great a Sum as six hundred thousand Ducats, when the King had so much use of Money, for the fortifying of his Kingdom.

Let us look a while upon foreign business: The memory of those Courtesies which were done the Emperor, being yet fresh, *Francis* thought fit to send the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and Conestable *Montmorency*, to treat concerning the Restitution of *Milan*: But the Emperor, resolute at what price soever not to quit it, made them at length this Answer:

There is nothing I desire so much, as the Peace and Quiet of the World, which that it may be firm and true, I am content to give unto the King, more than ever he meant to ask, or I to grant. Of two Daughters which I have, I am willing to bestow the elder in marriage to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with her for Dowry the State of *Flanders*, with the Stile and Title of a King; so shall *Francis* have two Sons, both Kings and Neighbours: Besides, if his eldest Son and mine die, he and my Daughter shall be the greatest Princes in the World; for they shall have *Spain* and all my other Dominions. As for *Milan*, let them not think I will ever part with it, since it were nothing else than to disjoint (the Spanish is more elegant Descabear) all my Estates. And let it not grieve the King; for I had it by good and lawful Succession, and possess it as belonging to the Empire. Take *Milan* from me, and you take away my Passage between *Flanders* and *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Germany*. This is that I had to say to you. And if it please you not, there is no occasion to speak more of the business.

The Cardinal and *Montmorency* hereupon advertis'd this good Offer; but *Francis*, as a Man passionate, and affronted, returned this Answer.

That since he might not have his Inheritance, he would have nothing else; neither would he care to speak any more of Peace.

And thus the Treaty brake off; yet so, as it was thought that *Francis* herein shew'd some Willfulness; he being not further off from *Milan* for having *Flanders*, nor to be bound so by any Confederation, as he might not easily find occasion to dissolve it, the Causes both of War and Peace betwixt great Princes being perpetual. And now the Emperor, glad of this refusal, prosecutes his Business in *Germany*, without care of giving *Francis* any further satisfaction.

1540.

July 22. Holm.

Santerre.

The King marries the Lady Katharine Howard.

Aug. 2.

August.

The Emperor's final Answer to Francis about Milan.

Sandow.

The Emperor's Reply.

1540. In France, where all was now quiet, little past this Year, save that Francis being desirous to enlarge his Borders, built a Fortress at *Ardres*, and made a Bridge over to the *English* Pale; which our Garrison hearing, beat down. The French yet re-edify'd it; but our Garrisons overthrew it again. Whereupon the French raising some Forces under *Monsieur de Biez*, our King commanded *Henry Arundel* Lord *Matrevers* (lately made Deputy of *Calais* in the place of *Arthur Plantagenet*) to put the Town into defence by Fortifying and Victualling it; and shortly after sent over the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Edward Kerne*, who disputed the Right of the Borders with *Monsieur de Biez*, and other Commissioners from Francis. But as no effect follow'd hereon, and Francis besides took occasion to complain, that our King in the late Parliament had made the French liable to Subsidies, and other new Impositions, contrary to the ancient Treaties: Our King on the other side, remonstrating that those Acts were neither new, nor derogatory to the said Treaties; both Princes remain'd unsatisfy'd of the others Actions. Therefore on the French Party *Monsieur de Vendosme* was commanded to raise Forces in *Picardy*; and from England were sent *William* Earl of *Southampton*, lately made Lord Privy-Seal, and *John* Lord *Russel*, newly constitute High Admiral, with a few Troops of Northern Horse: Without yet that any thing was attempted on either side for the present.

I will conclude this Year with a Narration of the first beginning which the Jesuitical Order took from *Inigo de Loyola* of *Guipuscoa* in Spain. This *Inigo* or *Ignatius* being born 1492. (that is to say, in the Year that the *Indies* were discover'd, and *Granada* taken in by *Ferdinand*) seems the third great effect of that unparallel'd Ascendent which Spain had at that time: He lived yet obscurely till he came to twenty nine Years of Age, but then turn'd Soldier in the Wars of *Navarre*, 1521. where being hurt in the Knee, the Pain thereof seems to have waken'd Devotion in him to a Religious Life; for as soon as he recovered, he went to our Lady of *Montserrat*, to whom he offer'd his Sword and Dagger, which being done, he gave his Clothes away to a poor Man, and took upon him a Shirt and miserable Habit, which he girt about him with a Rope of Rushes: And in these Arms (for so are *Sandoval's* Words) he watch'd one whole Night before our Lady, and so went to an Hospital three Leagues off, and there attended the sick Persons, whence he travell'd after to the Holy Land; being return'd thence, and now in his Age of thirty three, he began to learn Grammar at *Barcelona*, which in two Years he attain'd. And being desirous to make further progress, he went to the University of *Alcala*, and so to *Salamanca*, where being oppos'd and persecuted, he left all and came to *Paris*, and there studied till he had found at last divers others, with whom he agreed to return in Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and *Jerusalem*. Thus about 1536, going first to *Venice*, he staid till his Companions overtook him, and went from thence to *Rome*, whither he follow'd them; and obtain'd of *Paul III.* the Foundation of the Jesuitical Order, 27 Sept. 1540. The decay of Religious Houses in England, and the Progress of the Lutherans in Germany, authorizing (it seems) their Institution, who since have so dilated themselves, as their Disciples fear not to say, That for advancement of their Doctrine, they have gone to further Countries than the Apostles ever reach'd; and that God reserv'd the intire Discoveries both of East and West Indies until the latter times, only that those Holy Fathers might have the Honour of their Conversion. Of the

Devotion and Miracles which this *Ignatius* is said to have exhibited in his Journeys, I affirm nothing, as contenting my self to have taken the more historical part out of *Sandoval*, (who seems to be a great Extoller of him.) Sundry Reformers on the other side, instead of confessing him to be a good Man, or a Miracle-worker, said, he was an Incendiary, and haunted with Evil Spirits. Which latter part not only *Sandoval*, but *Turrianus* and *Bobadilla* (both of them Jesuites) confirm; moreover *Turrianus* related (as *Hospinian* hath it) that he dy'd in much Fear and Trembling, and that his Face was strangely black; *Hafenmullerus* besides (once a Jesuit) adds that no Bones were found in his Body, and that all the Jesuites at his Burial were Witnesses thereof. Concerning which therefore no little Dispute is on both sides, whether good or bad Angels took them away, while divers sober Men think neither: But that we may pretermitt the Contentions of Men passionate on the one or the other side, as unfit to establish that Peace in which God is best serv'd, there is little occasion to say more of the Jesuites in this place, than that they are generally held such Ministers of the King of Spain, that they have more advanc'd (by the secret Operations of their Confessions, and Intelligence, which is admirable) the Designs of the House of *Austria*, than either the Continent of Spain, made intire by the Union of *Granada*, (as is formerly touch'd) or the *Indies* themselves. By which means, as also that their Doctrine and Learning is so exact in all things, save where they overmuch study the Pope and Spaniards Ends, they have made themselves the most considerable among all the Religious Orders.

And now a cruel time did pass in England; for as few durst protect those who refus'd to subscribe to the six Articles, so they suffer'd daily, whereof Fox hath many Examples; neither was it easy for any Man to escape, (Commissioners being appointed in every Shire to search out and examine those who were refractory;) nevertheless, these Punishments did but advance their Religion; for as they were notify'd abroad, and together their Constancy presented, who were burnt, it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoice in the midst of their Torments, and triumph over the most cruel Death. Therefore not only the learned and better affected sort, but even all Christian Princes endeavour'd some consent of Opinion: The Pope himself not omitting to concur therein, as thinking it better to allow some degrees of Latitude in Religion, only when their several Authorities might be conserv'd, than to hazard a general Schism and Distraction. Hereunto also it conduced not a little, that the Turk taking notice of these Divisions, prepared to invade Germany. Therefore the Emperor appointed a Meeting at *Worms*, where divers learned and able Men on both sides should dispute, hoping so an end would follow. Howbeit, as the Divines could not agree among themselves, the business was referr'd to a Diet, shortly to be held at *Ratisbonne*, whither the Pope sent Cardinal *Gasper Contarini*. And here the Emperor being present, requires both sides to permit the choice of the Delegates to him, which they granted; whereupon he appointed on the one side, *Julius Pflug*, *John Eccius*, *John Groper*; on the other, *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*; gravely advising them to handle the business sincerely; these Men, after a modest Excuse, accept the Charge, desiring only certain Assessors who might testify their Proceedings; whereupon the Emperor gave them *Frederick* Count *Palatine*, and

Order of the Jesuits founded.

Life of Ignatius Loyola.

Sandoval.

This Order founded by Pope Paul III. Sept. 27.

1540.

1541. Petition in England concerning the six Articles.

Octob. 28. 1540. Jan. 1.

April 5. Sleid.

A Dispute in Germany between the Protestants and Popish Divines.

April 17. Ni-

1540. Nicholas Perenot Seigneur de Granville, and some others; offering them further a Book to consider, some Passages whereof they all admitted, others they corrected, and of some others the Protestants writ their Opinion apart; so the Book was re-exhibited to the Emperor, and he (it seem'd) well contented therewith; nevertheless, because the Pope interven'd not herein, this way was oppos'd, Contareni alledging, that all agreement in this kind would be vain, unless the Holy See confirm'd it; whereupon the Emperor referring the Protestants Confession to him, he again refers it to the Pope: But as this requir'd time, so the Emperor desirous his Endeavours should take some effect, demands whether those Articles whereof the Delegates were agreed might be receiv'd, until a Council were had. The Protestants desir'd it; but the Legat and Catholic Princes oppos'd it, saying, They were not the most material, and therefore to be pretermitted till the rest were determin'd, &c. Concluding with a Desire, that all might be deferr'd to the General Council now intended.

July 7. The Emperor finding all Reconciliation at this time to be hopeless, and that the Turk still approach'd, took this way, promising himself to go to Rome, and sollicite the Pope herein; advising the Protestants in the mean time, First, to insist in the reconciled Points. Secondly, The Roman Catholic Bishops to reform their own particular Churches, and so make way for a general Reformation; taking order withal, that Religious Houses should not be thrown down, nor People drawn from one Country to another upon pretence of converting them: Yet that they who came willingly might be receiv'd; promising further, if a General Council could not be obtain'd, to procure a Provincial; or if neither, that within eighteen Months another Diet should be called, whither he would intreat a Legat from the Pope to come; suspending, in the mean time, that rigid Decree at Augsburg against the Protestants; whereupon, they also promis'd him their Assistance against the Turk. And thus ended the Diet; to which our King sent Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knevet, by whom (if we may believe Sanders) he held a doubtful part; sometimes excusing himself to the Protestants, sometimes offering a Reconciliation with the Pope by the Emperor's means, when Penance and Restitution should not be requir'd. But as neither our Histories nor Records, nor the diligent Sleidan make mention hereof, that I can find, so I leave the credit thereof to the Readers discretion.

July 28. Sanders. Scilicet Aug. Francis not satisfy'd with the Answer formerly mention'd, nor the Negotiation of Montmorency, did resent both. Against the Emperor he took offence for not restoring Milan according to his Promise (as he alledg'd) to Montmorency: Against him again, he shew'd no little displeasure (as some affirm) for dissuading him to seize on the Emperor at that time: Though I rather believe it was on occasion of some private quarrel betwixt the Admiral Brion and him; in which, ill offices were done him by the Dutches of Estampes, lately ally'd to Brion's Kindred: Howsoever, Montmorency was confin'd to a private life; neither would the King ever after see him. And now Francis, resolv'd when occasion was offer'd to break with the Emperor, sends Anthony Rincon, a revolted Spaniard, in Ambassage to the Turk, and one Caesar Fregoso, a Genouese, to the Venetians: Both these meeting in Piedmont with Seignieur du Bellay, the King's Lieutenant there, were advertis'd that the Marquis of Guasto, the Emperor's Lieutenant in Milan, laid wait for them: Howbeit, whether trusting to their Quality, or Address, they agreed

to pass by water along the Po; sending yet their Commission and Dispatches by another way into Venice; for the rest, hoping betwixt changing their Habit, and Diligence, to escape: But (as it falls out very often, that they who hide not themselves cunningly, give but the more occasion to discover themselves, so) they were prevented, and by certain Persons with Vifors assist'd upon the Water. Francis hearing hereof, said it was done by the Emperor or the Marquis of Guasto's procurement, and that the Law of Nations was violated therein: But they, on the other side, disclaim'd the Fact, offering to put the suspected Persons into the Pope's hands, to be there examin'd; protesting nevertheless, that the killing of Rincon was only a chastisement due to a treacherous Subject. Francis hearing this, surpriseth George of Austria (natural Son to Maximilian late Emperor) in his Journey from Spain to Flanders through France, and commits him to Prison. Some other Passages also happen'd about this time, which increas'd the Jealousy betwixt them: For as Francis had given in Marriage Jane Daughter of Navarre to the Duke of Cleves, and therein strengthen'd himself against the Emperor; so he again by giving the Dutches of Milan to the Son of the Duke of Lorraine, got the same advantage of Alliance against Francis.

April. A little Rebellion now appearing in Yorkshire, in which Sir John Nevil was a Complice, the King took order to suppress it betimes; commanding the said Sir John Nevil to be put to death at York. Shortly after which follow'd the Countess of Salisbury's Execution; which, whether occasion'd by the late Rebellion, (as being thought of Cardinal Pool's Instigation) or that she gave some new offence, is uncertain: The old Lady being brought to the Scaffold (set up in the Tower) was commanded to lay her Head on the Block; but she (as a Person of great Quality assur'd me) refus'd, saying, So should Traytors do, and I am none: Neither did it serve that the Executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her gray Head every way, she bid him, if he would have her Head, to get it as he could: So that he was constrain'd to fetch it off slovenly. And thus ended (as our Authors say) the last of the right Line of the Plantagenets.

And now the King resolv'd to go in Progress to Yorkshire; not yet so much to extinguish the relics of the last Commotion, as those of Superstition, Miracles and Pilgrimages: Besides, he was in hope to meet his Nephew of Scotland, who being solicited again for Interview, had (it seems) promis'd it. Yet before he went, he caus'd two Lords and divers others to be put to death: One was the Lord Leonard Gray, who having been (the Year precedent) recall'd from his Deputy's place in Ireland, was then committed upon Suggestions ministred by the Council there, with whom (I find by our Records) he often wrangled; who furnish'd therefore divers Articles of High-Treason against him: So that though he had (the Year 1539) repulsed O Donel and O Neal (who invaded the English Pale) and render'd the King divers good Services heretofore in France, Ireland, and other places, he could not escape. The chief Points objected against him (extant in our Records) were, his readines to join with Cardinal Pool, and other the King's Enemies, he having for that purpose (as was alledg'd) left the King's Ordnance in Gallo-way; and that he consented to the escape of his Nephew Gerald, formerly mention'd; which, with divers others, to the number of twenty (if Hall say true) being brought to a Jury of Knights, (for being no Parliament Lord, he could not be judged

The K. of France sends an Ambassador to the Turk. June.

June 25.

1541. judged by his Peers) he saved them the labour of condemning him, and without more ado confessed all; which, whether this Lord (who was of great Courage) did out of Desperation or Guilt, some Circumstances make doubtful: And the rather, that the Articles being so many, he neither deny'd, nor extenuated any of them; though his continual fighting with the King's Enemies (where occasion was) pleaded much on his part: Howsoever, he had his Head cut off. The other was a young Lord, *Thomas Fines* Lord Dacres of the South, who suffer'd for committing a Murder in company of some light Persons (who were with him a Deer-stealing.) All things being now ready for the intended Journey, the King, accompany'd with his Queen, pass'd thro' *Lincolnshire*, where the People (thankfully acknowledging their late Pardon) presented him with divers Sums of Money; which the *Yorkshire* Men also imitated. And now being come to *York*, he caus'd Proclamation to be made (as I find in our Records) that if any Man in those Parts found himself wronged for lack of Justice, or otherwise, by any whom his Majesty hath put in trust, or other, he shall have free access to the King and his Council for Redress. After this, News was brought him that his Nephew King *James* would not meet: So that although our King had made great Preparations to receive him, all was frustrated. This fill'd the King with Indignation; yet he conceal'd it for the present, though resolving in himself to resent it in the highest degree. Therefore departing from *York*, September 26. towards *London*, he was on the way encounter'd by the Ambassador of *Portugal*, desiring a License for the Transportation of Wheat into that Country, being in great need thereof. To which was answer'd, That if that King would admit in his next Navigation to *Calicut*, some Englishmen of our King's appointment to adventure there for providing this Realm with Spices, he should have his Request. But of this, although the said Ambassador undertook to write to his Master, I find no further mention. Our King being now return'd, prepar'd for War. Which *James* hearing, sent Ambassadors hither to excuse himself, and renew their former Correspondence, which King *Henry* refusing, *James* also levies Men, (as shall be told the Year following.)

But our King encounter'd after this Journey a greater Vexation; for the Queen was suppos'd to offend in Incontinency; some Particulars whereof being extant in our Records, I have thought fit to transcribe, rather than to make other Narration; the Family of which she came being so Noble and Illustrious, and the Honour of her Sex (which is tender) being concern'd therein.

Nov. 12. The Letter sent from divers of the Council to *William Paget*, our Ambassador then in *France*, was this:

A Letter from the Lords of the Council to the English Ambassador at Paris concerning *K. Howard's* leud Courses.

After our hearty Commendations, by these our Letters, we be commanded to signify unto you, a most miserable case, which came lately to Revelation, to the intent that if you shall hear the same spoken of, you may declare the Truth as followeth:

Where the King's Majesty upon the Sentence given of the Invalidity of the pretended Matrimony between his Highness and the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, was earnestly and humbly solicited by his Council, and the Nobles of this Realm, to frame his most noble Heart to the Love and Favour of some noble Personage to be join'd with him in lawful Matrimony, by whom his Majesty might have some more store of Fruit, and Succession, to the comfort of this Realm; it pleas'd his Highness upon a notable apparence of Honour, Cleanness and maidenly Behaviour, to bend his Affection towards Mi-

stres *Katharine Howard*, Daughter to the late Lord *Edmond Howard*, Brother to me the Duke of Norfolk, insomuch as his Highness was finally contented to honour her with his Marriage, thinking now in his old days, after sundry Troubles of Mind, which have happen'd unto him by Marriages, to have obtain'd such a Jewel for Womanhood, and very perfect Love towards him, as should not only have been to his Quietness, but also brought forth the desir'd Fruit of Marriage, like as the whole Realm thought the semblable, and in respect of the Virtue and good Behaviour which she shew'd outwardly, did her all Honour accordingly. But this Joy is turn'd into extream Sorrow; for when the King's Majesty receiving his Maker on *Allhallows* day last past, then gave him most humble and hearty Thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with her, and also desir'd the Bishop of *Lincoln*, his Ghostly Father, to make like Prayer, and give like Thanks with him; on *All-Souls* Day being at *Mass*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having a little before heard, that the same Mistress *Katharine Howard* was not indeed a Woman of that Pureness and Cleanness that she was esteem'd; but a Woman, who before she was joined with the King's Majesty, had liv'd most corruptly and sensually; for the discharge of his Duty open'd the same most sorrowfully to his Majesty, and how it was brought to his knowledge, which was in this form following.

While the King's Majesty was in his Progress, one *John Lossels* came to the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and declar'd unto him, that he had been with a Sister of his married in *Sussex*, which sometimes had been Servant with the old Dutches of *Norfolk*, who did also bring up the said Mistress *Katharine*, and being with his said Sister, chanced to fall in communication with her of the Queen, wherein he advis'd her (because she was of the Queen's old Acquaintance) to sue to be her Woman; whereunto his Sister answer'd, that she would not so do; but she was very sorry for the Queen; Why, quoth *Lossels*? Marry, quoth she, for she is light both in living and Condition: How so, quoth *Lossels*? Marry, quoth she, there is one *Francis Derrham*, who was Servant also in my Lady of *Norfolk's* House, which hath lien in bed with her in his Doublet and Hose between the Sheets an hundred Nights. And there hath been such puffing and blowing between them, that once in the House a Maid which lay in the House with her, said to me, She would lie no longer with her, because she knew not what Matrimony meant. And further she said unto him, that one *Man-nock*, sometimes also Servant to the said Dutches, knew a privy Mark of her Body. When the said *Lossels* had declared this to the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he considering the weight and importance of the matter, being marvellously perplex'd therewith, consulted in the same with the Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the Earl of *Hertford*, whom the King's Majesty going in his Progress left to reside at *London*, to order his Affairs in those parts; who having weigh'd the matter, and deeply ponder'd the Gravity thereof, wherewith they were greatly troubled, and unquieted, resolv'd finally, that the said Archbishop should reveal the same to the King's Majesty; which because the matter was such, as he hath sorrowfully lamented, and also could not find in his heart to express the same to the King's Majesty by word of mouth, he declar'd the Information thereof to his Highness in Writing. When the King's Majesty had read this Information thus deliver'd unto him, his Grace being much perplex'd therewith, yet nevertheless so tenderly loved the Woman, and had conceiv'd such a constant Opinion of her Honesty, that he suppos'd it rather to be a forged matter, than of Truth. Whereupon it pleas'd him secretly to call unto him the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Admiral, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothesly*, to whom he open'd the case, saying, He could not believe it to be true: And yet seeing the Information was made, he could not be satisfy'd till the Certainty thereof was known;

1541. known; but he would not in any wise, that in the Inquisition any spark of Scandal should rise towards her. Whereupon it was by his Majesty resolv'd, that the Lord Privy Seal should go strait to London, where the said Loffels that gave the Information was secretly kept, and with all dexterity to examine and try whether he would stand to his Saying: Who being so examin'd, answer'd, That his Sister so told him, and that he had declar'd it for the discharge of his Duty, and for none other respect; adding that he knew what danger was in it; nevertheless, he had rather die in declaration of the Truth, as it came to him, seeing it touch'd the King's Majesty so nearly, than live with the Concealment of the same: Which Asseveration being thus made by the said Loffels, the King's Majesty being inform'd thereof, sent the Lord Privy-Seal into Suffex, to examine the Woman, making a Pretence to the Woman's Husband of Hunting, and to her for receiving of Hunters; and sent the said Sir Thomas Wriothesly to London at the same instant, both to examine Mannock, and also to take the said Derrham upon a Pretence of Piracy, because he had been before in Ireland, and hath been noted before with that Offence; making these Pretences to the intent no spark of suspicion should rise of these Examinations. The said Lord Privy Seal found the Woman in her Examination constant in her former Sayings: And Sir Thomas Wriothesly found by the Confession of Mannock, that he had commonly us'd to feel the Secrets and other Parts of her Body, ere ever Derrham was so familiar with her; and Derrham confess'd that he had known her carnally many times, both in his Doublet and his Hose between the Sheets, and in naked Bed, alledging such Witnesses of three sundry Women one after another, that had lien in the same Bed with them when he did the Acts, that the matter seem'd most apparent. But what inward Sorrow the King's Majesty took when he perceiv'd the Information true, as it was the most woful thing that ever came to our hearts, to see it; so it were too tedious to write it unto you. But his Heart was so pierc'd with Pensiveness, that long it was before his Majesty could speak, and utter the Sorrow of his Heart unto us: And finally with plenty of Tears (which was strange in his Courage) open'd the same. Which done, she was spoken withal in it by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and the Bishop of Winchester; to whom at the first she constantly deny'd it; but the matter being so declar'd unto her, that she perceiv'd it to be wholly disclosed, the same night she disclosed the whole to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the Confession of the same in Writing subscribed with her hand: Then were the rest of the number, being eight or nine Men and Women which knew of their doings, examin'd, who all agreed in one tale.

Now may you see what was done before the Marriage; God knoweth what hath been done since: But she had already gotten this Derrham into her Service, and trained him upon occasions, as sending of Errands, and writing of Letters when her Secretary was out of the way, to come often into her Privy Chamber. And she had gotten also into her Privy Chamber to be one of her Chamberers, one of the Women which had before lien in the Bed with her and Derrham: What this pretended is easy to be conjectur'd. Thus much we know for the beginning; whereof we thought meet to advertise you, to the intent afore specify'd: And what shall further succeed and follow of this matter, we shall not fail to advertise you thereof accordingly.

You shall also receive herein inclosed a Packet of Letters, directed unto Sir Henry Knevet, his Graces Ambassador with the Emperor, which his Highness's Pleasure is you shall see convey'd unto him by the next Post that passeth from thence into the Emperor's Court. Thus fare you right heartily well.

From the King's Palace at Westminster the twelfth of November.

Your loving Friends,

Thomas Audely, Chancellor.
E. Hertford.
William Southampton.
Robert Suffex.
Stephen Winton.
Anthony Wingfield.

Besides the Persons specify'd in this Letter, one Thomas Culpeper (being of the same Name with the Queen's Mother) was indicted for the same Fault (as our Histories have it,) which he and Derrham at their Arraignment confessing, Culpeper had his Head cut off, and Derrham was hang'd and quarter'd. But it rested not here; for the Lord William Howard (the Queen's Uncle, newly return'd from an Ambassage in France) and his Wife, and the old Dutcheffs of Norfolk, and divers of the Queen's and the said Dutcheffs's Kindred and Servants, and a Butter-wife, were indicted of Misprision of Treason (as concealing this Fact,) and condemn'd to perpetual Prison; though yet by the King's Favour some of them at length were released. The King yet not satisfi'd thus, for more authorising his Proceeding, referr'd the Business to the Parliament sitting the sixteenth of January, 1541. Where upon Petition of both Houses, that he would not vex himself, but give his Royal Assent to what they should do, they had leave to proceed, and together Thanks given them that they took his Sorrow to be theirs. Hereupon they attainted the Queen and the Lady Jane Rochfort, as also Culpeper, Derrham, &c. And so the Queen and Lady Jane Rochfort (Wife to the late Lord Rochfort, and noted to be a particular Instrument in the death of Queen Anne) were brought to the Tower, and after confession of their Faults, had their Heads cut off.

An Act also pass'd, declaring that it shall be lawful for any of the King's Subjects, if themselves do perfectly know, or by vehement Presumption do perceive any Will, Act or Condition of Lightness of Body in her which shall be the Queen of this Realm, to disclose the same to the King, or some of his Council; but they shall not openly blow it abroad, or whisper it, until it be divulg'd by the King or his Council. If the King, or any of his Successors shall marry a Woman which was before incontinent, if she conceal the same, it shall be High-Treason, &c. But this Act was repeal'd 1 Edward VI. 12. and 1 Mary I.

Divers other Acts also pass'd, whereof I have thought fit to set down these: That they who under colour of a false Token or counterfeit Letter got other Men's Money into their hands, should be punish'd at the Discretion of those before whom they were convicted, any way but death.

It was declar'd also, how many Ston'd-Horses every Man should keep according to his degree. But this was afterwards repeal'd; though yet of special Use in defence of the Kingdom, when due regard of the Persons were had.

Further it was declared, who might also shoot in Guns and Cross-bows.

Moreover, That shooting with Bow and Arrows should be used, and unlawful Games debar'd.

The Order also for Punishment of Murder and Blood-shed in the King's Court, with all the Ceremonies thereof, was set down; the occasion

1541. Herewere other Names, which are now defaced in the Original; but D. Norfolk may by the Contents of the Letter be supposed one.

Nov. 31.
Dec. 10.

Dec. 7.

Dec. 10.

Dec. 12.

Jan. 16.

Regn. 33.

Kath. Howard attainted and beheaded, with others.

Feb. 13.

Had. Several Acts pass'd.

1541. cation, it seems, being given by Sir *Edmond Knevet*, who being lately condemn'd to lose his hand for this Fault, was yet pardon'd.

June 10. 1541. The Authority of the Officers of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was set down.

That in certain Cases there should be Tryal of Treason in any Country where the King by Commission will appoint; and this saved much Trouble and Charges: For as divers things were made Treason in this King's Time, which yet were repeal'd afterwards; so the Lords of the Council were not only continually vexed with these businesses, but the King at great Charges in remanding the Prisoners.

That none should be Justice of Assize in his own Country.

The Court of Surveyors of the King's Lands, the Names of the Officers there, and their Authority, was set down.

All practice of Conjuraton, Witchcraft and false Prophecy, was made Felony.

K. Henry takes to himself the Title of King of Ireland.

The Kings of *England* for a long time rul'd *Ireland* by no other Name than Lords thereof, our King now thought fit to change the Title, and honour a populous and warlike Kingdom with the Title of a King. Therefore in a Parliament held at this time in that Country, he gave order to be declar'd King of *Ireland*; which was proclaim'd here during this Parliament, and finally enacted 35 *Henry VIII.* 3. This being notify'd to *James*, much offended him; though whether out of Emulation for his assuming the Title, or that himself had any Design on this Country (as by his laying claim to divers parts thereof, and by former Passages may be suspected) is uncertain. Howbeit, understanding that *Mac-Connel* and some *Scots*, who held part thereof (as *Leileus* hath it) were not disturb'd in their Possession, he more patiently suffer'd it. Our King on the other side, finding none contested with him for the Sovereignty of the Island, did not so much regard their particular Right: Though yet, as there were divers Commotions about this time, he had occasion to hold a hand over the disaffected Persons: But by the Diligence of Sir *Anthony Saintleger*, whom the King had lately made Deputy there, all was quickly compos'd.

Jan. 29.

Left. de Rob. Giff. Scotorum.

July 7. 1540.

March 28. Hall. Stow.

Sheriffs of London committed for arresting a Parliament Man.

During this Session of Parliament some Wrong was offer'd (as our Histories say) to their ancient Privileges; a Burgeiss of theirs being arrested: Whereof the King understanding, not only gave way to their releasing him, but Punishment of the Offenders; insomuch, that the Sheriffs of *London* were committed to the Tower, and one Delinquent to a place call'd *Little-ease*, others to *Newgate*. By which means the King (whose Masterpiece it was to make use of his Parliaments) not only let Foreign Princes see the good Intelligence betwixt him and his Subjects, but kept them all at his devotion: Which also he so industriously procur'd, that rather than he would seem to require more at this time than they had lately given, he borrow'd divers Sums of Money of Men, above fifty Pound yearly in his Books (which he look'd on often) giving them in lieu thereof Privy Seals as Security for their repayment in two Years; by this means suffering his Parliament rather to take notice of his Wants, than to supply them; which yet serv'd to prepare them for his next occasion. The *Irish* Nobility also being well inform'd of these Proceedings, and collecting thereby the Absoluteness of the King's Power every where, the Chief of them this Year submitted themselves, and acknowledged him now their King; among whom *Eustace* the great *O Neale* presented himself, and was made Earl of *Tyrone*.

Octob. July 28.

The Diet of *Ratisbonne* being ended, the Em-

peror from thence sent to the Pope, desiring him to permit an Interview at *Lucca*, which the Pope accorded; whereupon the Emperor passing thro' *Milan*, came by land to *Genova*, and thence taking Water to *Lucca*, where the Pope now was. And here many things were to be determin'd: For first, the Emperor (as he had engag'd himself to the Protestants of the last Diet) urged a Council, which the Pope thought fit to hold at *Vicenza*, where it was last indicted: But the *Venetians* oppos'd it, as fearing lest the *Turk*, with whom they had lately made a Peace, should think it was call'd to confederate all Christian Princes against him. Thus was the Council again frustrated: Other Affairs being also interrupted by the Ambassador of *Francis*, who made divers Instances, that at least the Bodies of *Rincon* and *Fergose* might be restor'd; hoping that together with the Law of Nations, they would not yet violate that of Nature, and deny them the Rights of Burial. But the Emperor still protesting himself to be no way conscious of this fact, omitted Answer to the rest. This while the *Turk* having gotten some places of Importance in *Hungary*, and overthrown the Army of *Ferdinand* (led by *Roc-candolph*) the Pope endeavour'd a Reconciliation of all the present Differences; desiring the Emperor to give to *Francis* the Estate of *Milan*, and him to restore all he had in *Piedmont* to the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Emperor resolute not to leave *Milan*, broke off the Treaty; for the rest, preparing for an Expedition to *Algier*: His Fleet consisting of 64 Gallies, 200 Ships, 100 Frigots, 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, besides Volunteers and Seamen. Setting sail with these from *Majorca*, and other places where his Fleet attended him, he came in two days to the Coast of *Algier*, defended by *Azan-Aga*, and about 800 *Turks* (being Cavallery for the most part) and about 5000 *Moors*, Renegadoes. It was now *October 23*, 1541. when his Men landed without much resistance. The first thing done was to require *Azan-Aga* to yield the Place, and turn Christian, as being the Son of Christian Parents, and born in *Spain*: But he answer'd, that he desir'd no more Honour than to comply with his Loyalty, and die by the hands of so excellent an Emperor. But as the Season of the Year was far advanced, foul Weather began; so that they fought neither often, nor with much Advantage on either side. At last, a huge Tempest arose, which finally destroy'd 150 Ships, little and great, with all that was in them, save some Horses and a few Men: And now the Tempest still increasing, the Emperor, who between Noise and Danger could not sleep, demanded of some Seamen then with him, how long the rest of the Fleet might live, if the Tempest continu'd? they answer'd, At most two Hours: He demanded then, what a clock it was? they told him, Half an hour past eleven: Whereupon he said to them, Comfort yourselves; at Twelve the Friars and Nuns rise, and will pray for us. But the Tempest continu'd till far in the next Day, when the miserable Carcasses of Ships and Men swimming in some places, and drowning in others, made an hideous spectacle; while if any got to Land, the *Arabs* and *Moors* without mercy kill'd them. And now, besides the above-mention'd Ships, fourteen or fifteen Gallies were cast away; by which means not only the Artillery and Victual fail'd, but even the Desire to continue the Siege: For one such another Tempest would have destroy'd all. Yet there was much difficulty in embarking of the Soldiers, for the Ships did not suffice to carry them: Therefore they were forc'd to cast overboard their most generous Horses, who swimming from one Ship to another, were drowned at

1541. at last, not without much compassion of all, and especially their Masters. The rest of the Navigation homewards yet was not prosperous, many Ships perishing. At last, the Emperor came to Calari in Sardigna, where through contrary Winds, he was constrain'd to pass his Christmas; at length fair weather appearing, he arriv'd in Spain: And this was the third unfortunate Voyage to Algier, it having been twice before attempted in vain.

He returns unsuccessful.

1542. A Rupture with Scotland being now secretly resolv'd, our King thought fit to assure Francis, sending for this purpose to Sir William Paget his Ambassador there, Instructions, which were chiefly to hold Francis to his Treaties of perpetual Peace. But Francis saying it was made upon certain Conditions, which were broken by our King, it was answer'd the Treaty was sans Condition, and when it were not, that he had broken none. But Francis requiring then Assistance for Milan, as was promis'd; it was reply'd, that both by the Treaty last offer'd by the Duke of Norfolk, and another formerly by Pommeray, this was spoken of indeed, but that there was complicated with it another Condition, that he should forsake the Bishop of Rome, which he refus'd to do; but as this was interrupted with some wrangling, so there was no little debate about Ships detain'd on either side, our Officers having with-held some, under pretence they were Pirates, and they again seizing on ours by way of Reprisal; so that matters were breaking forth to an open War. Which being advertiz'd to our King, gave him little hope of Amity on that part, and consequently made him not only desist from a Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and the Princess Mary, propos'd formerly by Pommeray and now renew'd, but seek friends elsewhere (as will appear hereafter.) Our King refusing in the mean time to enter into League with him against the Emperor.

1536.

Though the right Line of the Plantagenets were extinct in the Countess of Salisbury, and consequently no fear of pretence to Succession, on that part, there remain'd yet a natural Son of Edward IV, call'd Sir Arthur Plantagenet (created by King Henry VIII, Viscount Lisle) who came to his end on this occasion: This Lord, during his Lieutenantcy in Calais, being suspected, as consenting to a practice of some of his Servants, (whereby they conspir'd to deliver that Town to the French,) was thereupon sent for, and committed to the Tower; but upon due Examination his Innocency appearing, the King at this time, not only gave order to release him, but for his more comfort sent him a Diamond Ring, and a Gracious Message; which so overjoy'd and dilated his Spirits, that the night following he dy'd.

The Lord Lisle dies of Joy. March 3.

Feb. The Emperor being now in Spain, Ferdinand holds a Diet at Spire, where he requires Aid against the Turk; whereof Francis being advertis'd, sends Francis Oliver thither with charge to represent, First the Assassinate of Rincon and Fre-gose, pretending it to be the more heinous, in that Rincons Employment was to hinder the Turk from invading Hungary. Secondly, to dissuade them from taking Arms against the Turks, till their own differences were compos'd. Lastly, to represent both the levity of the Hungarians, and their disaffection to the German Nation: And therefore, that they should fortifie their strong places betwixt Austria and Hungary, and the other Confines, without taking much regard to the rest. As for Pacification in Religion, that they should conform themselves on all sides to the Confession of our Faith, left us by the Nicene Council. And for other points, if they could

not agree in them, they should not yet be occasion of hate or division. But the wiser sort, who believ'd that Rincon's Dispatches (when they were to be seen) would have told another tale, did not much believe the first part of his Speech: As for the second, since it tended only to give Hungary into the Turks hands, they rejected it wholly: And for the last, they regarded it little (though a wife and charitable advice) as being resolv'd already of their Religion. After him, the Bishop of Modena, the Popes Legate, tells them that the Pope desir'd Peace in Christendom, and provision for Wars against the Turk. As for the Council which had been suspended hitherto by the Emperors consent to try if a Concord might, the while, be wrought in Germany, that it was reason to call it. Only that Germany could be no fit place for holding thereof, since his Holiness resolving to be present, could not indure so long a Journey; or such a change of Air, besides, he fear'd it would be turbulent. Nevertheless, for satisfying them, he was content the same should be assembled at Trent, (that is to say) in the Borders of Germany. Ferdinand and the Catholics accept this place with thanks, (when it might not be held at Ratisbonne or Colen.) But the Protestants wholly dislik'd it. And now the French Ambassadors finding themselves but slighted, go thence discontented. And so the Diet brake up (after War had been decreed against the Turk, and Peace establish'd in the Empire.) And May 22. the Council was indicted to begin in November following.

March 11.

A Council design'd to meet at Trent.

April 11. May 22.

Francis being now inform'd by his Ambassadors that the Germans were so far from receiving his Advice, that they thought him to be a perturber of the Peace of Christendom, is not yet discourag'd. Therefore, after a Procession made in Paris for success in his War, and a Present sent to the Turk of six hundred Marks of Silver curiously wrought, and five hundred Vestments for those that attended him, together with a request that he would send his Fleet against the Emperor, and a publick defiance sent to Charles, he invades his Territories in five several places; against them in Brabant he employs the Duke of Longueville, who was to joyn with Martin Rossen, General for the Duke of Cleves, to invade that part: Against Artois the Duke of Vendosme: Against Luxemburg the Duke of Orleans: In Piedmont Monsieur du Bellay his Lieutenant there: And against Perpignan (the chief Town of Roussillon, and the Barrier of Spain to the Southward) the Dauphin, promising to second him in Person.

Francis sends rich Presents to the Turk.

July. His great preparations against the Emperor.

He began first in Piedmont, as being the immediate way to his desir'd Milan: In which he held these places, Turino, Montcalier, Savillan, Montdevis, Pignarola, &c. For the Emperor flood, Asti, Vercelli, Ulpian, Fossan, Quierasco, and Alba; among which Quierasco was first attempted and yielded: Vendosme in Artois taking and razing Tourneham: The Duke of Orleans (assisted with five hundred Horse from Christiern the third King of Denmark) took Luxemburg and other places; which yet René Prince of Orance and Count of Nassau recover'd shortly after. Nevertheless, Rossen deceiv'd him with a plain Trick: For commanding his Infantry to lie flat in a Champian Field behind his Cavalry, the Prince of Orance who did not imagine he was so strong, charg'd him; but the Foot rising, they and their Horse together defeated him. Whereupon Rossen and Longueville being about thirty five thousand Men, besieg'd Antwerp; but it was stoutly defended not only by the Natives, but by foreign Merchants, and particularly the English; whereupon, Rossen raising Siege, and going to Louvain, demands

1541. demands of them Money, Victuals, Artillery and Ammunition; which they of *Lovain* accorded in part, commanding thereupon some Wine to be carried in Carts to the Gate. But the Scholars, unwilling both to let it go, and suspecting besides that when the Gates were so embarrass'd, the Enemy behind the Hoghead might get into the Town, cut off the Harness from the Horses, and went to the Artillery planted upon the Wall, and discharg'd it upon the Enemy: Whereupon *Roffen* departing, spoil'd the Country round about. This while, the *Daulphin* brought an Army of forty thousand Men, whereof fourteen thousand *Switz*, and four thousand Horse to *Perpignan*, which he besieg'd, hoping *Barbarossa* and the *Turkish* Fleet would second him, according to his request by *Polin*, whom *Francis* employ'd in those parts. But the Town being bravely defended, and the Emperor besides preparing to relieve it, he rais'd the Siege, and the rather that Winter was now coming on. This while, the Emperor omitted not to complain to the Pope of *Francis*, protesting, that he both disturb'd the Peace of Christendom and the Council, and hindred him from opposing the *Turk*. Whereupon, the Pope desiring to reconcile them, the Emperor answer'd, *It was in vain to make Treaties with those who did hold none*; desiring him therefore rather to take Arms against him, as a Confederate with the common Enemy of Christendom.

Decemb.
1541. The excuse from *James*, formerly mentioned, being not held satisfactory, our King prepares for War; nevertheless, he thought not fit to discover himself, but as late as he could. Therefore upon *James's* request, he appoints Commissioners to examine businesses betwixt them, not omitting yet to levy Men; of which *James* being advertis'd, rais'd Forces likewise (as is before set down.) During this Treaty, some Inroads being made into *Scotland*, and Ports attempted, I find by *Lesleus* twenty-eight *Scottish* Ships were taken. Whereupon, the *Scots* entering the *English* Marches, Sir *Robert Bowes* (who resisted them) with divers others were taken Prisoners; without being permitted yet to ransom themselves. Hereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Kings Army march'd forward, but upon a second motion of Peace stays at *York*: And together with the Earl of *Southampton*, Bishop of *Durham*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, treats with certain *Scottish* Commissioners, who having variety of Instructions, (which they shew'd one after another) and finally proposing an Interview, were thought to be sent thither only to gain time, Winter now coming on, and the *French* King having so much to do at home, as is before related. So that the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* to proceed, and together published a Declaration of the causes of this War. Which being extant in our Records, and set forth at large by *Hall*, I shall not need to insert here, though yet for satisfaction of the Reader, I shall extract some particularities from thence.

The chief causes I conceive, were, that *James* entertain'd some of the chief Rebels of the North. That he denied some grounds, (though of very small value) for which good Evidences were produc'd. That he frustrated our King, after a promise of an Interview. That his Subjects made an Inroad while the Treaty was on foot. Besides all which, King *Henry* claim'd Homage and Fealty, as due to him out of an ancient Title to that Crown; the demand whereof he said he had neglected a great while, because of his Nephews Minority, and other kind Reasons, his Title being by lineal Succession, and recogniz'd for many Ages by the Kings of *Scotland*, to the

Reign of *Henry* the Sixth: Which he prov'd First, by History: Secondly, by Instruments of Homage, by the several Kings, and divers great Persons, seal'd with their Seals, and remaining in his Treasury. Thirdly, by Registers and Records, judicially and authentically made. The Historical part, he began chiefly (that I may omit the relation of *Brutus* and his three Sons) at *Anno Dom.* 900. (being 642 years past) shewing that *Edward* Son of *Allured* had it under his Dominion. *Atbelstane* made one *Constantine* King thereof. *Eldred* took Homage of *Irfe* [or *Ericus*] King of *Scots*, and *Edgar* of *Kinald* (or *Kenneth*). That this was interrupted yet in *Edward* King and *Martyr* his time. But *Malcolm* did Homage to *Knute*, and *Edward* the Confessor making War against *Malcolm*, overthrew him, and gave his Kingdom to *Malcolm* his Son, who made him Homage and Fealty; that *Malcolm* did Homage to *William* the Conqueror, and after him to *William Rufus*, but failing in his Duty, was deposed; and *Edgar* Brother to the last *Malcolm*, and Son to the first, ordain'd in that Estate, who did his Homage and Fealty accordingly. This *Edgar* did Homage to *Henry* the First, *David* did Homage to *Matild* the Empress, but refus'd it to *Stephen*, as having done it to *Matild*; but after his Death, *David's* Son made his Homage to *Stephen*. *William* King of *Scots*, and *David* his Brother, with all the chief Nobles of *Scotland*, made Homage to *Henry* the Second, his Son, with reservation of their Duty to his Father. This *William* after much Rebellion and Resistance, during the absence of *Henry* the Second, made his Peace and Composition with his Homage and Fealty; he also came to *Canterbury*, and there did Homage to *Richard* the First. *William* did Homage to *John*, on a Hill beside *Lincoln*, and made his Oath upon the Cross of *Hubert*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Alexander* King of *Scots* married the Daughter of *Henry* III. and did his Homage at *York*. *Alexander* came to the Coronation of *Edward* I. and did his Duty: *John Baliol* made Homage and Fealty to *Edward* I. *Robert Bruce* made War against the *Baliols*, which interrupted the business of forty four years. But afterwards *Edward Baliol* prevailing, made Homage to *Edward* III. After this, *David Bruce*, though on the contrary Faction, made Homage to *Edward* III. *Edward Baliol*, who had the clear Title, surrendred the Crown to *Edward* III, at *Roxenburgh*, who thereupon caus'd himself to be Crown'd, and for a time entertain'd and enjoyed it as Proprietary and Owner of the Crown, both by confiscation and voluntary Surrender. In *Richard* II, and *Henry* IV. their times, some interruption happen'd by reason of inward dissensions in this Kingdom; yet *Henry* V. commanded the *Scots* to attend him in his Journey to *France*. And in this time the Realm of *Scotland* being descended on the *Stuarts*, *James Stuart* King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* VI. at *Windsor*. All which Homages (though interrupted sometimes for more than sixty years) were yet within the memory of Man. Of which therefore, Instruments made and sealed with the Seals of the Kings of *Scotland* remain; so that it was not for the Earldom of *Huntingdon* (as the *Scots* pretend) but for the Kingdom of *Scotland*. As for Records and Registers, that he had divers which were Authentical, and among others that of *Edward* I. in discussion of the Title of *Scotland*, then challeng'd by twelve Competitors. And that Sentence was given for *Baliol*, who accordingly enjoy'd the Realm. That in a Parliament following, they did agree to the Superiority of the King of *England*, and enjoining their Determination, did particularly, and severally make

A War
with Scot-
land.
Octob. 21.
Hall.

1541.
Homage
due from
the K. of
Scots to the
King of
England.

II.

III.

1541. make Homage and Fealty with Proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himself from doing his Duty therein, should be reputed as a Rebel; and so all made Homage and Fealty to Edward I. That during this discussion, the Realm was rul'd by Guardians deputed by him, and all Castles and Holds surrendered to him as to the Superior Lord. And in the time of Vacation, Benefices, Offices, Fees, Promotions, pass'd as in the right of this Crown of England; Sheriffs also nam'd and appointed, Writs and Precepts made, obey'd and executed. And that at this time, the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasco were not Archbishops, but recogniz'd the Archbishop of York, whose Authority extended over all their Country. That sithence the time of Henry VI. this Kingdom was lacerated and torn by diversity of Titles till his time. So that though Edward IV. after great Travels, having attain'd quietness in this Realm, finally made preparation of War against Scotland, yet he was prevented by Death. As for Richard III. that he usurp'd the Kingdom till Henry VII. his Father overthrew him, (which Henry VII. by reason of his Estate not fully settled at home, forbore to compel the Scots to do their Duty.) And for his own time, that twenty-one years past of it in his Nephews Minority, when he had more care to bring him out of danger to the place of a King, than to receive of him Homage when he had full possession of the same.

The conclusion of this Declaration yet seem'd to be ambiguous; as not pretending directly to insist upon the Claim, though he saith, that such be the works of God Superiour over all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due Superiority may be known, demanded, and required.

How the Scots endeavour to evade it. The Scottish Writers tell the business otherwise: Not denying yet but Athelstane was King of the whole Island by the testimony of divers of our Britain Writers. Nevertheless, that their words were so to be understood, as the further parts of Scotland were not comprehended therein. As for the Homage done, that it was for the Earldom of Huntingdon (though as there was no Investiture thereof in the King of Scots, till the time of our Henry I. when David married the Daughter and Heir of the Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, it reaches not to Homages formerly made.) Again, among those who did Homage, some were reputed Kings of Northumberland, rather than Scotland. And for Baliol's resigning the Crown, they say, the Nobles did not consent to it: And many other things, which for avoiding prolixity, I omit; desiring the Reader to believe, that I am so far from undertaking to define the Point, as (in an Historical way) I have only produc'd such Notes as my leisure would suffer me to gather at this time: Professing, for the rest, that I should not in any wise have intermeddled therewith, but that Hall by setting forth the Declaration, gave the occasion.

These proceedings from time to time being advertis'd to Francis, caus'd him to send Monsieur de Morvilliers to congratulate the constancy of James in refusing an Interview, which he attributed to his resolution not to forsake the Roman Church: Advising him for the rest, to stand upon his Guard; and for that purpose, sending him Money and Artillery.

And now the Army being ready to march on, William Fitz-Williams, Earl of Southampton, Captain of the Foreward, died at New-Castle; a brave Lord, and so much esteem'd, that for the honour of his Memory, his Standard was born in the Foreward in all this Expedition. The year thus being far spent, the Duke of Norfolk Lieu-

tenant General, accompanied with the Earls of Shrewsbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hereford, Rutland, and other Lords of the Northern parts; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir John Gage Comptroller of his House, and above twenty thousand Men (the Earl of Angus also being there present) enter Scotland 21 of October, and finding no resistance, burnt in eight days above twenty Villages and Towns: Whereupon the Bishop of Orkney, and James Leimouth came on their Kings part to require Peace; but the Conditions not pleasing, the Treaty was dissolv'd. Nevertheless, our Army retreated presently to Berwick, as being betwixt the rigour of the season and want of Victuals, constrain'd thereunto. So that though Lesleys faith, the English retir'd upon hearing that the Scottish Army approach'd; this yet by others is thought improbable, because they invaded not England till three weeks after the Duke of Norfolk was at Berwick, and had licens'd many of his Soldiers. About which time therefore the Scottish Army being assembled, they entred England on the West Marches with an Army of fifteen thousand, or (as some say) a greater number. But Thomas the Bastard Dacres and Musgrave, having first sent to Sir Thomas Wharton, Warden of the Marches, to come to their Aid, and then leaving a Stale or Ambush on a Hill side, came forwards with an hundred light Horse, which being charg'd by some of the Scots, retir'd towards their Stale, and to Wharton now appearing, who had not yet above three hundred Men (as our Writers say.) But whatsoever the Stratagem was, the Scots believing (it seems) the Duke of Norfolk was there with all his power, suddenly, as Men amaz'd, fled. The English-men pursu'd, and took the Earls of Casselles and Glencarne, the Lord Maxwell Admiral of Scotland, the Lord Fleming, the Lord Somervel, the Lord Oliphant, Lord Gray, and Sir Oliver Sinclere, the Kings Minion (as our Historians term him,) and divers others of note, to the number of two hundred and above, and eight hundred of the meaner sort (so that some had two or three Prisoners,) and twenty-four pieces of Ordnance, with much Arms and Baggage.

The Scottish Writers tell the business a little otherwise; confessing yet the foresaid Prisoners to be taken, and that their Men ran away, and were defeated. But some say, the reason of it, was, that Sir Oliver Sinclere being suddenly declar'd their General, when the English appear'd, the Nobles took it so ill, that they car'd not to fight. They say also, that the King was at Solway (where this encounter hap'ned) a little before, and no further off than Carlawrock, when the blow was given; which, perhaps, made some think that he was present at the Fight, and receiv'd a wound, of which presently after he died, and not of Sorrow.

James being now return'd, had in recompence of his Misfortunes, a Daughter born, afterward call'd Mary; which yet, together with the many Divertisements his Servants gave, could not keep him from a deep Melancholy, which was augmented also (as the Scottish and our Writers say) by the sudden Murder of an English Herald, whom our King sent thither to ransom Prisoners (though yet none of his Subjects, but Leech a Lincolnshire Rebel, kill'd him:) All which made that impression in him, that he died within few days after, and was buried near his first Wife Magdalene, in the Abby of Holy-Rood. He was of a middle Stature, yet well compact and strong, given much in his youth to the love of Women, to which his Governors gave way, thinking thereby to rule him the longer. This hindered him

1541.
Buch.
His Char-
acter.

him not yet to be active in all State Affairs, and frugal in his own; qualities rarely found in Princes so much addicted to their Pleasure. No Man endur'd Labour, Cold, Hunger better (as his many Expeditions in Person against Rebels, shew'd.) Under pretence of favouring the poorer sort, he was noted to be severe to his Nobility, which made them less ready when he had occasion to use them. Infomuch, that (as Buchanan hath it) he could not persuade them to come to Battel with the Duke of Norfolk.

The Murder of our English Herald being related to our King, mightily incens'd him: And therefore he not only requir'd Leech, (who yet was not demanded till after the death of King James, nor executed till May following;) but sent to his Ambassador Paget in France, both to acquaint Francis therewith, (whom he lately knew had suffer'd in the like kind,) and to desire him not to assist James. But the answer hereunto was cold, as will appear hereafter.

Dec. 22. The news of the Kings Death, and the Princess Birth being brought to our King, awakened in him new Counsels: So that instead of pursuing War against Scotland, he began to think how he might recover the young Daughter thence, and match his Son Edward to her. To which also he was so intentive, that he sent a Dispatch to his Ambassador Paget, commanding him carefully to observe what past betwixt France and Scotland, as being jealous lest Francis should get or detain her from him. And there was reason to fear it, Francis having by the intervention of the Queen and Cardinal Beton, a great Party there. Nevertheless, as our King knew how much it concern'd either Nation, that all causes of Hostility should be taken away, and both Kingdoms united: So he doubted not but many, especially the wiser sort, would concur with him.

Cardinal Beton forges a Will of the Scots King. And now in Scotland two Factions were eminent: One that of the Queen, seconded by Cardinal Beton, who (as the Scottish Writers say) forg'd a Will, by which himself, assisted with three of the most powerful Nobility, should govern the State, and with him all the French Faction joyn'd. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, chief of the other side (though observ'd to be a lover of quiet) was yet encourag'd by his followers to assume that Dignity; as being so near of Blood, and the Princess so young, that many occasions might happen, whereof he might prevail himself: Which reasons also inclin'd him to depend on our King.

Dec. 19. Stow. Records. While these things past in Scotland, the Prisoners taken in the last Battle, were by Sir Henry Savill and Sir Thomas Wentworth, conducted from York to London, whither they came Decemb. 19. wearing every one (as our King had appointed) for a cognizance, a red St. Andrews Cross, and were presently sent to the Tower, whence shortly after King Henry for more ostentation commanded Sir John Gage, Comptroller of his Household, to bring them by two and two together in new Gowns of black Damask, and other Apparel suitable (all at his cost) from the Tower to the Star-Chamber, where Thomas Lord Audley, the Lord Chancellor, was to tell them, what cause King Henry had of War against them, both for denying their Homage, and invading his Realm without Defiance, and keeping his Subjects without suffering them to make Ransom, contrary to the Laws of the Marches. Nevertheless, that such was his Benignity, that he would shew them kindness for unkindness, and right for wrong: And thereupon (after their promise to remain true Prisoners) commanded that they should be no more return'd to Prison,

1541. The Scots Lords taken lately committed to custody. but brought to divers Noble Houses, there to be regal'd and made much of. Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury had the Earl of Castelles commended to him; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Glencarne; Sir Anthony Brown, the Lord Maxwell; the Lord Chancellor; the Lord Somerswell; Sir Thomas Lee, the Lord Oliphant; the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Oliver Sinclere; Thomas Thurlaby (lately made first Bishop of Westminster) Robert Erskin; and many others, were with divers of our chief Nobility, where having past some time with as much contentment as the news of their Kings Death (now brought) permitted, they forgot not to express how glad they would be that a Match might succeed betwixt our Prince and their Princess, promising also their furtherance therein, which being related to our King, was taken so well, as they were not only dismiss'd upon Hostages to be given for their return (when they were not able to effect this Match,) but richly rewarded. After which, again, being feasted, they kept their Journey towards Scotland, till they came to the Duke of Suffolk (the Kings Lieutenant in the Northern parts) being then at Newcastle, where their Hostages being receiv'd, they had Licence to go home; and with them also went the Earl of Angus, and his Brother Sir George Dowglas, (now fifteen years absent from their Country) who, during their long stay in these parts had a liberal Pension bestow'd on them by our King; for which also they promis'd their best assistance on all Occasions. Cardinal Beton, who this while (by pretext of his counterfeit Will) had made himself Viceroy, was now (upon detection of the Forgery) depos'd, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, chosen in his place: A Nobleman follow'd by many, both for his nearness of blood to the Crown, and that the Cardinals cruelty and ambition had made him so hated. Besides, there was found after the Kings death certain Papers, in which the names of above three hundred of the principal Nobility and Gentry (and among them James Hamilton) were accus'd as Criminals: And this again made them more confident of his Protection. Moreover, he was noted willing to inform himself in the Controversies of Religion, and gave hope of a mild and temperate Disposition. His first publick Action was the convoking of a Parliament in March following; whereof our King being advertis'd, sent Sir Ralph Sadler (his Secretary) thither, to procure the Marriage formerly mentioned, and a perpetual Peace: Scottish Ambassadors being also deputed to treat thereof with our King. What Sir Ralph Sadler's first Instructions were, appears not by our Records, more than is formerly related out of the Scottish Writers: But by a subsequent dispatch, dated May 6. I find that our King, in reward of some business that the Viceroy should effect, had promis'd his Daughter the Lady Elizabeth in Marriage to his Son: And because our King passionately desir'd to have the young Princess into his hands, both that he intended to marry her to his Son Prince Edward, and that he feared the French would prevent him, I nothing doubt but this was the affair intimated betwixt them. Our Records also tell us, that George Dowglas, and the other Lords who were sent home, excus'd themselves at first, as neither knowing what they did, nor able to perform their Promises; so that though they had undertaken to procure the Marriage, and to get some Holds into their hands, where they might with more advantage set forth our Kings purposes, they declin'd it; alledging, among other difficulties, a certain fickleness in the Viceroy's Disposition, and that the French Party was so great.

1543.
April 14.

May.

August.
Leisn.
June 29.
[Lib. Conc.]

Articles of
the Mar-
riage.

great. Howbeit, upon further debate of the business, certain Scottish Ambassadors were sent hither, being Sir William Hamilton and Sir James Lermouth; but their Negotiation not pleasing, as being unwilling to admit other Governour than the Earl of Arrain, during the Queens Minority, or to deliver the Holds of Scotland, till she had Issue by Prince Edward, or to put her into our Kings custody, with some other Demands which were distastful by them, it was thought fit to send the Earl of Glencarne and Sir George Dowglass; who, I find, seconded the overture of the Contract of Marriage and perpetual Peace (which the first made) in more plausible terms: Yet not so, but that Sir George Dowglass was dispatched Post to Scotland to bring a more satisfactory Answer; which was obtain'd: Infomuch, that a Treaty for Marriage sign'd and seal'd, was brought back by those Scottish Ambassadors in August, 1543. (as Lesleus hath it.) And because I find among our Records this following Treaty of June 29. I shall enquire for no other.

First, That the Lords of Scotland shall have the Education of the Princess for a time: Yet so as it might be lawful for our King to send thither a Nobleman and his Wife with a Family, under twenty Persons to wait on her.

That at ten years of Age she should be brought into England, the Contract being first finished by a Proxy in Scotland.

That within two Months after the date hereof, six Noble Scots should be given as Hostages for the performance of the foresaid Conditions on their part: And that if any of them died, the number of them should be supplied.

Furthermore, it was agreed that the Realm of Scotland (by that name) should preserve its Laws and Rights: And that Peace should be made for as long time as was desir'd, the French being excluded.

Nevertheless, the Queen, Cardinal, and all the Clergy oppos'd this Treaty, and the Cardinal so particularly, that he was remov'd to a Chamber apart, or (as others have it) into a Prison, till the main question of the Marriage was voted and agreed, and Hostages promis'd for performance thereof. But as the Cardinal found means to corrupt his Keeper, so he escap'd; and then began again to trouble all, using for this purpose the help of the Queen-Mother, and the pretext, it was unfit that the Dowglasses, being wholly devoted to the English, should from a long Banishment be admitted to the Supream Council concerning publick Affairs. Besides, he got huge sums of Money from the Clergy, upon colour that there was no other way to redeem themselves from imminent ruine. Furthermore, he perswaded that the Hostages should not be sent into England; he procur'd also that our Ambassador should be contumeliously us'd; whereof he complaining to the Viceroy, had no other Answer, but that the Cardinal had so discompos'd all things, that he could give no remedy for the present. The Question was then, what course they should take about the Hostages left in England, upon Condition that the late Nobles who were Prisoners should return, in case the Marriage and Peace took no effect. But the Cardinal answer'd, That Kindred, Friends, Children, and all should be sacrific'd for the good of their Country. Howbeit, Gilbert Kenneth Earl of Casselles could not be perswaded to stay; for having left two Brothers his Pledges, he said he would redeem their Lives with his own: And thereupon, though many dehorted him, he went into England. Which generous Counsel succeeded so well, that after a large commendation given him by our King, he was dismiss'd with his Brothers freely, and richly rewarded. On

the other side, he was so offended with the rest, that he detain'd all the Scottish Shipping in his Ports, and resolv'd to denounce War against them. Whereupon the Cardinal and Queen-Mother inform'd the French King thereof, and that the Factions were such, as there was danger both Kingdoms should be united; desiring him further, to send over Matthew Stuart Earl of Lennox, as being of great power in that Country, and noted then to be adverse to the Hamiltons: Besides, it added to his Reputation, that it was thought the last King, if he had died without Issue Male, would have design'd him his Heir and Successor, and gotten it confirm'd by Parliament. And to invite him the more, there was some secret hope given, he might marry the Queen-Mother, and divers other things set down by Buchanan. These Motives, together with the French Kings approbation and promise of assistance, made this young Lord to resolve to repair to Scotland; whereof the Viceroy being inform'd, indeavours to get the young Princess out of her Mothers Hands; hoping thereby not only to govern all, but to draw the English on his side; but the design being vented to the Cardinal, a Guard was given to the young Queen.

In the mean while the Earl of Lennox arrives out of France, without discovering yet any thing of his Intentions; only he tells his Friends in private the Promises made him, and what help he might expect from the French King. Whereupon they exhorting him to try his strength, he gather'd four thousand Men and advances; whereof Hamilton being advertiz'd, and finding himself inferior in Power, sent to treat of Peace, which follow'd, and an agreement for the present that the Queen should be brought to Sterling, and four principal Persons should have care of her Education: And the rather, that it was suspected that the Earl of Arrain would have deliver'd her to the English. Whereupon she was conducted by Lennox unto the place appointed, and committed unto the tuition of Grames, Erskin, Lindsey, and Levison, and shortly after Crown'd. The Viceroy being thus frustrate, and for the rest, not much favour'd by the People, suffer'd himself to be gain'd by the Cardinal; to whom he shew'd himself so obsequious, as he seem'd to hold the Name rather than the Power of a Viceroy. Infomuch, that the Cardinal, who a little before was in danger of suffering for a notable Forgery, now absolutely govern'd all. Whereof our King being advertis'd, did no longer hope to recover the Queen by the help of the Viceroy, but resolv'd openly to demand her, upon pretext that there was fear of her being convey'd into France; and in case of refusal, to denounce War. The Message hereupon being brought, the Scots utterly denied him, so that provision for War was made by our King. All things yet pass'd not so quietly in Scotland as was desir'd by that State; for as the Cardinal being of immoderate Ambition, could not indure the Earl of Lennox's Power, so he endeavour'd to suppress him; which he did also with much cunning. For whereas hope had been given him of a Marriage with the Queen, he advertis'd her to entertain him fairly till he had receiv'd an answer of the French King of a Letter, wherein, though he made Honourable mention of him, he thought it convenient yet the said Earl should be recall'd. It being not likely otherwise that the Kingdom would long continue in Peace. In the mean while, as Lennox was young, handsom, and gentile, and brought up in all exercises of a Cavalier, he pass'd his time in Tiltings, Masks, and other noble Disports; in which, though he had the Earl of Bothwell for Rival, this Lord yet

1543.

Buchanan.

April.
The French
Faction in
Scotland
prevail.

Aug. 20.

1543.
Euchan.

appear'd so inferior to him, as he retir'd home : Nevertheless, *Lenox* finding himself at last deluded, and that all this was done only by the Queen and Cardinal, to have the more leisure to ruine him, he protested he would be reveng'd ; neither wanted there an opportunity : For thirty thousand Crowns being sent by the *French* King to him, in the disposing whereof, yet he was wilh'd to use the advice of the Queen and Cardinal, he distributed the Money amongst his Friends ; but the Cardinal alledging that the Money was sent to himself, and to be employ'd in Wars against the *English*, and that *Lenox* had intercepted it against all right, rais'd an Army to seize on him and the Money together. But as *Lenox* was not ignorant of these Preparatives, he gather'd in a short space an Army of ten thousand Men, saying, he would prevent the Cardinal ; who being now desirous to gain time, as knowing *Lenox* was not long able to maintain this Expence, entertain'd him with frequent Pollicitations and Messages ; *Lenox* also doubting lest some of his followers might forsake him, agrees with the Viceroy and him, and comes to *Edenburgh*, where (after a while) being advertiz'd, that some Treachery was intended, he conveys himself by night to *Glasco*, and from thence to *Dunbritton* ; after which, hearing both, that the *Douglasses* and the *Hamiltons* were agreed, and that through the calumnies of his Adversaries, the *French* King was alienated from him, he seem'd much troubled, and the rather, that some noble Persons who desir'd to end these Controversies, were suddenly committed. But as our King prepar'd now to invade *Scotland*, this business had another end than he could easily imagine.

And now if just causes of competition to the young Queen of *Scotland* hapned, no less just causes for War against *Francis* were given, of which I find the chief, or at least the most recent, were these :

Causes of
a War
with
France.

That he with-held divers of our Ships, and seiz'd upon our Merchants Goods.

That he detain'd the Pension due yearly to King Henry.

That he had fortified *Ardres* to the prejudice of our *English* Pale, on which also he had incroach'd. Moreover divers ancient unkindnesses not sufficiently concocted remain'd in our Kings Breast : As that he had given his Daughter *Magdalen* to *James*, and afterward the Daughter of *Guise*, contrary to his Promise and Treaty.

That he had not deserted the Bishop of *Rome*, and consented to a Reformation, as he once promis'd.

That whereas with much freedom and confidence he had reveal'd divers Secrets to him, they had been disclosed again unto the Emperor, while he was at *Aignes Mortes*, and after at *Paris*. Besides which, there was a common quarrel taken betwixt the Emperor and our King, for having confederated himself with the *Turk*, &c. as is in the following Treaty. But to these *Francis* answer'd, That our King had fail'd also in not assisting him against the Emperor. Our King replied, that *Francis* had violated the Treaty first. Besides, he could not be ignorant of the Wars against his Rebels at that time ; howsoever these businesses were so roughly contested, that the Ambassadors were stay'd on both sides, though at length dismiss'd, and an open Rupture resolv'd. The consequence whereof having a good while since been prefigured by our King, made him determine to enter into League with the Emperor, and to call a Parliament.

March.

K. Henry's
League
with the
Emperor.

The League with the Emperor was to this effect (as appears by our Records.)

I. That there should be Abolition of former Injuries.

II. A free Intercourse.

III. A perpetual Peace.

IV. That they should aid or countenance no Enemies of each other.

V. That Rebels or Fugitives should not be harbour'd, but upon warning given to be gone, if they obey'd not, to be banish'd and proscrib'd.

VI. He shall be taken for a Common Enemy who shall invade *England*, *Guines*, *Calais*, *Berwick*, *Wight*, *Fersey*, *Garnsey*, *Man*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Limburgh*, *Luxemburgh*, *Namours*, *Frise*, *Overyssell*, *Utrecht*, *Mechlin*.

VII. And if he invade with ten thousand Men, the Prince invaded shall require Aid of the other, who shall send him within forty days, at his own charges, in this proportion, viz.

That if the Enemy fall on *Calais*, or the Castle and County of *Guines*, the Emperor shall send at least as many Soldiers, Horse and Foot, as may be paid for seven hundred Crowns the day, each Crown valued at forty five Sol' *Tournois*.

If on *Wight*, *Fersey*, *Garnsey*, *Man*, or *England*, the Emperor shall send for Aid, such a number of Foot as can be paid for seven hundred Crowns a day.

But if the Emperor be invaded in any of his Countries above-mentioned, the King of *England* shall send him for Aid, such a number of Foot at least, whose pay, considering their Cloaths, Diet, and Weapons, comes to seven hundred Crowns a day, each Crown worth forty Sol' *Tournois*.

And it is in the choice of him who demandeth Aid, whether he will have Men or Money, which Money shall be paid by the Month, consisting of twenty-eight days.

And whether Men or Money be requir'd, the Prince of whom it is demanded, is not bound to be at this charge above four Months in one Year. But if the Prince in whose Aid they are sent, will retain them longer, he may, at his own charge.

Neither Prince is bound to Aid the other in divers places at once : And if both shall be invaded at the same time by the King of *France*, the one shall not be bound to Aid the other.

If this Aid be demanded upon a false rumour, and the Enemy shall neither besiege any City or Fort, nor make Spoil, nor encamp in the Country of the Demandant, then the said Demandant is to repay the Money.

Concerning the Kingdom of *Spain* and *Ireland*, it is agreed, they shall Aid one another by sending Horse and Foot, or Ships at the cost of the Demandant : And concerning these two Kingdoms, the Number and Costs of the Aid shall be as the time, and occasion, and strength of the Prince, of whom it was demanded, will suffer : Which thing shall be referr'd to the conscience of the Prince so call'd upon.

And for the pay of the Soldiers, it shall be rated according to the Market of the Country wherein they are.

VIII. If any Article of this Treaty be violated by any of the Subjects, they shall be punish'd, and it remain.

IX. That no Letters of Merque shall be given without due warning, to the end the losses and wrongs may be otherwise repair'd by the Prince.

X. That because many scandalous and heretical Books are spread abroad by Translations, it is agreed that no Book written in *English* shall be Printed or Sold in *Germany*, or the Emperors Dominions ; Nor any Book written in *Dutch*, in

in England, under Pain of Imprisonment to the Sellers and Printers, and burning of the said Books.

XI. That there shall be Intercourse of Traffick according to the Treaty made 1520. and confirm'd and order'd in the Treaty of Cambray, 5 August, 1529.

XII. That if there be any Damnification of the Subjects on either side, the wronged Party upon requisition may have the Cause heard, and due reparation made.

XIII. That when upon Invasion (as aforesaid) War is denounced, no Truce shall be made by either Prince without the consent of the other, except there be danger of Siege from the Enemy: In which case there may be Truce made (apart) for two Months, within which time he is to give notice to the other.

XIV. That no Peace shall be made, nor any Treaty severally with the French King, or any other to the prejudice of this, but this to continue firm.

XV. That none are to be comprehended in this Treaty, but by common consent; as also no Enemy to either, nor in whose Dominions the other hath any pretence.

XVI. This Treaty to be ratified by the two Princes, under their Princely Word and Oath, and under Pain to be infamous, and hated both by God and Man, and under Pledge of their Goods, so that it shall be lawful to invade the Realm and Dominions of the Infractor, to take Persons and Goods and carry them away, till Satisfaction be made: Provided, that they come not to this extremity, till a Diet or Meeting hath been requir'd, and Justice deny'd or delay'd.

XVII. This Treaty to be understood according to the simple and plain Tenor of the Words, and no Interpretation admitted otherwise.

XVIII. It is also covenanted and agreed, that, as soon as may be, the two Princes shall by their Ambassadors declare to the King of France (requiring his Answer thereto) viz.

1. They shall complain, that the Turk (Enemy to Christian Faith) had taken Boldness by his Friendship to invade Christendom.

2. That he renounce his Correspondence with the said Turk, recalling his Orators that are now resident with him.

3. That he satisfy for the Loss and Prejudice done by the Turk, through his occasion and procurement, to Christendom, viz. First, That he restore the Town of Maram to the King of the Romans. And, Secondly, That he content the Emperor for the Costs and Damages sustain'd in the loss of Castle-Nuovo, which the Turk, with the Aid of twelve Gallies of the King of France, took.

Maronic.
Orig.

Au. 1539.

4. That he cease from War with the Emperor, that he may more commodiously and safely take upon him the Defence of the Christian Commonwealth.

5. That he repay to the Germans the loss by them sustain'd, in defending themselves against the Turk.

6. That he pay the King of England all Arrearages, and that he give him some Lands and Possessions to secure the satisfaction of the perpetual Pension. And if there be any thing else which each of these two Princes will require from the French King, it shall be lawful for him to do it, so that he declare his Intent therein in open and plain terms, before the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XIX. If the French King either for Terror of Conscience, or Fear of Revenge, shall desire to come to Agreement for Peace; neither of these two Princes may treat with him apart, until the

King of France hath given them satisfaction, viz. Till he hath paid the King of England all that is in Arrear due to him by Bargain. Also, for security for the payment of the Annual Pension due for ever, he shall surrender into the Possession of the King of England the whole County of Ponthieu, with the Town of Bolegne, and Territories of Monstreuil, Therouenne, and Aude, with the Lands, Villages, and Towns adjoining, as far as the Borders of the said County of Ponthieu, &c. On Condition, that the King of England and his Successors shall hold them all for them and theirs, free from all Feod. On this condition yet, that they hold themselves fully satisfy'd with the Profits arising out of these Lands for the annual and perpetual Pension. To the Emperor he shall restore the Duchy of Burgundy.

XX. If the King of France will not accept Peace on these Conditions, or delay it forty days after proposition, the two Princes shall denounce War against him. Wherein

The King of England shall challenge to himself the Kingdom of France, Duchy of Normandy, Aquitain, and Guienne. The Emperor the Duchy of Burgundy, the Cities and Towns of Abbeville, Amiens, Corby, Bray, Peronne, Hamme, and St. Quintin, with their Territories. Before recovering of all which, neither of the Princes shall desist from Hostility, but by consent of the other, and for the good of Christendom.

XXI. They shall have each a Fleet at Sea to secure Traffick: Which Ships bearing two thousand, or (if need be) three thousand Soldiers, shall be set to Sea within a Month after War denounced to the French King, and shall remain there on the Coasts of France, infesting his Country, and defending their Friends. Nor shall they license their Soldiers, or diminish the number of Ships or Men, but by consent. And if there be any Loss by Tempest or Fight, they shall supply it. For the Designs, they shall be ruled by the Admirals and the Councils of the two Princes.

XXII. After War, as aforesaid, denounced by common consent, in time and place agreed on, (so it exceed not the space of two Years) the two Princes shall either in Person, or by Lieutenant, invade the Realm of France with a compleat Army; that is to say, Twenty thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, or less; nor shall desist within four Months, unless he be beaten, or receive some Disaster, except by mutual consent.)

XXIII. When King Henry shall with Twenty thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse invade the Dominions of the French King, the Emperor shall at his own Costs lend him Two thousand Landsquenets, and Two thousand of able Horsemen, to serve under him, till he license his Troops.

XXIV. When the King of England shall pass the Sea to invade France, and pass through any of the Dominions of Charles, the said Emperor shall give him free Passage, and let him have Ships, Carriage, Victuals, and Ammunition, so he pay for them at a fair and reasonable Price.

XXV. This Treaty to be ratify'd and sworn by both Princes within fifteen Days after Requisition.

Commissioners for our King were Stephen Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Westminster, Sir Thomas Wriothesley Principal Secretary: For the Emperor, Eustachius Chappuis, Doctor of both Laws, Counsellor and Master of Requests to the Emperor, and his Lieger Ambassador here in England.

This League minuted and agreed in February 1541. was sworn to by Charles, April 8. at Molin del

1544.
Feb. 11. *del Rey* near *Barcelona*, in the presence of *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, our King's Ambassador, and publish'd in *June* following: Our King in the mean while providing for War, and his Parliament largely contributing to the Expenses thereof.

A Book publish'd by the King's Command.
In this Parliament, a Book intituled, *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, receiving its approbation, was in *May* following printed and publish'd in *English* by the King's Command; wherein he departs not from his Articles set forth *Anno 1536.* except in admitting Seven Sacraments, and handling the Points in a more copious manner: For here at large out of the Scriptures and Fathers, he explains the Creed, the Sacraments, and the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, with the *Ave*; then the Doctrine of Free-will, and Good-works: Lastly, adds Prayer for the Dead; all with much Moderation; as chusing rather to resolve high and obscure Questions in general terms, than by any peremptory and particular determination to make his People obnoxious; a Fault noted by some Authors in *Charles* and *Francis*; both which about these times commanding their Divines to collect their Doctrine into certain brief Heads, propos'd it barely without Explication or Proof, under the greatest Penalties. But King *Henry* having labour'd first to make Tenets understood, took order in the next place to have them observ'd on these Conditions. Therefore among other Laws enacted in this Session, beginning the twenty second of *January 1544.* and lasting till the twelfth of *May* following, this is the first:

Jan. 22.
Regn. 34. Recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church for the decision of Controversies: And therefore all Books of the Old and New Testament in *English*, being of *Tindal's* false Translation, or comprising any matter of Christian Religion, Articles of the Faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the Doctrine set forth *Anno Domini 1540.* or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolish'd. No Printer or Bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid Books: No Persons shall play in Interludes, sing or rhyme contrary to the said Doctrine: No Person shall retain any *English* Books, or Writings concerning matter against the Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or for the maintenance of the Anabaptists, or other Books abolished by the King's Proclamation. There shall be no Annotations or Preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in *English*. The Bible shall not be read in *English* in any Church. No Women or Artificers, Prentices, Journey-men, Serving-men, of the degrees of Yeomen, or under Husband-men, nor Labourers, shall read the New Testament in *English*. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the King's Instructions. And if any spiritual Person preach, teach, or maintain any thing contrary to the King's Instructions or Determinations made or to be made, and shall be thereof convict, he shall for his first Offence recant; for his second, abjure, and bear a Faggot; and for his third, shall be adjudged an Heretick, and be burned, and lose all his Goods and Chattels. And this Statute, though rigorous, was yet a qualification of the six Articles, which impos'd Death upon the first Offence in this kind: And as the King was now in good Terms with the Emperor, he might the better moderate them.

Several Laws enacted.
That the Lords authorized by the Statute of 28 *Hen. VIII. 14.* to set the Prices of Wine in gross, may mitigate or enhance the Prices of Wine by retail, as time and occasion shall require. Which Act, though expired before our times, had yet this use, that Vintners then were very much restrain'd from couzening; and the extraordinary number of them diminished.

That any Person being no common Chirurgeon, may administer outward Medicines.

That Bishops new erected, shall pay their Tenths into the Courts of the First-Fruits.

That Pensions, &c. granted out of Abbeyes, &c. should be paid still as they were before.

That Laws especially should be made in *Wales* by the Officers there. Whereupon the Council in the Principality of *Wales* and *Marches* was confirmed; and divers other Orders establish'd, too long to be recited here. Only I must not omit how *Gavelkind* (which being heretofore us'd in *Wales*, did so divide and subdivide the Lands of the antient Nobles and Gentry there, that at last every Man's Part came to very little; and so disabled them to keep the Dignity of their Houses) was here taken away and extinguished.

In this Parliament, also, a Subsidy was granted to the King, to be paid in three Years, after this rate; They who were in Goods worth twenty Shillings and upwards to five Pound, paid Fourpence of every Pound; from five Pound to ten Pound, Eightpence; from ten Pound to twenty Pound, Sixteenpence; from Twenty and upwards, two Shillings. All Strangers, as well Denizens as others, inhabiting here, doubled the Sum: Strangers, not Inhabitants, that were sixteen Years old and upwards, paid Fourpence for every Head or Poll. As for Lands, Fees and Annuities, every Native paid Eightpence in the Pound from twenty Shillings to five Pounds; from five Pounds to ten Pounds, Sixteenpence; from ten Pounds to twenty Pounds, two Shillings; from twenty Pounds and upwards, three Shillings. Strangers still after all these rates doubling the Sum. As for the Clergy, they granted a Subsidy of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid of their Benefices in perpetuity, in three Years following: And every Priest having no Perpetuity, but an annual Stipend, paid yearly during the said three Years six Shillings Eightpence. Besides which, I find, upon occasion of a Dearth of Victuals, a Sumptuary Law was made, whereby the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, as also the Serjeants and Yeomen of their Houses, were limited to a certain number of Dishes: They were forbidden also to buy certain kinds of Fowl. Nevertheless, in regard of the great Confluence of People in this Parliament time, and the Scarcity of Fish, the King by Proclamation dispensed eating of White-meats in Lent, forbidding yet the eating of Flesh so strictly, as *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, with divers Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, were imprisoned for offending herein.

And now the *Irish* finding by *O-Neal*, that the use our King made of this Stile of King of *Ireland*, was to confer Nobility more amply on them, according to their several Merits and Services; *O Brian*, *Mac-William-a-burgh*, and *Mac-Gil-Patrick*, came hither, and upon notice taken of their Desert, *O Brian* was created Earl of *Thomond*, and *Mac-William* Earl of *Clanriccard*; some others had also Honours given them, and received therein an Obligation to continue firm to the *English* Crown: Of which likewise the Successors of the aforesaid Lords have given ample testimony.

The Separation or Divorce betwixt our King and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves* now standing uncontroverted, and Queen *Katharine* beheaded, our King bethought himself of another Match. In the concluding whereof yet he found some Difficulty: For as by a Statute formerly mention'd, it was declared Death for any whom the King should marry, to conceal her Incontinency in former time, so few durst hazard to venture into those Bonds with a King, who had (as they thought)

1543. thought) so much Facility in dissolving them : Therefore they stood off, as knowing in what a slippery estate they were, if the King, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no Maids : So that now he fix'd upon the Lady Katharine Parr, Widow to the Lord Latimer ; who, as she was esteem'd ever a Lady of much Integrity and Worth, and some Maturity of Years, so the King after Marriage liv'd apparently well with her for the most part. The publishing of this Marriage was accompanied with a Declaration of his League with the Emperor, and denouncing War to Francis : For which purpose, two Kings of Arms on the Emperor and our King's part, were dispatched to him ; while for more authorising their Message, they were to require performance of certain Conditions before mention'd. But Francis not suffering them to come at all within his Dominions, they return'd ; and both Princes, without more ceremony, prepar'd for War : The beginning and progress whereof, that it may be the better understood, I shall look a while upon Foreign History.

Jan. 9. Guillaume de Bellay Seigneur de Langey, one of the compleatest Gentlemen of his time, to whom the charge of all Affairs in Piedmont was chiefly committed, finding himself declining in health, desires leave to return home, but too late ; for being intercepted by Death in his way, he desir'd the King his Master to accept thereof as a Testimony that he had served his Majesty to the uttermost of his force : Whose loss, I find, happen'd the more unseasonably, in that Francis had now need of his best strength against two so puissant Princes as resolv'd to invade his Dominions in person. The Emperor set out first, as having divers Business to determine by the way ; leaving for Governour of Spain his Son Philip, assisted by Fernando de Toledo Duc de Alva as Captain General, and Francesco de les Covos for other Dispatches during his absence. His chief Design was to draw the Pope from the French King : To which, though the Pope was sufficiently dispos'd, yet he durst not (saith Sandoval) lest Francis should renounce his Authority, as our King had done, and give ear to the Lutherans. Which being certified to the Emperor by his Ambassadors at Rome, made him withdraw some Revenues which he had given with Margaret his natural Daughter to Ottavio Farnese the Popes Grand-child. And now the Emperor having all things ready for his Voyage, arrives from Barcelona at

May 25. Genoua about the end of May 1543, as our Records say, or June, according to Sandoval. His Necessities yet were great ; insomuch, that as he was forced before his leaving Spain to pawn the Molucas to Juan King of Portugal, (and the rather, because some Revolt happening in the West-Indies about this time, he was dispossess'd of the Revenues usually receiv'd from thence :) so in Italy he was constrain'd to sell the Fortresses of Florence and Ligorno to Cosmo de Medices Duke of Florence for an Hundred and fifty thousand Ducats ; though yet he wanted not so many Reasons to retain these Places, as (unless a most urgent Necessity did excuse him) it cannot but seem most strange, both as he lost so principal an access to Italy by Sea, and such a puissant means of conserving the Florentines at his devotion : Nevertheless, I find he would not part with Siena, though as being an Inland-Town, and without means to be easily relieved, it could not so aptly serve to make good his Authority in those parts. To which yet I find Diego de Mendoza Governour thereof so encouraged him, as he seem'd rather to invite an Attempt against Rome. The Emperor reposing a while at Genoua, was desir'd

by the Pope to permit an Interview ; which at last was accorded at Busetto, between Parma and Cremona, where the Pope and Emperor did meet, June 21. Their different Ends yet did not permit them to speak principally of a Council, nor at all, till their other Business were determined. For the Emperor, desirous to incite him against the French King, and (howsoever) to get Money of him, bent his chief Discourses that way. The Pope, on the other side, ambitious to get Milan for his Grand-child Ottavio Farnese, who had married Margaret, natural Daughter to the Emperor, (as is before recited) intended little else ; offering for this purpose, to make what Cardinals the Emperor desir'd, to give an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns for some Years towards his War against France, and yet to leave the Castle of Milan and Cremona in his hands. Others say, the Pope would neatly have bought Milan for his Grand-child, when the Emperor could give him good assurance for his Purchase, and that the Emperor would not part with the Fortress of Milan and Cremona. But to leave these things to the several Authors, I find, that the Emperor requiring more Money, the business was suspended, and the Conclusion refer'd to Commissioners, who should treat thereof as the Emperor proceeded in his Journey through Germany : Who, for all advantage and satisfaction in this Interview, had no account to give at his coming thither, but that he could protest, he had made some Overture of a Council. The Pope finding thus no certain Resolution given to his Request, inclined to Francis ; and the rather, that the League betwixt our King and the Emperor being publish'd, he was highly incens'd against him, as having join'd himself in League with one who was so lately excommunicated, anathematiz'd, curs'd, depriv'd, and made incapable of all Confederation : Which yet so little moved the Emperor, as when it was represented that the Pope's Proceeding here was passionate, and for his proper Interest only, and that Religion stood upon firmer Principles, than that it could be personated in any one Man, he did not relinquish his former Intention : For more confirmation whereof also, he fail'd not to reproach unto the Pope his assisting of Francis ; saying, He might with much more reason prevail himself of our King's assistance, than Francis could do of the Turks.

The Emperor being now come into the Low-Countries, resolves to chastise the Duke of Cleve ; the chief places of whose Country he took in fifteen Days. Nevertheless, upon his submission, he restor'd all but Gueldre and Zutphen ; of which yet he gave him some hope, when he would hold it in Fee from the Empire.

This being advertis'd to Francis, made him detain Jone of Navarre ; but for her the Emperor afterwards gave the Duke in Marriage (the Pope dispensing with the former Contract) Mary Daughter of Ferdinand. This prosperous Exploit yet was check'd by the Success of Francis, who this while had taken Landrecy, Bapaumes, and Maubege, (where there is a fair and magnificent Convent of Gentlewomen of Noble Houses, which yet are not so bound to any Vow of Religion, but that they may marry, and was in effect an Academy for their Sex.) Afterwards he took almost all Luxemburg : Therefore the Emperor prepar'd Forces to withstand him, and recover the said Places. To which purpose Sir John Wallop, with six thousand Men, being sent by our King, (who failed not to assist the Emperor) landed at Calais, and from thence keeping along betwixt the Frontiers of France and the Low-Countries, did much spoil upon the French, till he joined with the Emperor's Forces before Landrecy, which

1543.
Sand. l. 25.
June 21.
An Inter-
view be-
tween the
Pope and
Emperor.

The Pope
breaks
with the
Emperor
for mak-
ing a
League
with the
King of
England.

August.
Sept. 7.

1546.

1543. the Emperor besieg'd: Whereof *Francis* being advertis'd, resolves to relieve it: Hereupon the two great Armies being near each other, it was thought a Blow would follow. The Emperor, who desir'd much to fight, puts his Men in order; which being done, he exhorted them to do bravely, shewing withal the Imperial Standard, which one *Quixada* carry'd, saying, *If this should fall, and my self too, I charge you to take it up before me.* *Francis* also drew out into the Field, not omitting in the mean time to send Men, Victuals and Ammunition into the Town: The two Armies thus confronting one another, Night came on, through the benefit whereof *Francis*, dislodging secretly, retires with his Army. The Imperialists finding this, follow; but as *Francis* had laid an Ambuscado, he took divers of the more forward, among whom, it was the fortune of Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and other English, to be taken Prisoners. The Emperor yet continu'd the Siege for some four or five days: But as it was now towards the

Novemb. midst of November, he went with his Army to *Cambray*; where, persuading the Inhabitants that the French had a Design upon them, he counsell'd them to build a Citadel; which they approving, he found means to possess himself thereof. He also sent *Hernando Gonzago* and *Juan Baptista Gualdo* to our King, to treat further of a War against France the next Year; he omitted not also to call a Diet at *Spire*; whither he went with desire (as much as safely he might) to oblige the Protestants to him; and the rather, that the Turks had at this time not only taken *Strigonium* and other Places in Hungary, but the Town of *Nizza* in the Confines of France and Italy, in this manner: *Antoine Polin* (afterwards Baron de *La Garde*) had now made two Voyages from *Francis* to *Solyman* the Turk, to solicit him to send his Sea-Forces against the Emperor. Whereupon *Barbarossa* was dispatch'd with Commission to join with him: He taking Fresh-water at *Ostia*, within five Leagues of *Rome*, gave that Alarm, that the Inhabitants began to fly; but *Polin* assur'd them by his Letters: From thence coming to *Marseilles*, *Francois de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, encounter'd them, having charge to command the Naval Army of the King, which was two and twenty Gallies, and eighteen other Ships: Whereupon they besieged and took the Town of *Nizza*, but not the Castle, which being stronger than that it could be won easily, they carrying some of the Inhabitants with them, retir'd to their Shipping; and the rather, that they heard the Marquis de *Gualto* was coming out of *Piedmont* towards them; who (I find) recover'd it shortly after. And thus ended the two Years Negotiation of *Polin* with the Turk, with small present effect, and no consequence but the carrying away of a few Slaves by *Barbarossa*, who winter'd at *Thoulon*, betwixt *Nizza* and *Marseilles*. Howsoever, I find by *Sandoval*, that it was so heinously taken in *Rome*, that some Cardinals in a publick Consistory mov'd to deprive *Francis* from the Title of *Christianissimo*.

Aug. 20.
The Turks
in confederacy
with the
French
take *Nizza*.

To the
great
Scandal of
the Court
at *Rome*.

I shall draw this Year to a Conclusion, with a beginning given to the Council of *Trent*, now appearing in some Rudiments. Many Years had past without any manifest necessity of calling a Council. Those few Separatists which remain'd of the *Waldefians*, *Picards*, and *Hussites*, being disarm'd, illiterate, and obscure; and these later not much differing from the *Roman* Church, but in the use of the Cup in the Eucharist: But

1517. *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and divers others of late appearing, though not sufficiently united among themselves, gave yet the *Roman* Catholics so little cause to glory therein, that their greatest

Dissention seem'd to be who should be furthest off from them: Every Reformer in his turn pretended both to discover new Errors, and to shew himself more averse. This made the Pope resolve at last on a Council; and the rather, that all Christian Princes desir'd upon any reasonable terms a Peace of Religion, as knowing how much it concern'd them to settle that Affair: Neither did they think there would be much difficulty, when all sides came prepared thereunto, most of the Points in difference being to be reconcil'd in middle and indifferent terms, or to be rejected as doubtful, (upon the grounds taken on either side) or at least not tending to much Edification. The Meeting was (as is above shew'd) design'd at *Mantua* first, by Pope *Clement* the Seventh, 1533. then by *Paulus* the Third, 1537. but being thence brought to *Vicenza*, and there suspended during his Pleasure, at last it was removed to *Trent*, in the Confines of Germany; which also was hasten'd by the Pope, as fearing the consequence of a National Council in Germany, whereof the Emperor had lately given hope; so that he was (at what price soever) determin'd to prevent it; as knowing well what prejudice it might bring to his Authority. Neither did he any longer apprehend the defection of *Francis*; who knowing he should lose the Pope in his businesses of *Milan* and elsewhere, if he triff'd any longer with the Protestants, had made severe Edicts against them. Whereupon Bulls also were dispatch'd every where abroad, notifying the said Convention to begin November the first following: Which yet was in such terms as scandalis'd the Emperor, supposing that *Francis* was us'd therein with more respect than he deserv'd; since, in the late Diet at *Spire*, having secretly offer'd his assistance both to the Protestant and *Roman* Catholick Party in Germany, he had declar'd his Intentions were only to foment Division; and besides, had collegu'd himself with the Turk. But for composing these differences, the Pope having appointed the Cardinal *Contareni* to go to the Emperor, and *Sandolet* to *Francis*; *Contareni* dying in the way, he employ'd Cardinal *Viseo* in his place; one so openly disaffected by the Emperor, that it was thought no good effect would follow. Howsoever, to make it appear, that this universally desir'd Council was not retarded by him, he sent at the same time unto *Trent* the Cardinals *Pietro Paulo Parisio*, a good Canonist, *Giovanni Morone* an expert Statesman, and *Reginald Pool*, opposite to our King, and so eminent as might give Authority to Proceedings against him. Their secret Instructions were yet rather to entertain the Ambassadors and Prelates which should be there assembled, than to treat of any thing material without further direction. The Emperor sent hither *Diego de Mendoza*, his Ambassador resident at *Venice*, and *Nicholas Perrenot* Seigneur de *Granville*, together with *Antonio* Bishop of *Arras* (his Son) and some few Bishops of the Kingdom of *Naples*; who together with some few Prelates (of the most affected to the Pope) being commanded to be present, were all that could give Name and Reputation to this General Council: so far was it from having other Kingdom or Religion concurrent therein. Howsoever, the Imperial Mandate being exhibited by the Agents of *Charles*, instance was made that the Council should open, and a beginning be given, at least, to a Reformation in Discipline. But the Papal Legates interpos'd a delay, saying, It was not convenient to begin an Universal Council with so little a number: Whereupon the business came to Protests on both sides; and so the Legates referring all to the Pope, nothing was concluded. Whereupon

1543.

1533.

1537.

1538.

1540.

1541.

May 21.

1540.

1540.

August.

1541.

Aug. 26.

1542.

Council

of *Trent*.

Nov. 1.

1542.

1543. upon, the Imperialists departed, whom also the Neapolitan Bishops follow'd, and finally the Legates themselves, after having been there seven Months without more than this ostentation of a Council.

Little else happened this year of foreign Affairs, that I thought worthy my Relation, but that Philip Prince of Spain (though very young) had given him in Marriage Donna Maria, Infanta of Portugal, by John III, and Donna Catalina Sister to the Emperor.

July 28. Information being made to our King, that divers this year were burnt for Religion at Windsor, it appears by our Histories, that he was nothing pleas'd; which yet, whether it proceeded from some better impression he might have taken of the Protestant Reformation; or that he grew weary of the too many severe Executions, which had made his Government thought in foreign Countries to be rigorous, cannot easily be determined. Howsoever, he made it known now that he could forgive. And therefore, though some of his Courtiers, as Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, and others of his Subjects were fallen into the danger of the Six Articles, he voluntarily gave them his Pardon; and together, withdrew much of his favour from the Bishop of Winchester, who was reported more than any to persecute them, and suspected to dislike secretly the Kings Proceedings: Which was made more probable, when not long after his Secretary German Gardiner was executed for denying the Kings Supremacy. And perchance, as King Henry intended shortly to go in Person to the Wars in France, the many punishments he had inflicted on others might have begot some apprehensions in him: Yet not such as could deter him from the Journey; for he made great preparations of Soldiers and Habiliments of War, and particularly of Iron Pieces and Grana- des, which I find this year were first cast in England: While for the more contenting the Queen in his absence, he conferr'd certain Honours on William Lord Parr, her Brother, who was made Earl of Essex: And her Uncle Sir William Parr, who was made Lord Parr of Horton, and Chamberlain to the Queen. All which yet seem'd nothing to him, unless he parted in good terms with his Parliament: For he accounted it his most Loyal Spouse: And not without reason, since there was nothing I know desir'd by him, which they perform'd not. This Session (being the third) began the 14th of January, in the thirty-fifth year of his Reign, and continued till the 29th of March, 1544.

March 7. 1544. Gardiner's Secretary hang'd for denying the K's Supremacy.

Dec. 23.

1544. The Succession again settled in Parliament.

Reg. 25. Jan. 14.

The first Act was concerning the Succession: And herein, as I find, he endeavour'd to close with the Emperor, in giving the Princess Mary a possibility of Succession; so he settled that business among his Children in such sort, that all cause of competition was taken away (as far as by our Laws he might.)

The beginning of the Act is a recital of a former, 28 Hen. 8. touching the Succession; to which reference must be had. Whereupon it follows thus, or to this effect, (as I conceive it.)

Forasmuch as his Majesty since the death of Queen Jane, hath taken to Wife the Lady Katharine, late Wife of John Nevil Knight, Lord Latimer, deceas'd, by whom as yet his Majesty hath none Issue, but may have full well, when it shall please God: And forasmuch as our said most dread Sovereign intendeth, by Gods Grace, to make a Voyage Royal in his most Royal Person into the Realm of France, against the French King; his Highness most prudently considering how this Realm standeth at this time in the

case of Succession: And albeit, for default of such Heirs as be inheritable by the said Act, he might by the Authority of the said Act, give and dispose the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand, to any Person or Persons of such Estate therein as should please his Highness to limit and appoint: Yet, to the intent his Majesties disposition and mind should be openly declar'd to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and other his Subjects of this Realm, to the intent that their assent and consent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majesties Declaration in this behalf; his Majesty therefore thinketh convenient, afore his departure beyond Seas, that it be enacted by his Highness and Parliament: And therefore be it enacted, that in case the Kings Majesty and his only Son Prince Edward should decease without Heirs of either of their Bodies lawfully begotten, so that there be no such Heir Male or Female of any of their two Bodies, to have and inherit the said Imperial Crown, and other his Dominions, according and in such manner and form as in the aforesaid Act, and now in this is declar'd, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all other the Premises shall be to the Lady Mary, the Kings Highness Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, with such Conditions as by his Highness shall be limited by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his Majesties last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand. And for default of such Issue, the said Imperial Crown and other the Premises shall be to the Lady Elizabeth the Kings second Daughter, and her Heirs lawfully begotten, with such conditions as is aforesaid. Any thing in the Act made 28 Hen. 8. to the contrary notwithstanding.

1544.

First on Prince Edward.

On the Lady Mary.

On the Lady Elizabeth.

Provided nevertheless, that if the said Lady Mary do not keep and perform such Conditions as the King shall declare and limit in manner aforesaid; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the Kings Majesty and Prince Edward, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises shall be and come to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, in such like manner and form, as though the said Lady Mary were then dead, without any Heir of her Body begotten,

And be it further enacted, That if the said Lady Mary do keep and perform such Conditions which the Kings Majesty shall hereafter declare and limit, in form aforesaid; and that the said Lady Elizabeth for her part do not keep and perform such Conditions which the Kings Majesty shall declare and limit, in form aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the Kings Majesty, and the said Lord Prince, and the said Lady Mary lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premises shall be and come to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highness, in form aforesaid, shall limit and appoint.

Provided, that if the Lady Mary do not keep and perform such Conditions which shall be limited and appointed as aforesaid, and the said Elizabeth being then dead without any Heir of her Body lawfully begotten; that then, and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs of the several Bodies of the Kings Majesty, and the said Lord Prince lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown and other the Premises, shall be, come, and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the Kings Highness by his

1544 Letters Patents Seal'd under his Great Seal, or by his last Will in Writing, sign'd with his Hand, shall limit and appoint.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that in case the Kings Majesty do not declare and limit by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will, in form as is aforesaid, any Conditions to the Estates and Interests aforesaid limited to the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, nor to the Estate or Interest of any of them; that then every such of the said Lady Mary, and Lady Elizabeth, to whose Estate or Interest no Condition shall be limited by the Kings Majesty in form aforesaid, shall have and enjoy such Interest, Estate, and Remainder in the said Imperial Crown and other the Premises, as is before limited by this Act, without any manner of Condition. Any thing in this present Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as it standeth in the only pleasure and will of Almighty God, whether the Kings Majesty shall have any Heirs begotten and procreated between his Highness and his most entirely beloved Wife Queen Katharine, or by any other his lawful Wife; or whether the said Prince Edward, the Lady Mary, or Lady Elizabeth, or any other, shall have any Issue of their Bodies lawfully begotten; and that if such Heirs should fail, and no provision made, this Realm after the Kings transitory Life should be destitute of a lawful Governor to order and rule the same: Be it therefore enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that the Kings Highness shall have full power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by his gracious Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or else by his Highness last Will made in Writing, and sign'd with his most gracious Hand, at his only pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and all other the Premises, to be, remain, succeed and come after his Decease, and for lack of lawful Heirs of either of the Bodies of the Kings Highness and Prince Edward begotten, and also for lack of lawful Heirs of the Bodies of the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, to be procreated and begotten (as is before limited in this Act) to such Person and Persons in Remainder or Reversion, as shall please his Highness, and according to such Estate, and after such manner and form, fashion or condition as shall be express'd, declar'd, nam'd and limited in his Highness Letters Patents, or by his last Will in writing, sign'd with his most gracious Hand (as is aforesaid.) Any thing contain'd in this present Act, or in the said former Act to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

There followeth also in the said Act a new form of Oath against the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, and the penalty on those who refus'd to take the Oath, or did interrupt this Act, or any Estate limited thereby.

In another Act it was declared where, and before whom, Treasons committed out of the Realm should be tryed. That the Kings Stile also, of King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in Earth the Supreme Head, shall be united and annexed for ever unto the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England.

That no Person should be put to his Trial upon an Accusation concerning any of the offences compris'd in the Statute of the Six Articles 31 Hen. 8. but only upon such as shall be made by the Oath of twelve Men before Commissioners authorized: And the Presentment shall be made within one year after the offence committed. That no Person should be arrested or

committed to Ward for any such offence before he be indicted. That if any Preacher or Reader shall speak any thing in his Sermon or Reading contrary to any matter contain'd in the Six Articles, he shall be accus'd or indicted thereof within forty days, or else shall be discharg'd of the said offence. And this also qualified a little the punishment of the Six Articles.

That the Lords and Commons shall remit unto the King all such sums of Money as he had borrow'd of them since the first of January, Anno 33 of his Reign.

That certain Tenures shall be reserv'd (at the Kings pleasure) upon Houses and Lands, being sometimes Abbey Lands, under forty Shillings a year.

That all Persons which have any Houses, Lands, Gardens and other Grounds in the Town of Cambridge, adjoyning upon every Highway, Street, or Lane, in his own Right, or the Right of his Wife, or, &c. shall cause the same to be pav'd with paving Stone unto the middle of the same ways, and in length as their grounds do extend, and so shall from time to time maintain them, upon pain to forfeit six pence for every yard square not sufficiently pav'd, to the King and Informer. And had this Statute extended to the other Cities and great Towns of England, it would have been much to the beauty of them, and the commodity of Passengers.

That the King shall have Authority during his Life to name two and thirty Persons, viz. sixteen Spiritual and sixteen Temporal, to examine all Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances Provincial and Synodal, and to establish all such Laws Ecclesiastical as shall be thought by the King and them convenient to be us'd in all Spiritual Courts. But this (it seems) expir'd with the Kings life.

An Ordinance also (never sufficiently commended) was made for preservation of Woods, which being too long and particular to rehearse, I shall desire the Reader to peruse in his place: There being no Law either more useful to this Kingdom (in regard of our Navy and otherwise,) or whereof the Infraction can with more difficulty be repair'd; so many years, if not Ages, being requir'd before they can come to that growth, which any rash hand may cut down in a very short space.

Some other Acts also pass'd, which the Reader may see in their place.

And now the Parliament ending March 29. 1544. That War which was denounc'd by our King against Scotland for the Treaty broken in some Particulars, and the Law of Nations in others, appear'd in his Preparatives; and the Lord Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford was shortly after constituted by our King, Lieutenant General of the North, and sent thither with a well-furnish'd Army: For as it was only a Quarrel of unkindness with the Scots for their not admitting readily the loving offer he made of Marrying his Son Prince Edward with their young Queen, none was thought more fit to determine, or if need were, to compose the Business, than the Princes Uncle. Besides, the Duke of Norfolk (whose Service he had heretofore us'd in those parts) was appointed to attend him in his Journey to France. And now Consultation being had which way to invade Scotland, it was resolv'd, by Sea; yet so, as the Kings Land-Army might make a diversion on the Borders, and (if need were) joyn with the other Forces. The Fleet being ready (which was of two hundred Sail,) Sir John Dudley Lord Lisle (newly made Admiral of England) was appointed to conduct it; who setting Sail, shortly afterwards came to Newcastle,

The King
impow-
er'd to dis-
pose of the
Crown by
Will.

High
Commis-
sion Court.

March 29.
War with
Scotland.
Buchen.
Earl of
Hertford
sent with
an Army
into Scot-
land.

1543. Castle, where the Earl of Hertford, Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and other principal Persons with the Kings Army attend him. These being speedily shipped, came to Grantham-Crag near Leith, the fourth of May, where spending some three or four days in disembarking their Men, and taking out their Ordnance and Victuals, the Cardinal of Saint Andrews made provision to receive them: Our Army march'd in three Battels, whereof the Lord Admiral had the Van, the Earl of Hertford the middle, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Rear; who from thence going to the Town, encountered six thousand Horse, besides many Foot, led (as our Histories have it) by the Cardinal and divers Noble Persons: But as they judg'd themselves too weak, and consequently offer'd not much Resistance, they were quickly discomfited, and their Ordnance taken. Whereupon our Men entring Leith, found more riches there (they said) than they could have easily imagin'd. Marching thence to Edinburgh, the Towns-men offer'd to yield themselves, when they might depart with Bag and Baggage; but this not being accepted, they prepar'd for Defence. Nevertheless, our Men both forc'd the Town, and burnt it for three days together: At which time William Lord Ever Warden of the East-Marches, and Governor of Berwick, making his way by Land, did (notwithstanding all opposition) joyn his Forces with the rest. The Army thus greatned, burnt and spoil'd all places about Edinburgh in a crueller manner than became such as would obtain the favour either of that Queen or Country for their young Prince. Nevertheless, as they could not take the Castle of Edinburgh, they retir'd to Leith, where the Lord General having made divers Knights, they shipped their great Artillery, and among them some fair Pieces gotten in the Voyage; divers Ships also were taken by them. And now being ready to depart, they burnt the Town of Leith, and the Peer of the Haven; and so on the fifteenth of May the Fleet set Sail, while the Land-Army, desirous to commit further Spoil, march'd to Seton, and so to Haddington, and Dunbar, which Towns they burnt. After which, coming to a Strait (which our Historians call the Pease) and a great Mist happening, they made a Halt, being advertis'd that the Scottish Army would fall on them: But the Mist breaking up, they march'd on without resistance, and so came to Ranton, within eight miles of the English Borders, which having ruin'd and burnt, they upon the 18th of May enter'd Berwick, without having lost in all this Journey above 40 Persons. Our Navy in the mean while, taking out of every Creek and Haven on the Scottish Coasts all the Ships and Boats they found there.

The Expedition thus gloriously ended, the King found his business nothing advanc'd; he had done more than became a Suitor for Alliance, too little for one pretending to Conquest. Neither had this Invasion other event than a general detestation of a Marriage sought for in such rough and unusual terms: But our King, who understood the business otherwise, said, *That since he could not obtain, he would strive to chastise.* Howbeit, he omitted not to advise how he might raise a Faction in that Kingdom, whereof he might prevail himself. And because the Earl of Lenox, now deserted by the French, seem'd most proper for this purpose, he resolv'd to admit a Treaty with him: Which Affair also upon his Misfortune, and the Retreat formerly mentioned, had been negotiated by the Earl of Glencarne and his Brother at Carlisle, May 17. 1544. (as I find in our Records:) Which again was seconded in that manner, that our Army now

returning, he came by Sea to Westchester, and so to the Court, where he was well receiv'd by our King: And at last this Treaty concluded betwixt them, by the name of Matthew Earl of Lenox, and Thomas Wriothesly (lately made * Baron and † Chancellor upon Audley's Death,) the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir William Pager, by June 16. way of Indenture, June 26. 1544. It is to this effect.

That for the security of the said Earl of Lenox a Treaty against the power of the Cardinal, and the Earl of Ar- rain, and the safety of the Realm of Scotland, it is agreed, that the said Earl will observe the Articles agreed on his behalf by the Earl of Glencarne and others at Carlisle, May 17. 1544.

That he will be the Kings Servant and Subject, and serve him against all that shall impugn his Graces Title and Authority in Scotland, or elsewhere.

That he will surrender into his Majesties hand the Castle of Dumbrilton, as also the Isle of Bute, and help him to win the Castle of Rofs therein.

That when the King, having the Direction of the Realm, shall have made him Governor, the said Earl shall never call a Parliament, nor do any matter of great moment without the Kings Advice.

That he shall foresee that the Kings Pronept be not convey'd out of Scotland, but strive to get her Person into his custody, and to deliver her into the Kings hands.

That because the King hath upon his earnest suit given him leave to marry his Graces Niece the Lady Margaret Dowglas, the said Earl bindeth himself to endow her with the yearly value of 500 Marks Sterling.

That the King, in consideration of the loss which the said Earl shall sustain in France by this Agreement, will give unto him and his Heirs, Possessions in England of 1700 Marks Sterling.

That the King will aid the said Earl in Scotland for two or three Months with 500 Men; besides such Men as his Grace will send to take and keep Dumbrilton.

That the King having obtain'd direction of that Kingdom, will constitute the said Earl Governor.

In which Treaty, though our King bestowed the Lady Margaret Dowglas upon him, and that there wanted not some, who thought it best she should be reserv'd upon all events, when the young Queen through any accident should die, he chose rather yet to gratifie this gentle Lord. And therein both put a perpetual obligation upon him, and enabled him to be an Ancestor of that happy Off-spring which hath followed since.

The Earl now possess'd of his Lady, was sent shortly after into Scotland with twelve or fourteen Ships, and about six hundred Men, under the command of certain English Knights: These coming to the Castle of Dumbrilton, were receiv'd with great joy, and feasted by Striveling, Concierge or Captain thereof: But when Lenox had privately told him that the Castle was promis'd our King, he seem'd suspended betwixt Affection and Duty. Though at last, considering that it neither stood with his Honour, nor the safety of the Country, to surrender into any foreign hands, he took Arms, and forc'd Lenox, and a few of the English who were with him, to their Ships, whence they set sail for the Isle of Arrain, and burnt all the Houses there; and after to the Isle of Bute. Some say yet that Striveling would have seiz'd on the Person of Lenox, had he not foreseen the danger, and escap'd; and that he landed in the Earl of Argiles Country, near the Castle of Dunvin, and afterwards burnt it; and took Caintyr and spoil'd it; and all this with the help only of one hundred and forty Men more he had out of his own Country: Concerning

1544. which Exploits, he advertis'd our King then at *Boulogne*, himself returning in the mean time to *Bristol* (whence he had his Ships) and staying there till the Kings arrival in *England*, who soon after commanded him, with some Ships, to scour the *Scottish Coast*.

Among the Kings Preparatives for War, that of Money was the most difficult: For though he had much enrich'd himself with the Revenues of the suppress'd Abbies; and besides, receiv'd great Subsidies and Loans from his Subjects; yet Fortifications, Shipping and other Provisions had exhausted his Treasure. Besides, he found the Money of his Kingdom much drain'd away by his crafty Neighbours, while they cry'd it up in their Country. For remedy of which Inconveniences, he both enhaunced our Gold from forty-five shillings to forty-eight shillings the Ounce; and Silver from three shillings and nine pence to four shillings: And together caus'd certain base Moneys newly coyn'd to be made currant; though not without much murmuring: Which afterwards yet was cry'd down in *Edward the IV.* his time, and call'd in by *Queen Elizabeth*. Howsoever, it serv'd for the present to exchange both for Commodities at home and abroad. Though about two years after our Records mention, that the *Low-Country-men* finding the Allays (it seems) rejected it.

Adulterated Money made currant by K. Henry

Litany publish'd in English by his Authority.

July 9. The Queen appointed Regent while the King goes for France.

30000 Men transported to Calais.

Men and Money being now provided, there remain'd yet not a few difficulties concerning the Government of the Kingdom in the Kings absence. Among which, because the greatest was difference in Religion, he endeavour'd to quiet all parts, as finding it impossible to unite them. That of the *Roman Catholicks* he had already so curb'd, as they could hardly make head again: And for the Reformers, he thought a little would give them contentment, as being at this time scarce more than pretenders. Therefore he caus'd a Litany or Procession to be set forth in *English*, which much satisfied them, as hoping the rest of Divine Service might follow in the same Tongue. And indeed, our Records tell us, that another *English* Procession for Festival days was afterwards added. As for the Civil Administration of his Kingdom, it was ordered thus: The Queen was constituted General Regent of the Realm: Not yet so much, that her soft Sex was thought less capable of Ambition, as that the *Roman-Catholicks* (whom he thought only could stir) would take no dependence from her; she being observ'd to incline a little to the Reform'd. To direct her Counsels yet, the King appointed the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord Chancellor, *Thomas Thurlby* Bishop of *Westminster*, and Sir *William Peter* Doctor of Law, one of the principal Secretaries, to be joyn'd in Commission for those Affairs, and on some occasions *William Lord Parre* of *Horton* to be call'd to them. It being provided further, if occasion were given, that the Earl of *Hertford* should be the Kings Lieutenant or principal Captain. Besides which general order for Affairs in his absence, he particularly appointed certain Noblemen and Gentlemen in every Shire, who should stay there and observe all Motions: And for this purpose, the Bishop of the Diocese in every County (for the most part) and six or seven other Noble-men, or Justices of the Peace were nominated; *Francis Talbot* also Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was made Lieutenant of the North. And now assurance being given that the Imperial Forces were in readiness, he commanded his Army (which consisting of thirty thousand Men, was divided into three Battails) to pass the Seas. The Vanguard apparell'd in blue Coats garded

with red, with Caps and Hose party-colour'd and suitable (their Caps fitted to their Head-piece or Skull) were led by the Duke of *Norfolk*. The Rear in the like Habit, by the Lord *Russel*, lately made Lord Privy-Seal, with whom went *Henry Earl of Surrey* Marshal of the Field, *John Vere Earl of Oxford*, the Lord *Gray of Wilton*, Lord *Ferrers of Chartley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, and divers brave Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and others, not a few *Welsh* and *Irish* filling up the numbers. These landing at *Calais* about *Whitsontide*, march'd directly to *Monstreuil*, where the Count de *Bures* Admiral of *Flanders* with ten thousand Foot, and about three or four thousand Horse joyning with them, they laid Siege to the Town which *Monsieur de Biez* Marechal of *France* defended; while, at the same time, the Battel, apparell'd in the like Bizarre fashion, (the Colours yet being red and yellow) passing over under the Conduct of *Charles Duke of Suffolk* the Kings Lieutenant, accompanied by *Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel*, Marshal of the Field, *William Pawlet Lord St. John*, *Stephen Bishop of Winchester*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, and others, expected the Kings coming; a speedy advertisement whereof being given, he tarried not. But we will leave him a while, and see what the Emperor did.

The Emperors Ambassadors formerly mentioned, being return'd from our King with good Satisfaction and great Rewards, the Diet at *Spire* began, where the Emperor, *Ferdinand*, and all the Electors in Person did meet: The Emperors chief business was, to require Aid against the *Turk* and *French* their Confederate: Which *Francis* also suspecting, sent an Herald to require a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors to come thither: But he was rejected with ill words. And now the Emperor endeavouring to divide the Protestants, propos'd so fair and advantageous a Treaty to the Duke of *Saxe*, that he obtain'd of him to acknowledge *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. Which Accord, though it were not communicated to, nor approv'd by the rest of the Confederates, yet they all at last condescended to a Contribution by Poll throughout all *Germany*, for a War against the *Turk*, and half a years pay for four thousand Horse, and four and twenty thousand Foot against the *French*. In regard whereof the Emperor promis'd to commit the business of Religion to certain good Learned Men, who should write some pious Reformation; wishing the Princes also to do the same: To the end, that upon comparison of them on all sides, some agreement might be made by common consent, which should be observ'd till a General Council were held in *Germany*, or at least a National: And that peace should be kept in the mean while on all parts, and the rigorous Edict of *Augsburg* suspended, and the Anabaptists punish'd. There was an agreement also to meet again (which follow'd at *Wormbs*) and so the Diet ended June 10.

The Pope being advertis'd of these passages at *Spire*, was mightily offended, as being resolv'd to tolerate no Reformation whereof himself was not Author. Therefore he wrote a sharp Letter to the Emperor, *Dat. 25. Aug.* wherein he remonstrateth the Inconveniences would follow, if any thing were establish'd in Religion without his Intervention: Excluding further the Protestants wholly from having any voice therein.

This while the *French*, under the conduct of *Francois de Bourbon Duc d'Anguien*, obtain'd at *Serisoles* in *Piedmont*, a great Victory against the *Spaniard*, commanded by the Marquis of *Gnastio*; wherein, as the *Spaniards* conceiv'd, was some fatality;

1544. Dec. 6. 1544.

June 10. 1544.

April 11. die Pasche Sande.

1544. tality; their Writers observing, that the Battel of Ravenna and Gelves were lost upon the same day. Howsoever, the French were not a little glorious; yet, as Francis knew the League betwixt our King and the Emperor, was directed chiefly against him, he prepar'd for Defence: And the rather, that he had heard of a second Treaty, (which was at Gonzaga's coming over into England, as I take it) wherein both Princes had agreed to march strait on to Paris without besieging any Town, or staying by the way. Besides, the Emperor had now recover'd Luxemburg. This made Francis resort to the extrem remedy in case of Invasion, call'd the Ban and Arriereban, by which all Men holding under certain Tenures, are bound for a certain time, at their own cost and charges, to serve in Person, or at least to provide (according to their degree) Horse and Foot against the Enemy: Which Francis yet converted to a Foot only, and thus he got together an Army of about forty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. As this yet could not secure him against two such puissant Adversaries, he dispatched several Ambassadors to both Princes, with power to offer great and advantageous Conditions of Peace, when either of them might be taken off. This while the Emperor (who promis'd our King to march directly to Paris with a great Army) had taken divers Towns in Champagne, as the way unto it, though losing unfortunately René Prince of Orange at S. Disier, who was the second of that Family that had died in his quarrel, his Mother's Brother Philibert de Chaalon having been slain at the Siege of Florence. And now both Armies marching so, as the Imperialists held the one side, and the French the other side of the River of Marne, news was brought to either Camp, that our Army was landed in France, and had besieg'd Boulogne. The Particularities whereof, out of a Diary extant in our Records, I thought fit to extract, and chiefly follow in this Narration.

July 14. Our King, who pass'd the Seas in a Ship with
July 15. Sails of Cloth of Gold, arriv'd at Calais the 14th
K. Henry of July with a Royal Train. The next day the
goes over- Emperors High-Admiral attended him, and gave
Sea to Calais. account in what estate and forwardness his Masters Army and Affairs were about that time: He advis'd our King also to proceed to Paris without amusing himself about any thing by the way. But he who knew well what Towns the Emperor had taken in his way, would not be dissuaded from the same Liberty: Therefore he sent the Duke of Suffolk with Forces to invest Boulogne, in which Monsieur de Vervan a young Gentleman, but assisted by Philip Corse, a brave and old Soldier, Commanded. His Forces consisted of a Garison of about two thousand five hundred paid, and as many more able Townsmen. The Duke in a short space took (notwithstanding resistance) the lower Town, lying on the River of Pont-de-bricq, and the Watch-Tower before Boulogne, (call'd the Old-Man, or the Tour de ordre, thought to be built by Julius Caesar;) this hastened the Kings coming; so that dispatching the Emperors Admiral, he march'd forward in this Equipage, July 25. First, the Drums, Vifleurs, Trumpeters and Officers at Arms, then the Barons, and after them Garter-Herald next before the King's Banner, after which follow'd Don Bertran de la Cueva Duke of Albuquerque (Commander of the Emperors Auxiliary Forces;) next whom came the Kings Majesty arm'd at all pieces, upon a great Courser; then the Lord Herbert bearing the Kings Head-piece and Spear, follow'd by the Henchmen bravely hors'd and appointed. Marching thus out of Calais with a Princely Train, an

1544. hundred Horse of Albuquerque's Company (whereof six were barded with Cloth of Gold) met him: Also the Earl of Essex (chief Captain of the Men at Arms,) and Sir Thomas Darcy with many other Horsemen (who set themselves in parade) so that the Light-Horse and Demy-Lance went first, then the Guard on Foot, after them the Pike-men, amongst whom the King rode before the Men at Arms; for the Wings, fifty Archers on Horseback, and as many Harquebusiers were appointed, and so they came to Marquise, where the Army then encamp'd that Night. The next day (being the 26.) marching towards Boulogne, the Duke of Suffolk met the King, who took his quarter on the North-side of the Town, near the Sea; divers Skirmishes passing in the mean time.

The 28. John Viscount Lisle Lord Admiral, the Lord Clinton, and about 900 Men, who had scow'd the Seas towards Scotland, landed in the Haven at Boulogne.

The 29. Sir Thomas Poyning came to give the King account of all that pass'd at Montreuil, and in his return took Hardelot Castle.

The third of August our Battery began on the East-side of the Town, two Batteries more being afterwards planted against it.

The sixth of August Monsieur de Bures came from Montreuil; to whom our King gave a brave Courser richly furnish'd.

The 12th of August the Earl of Hertford came to the Camp; and divers Companies of Almains and Flemings joyn'd with our Men: Many Sallies and Skirmishes (in which the French still had the worse) passing in the mean while. Certain French Troops also endeavouring early in the Morning to get into the Town, were defeated and kill'd; some nevertheless escaping into it. Certain Troops of German Horse came now also to the Camp, who were musterd before the King the next day.

The 24th of August, the Duke of Norfolk from before Montreuil came and advis'd the King how the Affairs pass'd there.

The 27th Alarm was given upon discovering of some French Troops.

The 29 and 30, our Men approaching still to the Walls, short Skirmishes pass'd.

Septemb. 1. our Men got the Bray, not yet without loss of brave Men on both sides.

The second of September, some of our Men giving a false Alarm to the Castle, at the breach which our Canon had made, other of our Men break up certain Doors into the Castle; but they being barricado'd within, and well defended, we retir'd with loss.

The 3d. Sir Christopher Morris Master of the Ordnance, and chief Director of the Batteries, was hurt with a shot from the Castle. While things pass'd thus afore the Town, a Convoy of Victuals (being sent from S. Omer to the Camp) was taken by the Enemy, and divers Imperialists kill'd. Nevertheless, our English sav'd and rescu'd some part.

The 4th of Septemb. the Pioneers having brought their Work to the Counter-mure of the Castle, two Mines were sprung, which shiver'd the Wall; but made no great Overture.

The 5th our Men sapping the Walls, the French kill'd certain Pioneers.

The 6th another Salley was made, and some Workmen were kill'd.

The 9th the Town being brought almost to terms of yielding, certain Ambassadors from Francis, being John Cardinal du Bellay, Pierre Raymond premier President of Roüen, and others, demanded Audience, their business being to treat of a General Accord; concerning which the Earl of Hertford,

1544. Hertford, the Bishop of Winchester, Sir William Paget, and Sir Richard Rich, were appointed to Negotiate with them at Hardelet Castle: Our King not doubting in the mean time to carry the Town.

Sept. 11. September 11. fire was given to the Mine under the Castle, the effect whereof the King went to see, not without some danger, the stones flying very far off: Whereupon, our Men presently giving on, many were slain on both parts.

Sept. 13. The 13th Monsieur de S. Blimont, and Monsieur de Aix came out of the Town, and treated of surrendering it.

Sept. 14. The 14th, it was yielded upon Condition to depart with Bag and Baggage; but to leave the Victuals and Artillery behind them. It was thought yet the place might have held out longer, but that Philip Corfe was kill'd, with whom (it seem'd) both their Courage and good Fortune ended. And so, about two thousand Soldiers, and as many others going out of the Town, pass'd towards Monstreul in our Kings fight, besides divers that escap'd another way.

Boulogne taken. And thus Boulogne was taken, without any mention in our Diary of Cannon of Wood colour'd like brass, which should be planted against the Castle, as Tradition hath it. And now an horrible Tempest arising, threw down Tents and Pavilions, and Shipwreck'd some part of our Navy in the Haven. Nevertheless, the French Ambassadors came to the Camp that Night; but as their Tents were blown down likewise over their heads, the King courteously permitted them to lodge in the Town.

Sept. 18. The King enters the Town in Triumph. September 18. the King (attended by Alburquerque) entred Boulogne Triumphantly, the Duke of Suffolk (the Great Master, who was sent before to take possession thereof,) meeting him at the Gate, and presenting the Keys of the Town, where, after he had view'd the places that need'd Fortification, he gave Audience to the French Ambassadors: But they hearing the Emperor had condescended to a Peace (which was publish'd about this time) did less insist upon a Treaty with us, and so return'd by the way of Hesdin.

Sept. 25. Septemb. 25. Some of the Spanish Writers yet use much art to palliate this abrupt Treaty: Therefore they say, that our King fail'd in his not going directly to Paris (as was agreed.) Never considering in the mean while, that the Emperor (though having a much clearer way) had taken divers Towns in his passage: Besides, they alledg'd, that our King would keep Boulogne for himself, not regarding the common Interest. All yet were but pretexts: Whereas the real causes were,

First, That Charles had by this means taken off Francis from his League with the Turk.

Secondly, That he had engag'd our King in a War against France, and thereby made himself the freer to pursue his own designs in Germany, where he knew the Protestants would grow more refractory, as long as he was in War elsewhere.

Thirdly, That in the Wars of Germany, which he now intended, he thought the French King could more hurt him, than our King do him good.

Sept. 19. The Articles of Peace concluded by these two Princes, were;

Articles of Peace between the Emperor I. That betwixt the Emperor Charles V. and Francis the French King, and the rest that will enter into this League, there be a firm and perpetual Peace.

II. That the Subjects of both Princes pay Tributes, Rites, and Customs of Merchandize that they were wont to pay.

III. That all places which have been taken on one part or other since the Truce of Nizza, shall be restor'd: And that neither part may take thence more than their Victuals or Ordnance.

IV. That the Duke of Arschot shall enjoy his Right in the County of Ligny, &c.

V. That all Places and Fortresses that have been taken from the Duke of Savoy by either of the Parties, or from the Marquis of Montferat, or the Duke of Mantua, Duke of Lorraine, Duke of Stenay in Luxemburg, shall be restored.

VI. That the King of France shall leave and restore the Abbey and Lands of Garagana in the Emperors hands; as also certain Hostages for performance thereof, and that he shall give unto the Emperor the County of Charolois to him and his Heirs for ever.

VII. That the Emperor and French King joyn together in a War against the Turk; and that the King shall furnish for this purpose six hundred Lances, and ten thousand Foot.

VIII. That Francis shall renounce all the Right he pretends to hold in the Kingdom of Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Contado of Asti, as also the Right of Sovereignty he had in Flanders, Artois, Lille, Doway, Orchies, Tournay, Mortaigne, and S. Amand. Moreover, that the King leave unto the Emperor and his Successors all the right that he can pretend in the Dutchy of Gueldres, and County of Zutphen.

IX. That the Emperor likewise shall yield and pass over all Action and Right that he may pretend unto in any State or Seignory of the King, except the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Vicounty of Assuone, the Sovereignty of S. Lawrence, the County of Mascon, Auxerre and Bar upon the River Seine. That he should renounce also that Right he held in the Cities upon the Border of Some, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roze; as also the Counties of Boulogne, Guyenne, Ponthieu; excepting Therouenne, Han, and other places mentioned in Sandoval, and whatsoever in the Estate and Limits of Arras.

X. That the Vassals of either Prince shall be fully restor'd unto all that they had, although they had serv'd on the contrary side.

XI. That the Flemings may enjoy the Heritage that their Fathers leave them, though themselves have not been born in France: And that the custom call'd Droit D'aubene shall not concern them.

XII. That the ancient and modern Priviledges on both parts shall remain in their force and vigour. To which purpose, the Emperor shall renounce (in favour of the King) the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Vicounty of Assuone, Sovereignty of S. Lawrence, the County of Auxerre, Mascon, and Bar sur Seine; and within four Months after the publication of this Peace, he shall procure that his Son Philip, Prince of Spain, shall confirm the same.

XIII. That the Emperor in favour and confirmation of the Peace, shall give his Daughter the Infanta Donna Maria, or (in case he do give her) the second Daughter of Ferdinand King of the Romans, that she may match with Charles Duke of Orleans second Son to the King: And that he declare his mind therein within the term of four Months after the publishing of this Peace. And that if the Emperor will marry his Daughter with Duke Charles, then he shall give them the Estate of Flanders, which at this present is under his Obedience, and moreover, the Dutchy of Burgundy and Charolois in Dowry; and that they

1544. they shall enter into the possession of these Estates after the Emperors Death, to descend upon Duke Charles and his Heirs Males; and that the Emperor yet living, these States shall swear to the said Charles; and that Philip Prince of Spain shall swear, confirm, and approve it.

XIV. That the Marriage being made, the Emperor shall constitute Duke Charles in the Government of Flanders.

XV. That Francis and his Son the Daulphin shall renounce for ever, and depart from any right that they held, or may pretend to hold to the Duchy of Milan, or the County of Asti; and that they shall procure within eight days after the publication hereof, the Daulphin's Brother Charles, and Madam Marguerite to confirm and approve it.

XVI. That if Mary Daughter to the Emperor shall dye without Issue Male, the Estate of Flanders shall revert to Philip Prince of Spain, and to his Heirs: and that the Duke of Orleans in this case may revive his right to the Duchy of Milan, and Contado of Asti: And that in this case the Emperor likewise may revive his right to the Duchy of Burgundy, and the rest formerly mentioned.

XVII. That if Duke Charles shall marry with the second Daughter of King Ferdinando, he shall give with her the Duchy of Milan, with the Contado of Asti, and all belonging unto them; the Emperor in the mean while retaining in his power the Fortresses of Milan and Cremona: And that the Emperor shall give to them and their Heirs Males the Title and Imperial Collation of the State thereof. And that if the Duke of Orleans shall have no Heirs Males by this Marriage, nevertheless, that the said Title and Estate shall remain to Duke Charles, and to his Heirs Males by a second Marriage. Provided, that the second Marriage be made with the good will and consent of the Emperor and his Brother Ferdinand.

XVIII. That the Marriage with the Duke of Orleans shall not be deferr'd more than one year after the day of publication of these Presents.

XIX. That Francis shall give unto his Son the Duke in Dote the Duchy of Orleans and Bourbon, Chastellerand, and the County of Angoulesme; and if these Estates mount not to the yearly Revenue of 100000 livres Tournois, that they shall be made up out of the Duchy of Alanzon.

XX. That if the Duke of Orleans shall have only Heirs Females, each of them shall have for their Portion in Marriage 100000 livres Tournois: And if there shall be but one only Daughter Heir, they shall give her 100000 livres in ready pay; and that if the Duke shall dye first, the Emperors Daughter shall have for her life 50000 livres Tournois yearly; but if it be Ferdinand the King of the Romans Daughter, 30000 only.

XXI. That the King of France shall restore to Charles Duke of Savoy all the Lands that he hath taken from him (except Montmelian and Piqueroie) in which the King may hold Garrison all the time that the Emperor shall retain the Castles of Cremona and Milan.

XXII. That the Duke of Vendosme shall hold the County of St. Paul with the same Right that he possess'd it before the War.

XXIII. That the King of France shall hold Hesdin till it be determined whose Right it is.

XXIV. That in the Cause of Henry de la Britt, pretended King of Navarre, Francis shall not interpose himself otherwise than a Pacifier; nor in the War that shall be for this Cause betwixt them; nor that he shall take any part.

XXV. That the King shall give unto the Emperor a Writing in due form, in which shall be declar'd, that Madam Jene, Daughter to Henry de la Britt, doth swear that she will not consent unto the Marriage agreed with William Duke of Cleve; and that she never consented to it.

XXVI. That the King of Romans (that was the principal Person in composing this Peace) shall enter into, and be comprehended in it; as likewise all other Christian Princes and Republicks that will, keeping the Obedience and Submission that of Right they owe unto the Emperor. This being sign'd and seal'd by the Emperor and French King, and the other above-nam'd, these following Articles were added:

XXVII. That Francis should restore to the Heir of René Prince of Orange the Principality thereof in that manner that Philibert Chalon enjoy'd it.

XXVIII. That to Philip Croy Duke of Arschot, entire satisfaction should be made for all his pretensions, according to the last Treaty of Cambray.

XXIX. That the King shall restore to the Duke all the Goods that on his Fathers and Mothers side belong'd to him in France.

XXX. That if Maximilian of Burgundy gain his Suit in Law, the Places belonging to him shall be restor'd.

XXXI. That the Ransom which George of Austria promis'd, shall be annull'd and made void.

And this was the substance of the League concluded at Crespie, 19 of September, 1544. Be- Sept. 19.

sides which Articles, I find by some, that it was agreed, they should defend the ancient Religion, and reform the Court at Rome: Whereof the Pope being advertis'd, was not yet much troubled; as knowing their Interests so diverse, that they could not long concur. Nevertheless, he hastened the intended Council at Trent, both as the Emperor desir'd it, and as he thought it safer to reform himself, than to be reform'd. Therefore, having understood that both the Emperor had commanded the Divines of Lovain to reduce Religion into some Method and Articles; and Francis also had enjoyn'd the like to the Sorbonists; he without more delay appointed the Council to begin March 15. 1545. and his Legates there to be Giovanni Maria di Monte, Bishop-Cardinal di Palestina, Marcello Cervino Priest-Cardinal di Santa Croce, Reginald Poole Deacon-Cardinal di Santa Maria, (all faithful to him, but Marcello most vers'd in Affairs,) with Instructions at first, only to observe the Emperors Motions, and govern themselves accordingly. For as he knew the Diet at Worms would shortly follow, he thought it concern'd him to be attentive; and the rather, that he was jealous lest the Emperor, French King, and Protestants should agree upon some form of setting Religion among themselves, and not a little fearful also lest our King should intervene: Besides it troubled him much how to comport himself with the Assembly at Worms, as doubting, that if he sent a Legate thither, he might be neglected: Wherefore he commanded the Cardinal Alexander Farnese (his Grand-child) to take that place as in his way to the Emperor, and his Nuncio resident with Ferdinand, to go along with him to the Diet. And now to shew he proceeded really in calling a Council, he gives his Legates order to repair to Trent, with Authority (according to a Bull fram'd for that purpose) to propose, determine, and conclude all that was necessary for extirpation of Heresie, to reform the

1544.

gates go again to Trent.

1544. the Church, to settle Peace among Christian Princes, &c. by the consent of the Council. Besides which, he gave them a particular *Breve* to prolong, transfer, or dissolve it, being the *Arcanum* of keeping all in his Arbitrement: Nor made he difficulty to begin with a few *Italian* Bishops only of his Party, as thinking they would be the better prepar'd when the rest came in.

But to return now to the Emperor: The Treaty betwixt him and *Francis* being concluded, he sent to *Spain* to be resolv'd by the Prince and his Council, which of the two Marriages were most convenient. But all came to nothing by the death of the Duke of *Orleans*, within eight months following: Howbeit, some places taken on either side were restor'd, and the Emperors Auxiliary Forces before *Monstruel* commanded to retire. Which being done, he went shortly after to *Bruxels*, whither his Sister the Queen of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, and the two Sons of *Ferdinand* came to him. And now our King expostulating the matter with the Emperor; he, for excusing himself, as well as satisfying our King, pretended to make some overture concerning the receiving him into the League, as will appear hereafter; yet so, as it is probable he did not much labour to effect it. The Count of *Bures* and the *Germans* being now departed (but not the Duke of *Albuquerque* and some *Spaniards*, who (against the Emperors will) remain'd in our Camp) the King commanded the Duke of *Norfolk* (who had made Inroads into the Country with good Success) to raise the Siege from before *Monstruel*, and retire to him. And now finding the season to be far advanc'd, and little else to be done, our King (after he had Knighted certain Persons of worth) prepar'd to be gone, leaving the Lord *Lisle* to command *Boulogne* with sufficient Forces, and directions what to do upon all occasions.

Sept. 30. And thus the 30th of September, he took Shipping at *Boulogne*, and return'd: The news whereof, being brought to the *Daulphin* (who a good while since had rais'd a puissant Army) made him to advance. But the *Avant-Coureurs* were no sooner descried near the Town, but the two Dukes and Lord *Privy Seal* (who were left behind with the Army) made ready to fight, sending first yet some to offer Skirmish; but the

Octob. 1. *French-men* fled. Our Army hereupon marching in good order to *Calais* (where Shipping attended them) the *Daulphin* six days after attempted between force and stratagem to surprise *Boulogne*. For, being advertis'd by a Spy that our Approaches were not yet slighted or levelled, nor any of the three breaches in the upper Town repair'd, and that the lower Town in many places lay open, he doubted not but to take it, and in it a great part of the Ordnance and Munition which our King left there.

Octob. 9. Thus coming near with all his Forces about Midnight, he commanded *Fouquesolles*, *Tais*, *Monluc*, & *Andelot*, *Noailles*, and certain *French* and *Italian* Troops under *P. de Maria* and others, in sufficient number, to give on. These with their shirts over their Armour, coming suddenly near the lower Town, sent some before, who (as if in favour of us they would have given the Alarm) cry'd *Bowes, Bowes*: Hoping thus, that our Men, suspecting nothing, would open the Gates, and thereby give them means to seize on it till the rest did enter. The Invention was good, and had it been handfomly pursu'd, might have endangered us. But *Tais* and the *Italians* entering the lower Town in greater number than that they could be suppos'd People in their Shirts, that rose to give their fellows warning, Alarm was

given. Nevertheless, they so surpris'd our Sentinels, as they kill'd all they met, and rifled the Houses without much opposition, because the Pioneers (chiefly) and Victuallers of the Camp (who had no Arms to defend themselves) were quarter'd there; our Soldiers scarce sufficing to defend the Breaches and Gaps of the upper Town. Howbeit, divers of our Men escaping, ran to the gate of the upper Town, and there demanded Arms wherewith to defend themselves; which therefore were cast to them over the Walls in such quantity, as now taking Courage, they fell on the *French* and *Italians* with that fury, as they kill'd *Monsieur de Fouquesolles*, and divers others who resisted, and chas'd the rest, wounding *Monsieur de Tais*, and taking divers Prisoners: And this was the success of the attempt on the upper parts of low *Boulogne*. As for that towards the Sea, which *Monluc* undertook, not without hope (it seems) to fire some of our Ships, the *French* prosper'd as little, as being kill'd and taken in great number: Only for *Monluc* himself, it may be doubted where he was in either of these Fights, since he makes no particular mention of them, nor gives any good account of his Person. For though he saith, he came to the *Italians*, that made a stand near the Church, it must be before our Men fell on them. As for his Allegation, that some of the *English* ran away, they were no other than some part of the *Corps de Gard*, which went to advertise the rest; and for his telling the colours of our Pioneers Clothes (for testimony that he saw them in the dark) it makes little for him, since with more honour he might have told the colours of our Soldiers Liveries, which were far different, had he seen them. Howsoever, he might stay safely in the lower Town after the slaughter committed by *Tais* and the *Italians*, till our Men (as is before-mentioned) returning with Arms from the upper Town, gave them the chase; who yet could not have defeated them entirely, had not those of the upper Town sallied forth of their Breaches at last, to second them. A little before which time, *Monluc*, suspecting (it seems) that the *English* (upon the Alarm given) would fall on him, desir'd (as he confess'd himself) the *Italians* to make good their Stand, while he kept one of the Breaches from being possess'd by the *English*. But our *English* now charging *Monluc*, went further than it or the Town. Howbeit, to shew his care, he saith that he sent an Horseman back, to know what was become of the *Italians*. But he returning answer, that they were in the Church, or dead, *Monluc* and some other *French* provided for themselves. For now Sir *Thomas Poynings* with a fresh Troop of *English* out of the upper Town had charg'd them. *D'Andelot*, *Noailles*, and divers others hereupon were advis'd by *Monluc* to save themselves; as also certain Ensigns, who following his Counsel, got up the Hill towards their Army, while himself and a few with him, pass'd a shallow water, and so escap'd by a longer, but a safer way. And thus the *Daulphin*, who prepar'd to send Succours, meeting the Run-aways, desisted, and the Town was sav'd. But *Monluc*, to defend himself, saith, that for all the fear, he kept his wits still about him, or else he had been in danger never to have been *Mareschal of France*. And to commend (it seems) his direction in running away, he shews how necessary it is for a Man in danger not to be afraid; and says, that all the Ensigns had been lost, had he not advis'd them to be gone; and that his Counsel preserv'd all: And such *Rodomontades* as these did this *Gascon* use, who (it seems) was a braver Man by

1544. by Day, than by Night. All which I have more particularly observ'd out of our Histories and Records, because, notwithstanding his shameful flight, he strives so much to vilifie our Nation. But how he behav'd himself in this Action, may appear by the *Dauphin's* jeering him at his return, as himself confesseth; it being certain, that though he came in later than his Fellows, it was not because he stay'd longer there, but that he went a further way about. But *Montluc* to excuse himself, said, it was the *Dauphin's* fault, that he came not in with his whole Army: And therein he spoke rationally; for had the first Attempt been well seconded, he must have carry'd the Town in all likelihood, our Breaches being open, and Men surpris'd. Nor had he better fortune at *Guifnes*, and other places which the *French* hop'd to take in; for being beaten thence, he was constrain'd with his Army to retire, without doing more for this year. Nevertheless, *Francis* had recourse to those wonted Arts, by which as much as by Arms, he always advantaged himself: Therefore he desired that his Ambassadors and the Emperors might meet with our King's at *Calais*, to treat of a general Accord. Which offer being accepted, the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *William Paget* were sent thither: But their desire being, that *Boulogne* might be first restor'd, the Earl of *Hertford* reply'd, he had no such Commission, and so broke off the Treaty: The Imperialists seeming nothing scandaliz'd, that it had no better effect.

While Affairs pass'd thus in *France*, *Barbarossa* did much spoil on the Coasts of *Italy*; taking Towns, and carrying Captives of both Sexes to the Grand Seigneur at *Constantinople*, where he shortly after died of a Calenture, being above eighty years old: A great Age for such a Pirate as spent almost all his time in fighting either with Men, or the fiercest Elements. There happen'd also in *July*, this year, upon the Coasts of *Gallicia*, a Sea-fight between the *Spanish* and *French*, in which the *Spaniard*, under the command of *Don Alvaro Bazan* (Father of the famous *Marquis de Santa Cruz*) was Superiour, three thousand *French* (as *Sandoval* hath it) being kill'd.

The Emperor now in his wonted necessity for Money, was advis'd by his Council to seise on the Revenues of the Church: For which also he obtain'd a *Breve* from the Pope. Yet, as he would hear what the Religious Persons of that Kingdom could object, he admitted their Deputies, who said, the right of the Church Goods was rather Divine than Humane; that the Church was *Christ's Spouse*, and should be deck'd gloriously; that ancient *Rome* was Mistress of the World heretofore, by *S. Augustine's* Confession, because the People were so devout to their Gods, and so much honour'd Religion: Which reasons yet (it was thought) would not have prevail'd, had he not found other ways to have supply'd his wants. Nevertheless, his Son *Philip* the Second seised on them, though in his Will he commanded them to be restor'd.

The glorious return of our King from *Boulogne* gave much satisfaction to his Subjects: Yet, as he had drawn a puissant Enemy against him, he took order to fortifie his Kingdom. And because the River of *Thames* was chiefly to be secur'd, he caus'd some Fortifications to be rais'd at *Gravesend*, as also at *Tilbury*, and afterwards at *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and many other places: He took also an exact account of all his Ordnance, which he distributed in the most necessary places, lest upon an Invasion, his Magazine being in the Tower of *London* only, the remedy should come too late. I find also by our Records, that there were certain

small pieces of Artillery, not unlike our Drakes, for defence of his Waggon, of his own Invention, as also certain forms of Bulwarks; for he was a great Soldier, and besides, of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kinds now daily appear'd: The Pistol, among others, coming this year first in request among the *French* Horse; but not the *Spanish*, whose manner is, not to leave their ancient forms easily, when yet it were for their advantage.

Let us look a while on *Scotland*.

About the time that *Lenox*, on our Kings part, invaded the West of *Scotland*, as is formerly related, our Men on the other side entred the Country, and took *Jedburgh*, *Kelfo*, and other places, and then *Coldingham*: Which being advertis'd to the Governor and Cardinal, they brought an Army of about eight thousand, and some Artillery, to recover the Town. But the Governor suspecting (as it was thought) some treachery among his Men, posted away suddenly: Which caus'd such a consternation in the *Scots*, that they likewise were ready to Disband, and leave the Artillery then planted in battery against the Sreepie, had not the Earl of *Angus* staid some, and with their help conducted it safe to *Dunbar*. This news was brought to our King at his return from *Boulogne*; at which time also the Earl of *Lenox* came to Court, and acquainted him with his late Actions, and the Affairs of *Scotland*: Whereupon, the said Earl, the Lord *Dacres*, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* were dispatch'd thither with competent Forces. For, though at the request of the *Scots* by Sir *George Meldre* (sent to him when he was before *Boulogne*) King *Henry* had granted Truce for a time; yet being newly provok'd, he resolv'd a War. These entering *Scotland* on the West Border, took *Dunfrise*, and brought home great Spoils; constraining also the People of those parts to condescend to a Treaty, and give Hostages for the observing thereof. Our Men puff'd up with this good Success, resolve upon another Expedition. Whereupon, Sir *Ralph Evers* (now Lord *Evers*, and Warden of the East-Marches) and Sir *Bryan Layton*, this Winter spoiling *Tiviot-dale*, and other places, and afterward returning to *London*, requir'd a reward for their Service: Which, by the Duke of *Norfolk's* Advice, being as much ground as they could win from the *Scots*, they entred the next Spring (1545.) but were defeated, and slain in great number at *Ancrum*; and among them *Evers* himself, a brave Lord: Divers also were taken Prisoners, and particularly, one *Read*, Alderman of *London*; which, that it may not seem strange, I have thought fit to tell the occasion: Our King, for supply of his wants, having appointed certain Commissioners to receive a Benevolence from his Subjects, they began at *London* with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; among whom, *Read* refusing to pay his share, was sent in this Expedition, with so ill success to it and himself, as at last, he paid more than the Money impos'd on him, in a Ransom. As for others, they excus'd themselves by their penury, in regard the King had taken up so much Corn from them for his use this year, without repaying the price as yet; so that in effect this Benevolence pass'd with much grudging.

The *Dauphin* and *French* Army being retir'd, as is formerly related, Monsieur *de Biez* Marechal of *France*, having gather'd some fourteen thousand Men together, encamp'd the 26th of *January*, 1545. near *Portet*, a little Creek of the Sea, about half a Mile from *Boulogne*; yet as he had the River of *Pont-de-Brique* betwixt him and the Town, it was not easie to dislodge him. His design was to build a Fort there, for holding the Haven of *Boulogne* in Subjection: Which the Earl of *Hertford*

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Pistols first us'd by the *French*.

Affairs of *Scotland*. June.

English invade *Scotland*.

And are defeated. Mar. 1545.

January.

Alderman *Read* sent to the Wars for refusing to pay the benevolence.

Jan. 26.

1544.
Holinshead.

Francis
sends for-
ces to the
assistance
of the
Scots.

His Power
at Sea.

The French
land in the
Isle of
Wight.

July 18.

And are
routed.

ford understanding, assembled four thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse out of the Garisons adjoyning, and with these constrained Biez to retire to *Hardelet*, by the way charging him often with that fury, as he kill'd many, took two Brass Pieces, and five Iron, and much Baggage, and with it some of Monsieur de Biez his Armour. And now Francis finding that these Enterprises succeeded not, makes huge preparations to recover the Town; hoping together to win *Calais*, and wholly to expulse the English from those parts. Therefore he sent to Scotland Monsieur de la Brosse, and afterwards the Seigneur de Lorges, with an Army to joyn with the Scots for invading our Northern parts. On the other side, that he might shew how strong he was by Sea, he commanded a great Fleet to be equipp'd; for which purpose Paulin (his old Negotiator in Turkey) brought with him five and twenty Gallies from the Levant: The Pope not omitting also to furnish his part: So that he had in all an hundred and fifty great Ships, and sixty of the lesser sort, besides Gallies; his design being to keep *Boulogne* from being relieved by Sea, while the Land-Forces besieged it. He thought fit to begin yet with erecting the Fort before *Boulogne*, which being to be finish'd (as was promis'd him) by Monsieur de Biez, before mid-August, he meant with a puissant Army to entrench himself before the Town: Having for this purpose sent to levy twelve thousand Landskenets, and six thousand Italians; with which, and his own Forces, he doubted not to recover all the places we held in France. Lastly, for the more encouraging his Men, he resolv'd in Person to be in, or at least, not far from his Army. Coming thus to *Havre de Grace*, and commanding his Fleet to set Sail, his fairest Ship (being of eight hundred Tun) taking fire, suddenly was burnt; yet the rest went on, under the command of Monsieur d'Annebault, Admiral of France. Coming thus to *S. Hellens Point*, on our Coast, Paulin, with four Gallies was sent to discover the Isle of Wight, and the countenance of our Men: Whereupon, sixty of our ships coming out of the Haven of *Portsmouth* in good order, exchanged some shot with the French, till night parted them. The next day, the Ship which carried their Money, sank, the Money being hardly sav'd. But one of our Ships through accident was lost. Our King this while being come to *Portsmouth*, as knowing of what consequence the place was, assembles Men from all parts under the command of his Lieutenant the Duke of Suffolk: The French yet landed in three several places in the Isle of Wight; but were as soon repuls'd: Whereupon, d'Annebault having the wind fair, advis'd concerning fighting with us in the Haven at *Portsmouth*: But the Channel being thought too narrow for them to enter in any great number, they consulted of taking the Isle of Wight: But as it was requisite again to build many Forts for keeping thereof, they found that both Men and time would be wanting. However, they resolv'd to take in fresh Water; which the Chevalier d'Aux with some Men attempting, was kill'd, and they routed; as also some others who landed afterwards in *Suffex*. These bad successes made the French cross over to *Portet* near *Boulogne*, where they landed four thousand Soldiers, and all the Pioneers which they brought with them to fortifie those places they should have taken in England. And now the wind blowing from the Land, they set sail again for our Coast; which our King understanding, commanded his Fleet (being an hundred Sail) to offer fight to them; which the French also had charge to accept; their King not fearing to lose his hired Ships, as long as he had Money to procure others: The only difficulty was, in regard of the

Currents, how to use both Ships and Gallies together; for in Calms, when the Gallies made way, the Ships could not stir; and without them they durst not encounter us. And now the French Fleet having gotten a small wind, and their Gallies coming on, made towards us, but the wind slackning again, their Gallies fell off; wherewith the wind coming about, and our Fleet investing them, an hot fight of two hours pass'd betwixt them: But the night parting them, the French retir'd suddenly to *Havre de Grace*, and appear'd no more. Our Admiral yet went to *Treport* in Normandy, where landing, he burnt the Suburbs, took divers Barks out of the Haven, and so return'd. D'Annebault, as soon as he came on shoar, went to the King at *Arques* the sixteenth of August, expecting the Fort should be finish'd before *Boulogne*; but it was begun eight days only before, and in another place, call'd *Outreau*, near low *Boulogne*, whence they might indeed annoy the Town, but not command the entry into the Haven. But Monsieur de Biez assuring the King yet it would be put in defence within eight days more, the French Army march'd on, being four and thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, who shortly after encamp'd upon Mount *Lambert*, being so near *Boulogne*, as they could shoot into it with their great Ordnance. The King yet was not in the Army, nor nearer than the Abby of *Ferrest Montier*, which was eleven Leagues off, whither his Son Charles Duke of Orleans coming, died (as is before touch'd) of a Pestilent Fever. This made him send shortly after Claude de Annebault, and others, to the Emperor, to renew his Alliance some other way. But the Emperor, who had now engag'd our King and Francis to a War, and therein reveng'd himself on both, thought it safer to be Neuter, than to declare himself either way: Howbeit, he told the French Ambassadors, that he would not begin with their Master. In the mean while, the English Garison in *Calais* and *Guifnes*, making continual Inrodes, kill'd Monsieur *Dampierre*, and defeated his Men; which, together with the dry answer receiv'd from the Emperor, made Francis to retire to an Abbey near *Amiens*; his Army yet continuing before *Boulogne*, without adventuring to lay close Siege unto it. Only, as all the young Nobles and Gallants of the French Court came thither, divers Skirmishes pass'd; in one of which, Francis Duke d'Aumale, eldest Son to the Duke of Guise, receiv'd a blow with a Lance between the Eye and the Nose, which entered (as the French Writers have it) half a foot into his Head, and there broke: Nevertheless, he coming off, endur'd the taking it out, and was recover'd; divers others of their principal Persons yet being kill'd. And now our King resolving to dislodge them, sent into Germany to levy ten thousand Lanskenets, and four thousand Horse: Who thereupon coming to *Fleurines* in the County of *Leige*, requir'd their pay, as was promis'd; but it not coming at the time appointed, they seised on our Commissioners, and return'd, without permitting them to depart till they were satisfied. This while Monsieur de Biez, being commanded to enter *Terre d'Oye*, took a little piece of fortified ground; which our Men coming to recover, were encountered by his Horse, and defeated: Yet so, as (though far less in number) they kill'd many of their Enemies. The Garison of *Boulogne* finding the French Army thus departed, enterpris'd the taking of the Fort; but it was well defended, and they with some loss constrain'd to retire. The French Army also, through the much rain that fell, was forc'd to leave *Terre d'Oye*, being a marshy ground, and full of deep Ditches: Besides, our Men gathered towards them. And now this puissant Army returning

1544. turning toward *Boulogne*, did not think fit to besiege it: Which may seem the stranger, in that we neither had Forces in a readines to fight with them, nor so strong a place to defend, but that half their Army (according to reason of War) might have carry'd it in a short space: Therefore they encamp'd themselves only before *Portet*, until the Fortification were finish'd. This slackness made our Men so adventrous, that an Enterprize of theirs succeeded ill, as shall be told the year following.

July 2. Monsieur de *Lorges* (formerly mentioned) having brought his Auxiliary Forces (being five thousand Men) July 2. 1545. into *Scotland*, many Incursions were made. Their Army yet incamped no nearer on the *English* side than *Tuede*; yet as they pass'd it often, much harm was done. Whereupon the King sent the Earl of *Hertford* with twelve thousand Men to *Scotland*; who destroying all the Towns on the middle Marches, pass'd thence to the West, and committed great spoils: In requital whereof, the *Scots* shortly after attempted to enter *England* on the East Borders; but were defeated, and many made Prisoners, and among them the Lord *Humes* his Son, and a *French* Commander; and not long after the Lord *Maxwell's* Son: But they had their revenge, for five hundred *English* attempting the West Borders of *Scotland*, for the most part were taken or slain.

While our King was thus in War with *France* and *Scotland*, he and the Emperor were not in very good terms; Ships being arrested on either side; upon occasion (as I gather) that a *Spanish* Ship, coming from *St. Domingo* in the *West-Indies*, was taken by the *English*. But we had likewise our complaints. Concerning which therefore a Meeting was appointed at *Borborch* in *Flanders*; also about taking certain Imposts rais'd by the Emperor, contrary to the old Treaty of Commerce; which yet was little regarded, the Emperor endeavouring now nothing more than to get Money. Which the Protestants understanding, and fearing he would make use thereof to invade them, did easily accept an intimate request from *Francis*, for mediating a Peace betwixt our King and him: Whereupon, they sent to *France*, *Veninger*, *Bruno*, and *John Sturmius*; and to *England*, *Barnbach* and *John Sleidan* the Historian, who at length obtaining that Commissioners on both sides should meet near *Ardres*, two Months were spent in unuseful Propositions; so that they return'd without effecting any thing. Our King, besides that he would have *Ardres* for quitting the Arrears of his Pension, being neither willing to restore *Boulogne*, nor to suffer the *Scots* to be comprehended in the Treaty.

Novemb. And now the Emperor fearing lest a Peace should be made without him, thought fit to mediate (at least in appearance) an Accord, on this occasion; King *Henry* having sent the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster*, and Sir *Edward Carne* to clear some Articles of the Treaty of 1543. Feb. 11. 1544. with *Charles*, *Francis* about the same time had sent the Admiral d' *Annebault* thither, as is before related. Whereupon therefore he propos'd a General Treaty, though faintly, and in such terms that it took no effect.

Fix. This while, Archbishop *Cranmer* making his advantage of *Winchesters* absence, endeavoured a further Reformation; which also our King once condescended to, and gave order for in great part: But before it was brought into Act, the King receiv'd Letters from him, that the League mediated by the Emperor would not proceed, if he suffer'd any Innovation; and so nothing was done. Little more happen'd this year worth relation (for home events) besides the Parliament business (whereof hereafter) but the Death of *Charles*

Brandon Duke of *Suffolk*, Great Master of the Kings Household, a right hardy Gentleman (as our Historians term him;) yet withal so discreet and affable, as he was belov'd of all sorts, and his Death much lamented. Our King, for his more Honour, causing him (at his own charge) to be honourably bury'd at *Windsor*.

I shall return now to declare the Proceedings in matter of Religion among the Germans, and in the Council of *Trent*.

The Emperor with much industry and cunning having procur'd a War between our King and *Francis*, did now leave them to decide their own Affairs, while himself attended wholly his occasions in *Germany*; his designs there being much facilitated by the recession of the *Turk*, who leaving the pursuit of his Conquests in these Northern Parts, meant to dilate himself in the warmer Climes of *Asia*: So that the Emperor having no more business, accounted this year the most quiet of many that had preceded: Though yet he were not exempt from sundry Cares, some Wars, and the Gout. And now, as he pretended principally to compose the differences of Religion, many Offices were pass'd with the Pope for advancing the Council; which had its beginning and progress after this manner:

The thirteenth of *March* 1545. the Cardinal del Monte and Cardinal *Santa Croce* being receiv'd by the Cardinal of *Trent*, made their publick Entry into the City: But no Prelate being yet come, they sent to *Rome*, to desire that their restriction in the Bull (to the consent of the Council) might be taken away, and absolute power given to propose, determine, &c. as is before recited: Which the Pope granted. The place chosen was the Cathedral Church, capable of about 400 Persons. Ten days after, *Diego de Mendoza* the Emperors Ambassador in *Venice* came, and shew'd his Instructions; being, First, to promise that the *Spanish* Bishops should shortly be present: Secondly, to procure, that Reformation in Discipline and Manners should be handled before Points of Doctrine. The Legates hereupon sent to the Pope to have publick Dispatches (when occasion were) to shew *Mendoza*, and other private Letters to follow. The eighth of *April*, *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors came, the number of Bishops yet being very few. The first Controversie was concerning the *Spanish* Ambassadors pretence to precede the Cardinal of *Trent*: But the business was order'd so as no advantage appear'd. This preparative for a Council being divulg'd, produced divers and contrary effects; some resolving to believe all they said, others little or nothing, others again intending to distinguish those parts that pleas'd them, from the rest. Howsoever, the Protestants in the Diet of *Worms* protested against it, as partial and factious: While *Francis*, for the more endearing it, proceeded with Arms against the few *Waldenses* that remain'd in his Kingdom, in that violent manner, as without other warning or instruction, he permitted his Soldiers (having first committed all insolence in the mountain parts where they dwelt, towards *Provence* and *Languedoc*) to destroy more than four thousand Persons which made no resistance. In the mean time, the Cardinal of *Trent*, for the more security of his City, desir'd a Garison from the Pope: But was answer'd, that the Council could not then seem free; which more importuned him, than the safety of the City did the Cardinal. Matters being thus advanc'd, Cardinal *Pool* came, and speech was had of opening the Council. But as the Popes designs tended another way, he sent the Cardinal *Alessandro Farnese*, his Grandchild, to the Emperor now at *Worms*, to offer a

1545. Death of C. Brandon D. of Suffolk.

Proceedings of the Council of Trent.

* Mar. 23. † Mar. 27

The Protestants protest against them at the Diet of Worms. Mar. 24.

Source.

1545. large contribution of Men and Money for suppressing of Hereticks; promising also to procure help from other Italian Princes; and to proceed with Spiritual and Temporal Arms. He represented also how ill the Pope took the late Speech of a National Council, and that the Emperor in this Diet had promis'd another for the settling of Religion, in case the Council of Trent took no order therein; in the mean while protesting, that he would sooner yield up his Keys to Saint Peter, than suffer such an Affront. Besides which, he had private Instructions to procure that the right of Inheritance of Parma and Piacenza might be invested in his Brother Ottavio, Son to Pietro Aloysio Farnese (natural Son to the Pope) now Duke thereof, in regard the said Ottavio had married Marguerite natural Daughter to the Emperor: Which at last also, upon the exchange of Camerino, was granted. And now towards the end of May, there were twenty Bishops, five Generals of Orders, and one Auditor de la Ruota assembled; yet as the Council began not, the Pope being desirous first to see the success of the Diet at Worms, the Bishops desir'd to be gone, but were not permitted. Nevertheless, Mendoza return'd to his former Ambassage at Venice, desiring nothing might be done in his absence. The Bishops also weary of their stay, or expence, resolv'd at last to depart: Which the Pope taking notice of distributed some Money among them. This while Herman Archbishop of Cologne, having made a private Reformation of Religion in his Dominions, by the means of Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon, his Clergy oppugning it, complain'd to the Emperor, who cited the Archbishop: With which, though the Pope was offended, yet he did not so much expostulate the matter with the Emperor, as desire to conserve his own Authority: Therefore he cited the Archbishop too.

May. 1543. Archbishop of Cologne begins a Reformation.

1544. June.

July 18.

And now in the Diet at Worms the Emperor requir'd aid against the Turk; which the Protestants refus'd (as fearing it would be employ'd against them) unless first good security were given for Peace in the Empire, and that this Council at Trent should be no prejudice to them. But to this the Emperor answer'd, that he could not exempt them from the authority of the Council (especially, being call'd for their sakes;) yet if they had any just objections against it, that they should come and produce them openly in the Council, and they should have an equal hearing. But the Princes and confederate Cities continuing to except against it, protested those were not to judge of their Cause, who had already condemn'd it: Therefore, if a Council were had, they should make one part, and Pope and Roman Catholics the other: And as for the manner and order, that the Emperor and Princes should be Judges; but for the merit of the Cause, that it should be determined only by the word of God. The Emperor finding thus no likelihood of Peace, dissembled his displeasure till he had made Peace with the Turk, (which he did by the means of Francis, this year, in October.) And so the Diet ended the fourth of August, with a Decree to hold another at Ratisbonne in January following. For which purpose there should be a Conference of four Doctors and two Judges on either part, in December, to prepare matters of Religion against that time. And now the Protestants put forth a Book, in which they again rejected the Council, saying, it was not assembled in Germany (as was promis'd,) but in Trent, and by the Popes power and command, without other pretext that it could be thought to be in Germany, than because the Bishop of Trent was a Prince of the Empire: Besides, that the Pope (being a Party) should not preside in it. Therefore, that the form and manner of holding

Aug. 4.

Staid. Cmc. Trid. Arguments of the Protestants against the Council of Trent.

a Council should be first discuss'd, and whence it had its Authority. But this reference of the Emperor to a future Diet, as it displeas'd the Pope and his Legates, since the Council was imminent, and appointed for deciding Controversies; so it made the Bishops again take leave to be gone: And in effect, by the end of September few remain'd. The Pope finding these difficulties, knew not well what to resolve; yet when motion was made for holding it in Germany, he refus'd, but sent to the Emperor to advise with him concerning the opening the Council, or suspending it, or transferring it to Italy. The Emperor (as Affairs then stood) not much approving any of these Propositions, at last (in October) gave consent the Council should open: Yet so, as they should treat of matter of Reformation, and not of Doctrine, for fear of provoking the Protestants. This, again, gave the Pope no little jealousy, lest the Emperor would make his Ecclesiastical Authority obnoxious to the Diet and Conference. Howbeit, he commanded the Council should begin the thirteenth of December: The French Prelates, being but three, having written to their King most of these Passages, were sent for home; yet, at the intercession of the other Bishops, two remain'd. The thirteenth of December being come, the Legates (after a solemn Feast and Procession) meeting in the Cathedral, open'd the Council, The Council declaring, that it was assembled for three Causes: 1. Destroying Heresie. 2. Reforming Discipline. 3. Settling Peace: Exhorting the Bishops to labour seriously herein. After which, the Emperors Instructions to Mendoza (formerly mentioned) being again exhibited, the Legates said, they would advise thereof: And so appointing the next Session to be held January seventh following, they arose, and presently sent to the Pope, declaring what was done, and desiring to know how they should begin; whether with Heresies, and if so, whether they should touch the Heresies, or Persons, or both? Whether they should send forth a Declaration that the Council was begun, and invite the Princes and Nations that would, to come? Whether they should hasten or delay their Proceedings: In what manner the Suffrages were to be collected? &c. The eighteenth of December they met in Congregation, and began to treat of a Reformation of Manners, Habits, &c. The Pope hearing thus the Council was open'd, writes, that concerning the matters to be handled, he is not yet resolv'd; in the mean time, that they should insist on the usual Preambles: That they should follow in their manner of Suffrages, the last Lateran Council: That they should invite no Prince or Prelate, since the Indiction of the Council was sufficient: As for the charges of the Bishops, some exemption from payment of Tenths was granted, and some other Benefits, and Money given to the poorer sort: All which I have set down with more particularity, that it may appear, both what a slow and uncertain beginning this great Council had, and what a different end it took, from that it now seem'd to promise.

Dec. 18.

I will conclude this year with the business of our Parliament; which began the 23 of November, 1545. Which, as it was the last the King call'd; so, supply of Money being the principal Affair, it seem'd to comprehend all that could be given, at least of other Mens; neither was there other excuse than the Kings Necessities, which every Man must think violent, when they trench'd upon the reverend Foundations of Colledges, Free-Chappels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds, and stipendiary Priests which had continuance in Perpetuity, together with all their Manors, Lands, and Hereditaments, which now the Parliament committed to the Kings dispose,

Novemb. Parliament meets.

1545. dispose, and that they should be in the order and survey of the Court of Augmentation; the Right of others being yet sav'd, and divers Provisions made. For motive whereof, the Kings great charges in his Wars with France and Scotland were alledg'd; as also the abuses of the Rulers and Governors of the said Colledges, &c. Upon which therefore, and his solemn promise to the Parliament, that all should be done to the glory of God, and common profit of the Realm, the Act pass'd.

Several Acts pass'd. In another Act it was declar'd, how offenders in Usury should be punish'd; and a certain proportion of ten in the hundred was limited. Which yet, had it been lower, would have made Lands more valuable, Merchandize and Victuals cheaper, and adventuring by Sea more frequent: That lazy way of thriving being more opposite than any thing else to that Industry by which all Kingdoms subsist and flourish.

That Doctors of the Civil Law, although Laymen, whether Married or Unmarried might exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to which they shall be deputed.

That two Churches, being not above a Mile distant, and one of them not above the yearly value of six pound, may be united into one.

That where a full Jury did not appear, a Tales might be granted *de Circumstantibus*: And this was much for the expedition of Justice.

That whereas the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Council, Lord Privy Seal, and the two chief Justices, or five, or four, or three of them should have power by their discretions to set the prises of all kind of Wines, as by the Act 28 Hen. 8. 14. appeareth: The time was now specified to be betwixt the twentieth of November and last of December: And that if any Wine-seller should sell his Wine in gross at any other price, that the Mayor, Bailiffs, Aldermen, &c. may enter into his House, and sell it according to the rate set down.

Dec. 24. A Subsidy also was granted by the Spirituality of six shillings the Pound, and by the temporality of two shillings eight pence the pound in Goods, and four shillings the pound in Lands, to be paid all within two years. And so the twenty-fourth of December the Parliament was prorogu'd: At which time, the Speaker of the Lower House making an eloquent Oration, the King in Person made this ensuing Answer; being the more memorable, for that it was both full of good Intention and Advice, and the last he ever spake in that place.

The King's last Speech to his Parliament. **A**lthough my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time us'd very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Orations as have been set forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my Heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I my self am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon me to answer your eloquent Oration (Mr. Speaker) say, that where you, in the name of our wel-belov'd Commons, have both prais'd and extoll'd me for the notable qualities that you have conceiv'd to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my Duty, which is to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a Prince or Governor should or ought to have; of which Gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren: But of such small qualities as God hath indued me withal, I render to his Goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my Wit and Diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable Vertues and Princely Qualities, as you have alledg'd to be incorporated in my Person. These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembred; I esteems thank you again, because that you considering our great charge, (not for our plea-

1545. sure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great cost which we have lately sustain'd, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortress which was to this Realm most displeasing and noysome, and shall be (by Gods Grace) hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant,) have freely of your own minds granted to us a certain Subsidy, here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving Hearts, than by your Substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence which you have put in me, as Men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good doing and just proceedings for you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Chantries, Colledges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and to the profit of the Commonwealth. Surely, if I (contrary to your expectation) should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is so great a Jewel) to be diminished, or poor and miserable People to be unreliev'd, you might say, that I being put into so special a trust as I am, in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Christian, neither a lover to the Publick-wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be serv'd more godly and goodly, than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive. Now, sith I find such kindness in your part towards me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you; affirming, that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects, than I do you; nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do; for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor (if necessity require) my Person shall not be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you wish me to be in this perfect love and concord; this friendly amity cannot continue, except both you my Lords Temporal, and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss, and far out of order; to the which I most heartily require you: Which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongst you, but Discord and Dissention beareth rule in every place; Saint Paul saith to the Corinthians, the thirteenth Chapter, Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then, what love and charity is amongst you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite and Pharisee? Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these signs of fraternal love betwixt you? No, no, I assure you, that this lack of Charity among your selves, will be the hindrance and asswaging of the fervent love betwixt us (as I said before) except this wound be sav'd and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spirituality: For if I know a Man which liveth in Adultery, I must judge him a Lecherous and Carnal Person: If I see a Man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud Man. I hear daily, that you of the Clergy preach one against another, without charity or discretion; some be too stiff in their old Mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new Sumplimus: Thus all Men, almost, be in variety and discord, and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable Persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do: Alas, how can the poor souls live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them, in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these Crimes, I exhort you, and set forth Gods Word both by true Preaching, and good Example-giving: Or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Minister here, will see these Divisions extinct, and these Enormi-

1545. Enormities corrected according to my very Duty, or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and untrue Officer. Although, I say, the Spiritual Men be in some fault that Charity is not kept amongst them: Yet the Temporality be not clear and unspotted of Malice and Envy. For you rail on Bishops, speak slanderously of Priests, and rebuke and taunt Preachers; both contrary to good order and Christian Fraternity. If you know surely that a Bishop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse Doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high Authority to reform and order such Causes and Behaviours: And be not Judges of your selves, of your phantastical Opinions and vain Expositions. In such high Causes you may lightly erre; and although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the word of God in your Mother-Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own Consciences, and to instruct your Children and Families; and not to dispute, and make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear, how unreverently that most precious Jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rim'd, sung, and jangled in every Alehouse and Tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: And yet I am even as much sorry, that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so faintly, and so coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godly living was never less us'd, nor God himself among Christians was never less reverenc'd, honour'd or serv'd. Therefore, as I said before, be in charity one with another, like Brother and Brother; love, dread, and serve God, to the which, I, as your Supream Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: And then I doubt not but that Love and League that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolv'd or broken betwixt us.

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your Commonwealth nothing reli'd. And now to your Petition concerning our Royal Assent to be given to such Acts as have pass'd both Houses, they shall be read openly, that you may hear them. And so they being read, the King assented, and rose.

1545.
Feb. 14.
Records.
Feb. 19.
Oct. 1546.
The Universities have notice that all their Colleges are at his Majesties disposal.

The Parliament thus ended, and notice given to both Universities that the Colledges were at the Kings dispose, that of Cambridge first implor'd his favour, beseeching him to defend their Possessions from the covetous and greedy minds of those who knew not Learning. That of Oxford also Petitioned to this purpose; and Doctor Richard Cox Dean of Oxford, the Princes Tutor, writ to Secretary Paget, to represent the lack of Schools, Preachers, Houses of Livings for Orphans. And since the disposition of Chantries, &c. was in the Kings hands, to obtain that the Clergy might be provided for honestly, lest Beggary should drive them to Flattery, Superstition and old Idolatry: Which (saith he) I speak not, as if I distrusted the Kings goodness, but because there are such a number of importune Wolves as are able to devour Chantries, Cathedral Churches, Universities, and a thousand times as much: Adding in conclusion, that Posterity will wonder at us. Which particulars being in an Original from Cox, I have the rather inserted, that it may be gather'd what he was, to whom the tuition of the young Prince was committed by the King. But much intreaty needed not for the Universities; for in our Records, a Letter mentions, that the Universities did humbly thank his Highness for the continuance of their Houses with their Lands; which though, I believe, the King never meant to take away, yet I find two of the Professions were in danger of being remov'd, the King having

1545. ving advis'd once of placing all the Civilians in Oxford in one Colledge, and the Physicians and Chyrurgions in another. Howsoever, nothing was stirr'd or alter'd, that I can find; the King being so far from diminishing those famous Nurseries of Learning and Piety, that he rather help'd to increase and augment them. Though yet foreign parts were astonish'd not a little, why our Parliament should put them in this hazard, they being useful on any part, and their Endowments not to be alienated without singular prejudice to their Founders; who having separated them for the service of God, and publick Education, laid heavy Imprecations on any which should divert them from that use; as appears in the ancient Charters.

The Earl of Surrey (who now commanded in Boulogne) hearing that a Convoy of Victuals was coming to the Fort at Oultrean, resolves to intercept it: But as the Rhingrave with four thousand Lanskenets, together with many French under the Mareschal de Biez, stood firm, our Men, not able to break them, were discomfited, and Sir Edward Poynings, with divers brave Gentlemen slain; the Earl himself also being constrain'd to save himself as he could. Nevertheless, by a Letter of his to the King, Jan. 8. 1546. it appears there were many kill'd on the other side; which yet did so little satisfie our King (who lov'd no noise but of Victory) that he ever after disaffected him: For which cause also he was shortly remov'd, and the Earl of Hertford appointed to succeed. Whereupon Sir William Paget omitted not by Letter to admonish him to seek some eminent place in the Army, under the said Earls command, lest (as he said) he should be unprovided in the Town and Field. But the Earl desirous in the mean time to regain his former favour with the King, Skirmishes with the French, and puts them to the worst: But when together he certified that the French had made Canon of a greater Calibre than had been yet seen, wherewith they hop'd to beat the Town to Powder, and that it was worthy Consideration, whether low Boulogne should stand, as being not defensible, the Kings Council wish'd him to repair home, that he might be further heard concerning these Points. Whereupon the Earl of Hertford and Lord Admiral were sent over with an Army of nine thousand and three hundred Men; whereof one thousand five hundred were Spaniards, two hundred were Italians, three hundred Clervois, and three thousand Lanskenets, under Conrad Pfenning; a greater number of foreign Soldiers certainly than stood with exact reason of War, where there is no assured ground of a vertuous emulation. With these the Earl encamp'd at Hambleuse, betwixt Calais and Boulogne: For as the French intended to intercept all intercourse betwixt both places, they would have fortified there; but our Men got it two days only before they came, and built two Forts on that Coast. Some fights pass'd at Sea this while, whereof one is memorable, of seven or eight English in a small Vessel, who being master'd by a far greater number of French, entred their Ship, as pretending to save themselves out of their own Barque, which now began to sink; but finding certain Lime-pots there, they by casting water on them, rais'd such a smoak, as, through their continual throwing of them, blinded the French, and at last made them run under Hatches, where at length being shut up, their Ship was brought away. Much fighting also pass'd betwixt our Ships and the French Gallies, in Calms, while through the benefit of their Oars they took and left as they pleas'd. And now, as the Strangers in our Army began to take head, the Lanskenets mutined, not without shew of falling

Oct. 1546.
But not with design to take away their Lands.

1546. falling on the English; but the Spaniards standing firm to our side, all was compos'd.

May 21. The 21 of May the French Army came and encamp'd beyond Boulogne, near the Church on the Hill, their Fleet being in the Road under them: This made the Earl of Hertford come up and Skirmish with them. The 23^d he fought again, and

May 23. took divers Prisoners of note. And now each side attending his advantage to fight, a Surseance of War for five or six days was concluded, and after it a Peace: Which, that it may seem less

May 24. strange, I shall not so much alledge (for reason) that our Kings Treasure was exhausted (which the French pretend,) as that the consideration of the imminent Council gave all Christian Princes occasion to desire good intelligence among themselves, and our King particularly; who was advis'd, that Cardinal Poole and others would labour to procure a Decree against him and his Posterity: Which, though our King regarded not otherwise than became a Prince of his Courage; yet he thought it more considerable than the Popes single Bull; therefore he endeavour'd to get him Friends: And because he was in good terms already with the Emperor, who for the settling of Religion eachwhere mediated a General Peace, he thought fit also to take in Francis; and the rather, that among certain private Conventions in the following Treaty, Francis had promis'd his assistance on all occasions: And thus the Peace took effect. Which I find was so politicly handled by our King, that had his Predecessors observ'd the rule he now held, the French Writers could never have so much gloried in their Treaties. For as he capitulated to hold the Town for eight years next ensuing, he got the present advantage; which as the eternal Maxim in matter of Treaties, to frame Counsels by, I recommend to the Genius of our Country; since by the practice thereof only, I dare say, the French have usurped and won so much upon us; as knowing it impossible, but that betwixt Neighbouring Princes, in a little space, those occasions may be found or urg'd, which will help them to come off whenever they are dispos'd. There will be no danger therefore to retort this Maxime: Not yet that I approve a facility in dissolving Leagues, which should be inviolably kept, especially while the causes remain; but that they being dissolv'd, we may prevail our selves of the present occasion; not omitting yet any Circumstances, to which in point of Oath and Honour we are oblig'd. This present Treaty (concluded the seventh of June, 1546. at Campe, a place betwixt Ardres and Guisnes) was of this Tenor:

I. That all Injuries and Affronts since the beginning of the last War, should be forgotten, and Peace and Friendship re-establish'd.

II. That neither should invade, nor procure, nor permit to be invaded any of the Dominions, or Lands, or Cities which are now in the hands of the other.

III. That the Subjects of one shall have free commerce through the Dominions of the other, and free passage without safe conduct, so they exceed not the number of an hundred arm'd Persons.

IV. That during this Peace all Impositions which either Prince hath laid on the Subjects of the other, within twenty years last past, shall be releas'd, and no new ones impos'd.

V. VI. That Rebels and Traitors shall not be entertain'd or protect'd: But deliver'd to their Sovereign within 20 days after requisition.

VII. That no Letters of Reprisals or Merque, or counter-Merque should be granted but upon and against the principal Delinquents and their Goods, and that, in case of open denial of Ju-

stice; which shall be made plain by Letters of Summonition and Requisition. And if any thing during this Peace should be done contrary to it by any Subject of either Prince, the Offenders to be punish'd, and the Peace to remain.

VIII. That the Christian King shall pay the King of England all Pensions due to him during his Life, and also to his Successors for ever, according to the Treaty at More, 30 August 1525. As also that Pension of Salt agreed on the 30th of April, 1527. and afterwards reduc'd to a certain Sum of Mony, (viz.) 10000 Crowns, which isto be paid yearly at two payments, during the natural life of Henry VIII. if the said payment appear not to be perpetual: But if it be found to be perpetual, then the French King and his Heirs and Successors shall continue the said Pension for ever.

IX. The French King shall pay to the King of England on the Feast of Saint Michael (or within ten days after that day) which shall be Anno Domini 1554. for Arrerages, as well of Pensions not paid, as for his charges in Fortifications within the Town and Country of Boulogne, since the beginning of the last War, either already rais'd, or to be built betwixt this time and the said 1554. the sum of two Millions of Crowns de Soleil; upon the payment whereof the said most Christian King shall be free from all former Arrerages whatsoever.

X. Because the King of England, by vertue of certain Letters of the French King, dated 29 Jan. 1529. claims as due unto him, the sum of 500000 Crowns de Soleil, 22 Sols and 6 Deniers: It is agreed that there shall be Commissioners appointed on both sides (within three Months hence) to hear and end that cause; which sum the King of France (if it be so adjudg'd) shall pay when he pays the two Millions aforesaid. But if the Commissioners conclude nothing, the matter shall be devolv'd to four Lawyers that are Subjects to neither Princes, to be chosen by them, and that shall stand which three of them determine.

XI. That the King of France shall suffer the King of England quietly to enjoy the Town of Boulogne, and the Castles and Territories thereof, within the Bounds following: viz. the Haven of Boulogne, with the farther shoar, as far as the highest water comes; and the Land in length as far as Pont de Bricque, which shall be the limit on that part, the River there remaining common to both Princes: All within these bounds the King of England shall quietly possess, until the King of France hath fully paid the aforesaid two Millions (as also the Sums express'd Article X.) in the time, place and manner limited.

XII. That when the said Sums are paid, at the same time the King of England shall surrender Boulogne, with all the Territories taken by him in the late War, and all Fortifications built there by him since the taking thereof, so that no Fortification shall be impair'd. Neither shall the King of England be bound hereby in the restoring of the said places, to leave behind him any Moveables.

XIII. That from the date hereof, to the day of St. Michael, 1554. neither of the two Princes shall raise any new Fortification within the County of Boulogne (but those that have been begun already they may perfect).

XIV. The Emperor is comprehended by both the Princes, by force of the perpetual Confederation.

XV. The Scots are comprehended in this Treaty, against whom the King of England shall not wage War, unless new occasion be given; in which case, this present comprehension of the Scots shall receive that interpretation which is contain'd in the Treaty of the date of April the fifth, 1515. with this alteration, that although by the said

Treaty concluded between Henry and Francis.

1546. said Treaty of 1515. fifteen days only were prescribed to the French King to intimate the said Comprehension to the Scots, yet now, by reason of the distance of place, there is allow'd the space of thirty days, next following the conclusion hereof.

XVI. This Treaty shall be ratified within forty days after the date hereof.

Commissioners for our King were,

John Viscount Lisle, Admiral;
Sir William Paget, Secretary; and
Doctor Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.

And on Francis his part,
Claude d'Annebault Mareschal and Admiral of France;

Pierre Raymond, premier President de Rouen; and
Guillaume Bouchevel, Secretary.

This Peace being proclaim'd in London upon the thirteenth of June, a general Procession was there made, and all the richest silver Crosses out of the several Parish-Churches carried, and the bravest Copes worn, for the greater Solemnity: But our Historians note it as fatal, it being the last time they were publickly us'd, since our King call'd them in shortly after, together with the Church-Plate, into his Treasury and Wardrobe, without that other cause appear'd thereof, than that he suspected the War would break out again betwixt him and Francis, of which also this overture was given.

May 25. The Earl of Hertford being certified (during the Treaty) that the Clause of not making any new Fortification, would be prejudicial, was commanded by our King immediately to raise a Fort according to a Plot given; but such was the prevention of this diligent Earl, that he had already begun it about the thirteenth of May. Our King in the mean while protesting that he liked not the Article. But the French as little liking our Fort, (as collecting thence we meant not to restore *Boulogne*) some difficulty was interpos'd. Though as our King answer'd, he could not so much as hope to keep the Town, for the term agreed, unless he had means to secure it, the Treaty held in the manner above-mentioned, and both Armies were dissolv'd; the French yet first, as our King requir'd, retiring. And so he remain'd in quiet possession thereof, after the expence (as I find in our Records) of 586718 li. 12 s. 3 d. 11. in the winning thereof. The charges in keeping thereof being 755833 li. 11 s. 3 d. 14. In all 1342552 li. 3 s. 7 d. 1. An excessive Sum, especially to reap no benefit thence, but a Landing-place in France, which *Calais* formerly afforded. This Peace was seconded by a kind Invitation of Francis to our King to Christen the Dauphin's Daughter; which being as lovingly accepted, Sir Thomas Cheyney was sent over, and the Child call'd Elizabeth. The two Admirals also were sent by their several Kings, to receive the Oaths requir'd for observance of this Treaty; and, being richly rewarded, return'd. Howbeit this Peace was not intire; for if our King conceiv'd it lawful to finish the Fort he had begun before the Treaty, the French wanted not pretexts for the like; therefore, when upon their erecting a Fort at *Portet*, near the entry to the Haven (which they call'd *Chastillons Garden*) our Men took exceptions thereat, the French for their best Title alledg'd that Monsieur de Biez, had formerly begun it by entrenching his Men there; yet as this did not satisfy our King, who knew well the difference betwixt a Trench and Fortification, he commanded Sir William Paget to write thus to William Lord Grey of Wilton, who now commanded in *Boulogne*.

Sept. 5.

After our most hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, this shall be to signify unto the same, that the Kings Majesty being inform'd that the Frenchmen begin to fortify at *Portet*, which by their Treaty with his Majesty they ought not to do, requireth your Lordship to speak with the doers of the said Works, and to tell them it shall be best for them to stay working any further, until they shall hear from their Master; which without doubt, is like to be very shortly; for that his Majesties Ambassador hath charge to speak with him in the same immediately. And in case they shall answer again, that either they will not, or dare not leave working without the knowledge of Monsieur de Biez, or (peradventure) of such other whom they shall name to have the charge of the Works; and so go forwards still in their Works: Then his Majesty pleaseth, that if you shall find your selves able enough for the feat, you shall in the night overthrow that which they have wrought. And in case you shall find your selves not able enough for the same Enterprize; then to forbear the doing of it until such time as a stronger force come to you from hence, which shall be sent over with all diligence possible.

This 5th of Septemb. 1546.

This also was sign'd by the King. Nevertheless, upon better advice, the King thought fit to send Sir Thomas Palmer with a Message to the Lord Grey, commanding him immediately to demolish the Fort; who thereupon made that haste, as before the Letters came, he arriv'd at *Boulogne*, being the very day of his dispatch; and presently, by the assistance of the Lord Grey, Mr. Poyning, and some others, the Frenchmens Work was levelled: and so Palmer return'd to certify what was done. And now the Kings Letters being delivered, the Lord Grey writes, that before the receipt of his Letters, he had (upon such relation of his Majesties pleasure, as was made by Sir Thomas Palmer) overthrown the Work at *Portet*, and therefore desires his Majesties Pardon. Which passage I have related more particularly out of our Records, that I might correct the error of some of our Historians, who would have our King deliver Palmer a Message and Letter that were contradictory: Whereas it appears by our Records, that the Message was first deliver'd, and the business done before the Letters came. Though I will not deny, but the Lords of the Council, knowing the Letter was sent, but not (perchance) any thing of the Message, might have occasion to think the Lord Grey more forward, than that he could well justify it. Howsoever, Monsieur de Biez complains hereof to the Lord Grey, and desires to know whether it were done by his Majesties command. What he answer'd, I find not: But it appears by the Instructions given to Nicholas Wotton the Kings Ambassador with Francis, that he had charge to palliate the business as handsomely as he could; which also so prevail'd, that no new Fortification was erected by the French, during our Kings time. Besides, our Records tell us, hope was now given, that Francis would renounce the Popes Authority in his Kingdom: Which, though much entertain'd at first by our King, and judg'd the more probable, that the Emperor and Pope did wholly govern the Council, was not yet so thoroughly embrac'd, lest (perchance) by Confiscations, Suppressions, &c. Francis might grow greater than stood with the interest of State or Neighbourhood: And for Paget, he said openly, it was but a trick to get *Boulogne* again; Francis being not able to give any security for performance of this offer, which might countervail the immediate surrendering of that Place. Howbeit, Arguments wanted not, that he was in earnest, both as he treated of a Confe-
deration

1546. deration with the Protestants at this time; who yet (as I find by our Records) rejected it, unless he relinquished the Papal Authority: And as he lived in such Jealousy of State with the Emperor; which together with the apprehension of the Assembly at Trent, now daily increasing, might for more than one reason dispose him to seek Friends elsewhere, as well for defending himself against his Enemies, as establishing an absolute Power and Jurisdiction at home. And with this concurs that which Fox relates: That during the stay of *d'Annebault* in this Court, Treaty was had betwixt both Princes of changing the Mass in their Realms unto a Communion: And that both were so thoroughly and firmly resolved therein, that they meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in *Flanders*, and other his Dominions, or else to break with him; and that our King particularly had willed the Archbishop *Cranmer* (as himself confessed) to pen a Form to be sent to the French King to consider of. But through the death of both Princes successively not long after, these and all other their Designs ended: Though yet for the time which remained, their former Love and Correspondence was so reviv'd, as *Francis* is said (by the French Writers) never to have rejoiced heartily after the News of our King's Death was brought him. But I leave the censure of these Passages free to the Reader's Judgment, without delivering any Opinion, otherwise than as the Collections out of our Records seem to infer.

Let us now see what was done by the Emperor, and the Council of Trent.

THE Emperor in the latter end of 1545 being in *Flanders*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Westminster* (formerly mention'd) resided with him on our King's part: And because one of the businesses of the French about this time was to offer a Match betwixt the Prince of *Spain* and the Daughter of *Francis*, our King commanded *Winchester* to hinder it, and propose the Lady *Elizabeth*. Also Speech was had of a Marriage betwixt our Prince and one of *Ferdinand's* Daughters: But because neither of these took effect, I shall mention them no otherwise. Yet the Bishop of *Westminster* return'd not home, as being employ'd by our King into *Germany*, to give intelligence of that which pass'd. For now in *January*, 1546, the Protestants met at *Frankfort*; and as they knew the Emperor intended a Voyage into *Germany*, they consulted concerning their mutual defence, knowing that both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword should be drawn against them.

This while the Assembly at Trent holding, the Breve for exempting the Bishops from payment of their Tenths came: Yet as this did rather accommodate than secure them, 300 Foot and some Horse, being gather'd out of the County of *Trent*, were appointed to make a Guard as they pass'd to Church, being now, besides the Legats and the Cardinal of *Trent*, four Archbishops, twenty eight Bishops, three Abbats, and four Generals, (in all forty three;) among which was *Richard Pace*, heretofore Ambassador to the Emperor for our King, but now fallen to the Pope, and by him stil'd Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Robert Venant*, titular Archbishop of *Armagh*; together with *Olaus Magnus*, Archbishop of *Upsale*; all which had been some Years entertain'd with Pensions from the Pope: Besides, there were about twenty Divines, which though they had no Seat in the Council, were admitted to stand there; as also ten Gentlemen the Neighbourhood, of the Cardinal of *Trent's* Election:

And moreover a Seat was particularly appointed for the Ambassadors which should assist there. And now question being of the Stile of the Council, the few French which were there, requir'd, that to *Sacro-sancta Synodus* should be added *Universalem Ecclesiam representans*; but this was rejected; both to exclude the Protestants admittance under this Title, as also all Laicks; and as it might be thought in some sort prejudicial to the Pope's Supream Authority. And so, *Jan. 7.* (being the second Session) they decreed an Exhortation to the Priests and People to serve God in Prayer, Alms, Sobriety, &c. The thirteenth *Jan. 13.* of *January* it was moved, that they would come to the Points contained in the Bull, being the Extirpation of Heresy, Reformation of Discipline, and Establishing of Peace. And concerning this, there were four Opinions.

The Imperialists said, before they touch'd matter of Doctrine, it was necessary to take away those Transgressions whence Heresies have sprung.

The second Opinion was, To begin with Doctrine, since Faith being the Basis of Religion, it was a greater Sin to err therein, than in Manners: And therefore that the Pope had placed it first in his Bull.

The third was, That the two Points of Reformation and Faith should not be disjoin'd, there being no Doctrine which hath not its Abuse, nor Abuse that draws not after it an ill Interpretation of some Doctrine. And that this was the best way to give a speedy and happy conclusion to the Council, which they should chiefly endeavour; there being no Advantage likely to ensue to the Pope or Court of *Rome* by the protracting thereof.

The fourth sort (and among them the French particularly) would have had the Point of Peace first treated of, and that other Princes might be requir'd to send their Ambassadors and Prelates thither: And that the Lutherans might be invited to come and unite themselves to the rest of *Chri-stendom*. The Legates having heard their Opinions, and commended their Wisdom, said, that because the Hour was late, the Deliberation important, and the Opinions various, they would think upon it. Order also was taken to hold their Congregations weekly on *Mondays* and *Fridays*. The Legates hereupon advertis'd the Pope of that which pass'd, desiring his Advice, and that he would take order for supporting of the poorer Bishops; it being better they should not be there, than ill satisfy'd. Howbeit, the Pope delay'd his Reply, as having his Mind wholly bent to War, according to the Treaty which Cardinal *Farnese* had with the Emperor the Year preceding. This much perplex'd the Legates, as on private Conference among themselves, they agreed to treat of matter of Faith and Reformation together; but withal, entertain'd the time, upon pretence that many Prelates were on their way. Cardinal *Poole* propos'd, that since in all ancient Councils some Symbol of Faith was published, they should do the like in this: But concerning this Symbol of Faith there was some difficulty; since to recite the old, would not convince the Lutherans, who believ'd it as well as the Catholics: Besides, that it were to confess, that they durst not handle the controverted Points, or treat of a Reformation. But upon further dispute hereof, it was resolved by the major part for the Affirmative; and in the third Session (*Feb. 4.*) the Creed was barely recited: The Cardinal *de Monte* disliking that any Point should be added afterwards, lest some Inconvenience should follow. The next Session was adjourn'd to *April*

Vol. II.

L 1

the

The Lady Elizabeth propos'd in marriage to the Prince of Spain.

Jan.

Jan. 5.

The Council of Trent consists only of 43 Persons.

1546.

Jan. 5.

Jan. 7.

Jan. 13.

Jan. 18.

Jan. 22.

Cardinal Poole proposes making a New Creed.

Feb. 4. Sef. III.

1546. the eighth, upon the aforesaid pretence, that many Prelates were on their journey.

*Cour. Trid.
ho. 2.*

The Court of Rome, who now understood of that which pass'd (though heretofore much start'd at the Name of a Reformation, as knowing not how far it might extend) yet generally lik'd this late Decree, as being worthy the Proceeding of a General Council: Others yet approving it only as it was dilatory, while there wanted not some, who took occasion to pasquil it.

Jan 27.

This while the Emperor being in *Flanders*, prepares for *Germany*, both as the Diet and Conference of Divines was appointed at *Ratisbonne*, and as the Council of *Trent* did hold: Yet, lest he should alarm the Protestants, he took with him only his ordinary Guard, being 500 Horse. And now the Conference holding, and divers Propositions being made on the Emperor's part, the Affair insisted on was matter of Religion; where the Point of Justification being brought in question, took up much time, without having other conclusion, yet, than perplex'd and abrupt: In-
 Mar. 20.

Mar. 20.

formuch, that the Duke of *Saxe* recall'd his Divines, and *Martin Bucer* return'd to the Landgrave of *Hesse*; which, whether it were that the Protestants foresaw the Emperor's Intention was to amuse them with Conferences, while himself prepar'd for War; or that otherwise they found no hope of coming to an agreement, is uncertain: Howsoever, the Emperor, when he came to the Diet, seem'd much offended at their departure; though, as during these Conferences

April.
Luther's
Death.

Martin Luther died in the *LXIII* Year of his Age, he doubted not more easily to appease Controversies, as believing *Luther* to be of so violent a Spirit, as would interrupt any moderate Accord. Howbeit, for declining an Affront, in case the Protestants should come to no Agreement at the future Diet, he made preparations for War; which yet he could not keep so secret, but the Protestants understood it, and fortify'd themselves. Whereupon also *Philip* Count Palatine, Nephew to *Frederic* the Elector, was dispatch'd into *England* to intreat for Succours: He had besides, his private business; which (as our Records tell us) was to obtain the Princess

March.

Philip
Count Pa-
latine de-
sires the
Princess
Mary in
marriage.

Mary, our King's Daughter. Neither did our King seem averse, when *Frederic* the Elector would perform certain Conditions requir'd of him: But as this took no effect, I shall come to the particular of his publick business, treated chiefly by *John Bruno*; which was a Confederation projected betwixt our King and the Protestants. The Conditions propos'd by our King were to this effect:

Records.
Condi-
tions of
Confede-
ration
propos'd
to the Pro-
testant
Princes in
Germany
by King
Henry.

That if the said Princes would send some wise and discreet Agents fully instructed, and with them the Names of the Members of the League, and what Aids every one is bound to give, and in what cases, and whether they will stand to the old Rates or to new, now to be made when his Majesty shall enter the League; his Majesty would be pleased to enter a League with them defensive against all Men, and for all Causes, and will be bound to such a rate of Aid as may besit his Honour and Quality: So that he may have the first place in the League, which for more Honour should be called, The League Christen: With such Conditions likewise, that no other should be admitted to this League, but such as are already enter'd into the same, without his Majesty's Consent. And because they would look for a greater Aid at his Majesty's hands than of any other Prince or City in this League, his Majesty would look by Covenant to have in all Meetings concerning the Confederacy, three Voices to two of any other Prince. Concerning the Union of the said Princes together, and of his Majesty with them all in Doctrine of Religion, his Majesty thanks them that they are content to follow the Advice of his Majesty ut-

on such Considerations and Conferences as their learned Men and his shall have together in his Majesty's Presence, following the holy Scripture, or the determination of the Primitive Church, or General Councils had before five or six hundred Years: For which purpose his Majesty promiseth to take pains to be present himself, and trusteth (such Men being sent from them as be learned, and Men of upright judgments, without Affection, and of good Conformity) to be the Cause of such a Conjunction in Religion in all Christendom, as shall tend to the Glory of God. For the which purpose his Majesty requireth them now when they shall send Commissioners to conclude the League Defensive, to send also the Names of ten or twelve Men, to the intent his Majesty may chuse four, five, or six out of the same; which his Majesty requireth to have sent hither according to the Promise already made, as soon as may be. To which the Protestants finally answer'd, That if our King would depose an hundred thousand Crowns in their some part of *Germany*, where they might take it when they were invaded for Religion, then they would prefer his Friendship before the French, who now treated with them. But this again was rejected by our King, since for a bold Demand they offer'd nothing equivalent; yet he continu'd his Treaty with the Palatine, so far forth as he might detain the Protestants from suffering the French to gather Men in *Germany* for the recovering of *Beaulogne*, and from submitting themselves to the Council of *Trent*, and encourage them to frame their Religion according to the Word of God, which, he said, was the true Rule. But the Germans, who knew at what distance our King liv'd, did not much regard any Advices which were not seconded with Money: Therefore they trusted to themselves, and our King (as aforesaid) made Peace with the French.

On the other side, as the Emperor's Presence operated much in *Germany*, so the Match which *Ferdinand* had made of his Daughter *Anne* to the Son of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Mary* to the Duke of *Cleves*, did not a little strengthen his Party. Beside, the Pope offer'd him twelve thousand Foot, eight hundred Horse, and 300000 Ducats in Money (as *Sandoval* hath it) and to procure him assistance from others, without omitting particularly to promise his best assistance in a spiritual way; while, to make the Protestants more culpable of drawing this War upon them, he sent to his Legates in the Council of *Trent* to proceed calmly (without beginning any new Difficulties) in matter of Faith; and to make no haste in point of Reformation, though urged by the Emperor. Hereupon the Legates commanded certain Fryars and Divines to extract those Articles out of the *Lutherans* Books, which seemed contrary to their Faith. Where (among others) the Authority of the holy Scriptures and Traditions was first examined. And here their Divines differ'd; some affirming they were all one, the Scripture it self being deriv'd unto us but by Tradition: Moreover, *St. Austin's* Words were urged, That he should not believe the Scriptures, but for the Authority of the Church. Which therefore should first be settled, and then used for deciding of Controversies, and convincing the *Lutherans*. But then the Question was, Which, and what was the Church? And whether the Hierarchy, and more properly the Council whereof the Pope was the Head? But it was not thought safe to call these things into doubt. Then they fell again to treat of the Scripture and Traditions; and whether it hath accidentally come to pass, that it being all taught, some part was not put in writing: Some holding, that the Church had its Perfection before any of the Apostles writ, and would have continu'd so, if nothing had been set down in Writing. But that this Question and the

1546. the like being not formerly propos'd by the Lutherans, might well be omitted for Peace sake; which clause was check'd by Cardinal Pool, who said, *It was fitter for a Conference in Germany, than a Council*: Adding, that one of two things was to be done, that is, either the Lutherans brought to receive all the Roman Doctrine; or when they would not, that all their Errors should be discover'd, to shew the World how impossible it was to come to an Agreement.

II. Then it was resolv'd, that a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Scripture should be made as they are accepted by the Roman Church, without regarding whether the Jews receiv'd them or not. But here some difficulties were urg'd; some of those Scriptures having been always receiv'd, others (though doubtful) having by use yet obtain'd Canonical Authority: That is to say, the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of St. James, the second of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, that of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, and some parties of the Evangelists. Besides which, there were in the Old Testament seven Books never averr'd, and some Chapters of Daniel and Hester, and especially the Book of Baruch, as wanting his beginning; though some esteem'd it a part of *Jeremiab*. At length, all the Books usually put in the Latin Bible were judg'd Canonical, and Traditions to be of equal Authority with the Scripture: Nevertheless, doubts were rais'd concerning putting the Books of the Scripture into order. This while *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, Bishop of *Justinopolis* in *Istria*, coming to the Council, was repuls'd: For, as he had been employ'd in Germany against the Lutherans with so little advantage to the Pope, as while he labour'd to confute the Protestants, himself became one; so they would not admit him, though he pretended his business was only to purge himself, but remanded him to the Pope, who shortly after depriv'd him of his Bishoprick.

III. And now that being declar'd without more ado to be holy Scripture, which the Roman Church had receiv'd, question arose concerning the Translation of it. Some saying, that to understand only the Latin Text, was not to receive the infallible word of God, but that of the Translator; and therefore that the Originals should be viewed, and a Translation made which the Council should declare Authentick. But if this should seem a long work, it were good (at least) to verify their Latin Translation with the Original Text: Howbeit, the greater part said, it was necessary to hold the Latin Translation to be Divine and Authentick, since otherwise they would be obnoxious to the Lutherans, and a gate open'd to innumerable Heresies: For if Men might examine Translations, all would be reduc'd to Pedantism, and new Grammarians would give the Law. Besides that, Inquisitors could not convince Hereticks without knowledge of the Original Tongues. Many other Points coincident hereunto, were likewise handled, too long to be here rehears'd.

IV. Then they came to the Exposition of Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers were declar'd as the Rule thereof.

V. In conclusion, it was requir'd, whether all these determinations were to be enacted under the *Anathema*: In which, after much doubt, a middle course was held. So that the eighth of April, Session IV. two Decrees were read; one to Authorise the Scriptures read in the Roman Church, and the Traditions receiv'd there, both concerning Faith and Manners: The second to declare the vulgar Translation to be Authentick, and that it should not be expounded contrary to the sense deliver'd by the Church, and unanimous

consent of the Fathers: The Penalty in the first Decree being *Anathema*, in the second such as pleas'd the Ordinary. And so the next Session was deferr'd till the seventeenth of June, and these Decrees Printed; which at length, being publish'd in Germany, it was thought strange, that five Cardinals, and XLVIII Bishops only, should so easily determine these great Points, without hearing what could be objected to the contrary.

About this time our King was certified by *Edmund Howard*, his Ambassador at *Rome*, that the French labour'd to procure a Censure against him in the Council. But as the Peace formerly mentioned between King Henry and *Francis*, was shortly after concluded, so this took no effect.

And now the Pope thought fit to add divers to the number of those Cardinals and Prelates at *Rome* he us'd to advise with concerning the Council; admonishing the Legates together at *Trent*, First, Not to publish any Decree henceforth, without approbation from *Rome*. Secondly, Not to spend time in Points not controverted. Thirdly, Above all things to take heed of disputing the Papal Authority. Which being done, he requir'd the Bishops and Abbats of the *Swiss* to come to the Council: He also proceeded against the Archbishop of *Cologne*, Condemning, Excommunicating and depriving him for adhering to the Lutherans: Furthermore, he intreated the Emperor to execute the Sentence. But he conceiving the Archbishop was at his Devotion; and besides, knowing that such a rigorous proceeding would but alarm the Protestants, and force the Archbishop to colleague with them, neglected to perform this request: And the rather, that the Duke of *Saxe* had signified unto him, that he saw clearly the Popes intentions were wholly bent to establish his own Authority: And therefore, that it was time to assemble a National Council in Germany, or to treat seriously of matter of Religion in the Diet.

And now the Council in Congregation propos'd the Point of Original Sin: But the Spanish Prelates desir'd rather a Reformation of the abuses in Preaching and Lectures: Adding, that they had express Letters from the Emperor, not to enter yet into matters of Doctrine: Which also the intelligence found in our Records, doth particularly affirm. The Legates, (on the other side) urg'd the Popes Bull. In conclusion, both Points were resolv'd, and the Theologians enjoyn'd to handle matter of Faith among themselves, and with the assistance of some Canonists to treat of a Reformation. According to which order, Lectures and Preaching being first spoken of, some dissention appear'd: The Bishops desiring the ordering of these things should immediately depend on them: But the Legates contending to maintain the Pontifical Authority, by which these duties were committed to Fryars Mendicants, &c. This Controversie finding no Issue, the Pope writ unto the Council, that they should begin with Original Sin; observing yet a due respect unto the Emperor. Notwithstanding, the Legates thought fit the business of Reading and Preaching should first be dispatch'd, which was not without some contention: For as it hath been an ancient *Arcanum Imperii* among the Popes for conserving their Jurisdiction, to exempt Bishops from their Archbishops, and Abbats and Fryars again from Bishops, &c. so some wrangling pass'd; while each part strove to maintain its Authority: The Bishops complaining of the vanity and covetousness of the Preaching Fryars; and these again objecting the negligence of Bishops, and idleness of Parish-Priests. But all at last, was (in a sort) reconciled, the Bishops being

1546. being allow'd Authority over the Regulars, only when they would hold it as from the Pope. After which, the Point of Original Sin being brought into Examination, Cardinal Paceco a Spaniard, said, it was not yet time, nor until the business of Germany were riper. Nevertheless, the question was urg'd; yet so as it was protracted, both by the many difficulties of it, and the Diet at Ratisbonne; which, beginning towards the end of May, made the Prelates intente to its Proceedings. Our King not omitting also to inform himself of what should pass by the Bishop of Westminster's means, whom he had imploy'd thither. But little good follow'd of this Diet: For while the Roman-Catholicks would not allow that Controversies of Religion should be decided in a National Council (as the Protestants desir'd;) nor they again submit to the Council of Trent, being, in their Opinion, a most partial and factious Assembly, the Emperor knew not what well to resolve: He would have been glad of such a Peace as might have conserv'd his Authority, without caring much to hear of Errors discover'd in either of the opposite Parts; or that they had found out some witty and new distinction. But there is not any thing more hard than to devise how a free and equal Council may be held, or who should be a competent Judge of the emergent differences; since, as any of those who are Parties in the business, cannot properly exercise that Function; so, to appeal to any other that were of a different Religion, should be not only to call the parts, but the whole into question. Nevertheless, it may be demonstrated, that a more even course may be kept herein than hath been hitherto practis'd, and a more indifferent for all Mankind: Which as it is deeply concern'd in all the rigid Decrees of Religion, so in some sort or other should intervene; in which case, certainly the Spirit of God would preside.

June.
Emperor
prepares
War a-
gainst the
Protes-
tants.

The Emperor this while having made many secret Provisions for War, certain notice thereof came to the Protestants at the Diet, who because he had made Peace with France, and Truce for one year with the Turk, did easily conjecture it was intended against them; especially it being related that the Pope and Ferdinand did arm; so that every thing was in confusion. The Emperor us'd much industry to draw all those Protestants who were not Collegu'd with the rest at Smalcald, unto his Party, telling them this War was only against Rebels, and promising them the exercise of their Religion.

The Protestants, on the other side, declar'd in a publick Remonstrance, that the Emperors intentions were far other than he pretended; exhorting therefore both them and one another to stand firm.

Sept. V.
Two De-
crees pass
the Coun-
cil of
Trent.

This while the Council held the Fifth Session, and two Decrees pass'd: 1. Concerning *Original Sin*, and the *Benefit of Baptism*, &c. 2. Concerning *Lectures and Preaching*; wherein the Bishops and Clergy were commanded to be diligent and careful. This being done, the French Ambassador Petrus Danesius made a long and eloquent Oration, shewing the affection their Kings had ever born to the Christian Religion: And how that Gregory the First had for this cause given the Title of *Catholique* to Childebert; and that his King had therefore sent him Ambassador thither, desiring first, that some determination might be made in Religion; then, that those Priviledges should be conserv'd, of which Lodovicus Pius was in Possession, and all the sequent Kings; and that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church of France might be confirm'd. To whom no Answer was given but a Complement.

The Decrees being now Printed and Published in Germany, gave much occasion of discourse and unsatisfaction. The Emperor himself not liking that in the business of Reformation, the smaller Points had been handled, and the greater pretermitted; and that the Controversies in matter of Faith had been thus stirred, and especially that of Original Sin, as being almost reconciled in some former Conferences in Germany. And now the Cardinal of Trent having absolutely concluded that League betwixt the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants, and those which refus'd the Council of Trent (which by the Cardinal Farnese his means, was formerly treated of) all sides prepar'd for War: The Pope also sending Men and Money in that proportion which is above-mentioned, or (as some will have it) besides the twelve thousand Foot, only five hundred Horse, to be maintain'd for six Months at his charge, and 200000 Crowns in Money. Moreover, he granted the Emperor (for the present year) the half of all the Revenues of the Churches of Spain, and that he might alienate of the Rents of the Monasteries of these Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thousand Crowns, upon condition that during the said six Months, the Emperor might make no accord with the Protestants without him; and that of all which was gotten, he should have a certain Portion: And that when the time was expir'd, if the War did continue, they should treat of new Conditions. It being free for the Emperor (in the mean while) to try all fair means for reducing the Protestants to submit to this Council: For which end also he treated with them, professing that he did not undertake this War for cause of Religion, but respects of State, and because some deny to obey his Laws, and had confederated themselves mutually, with Strangers against him, and usurp'd other Mens Possessions, and chiefly Ecclesiastical, procuring to make Bishopricks and Abbeyes hereditary to their Families; and that having divers ways endeavour'd to reduce them, they were still more insolent. The Protestants, on the other side, did strive to clear themselves unto the World from imputation of Rebellion, shewing, that Religion only was cause of this War, which the Pope and Council of Trent had kindled against them: Requiring from the Emperor performance of the Oath he took upon receiving his Dignity in Francfort, which they pretended he had broken in this abrupt making of War. They sent also to England and France (being now newly reconcil'd) to borrow Money. But our King answer'd, that the course of things being now alter'd, he could not resolve on any thing without better information. Nevertheless, that upon their standing firm together, he might furnish some Money upon fitting Conditions. This caus'd the Protestants to make new Levies at home: And the rather, that the Pope had about this time by Bull publish'd, that the War was for Religion.

And now Philip Landgrave of Hesse having his Forces ready, comes into the Field, and the Duke of Saxe after; whereupon they both were proscrib'd by the Emperor (then being at Ratisbonne) who breaking up the Diet, commanded another to be held the first of Feb. 1547.

This while the Council of Trent sitting, the Secretary declar'd (in the name of the Legates) that the next point to be examin'd, was that of *Divine Grace*; and they shall the rather follow this Order, because it was us'd in the *Augustan Confession*, which they intended to condemn. Nevertheless, the Imperialists urg'd still a Reformation: But being over-ru'd, certain Theologians

1546. ans were appointed to gather the *Lutherans* Opinions.

Decision concerning Justification, Faith and Works.

That of Justification, Faith and Works was propos'd in XXV. Articles. But when the point of Justification by Faith was urg'd, the word FAITH was found ambiguous; yet at last all agreeing, that Justifying Faith was an assent to all things reveal'd by God, and propos'd by the Church as necessary. It was further distinguish'd into a solitary, dead, meerly Historical Faith, and a lively one working by Charity. Then was disput'd which of these did justify; and some affirm'd both: The first whereof was to be understood yet as the Basis and Ground of the latter: And here many School-subtilties arising, were hotly pursu'd by the *Dominicans* on the one side, and *Franciscans* on the other; the former holding (with *Luther*) that all our Works without Faith are Sin; the *Franciscans* opposing, that Man by his natural free-will may observe the Law, and do good, and thereby prepare himself, *ex congruo*, for Grace, since God fails not him who doth what he can. After this they fell to examine the nature of Grace, of Justification, of Imputation, &c. Concerning which the Reader may find more in *Concilio Tridentino*. Only I shall observe (as conducing to my History) that these Disputes were thus purposely spun out, partly by the procurement of the Emperor, who still desir'd that nothing should yet be decreed in matter of Faith; and partly by the industry of the Court of *Rome*, who studied to hinder the reformation in Discipline.

Maurice D. of Saxony, a Protestant, sides with the Emperor.

The Emperor now, that he might divide the Protestants, encourageth *Maurice* Duke of *Saxe*, Cosen-German to the Elector, and Son-in-Law to the Landgrave, to invade the States of these proscrib'd Princes: To which also he was sufficiently dispos'd. This while the Pope did a little temporize: For though he knew the Emperor would be obnoxious to him, as long as there was so manifest an use of his Assistance; yet withal, he did not desire *Charles* should be too absolute in *Germany*, lest afterwards he should turn his Arms upon *Italy*, and give the Law to his Country and Religion, upon pretence that there was no other way to conserve Peace. Neither were the Catholics themselves in *Germany* over-forward to take his part, lest under colour of reducing Religion to its former state by Arms, he would overthrow their Liberty. For preventing, whereof, as well as divers other suspicions among the Protestants (that the Council of *Trent* was assembled only to condemn them) he sent again to the Pope, to desire that the Council might continue, and the Legates might treat only of a Reformation. To which, because he knew some were averse, he directed a particular Message unto the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, telling him, that if he offer'd to dissolve the Council, he would cause him to be thrown into the River *Adige*. The Pope finding the Emperor thus in earnest, continues the Council; writing yet to the Legates, that they should entertain the time: And for this purpose Fastings, Prayers, and a Jubile (now publish'd for the good success of this War) did serve. Neither was it without cause; the Protestants Army being now drawn near *Tirol*, to hinder the *Italians* from joyning with the Imperialists. The danger whereof being magnified by the more timorous sort of Bishops, many were desirous to retire, while some fled from the Council. But the Cardinal of *Trent* newly return'd from *Rome*, comforted those which remain'd. And now the Popes and other the *Italian* Auxiliary Forces passing by *Trent* into *Germany*, another way than the Protestants expected, they at last at *Landshut* in *Bavaria* joyn'd with the Emperor;

who bestow'd upon *Ottavio Farnese* (their General) the Order of the *Toison*, and took a muster of his Men: The Protestant Army being at *Donawert*, which they had newly taken, and in that readiness, that they attended only their advantage to fight.

But we will leave them in this posture a while, to tell a notable accident which happen'd at *Malines* in *Brabant*, 7 August, 1546. Certain Barrels of Powder, to the number of seven hundred, being stow'd in the bottom of a great Tower, Lightning falling thereon, and kindling it, the Tower was rais'd from his foundations on high, and scatter'd in the Air; the stones whereof flying every way, threw down two hundred Houses in the City, and as many in the Suburbs, kill'd five hundred Men, and hurt two thousand; the wind whereof broke Glas-windows every where, and open'd many Locks. Besides which, it had this prodigious effect, that it dry'd up all the water in a ditch adjoyning, being a Pike deep, and levell'd the Earth, rooting up together many Trees; of which kind, it was observ'd, that those which lost only their leaves and fruit, budded again, and bore in Autumn.

But it seems more strange which *Stow* relates, that in *England* this year a Potter falling asleep, April 27. could not be awaken'd in fourteen days and nights, finding himself yet afterwards as if he had taken but one nights rest.

The Duke of *Saxe* and Landgrave of *Hesse*, who commanded the Protestant Army, being compos'd of seventy or eighty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, and an hundred Canon, thought it unjust to begin the War till they had sent the Emperor a Defie: Stiling him yet therein not by that name; but as a pretender to be Emperor. He on the other side, little regarding the Language, endeavour'd one while to overthrow, and another while to divide them. The whole passage whereof may be seen in *Luys d'Avila*, to whom I refer the Reader. And the rather, that his Excellence Prince *Maurice de Nassau*, did recommend the Book to me, more than once, as a Master-piece in its kind.

While these Armies coast each other, the Legates in *Trent* (now free from the Soldatesque) advis'd how to delay the time, admitting new matters, which also their intemperate disputes did furnish. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* projecting also, that the former Controversies should be renew'd of Preparatory Works, Observance of the Law, &c. Whereupon the point of Free-will was brought into question, and certain Opinions of the Reformers, therein odiously propos'd. From whence arose a question, whether believing and not believing were in our power? And many things were said thereupon, (it seeming at last equally absurd to believe all things to be in our Power, and nothing.) These Points again begot distinctions, and at last brought in the Article of Predestination, which with the Consequences was so heard, as being disput'd by the Prelates and Divines in a hundred Congregations, and afterward reduc'd into a form of Decree by the Cardinal *Santa Croce*: Yet he had so much adoe to content all sides, that from the beginning of *September*, to the end of *November*, each day some words therein were alter'd; yet so, as at length it past, and was sent to the Pope, who remitted it to the Learned Men at *Rome*, by whom it was approv'd, as being conceiv'd in such terms, that all parts might fit and apply it to their own Opinions. In the point of Reformation, the qualities requir'd for the Promotion of Prelates was handled, and many good things said, but the means how to observe them were as little found, as how to bind their Superiours

1546.

Aug 7. 700 Barrels of Powder blow up at Malines.

Stow. One sleeps fourteen days and nights.

Aug 20. The Council continue their Debates on Free-will.

Predestination.

Reformation.

The Protestant Army draws near Tirol, July 10.

Aug. 15.

1546. to do always that which was fitting. So that after divers Discourses, it was thought fit to leave off this Point. Much was said also, concerning Matters of Residency: The particulars whereof produc'd that Controversie, as in the year 1562, and 1563. came to a great height. The present Contention was between the *Spanish* Prelates; who for the magnifying of the Episcopal Dignity, held that Residence was *Ex jure Divino*; and the *Italian* Bishops, who for sustaining the Popes Authority, said, it was commanded by him only, and therefore might be dispens'd with, &c. But this dispute being put off by the Legates, the Ancient Canons for Residency were reviv'd, and some new ones enacted, which were the more willingly accepted, in that the abuse of Exemptions of Regular and Secular Priests from the Jurisdiction of their Ordinary, was moderated.
- Residen-
cy.
- Septemb. The Emperor now having heard that our King treated with the Protestants, expostulated the matter with him. But the King deny'd, he intended any Aid to the Protestants; saying yet, that if he sought friendship abroad he was not to be blam'd, since the Emperor in his new Treaty with the Bishop of *Rome*, had agreed to fall on those that refus'd the Bishops Authority, and the Council of *Trent*; wherein, though the King were not particularly nam'd, yet that he was taken for a *Lutheran*. Nevertheless, that he treated not with the Protestants, and therefore wish'd the Emperor to have a better opinion of him, since if he would have given credit to his Advice, he need not to have entred those dangers he was in. And now the Pope hearing how things pass'd, commanded the Cardinal *Farnese* to return. For though the Emperor by secret fomenting the emulation for Command which pass'd between the Duke of *Saxe* and *Landgrave*, was in a good way to compass his ends; yet because he made not an overt War of Religion, the Pope both recall'd the Cardinal, and permitted some of the *Italian* Gentry to come with him. Nevertheless, about the midst of
- Records.
- Octob. the two Armies met so near together about *Giengen* in *Suabe*, that only a little River parted them. Where also the Protestants omitted a notable Opportunity of falling on the Imperialists; some blows yet pass'd, and *Donawert* was regain'd by *Ottavio Farnese*: Shortly after which, the Duke of *Saxe* was constrain'd to retire to his own Country, for the defence thereof, against
- Octob. 13.
- Nov. 23. *Ferdinand* and *Maurice* who invaded it; and the *Landgrave*, to his. Of which our King was particularly advertis'd by *Somerset* his Herald, who accompanying *Bruno*, (now returning from *England* to the Protestant Army) observ'd all Occurrences. The Protestant Forces now being withdrawn, divers Princes and Cities of that League treated of an Accommodation with the Emperor when they might have some honest caution for the exercising of their Religion. But the Emperor would give none by writing, though otherwise promise was made by the Imperial Ministers, that they should not be molested. And thus the Emperor recover'd much great Ordinance, and huge sums of Money from some Cities by way of Reparation for their faults, and rest'd absolute Sovereign of the upper and greater part of *Germany*; whereby he was enabled to give Law to the rest, and to constrain *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne* (which had lately appeal'd from the Pope to a lawful Council in *Germany*) to surrender his Archbishoprick. Which state of things being advertis'd hither, our King thought fit to comply with the Emperor, for this purpose also acquainting him with some Passages, which might give him just occasion to be jealous of *Francis*. For though (by the advice of the Cardinal of *Tournon*) to make his Authority at home more entire, he had lately condemn'd to the fire certain Citizens of *Meaux*, who combin'd for a private Reformation in Religion, yet he treated with the Protestants at this time.
- 1546.
- The Pope also hearing of that which pass'd, began to think of his own Affairs, before all *Germany* were reduc'd to the Emperors Obedience: Infomuch, that though his Forces were much diminish'd, (between those that return'd with the Cardinal, and others that run away) he yet recall'd the rest about the middle of *December*, upon pretence that they had stay'd the six Months which he had promis'd; alledging for further excuse, that he was not able to sustain the Charge. But this being ill taken by the Emperor, since the heads of the Rebellion (as he term'd them) were not yet taken in; the Pope for his further Justification, reply'd, that he was not made partaker of the Accord betwixt the Emperor and the Cities and Princes: And that it was much to the prejudice of the Catholick Faith, in tolerating Heresie, which might have been exterminated. Besides, that according to the Articles of their Treaty, he should have participated of the Profits and Spoils of the War. And not content herewith, he deny'd the Emperor the further Revenues of the *Spanish* Clergy. So that though the Imperial Ministers at *Rome* told him, he had done nothing unless he perfect'd his Work, they could not prevail. For further testimony also of his displeasure to the Emperor, raising a Faction in *Genoia* against the *Dei*, being the Emperors friends.
- The Pope and Em-
peror dis-
fer.
- Neither did he (as some have it) fear, that the Emperor (having so much to do in *Germany*) could hastily invade him, or trouble him, otherwise than by according with the Protestants, and causing them to repair to the Council of *Trent*, which yet he thought not fit to dissolve, though seven Months had pass'd, without publishing any thing treated therein. So that, notwithstanding he knew that the Emperor would be discontented at his rigid proceedings in matters of Doctrine, he us'd the Florentine Motto, *Cosa fatta capo ha*: And thereupon writ to the Legates, that they should hold a Session, and publish the Decrees already made; which also was done, the Protestants yet questioning the Authority of them. Among the Cities of *Germany* that submitted, *Ulme* was one; where also the Emperor winter'd, with intention to continue War the next Spring; which the Protestants understanding, thought fit (though once suing for Peace) to send severai Ambassadors into *England* and *France* to demand Succours (though in vain) both Kings dying shortly after.
- While business of Religion was thus treated of July 8. abroad, our King by Proclamation did severely forbid the Translation of the New Testament, by *Tindal* and *Coverdale*, or any other than is permitted by Parliament: As also the *English* Book of *Fritb*, *Wickliff*, *Tindal*, &c. which our King most studiously suppress'd; both because he would have his Subjects decline the bitter Language and Doctrine to be found in some of them, and that he would introduce his own, or at least a more sober Reformation. Whereof also he was the more sensible, in that Women began now ordinarily to dispute Controversies, and urge the Text: Infomuch, that *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman, defended her self therewith against her Persecutors; though not so, but that she was burnt for it. Besides, the Queen her self did this year run no little danger: For as she began about this time to give ear unto those who declaim'd against the abuses of the *Roman* Church, she thought
- Transla-
tion of the
Bible for-
bidden by
Parliament:
As also the
English Book
of *Fritb*,
Wickliff,
Tindal, &c.
which our
King most
studiously
suppress'd;
both because
he would
have his
Subjects
decline the
bitter Lan-
guage and
Doctrine to
be found in
some of them,
and that he
would intro-
duce his own,
or at least
a more sober
Reformation.
Whereof also
he was the
more sensible,
in that Women
began now
ordinarily to
dispute Con-
troversies, and
urge the Text:
Infomuch, that
Anne Askew,
a Gentlewoman,
defended her
self therewith
against her
Persecutors;
though not so,
but that she
was burnt
for it. Be-
sides, the Queen
her self did
this year
run no little
danger: For as
she began about
this time to
give ear unto
those who
declaim'd
against the
abuses of the
Roman Church,
she thought
- July 16.
Anne Askew
burnt.
- The Em-
peror too
hard for
the Prote-
stants.
- Nov. 4.
- Jan. 25.
1547.
October.

1546. thought her self so well instructed in Religion, that she would debate with the King thereof: Which yet the King did but impatiently hear; both as the anguish of a sore Leg he had at this time made him very froward, and as he lov'd not to be contradicted in his Opinions, especially, as he said, in his old Age, and by his Wife. This again was exaggerated by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester so far, that by representing the hazard she incurr'd by contravening the Six Articles, and the late Proclamation, in reading of forbidden Books, and teaching openly her Doctrine, the King gave Winchester, and Wriothesley the Chancellor, and others leave to consult about the drawing of Articles against her, which they fail'd not to present unto the King, who subscrib'd them: Infomuch, that her Enemies expected only a Warrant for carrying her by night to the Tower. Which the Queen accidentally having notice of, fell into that passion and bitter bewailing her Misfortune, that the King hearing the perplexity she was in, sent his Physicians, and after came himself to her Chamber, where compassionating her estate, he us'd such kind words as did help to recover her. Infomuch, that the next night, being attended by the Lady Anne her Sister, Wife to Sir William Herbert, after Earl of Pembroke, she went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, where he courteously welcomed her, and began to talk of Religion.

But she wittily excusing her self by the weakness of her Sex and Judgment, said, *she would refer her self in this and all other Causes, to his Majesties Wisdom.* Not so (by Saint Mary) quoth the King, *you are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us.* But the Queen replying, that *what she said was rather to pass away the time and pain of his Infirmitie, than to hold Argument; and that she hop'd by hearing his Majesties learned Discourse, to receive some profit thereby.* The King answer'd, *And is it even so (Sweet-heart?) then are we perfect friends again:* Which also he confirm'd by divers Testimonies. But as her Maligners knew nothing of this Reconcilement, they prepar'd the next day to carry her to the Tower, at a time limited by the Kings Warrant. This being come, and she happening to be merrily talking with him in his Garden, the Lord Wriothesley with forty of the Guard comes in; whom the King sternly be- holding, and after calling to him (at some distance from the Queen) so expostulated the matter, as at last he reviled, and commanded him out of his sight and presence. Nevertheless, at the Kings return, she was an humble suiter for his Pardon. But the King answer'd no otherwise, than that *she (poor Soul) did not know how evil he deserv'd this grace at her hands.* And thus, by her opportune submission she escap'd: Though yet some believe, it was not so much the Kings intention herein to use the rigour of the Law, as to deter her from reading forbidden Books. Howsoever, if he were not in earnest, it was thought a terrible jest, especially to a Queen, that had the reputation of a vertuous, humble, and observant Wife. But Winchester, who (it was thought) chiefly endeavoured her ruine, did himself not long after fall into the Kings disfavour, as by his submission extant in our Records doth appear: Though whether on this occasion, or that he was a special friend to the Duke of Norfolk, who was now also in disgrace with the King (as shall be told hereafter,) or any other cause, is not there determined. Howsoever, the King excluded him out of the number of those whom he appointed his Executors, and Counsellors to his Son and Successor, Edward VI.

Concerning Scottish Business this year, little

pass'd worth the writing, that I can find, save only that King Henry sent the Earl of Lenox into Ireland with Command, that he together with the Earl of Ormond, and a certain Lord out of the Scottish Isles (as he term'd himself) who had adhered to our King, should fall upon Scotland: But as the Enterprize was discover'd, they were forc'd to retire to Dublin, where the said Scottish Lord, who brought three Gallies with him for this Enterprize, died.

This while Cardinal Beton persecuting those of the reform'd Religion in that Country, was himself slain at St. Andrews in his Castle, by certain Gentlemen who surpriz'd the place; and after defended it, until the Governour besieg'd, and (at last) took it by the help of some Succour which the French sent them in their Gallies. That kind of Shipping being so built in those days, that they brook'd our Seas with no little advantage, when the times were fair.

I shall conclude this year with the disaster of the renown'd Lord the Duke of Norfolk, and the execution of his Son Henry the Earl of Surrey, which pass'd in this manner, as our Records tell us.

The Dutches Elizabeth, Daughter to Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, having for many years entertain'd so violent jealousies of the Duke her Husbands matrimonial Affection and Loyalty, as it broke out at last to open Rancour, divers occasions of Scandal were given: Infomuch, that not being content with having surmiz'd a long while since two Articles against him, she again in sundry Letters to the Lord Privy Seal, both averr'd the Articles, and manifestly accus'd some of his Minions, repeated divers hard usages she pretended to receive from them, and briefly discover'd all the ordinary passions of her offended Sex. This again being urg'd in a time when the King was in his declining Age, and for the rest, disquieted with scruples, that the Dukes Greatness or Interests in sequent times might interrupt the order he intended to give, was not unwillingly heard. So that notwithstanding his many important and faithful Services, both in War and Peace, at Home and Abroad, he and his Son Henry Earl of Surrey were expos'd to the malignity and detraction of their Accusers. This again fell out in an unfortunate time: For besides that the Lady his Dutches had now for above four years been separated from him; his Son the Earl of Surrey was but newly, and perchance, scarce reconcil'd with him; his Daughter Mary Dutches of Richmond not only inclined to the Protestant Party, (which lov'd not the Duke) but grown an extream enemy of her Brother: So that there was not only a kind of intestine division in his Family, but this again many secret ways fomented.

Among which, the industry of one Mrs. Holland, thought to be the Duke's Favourite, appear'd not a little, as desirous (at what price soever) to conserve her self. Besides, divers at the Kings Council disaffected him, and particularly the Earl of Holland, as knowing that after the Kings death (now thought to be imminent) none was so capable to oppose him in the place he aspir'd to of Protector. All which Circumstances concurring, and being voyced abroad, incouraged divers of his Adversaries to declare themselves: And the rather, because it was notorious, how the King had not only withdrawn much of his wonted favour, but promised impunity to such as could discover any thing concerning him.

The first that manifested himself was Sir Richard Southwel, who said that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touch'd his fidelity to the King: The Earl, before the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley,

Articles against the Q. drawn up and subscribed by the King.

She wittily excuses her self as to her Opinion in Religion.

Gardiner, who aim'd at her ruine, falls into disgrace. Dec. 2.

1546.

May 19. Cardinal Beton slain at St. Andrews.

D. of Norfolk and his Son the E. of Surrey's troubles.

He is accus'd by his Dutches.

He is hated by the Protestants.

Dec. 2.

1546. *Wriothesley*, the Lord *St. John*, the Earl of *Hertford*, and others, vehemently affirmed himself a true Man, desiring to be try'd by Justice, or else offering himself to fight in his Shirt with *Southwell*: But the Lords for the present only committed them. The Duke this while, hearing his Son was in trouble, sends to divers of his Friends to know the Cause, and particularly to the Bishop of *Winchester*: Those Letters yet (it is probable) fell into the King's Council's hands; but could not preserve him from being involved in his Son's Fortune: So that he was sent for, and the same day, not long after his Son, committed to the Tower. Divers Persons also were examined concerning his Affairs. *Mrs. Elizabeth Holland* being disposed, confess'd, that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's Council loved him, because they were no Noblemen born themselves; as also because he believ'd too truly in the Sacrament of the Altar. Moreover, that the King loved him not, because he was too much lov'd in his Country; but that he would follow his Father's Lesson, which was, That the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself. As also, that the Duke complain'd that he was not of the most secret (or, as it is there term'd, the Privy privy) Council. And that the King was much grown of his Body, and that he could not go up and down the Stairs, but was let up and down by a Device. And that his Majesty was sickly, and could not long endure; and the Realm like to be in an ill case through diversity of Opinions. And that if he were a young Man, and the Realm in quiet, he would ask leave to see the *Vernacle*; which he said, was the Picture of Christ given to Women by himself as he went to death. As touching his Arms, that she had not heard the Duke speak of his own, but of his Son's, that he liked them not, and that he had gather'd them himself knew not from whence; and that he placed the *Norfolk's* Arms wrong, and had found fault with him: And therefore that she should take no pattern of his Son's Arms to work them with her Needle in his House, but as he gave them. Furthermore, she confess'd that the Earl of *Surrey* lov'd her not, nor the Dutches of *Richmond* him; and that she addicted her self much to the said Dutches.

Mary Dutches of *Richmond* being examin'd, confess'd, That the Duke her Father wou'd have had her marry *Sir Thomas Seymour*, Brother to the Earl of *Hertford*, which her Brother also desir'd, wishing her withal to endear her self so into the King's Favour, as she might the better rule here as others had done; and that she refused: And that her Father would have had the Earl of *Surrey* to have matched with the Earl of *Hertford's* Daughter, which her Brother likewise heard of (and that this was the Cause of his Father's Displeasure) as taking *Hertford* to be his Enemy. And that her Brother was so much incens'd against the said Earl, as the Duke his Father said thereupon, His Son would lose as much as he had gather'd together.

Moreover, That the Earl her Brother should say, These new Men loved no Nobility; and if God call'd away the King, they should smart for it. And that her Brother hated them all since his being in Custody in *Windsor* Castle; but that her Father seem'd not to care for their ill will, saying, His Truth should bear him out. Concerning Arms, she said, that she thought that her Brother had more than seven Rolls; and that some, that he had added more of *Anjou*, and of *Lancelott Du-lac*. And that her Father since the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham* (who bare the King's Arms) where the Arms of her Mother (Daughter to the said Duke, were rayn-

ed in his Coat, had put a Blank-quarter in the place, but that her Brother had reassum'd them. Also that instead of the Duke's Coronet, was put to his Arms a Cap of Maintenance Purple, with powdered Furr, and with a Crown, to her judgment, much like to a close Crown; and underneath the Arms was a Cipher, which she took to be the King's Cipher, *HR*. As also that her Father never said that the King hated him, but his Counsellors; but that her Brother said, the King was displeased with him (as he thought) for the loss of the great Journey. Which Displeasure, he conceiv'd, was set forward by them who hated him, for setting up an Altar in the Church at *Boulogne*. And that her Brother should say, God long save my Father's Life; for if he were dead, they would shortly have my Head. And that he reviled some of the present Council, not forgetting the old Cardinal. Also that he dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scripture. Some passionate Words of her Brother she likewise repeated, as also some circumstantial Speeches, little for his advantage; yet so, as they seem'd much to clear her Father.

Sir Edmund Knewet being examined, said, he knew no Untruth directly by the Earl of *Surrey*, but suspected him of Dissimulation and Vanity: And that a Servant of his had been in *Italy* with Cardinal *Poole*, and was receiv'd again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one *Pasquil* an *Italian* as a Jester, but more likely a Spy, and so reputed. He mentioned also one *Peregrine* an *Italian* entertain'd by the said Earl; adding that he lov'd to converse with Strangers, and to conform his Behaviour to them. And that he thought he had therein some great ill device.

One *Thomas Pope* also informed the Council, that *John Freeman* told him, that the Duke (at *Nottingham*, in the time of the Commotion of the North) should say in the presence of an hundred Persons, that the Act of *Uses* was the worst Act that ever was made, and that *Freeman* affirm'd those Words before the Lord *Audeley*, late Lord Chancellor. These Depositions, together with others (as it seems) being brought to the King's Judges at *Norwich*, they signified by their Letter unto the Lords of the Council, dated *Jan. 7.* that the King's Solicitor and Mr. *Stamford* had brought the Indictments, and that they were found true, and the Duke and his Son indicted thereupon of High-Treason; and that they made haste to bring the said Indictment to *London*; desiring further to know whether *Sir Thomas Paston*, *Sir Edmund Knewet*, *Sir John Peer*, and others, should be of the same Jury. Upon the thirteenth (the King being now dangerously sick) the Earl of *Surrey* was arraign'd in *Guild-Hall* in *London*, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other of *Surrey's* Commissioners. Where the Earl, as he was of try'd a deep Understanding, sharp Wit, and deep Courage, defended himself many ways: Sometimes denying their Accusations as false, and together weakning the Credit of his Adversaries; sometimes interpreting the Words he said, in a far other Sense than that in which they were represented. For the point of bearing his Arms (a good defence among which those of *Edmund* the Confessor are related) alledging that he had the Opinion of *Heralds* therein. And finally, when a Witness was brought against him *viva voce*, who pretended to repeat some high Words of the Earl's by way of discourse, which concern'd him nearly, and that thereupon the said Witness should return a braving Answer; the Earl reply'd no otherwise to the Jury, than that he left it to them to judge, whether it were probable that this Man should speak thus to the Earl of *Surrey*, and he not strike him

1546. him again. In conclusion, he pleaded not guilty; but the Jury (which was a common Inquest, not of the Peers, because the Earl was not a Parliament Lord) condemn'd him. Whereupon also Judgment of Death was given, and he beheaded at Tower-hill. And thus ended the Earl; a Man learned, and of an excellent Wit, as his Compositions shew.

This While the King (though his Sicknes increased) omitted not to give order to seize on the Duke's Goods, and together to inform himself of all which might be material against him. Not forgetting also to cause Wriothesley to advertise the King's Ambassadors in foreign Parts, that the Duke of Norfolk and his Son had conspir'd to take upon them the Government of the King, during his Majesty's Life, as also after his Death to get into their hands the Lord Prince; but that their Devices were revealed, and they committed to the Tower. And that for preventing uncertain bruits, they were willing to communicate the premisses. But the Duke, who had now as much merit of ancient Service to plead for him, as any Subject of his time could pretend to, thought fit from the Tower to write unto the King in this manner.

His Letter to the King
 Most Gracious and most Sovereign Lord, I your most humble Subject prostitute at your foot, do most humbly beseech your Highness to be my good and gracious Lord. I am sure some great Enemy of mine hath informed your Majesty of some untrue matter against me. Sir, God doth know, in all my life, I never thought one untrue Thought against you, or your Succession, nor can no more judge or cast in my mind what should be laid to my charge, than the Child that was born this night. And certainly, if I knew that I had offended your Majesty in any point of Untruth, I would declare the same to your Highness. But (as God help me) I cannot accuse my self so much as in Thought. Most noble and merciful Sovereign Lord, For all the old Service I have done you in my life, be so good and gracious a Lord unto me, that either my Accusers and I together may be brought before your Royal Majesty; or if your pleasure shall not be to take that pains, then before your Council: Then if I shall not make it apparent that I am wrongfully accus'd, let me, without more respite, have punishment according to my deserts: Alas! most merciful Prince, I have no refuge but only at your hands, and therefore at the reverence of Christ's Passion have pity of me, and let me not be cast away by false Enemies Informations. Undoubtedly, I know not that I have offended any Man, or that any Man was offended with me, unless it were such as are angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries. And as for all causes of Religion, I say now, and have said to your Majesty and many others, I do know you to be a Prince of such Virtue and Knowledge, that whatsoever Laws you have in times past made, or hereafter shall make, I shall to the extremity of my power stick unto them as long as my life shall last. So that if any Men be angry with me for these Causes, they do me wrong. Other Cause I know not why any Man should bear me any ill will: And for this cause I know divers have done, as doth appear by casting Libels abroad against me. Finally, (most gracious Sovereign Lord) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to have pity of me, and let me recover your gracious Favour, with taking of me all the Lands and Goods I have, or as much thereof as pleaseth your Highness to take, leaving me what it shall please you to appoint; and that according as is before written, I may know what is laid to my Charge, and that I may bear some comfortable word from your Majesty. And I shall during my life pray for your prosperous estate long to endure.

Your most sorrowful Subject,

THO. NORFOLK.

To the Lords he wrote thus:

Item, Most humbly to beseech, my Lords, That I might have some of the Books that are at Lambeth; for unless I may have Books to read e'er I fall on sleep, and after I wake again, I cannot sleep, nor did not this dozen Years.

Also to desire that I might have a Ghostly Father sent to me, and that I might receive my Maker.

Also that I might have Mass, and to be bound upon my life to speak no word to him that shall say Mass, which he may do in the other Chamber, and I to remain within.

Item, To have licence in the day time, to walk in the Chamber without, and in the Night to be lock'd in, as I am now. At my first coming I had a Chamber without a-days. I would gladly have licence to send to London, to buy one Book of St. Augustin's, De Civitate Dei; and of Josephus, De Antiquitatibus; and another of Sabellicus; who doth declare most of any Book that I have read, how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurp'd his Power against all Princes, by their unwise sufferance.

Item, For Sheets.

Nevertheless, the Duke remained as condemn'd to perpetual Prison, without that his great Services formerly render'd, or his Submission on this occasion could restore him; which was in these Words, as I find by our Records in an Original.

THOMAS Duke of Norfolk, do confess and acknowledge my self most untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegiance, to have offended the King's most Excellent Majesty, in the disclosing and opening of his privy and secret Counsel at divers and sundry times, to divers and sundry Persons, to the great peril of his Highness, and disappointing of his most prudent and regal Affairs.

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That I have concealed High Treason, in keeping secret the false and traitorous Act, most presumptuously committed by my Son Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, against the King's Majesty and his Laws, in the putting and using the Arms of St. Edward the Confessor, King of the Realm of England before the Conquest, in his Scutcheon or Arms: Which said Arms of St. Edward appertain only to the King of this Realm, and to none other Person or Persons; whereunto the said Earl by no means or way could make any Claim or Title, by me, or any of mine or his Ancestors.

T. N.

Also, I likewise confess, That to the Peril, Slander, and Disinheriton of the King's Majesty, and his noble Son Prince Edward, his Son and Heir apparent, I have against all right, unjustly, and without Authority, born in the first Quarter of my Arms, ever since the Death of my Father, the Arms of England, with a difference of the Labels of Silver, which are the proper Arms of my said Prince, to be born for this Realm of England only; whereby I have not only done prejudice to the King's Majesty, and the said Lord the Prince, but also given occasion that his

High-

1546. Highness might be disturb'd or interrupted of the Crown of this Realm, and my said Lord Prince might be destroy'd, disturb'd and interrupted in Fame, Body, and Title, of the Inheritance to the Crown of this Realm. Which I know and confess by the Laws of the Realm to be High Treason.

T. N.

For the which my said hainous Offences, I have worthily deserv'd by the Laws of the Realm to be attainted of High Treason, and to suffer the Punishment, Losses and Forfeitures that appertain thereunto. And although I be not worthy to have or enjoy any part of the King's Majesty's Clemency and Mercy to be extended to me, considering the great and manifold Benefits that I and mine have received of his Highness: Yet I most humbly, and with a most sorrowful and repentant Heart, do beseech his Highness to have Mercy, Pity, and Compassion on me. And I shall most devoutly and heartily make my daily Prayer to God for the preservation of his most noble Succession, as long as Life and Breath shall continue in me.

T. N.

Written the twelfth day of the Month of January, in the Year of our Lord God 1546. after the Computation of the Church of England, and in the thirty eighth Year of our Sovereign Lord Henry VIII. by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland the Supream Head. In witness of all the premisses, I the said Duke have subscribed my Name with my own hand, in the presence of the Lord Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. John Lord President of the Council, the Earl of Hertford Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viscount Lisle Lord High Admiral, Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Horse, Sir William Paget Secretary, Sir Richard Rich, Sir John Baker of our said Sovereign Lord's Privy Council, Sir Richard Lister, Sir Edward Montague, the two Chief Justices.

Without Compulsion, without Force, without Advice or Counsel, I have and do subscribe the premisses, submitting me only to the King's most gracious Pity and Mercy, most humbly beseeching his Highness to extend the same unto me his most sorrowful Subject.

By me THO. NORFOLK.

Thomas Wriothesley Chancellor,
William St. John, Anth. Brown,
John Lisle, Rich. Rich,
William Paget, Rich. Lister,
John Baker, Edward Montague,
E. Hereford,

The K's
Majesty
puts off
his Punishment.

Notwithstanding all which Submission, joined with the Merits of his Services, it was thought that the Duke would hardly escape, had not the King's Death, following shortly after, reserved him to more merciful times. For our King ha-

ving long labour'd under the burden of an extreme fat and unweildy Body, and together being afflicted with a fore Leg, took (at the Palace of Westminster, in January, this Year) his Death-bed; being for the rest not without sense of his present condition. For he both caused a Church of the Franciscans in London (lately suppress'd) to be open'd again, and made a Parish-Church, endowing it with 500 Marks per annum; and bestow'd both the Ground and Buildings of the said Covent, as also the adjoining Hospital of St. Bartholomew, on the City, for the relief of the Poor: Where now is the fair Hospital called Christ-Church: He suppress'd the Stews on the Bank-side, and made his last Will and Testament, the Original whereof yet having not seen, I shall mention no other wife.

As for Sanders's affirmation, that he was not desirous to be reconciled to the Roman Church; and that his Courtiers (especially those who had profited themselves of Abbies) did divert him; and that the Bishops rested doubtful what to answer, lest they should be entrapped; and how Winchester did cunningly evade the Danger, I leave to his Credit. Others affirming, that he desir'd to speak with Cranmer, who yet not coming sooner than that the King was speechless (though in good memory) the King extended his hand to him; and that thereupon Cranmer besought him to give some Sign of his trust in God by Christ, and that the King should strain his Hand. However, it may be collected, that he died religiously and penitently, when he had reign'd seven and thirty Years, nine Months and six Days; and after he had lived five and fifty Years and seven Months; and was carried to Windsor, where he had began a fair Monument, and founded a College for thirteen poor Knights, and two Priests to pray for his Soul.

And now if the Reader (according to my manner in other great Personages) do expect some Character of this Prince, I must affirm (as in the beginning) that the course of his Life being commonly held various and diverse from it self, he will hardly suffer any, and that his History will be his best Character and Description. However, since others have so much defam'd him, as will appear by the following Objections, I shall strive to rectifie their Understandings who are impartial Lovers of Truth; without either presuming audaciously to condemn a Prince, heretofore Sovereign of our Kingdom, or omitting the just freedom of an Historian.

And because his most bitter Censurers agree, that he had all manner of Perfection either of Nature or Education; and that he was (besides) of a most deep Judgment in all Affairs to which he apply'd himself; a Prince not only liberal and indulgent to his Family, and Court, but even to Strangers, whom he willingly saw; and one that made choice both of able and good Men for the Clergy, and of wise and grave Counsellors for his State-Affairs; and above all, a Prince of a Royal Courage: I shall not controvert these Points, but come to my particular Observations. According to which, I find him to have been ever most zealous of his Honour and Dignity; in so much, that his most question'd Passages were countenanc'd either with home or foreign Authority: So many Universities of Italy and France maintaining his repudiating of Queen Katharine of Spain; and his Parliament (for the rest) authorizing the Divorces and Decapitations of his following Wives, the Dissolutions of the Monasteries, and divers others of his most branded Actions: So that by his Parliaments in publick, and

1547. and Juries in private Affairs, he at least wanted not Colour and Pretext to make them specious to the World; which also he had reason to affect: Outward Esteem and Reputation being the same to great Persons which the Skin is to the Fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate Cover, yet without it the Fruit will presently discolour and rot.

As for matter of State, I dare say, never Prince went upon a truer Maxim for this Kingdom; which was, to make himself Arbiter of *Christendom*: And had it not cost him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an Actor (for the most part) where he needed only be a Spectator, he both engaged himself beyond what was requisite, and by calling in the Money he lent his Confederates and Allies, did often disoblige them when he had most need of their Friendship. Yet thus he was the most Active Prince of his time. The Examples whereof are so frequent in this History, that there was no Treaty, or almost Conventicle in *Christendom*, wherein he had not his particular Agent and Interest; which, together with his Intelligence in all Countries, and concerning all Affairs, and the Pensions given for that purpose, was one of his vast ways for spending of Money.

Again, I observe, that there never was Prince more delighted in Interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which also, as his goodly Personage and excellent Qualities did much dispose him, so they gave him a particular Advantage and Lustre. Howbeit, as these Voyages were extreme costly, so when he made use thereof to conclude a Treaty, it did not always succeed; especially where Credit was yielded to any single and private Word. Infomuch, that at his last being with *Francis* (where he intended, upon his bare Promise, *lier la partie* for the most important Affairs of *Christendom*) he found himself so much frustrated and deceiv'd.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments; where, if gentle means serv'd not, he came to some degrees of the rough; though the more sparingly, in that he knew his People did but too much fear him. Besides, he understood well, that foul ways are not always passable, nor to be used (especially in suspected and dangerous times) but where others fail. However, it may be noted, That none of his Predecessors understood the temper of Parliaments better than himself, or that prevail'd himself more dexterously of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the rasher sort, he would give them that leave, which all new things must have, to settle. Which being done, his next care was to discover and prevent those privy Combinations that were not for his service. After which, coming to the point of Contribution, he generally took strict order (by his Commissioners) that Gentlemen in the Country should not spare each other; but that the true or (at least) near approaching value of every Mans Goods and Lands should be certified. And this he did the rather, because he knew the Custom of his People was to reckon with him about their Subsidies, and indeed, rather to number, than to weigh their Gifts.

His Faults As for his Faults, I find that of opinionate and wilful much objected: Infomuch, that the Impressions privately given him by any Court-whisperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the Persons near him had a singular Ability; while beginning with the Commendations of those they would disgrace, their manner was to insinuate such Exceptions, as they would commend a Man more in few Words, than com-

mend him in many: Doing therein like cunning Wrestlers, who to throw one down, first take him up. Besides, this Wilfulness had a most dangerous quality annexed to it (especially towards his latter end) being an intense Jealousy almost of all Persons and Affairs, which dispos'd him easily to think the worst. Whereas it is a greater part of Wisdom to prevent, than to suspect. These Conditions again being armed with Power, produc'd such terrible effects, as stiled him both at home and abroad by the Name of *Cruel*; which also hardly can be avoided; especially, if that Attribute be due, not only to those Princes who inflict capital Punishments frequently, and for small Crimes, but to those who pardon not all that are capable of Mercy. And for testimonies in this kind, some urge two Queens, one Cardinal (*in procinctu*, at least) or two (for *Poole* was condemn'd, though absent) Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, and Earls Sons, twelve; Barons and Knights eighteen; Abbats, Priors, Monks and Priests seventy seven; of the more common sort, between one Religion and another, huge Multitudes. He gave some Proofs yet that he could forgive; tho' as they were few and late, they serv'd not to recover him the Name of a Clement Prince. As for Covetousness, or Rapine, another main Fault observ'd by *Sanders*, as extending not only to a promiscuous overthrow of Religious Houses, but a notable derogation of Title of Supream Head of the Church in his Dominions (and the rather, that he still retained the substance of the Roman Catholick Religion) nothing, that I know, can on those terms palliate it, unless it might be collected, that the Religious Orders in his Kingdom would have assisted those who threaten'd Invasion from abroad, and that he had no other extraordinary means than their Revenues then left to defend himself. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their excessive numbers in proportion to a well compos'd State, or the inordinate and vicious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him; since, together with the supernumerary and debauch'd Abbeyes, Priories and Nunneries, he subverted and extinguish'd the good and opportune; without leaving any Receptacle for such as through Age or Infirmary being unapt for secular business, would end their days in a devout and a retir'd life. Nevertheless, as he erected divers new Bishopricks, increased the number of Colleges, and the Stipend of Readers in the Universities, and did many other pious Works, it is probable he intended some Reparation. Though (as the *Roman Catholick Party* conceives it) they were neither satisfactory for, nor equivalent to the Desolations and Ruines he procur'd, when yet he should pretend that the Revenues and Number of the Gentry and Soldatesque of the Kingdom were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this Act of overthrowing Monasteries, his Parliaments were deeply engag'd, it will be dangerous to question the Authority thereof, since things done by Publick Vote, where they find not Reason, make it; neither have many Laws other ground than the Constitution of the Times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their Interpretation doubtful: Infomuch, that Posterity might justly abrogate them when the Causes thereof ceas'd, had they the Power to do it. For which regard also I shall not interpose my Opinion otherwise, than that this King had met with no occasion to do that which hath caused so much Scandal to him and his Parliaments.

But whereas *Sanders* hath remarked Covetousness as a great Vice in this King, I could wish it had been with more limitation, and so as he noted the other extreme (being Prodigality) for the

1547. the greater fault: The examples of both being so pregnant in the Kings Father and himself. The first, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuses of his Officers and Subjects, and the prevailing himself thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of Money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (only when they were not manifestly unjust) and lastly, by frugality, acquiring to himself the name of prudent at home, and puissant abroad; as being known to have in his Coffers always as much as would pay an Army Royal. Whereas this King, so often exhausting his Treasury, that he was constrain'd at last to have recourse to unusual and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not only disaffect his Subjects in great part (as appear'd in the Rebellion of the Northern Men and others, though to their Confusion) but expos'd his Kingdom to the Invasion of his Neighbours: Who knowing (as all Princes do) to about how much their Neighbours Revenues amount, and that there remain'd no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furnish; and consequently, would have assail'd him at home, but that their mutual divisions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what in Henry VII. is call'd by some Covetousness, was a Royal Vertue: Whereas the excessive and needless expences of Henry VIII. drew after them those miserable Consequences which the World hath so much reproach'd. Howbeit, there may be occasion to doubt, whether the immense Treasure which Henry VII. left behind, were not (accidentally) the cause of those ills that follow'd: While the young Prince his Son, finding such a mass of Money, did first carelessly spend, and after strive to supply as he could.

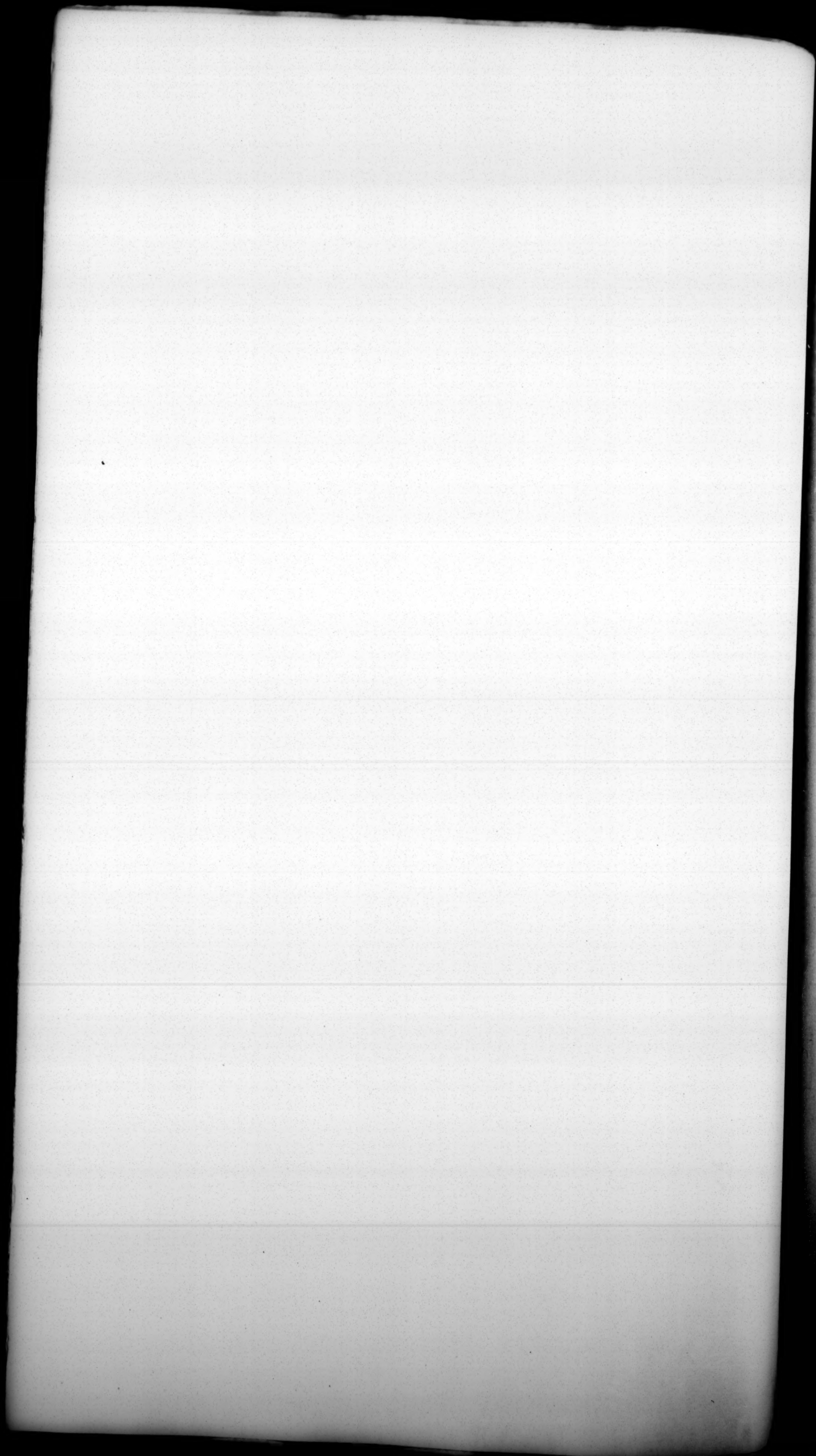
As for the third Vice, wherewith he was justly charg'd, being Lust and Wantonness; there is little to answer, more than that it was rather a personal fault, than damageable to the Publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not only

to examine Circumstances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of Men. That Concupiscence which in some is a Vice, being in others a disease of Repletion, in others a necessity of Nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did hasten the death of his Queens; he being noted more for practising of private Pleasures, than secret Mischiefs, so that if any undue Motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate desire to have Posterity (especially Masculine) which might be the undoubted Heirs of him and the Kingdom, rather than any thing else.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the most glorious Princes of his time: Infomuch, that not only the chief Potentates of Christendom did court him, but his Subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, sufficiently testifie: Which yet expir'd so quickly, that it may be truly said, all his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now expos'd to that obloquy, as his Accusers will neither admit reason of State to cover any where, or necessity to excuse his Actions. For, as they were either discontented Clergy-men (for his relinquishing the Papal Authority, and overthrowing the Monasteries;) or offended Women (for divers severe examples against their Sex) that first oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: So that although one William Thomas a Clerk to the Council to Edward the Sixth, and living about the latter times of Henry the Eighth's Reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian Book, printed Anno 1552, it hath not avail'd.

But what this Prince was, and whether, and how far forth excusable in point of State, Conscience, or Honour, a diligent observation of his Actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious Reader, than any factious relation on what side whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave him in his Grave.

The End of the Reign of K. Henry VIII.



T H E
LIFE and REIGN
O F
K. EDWARD VI.

By Sir JOHN HAYWARD Kt.
and Doctor of Law.

Anno 1537.

Prince Edward born.

EDWARD King of England, the Sixth of that Name, of the Norman Race, was born at Hampton-Court the 17th (a) of October, 1537. being the only surviving Son of King Henry the Eighth, by Jane his Third Wife, Daughter to Sir John Seymer Kt. And because King Henry did take her to Wife after the Death of Katherine his First Wife, from whom he had been divorc'd, no Question nor

Conceit was cast, but that this Issue between them had Right to succeed.

All Reports do constantly run, That he was not by natural Passage delivered into the World, but that his Mother's Body was opened for his Birth, (b) and that she died of the Incision the Fourth Day following. After which sort Men brought forth, were by the ancient Romans esteemed Fortunate; and commonly proved great Enterprisers with happy Success: For so

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(a) All Historians, with one Consent, state the Birth of this Prince to be on the Eve of St. Edward, (whence 'tis likely he had that Name given him) that is, October 12. except Nic. Sanders, who puts it at the Sixth of the Ides of October, which answers to the 10th of that Month; unwilling, perhaps, that this Prince should have so fortunate an Omen, as to be born on the Eve of that English Saint and King.

Three Days after, viz. the 15th Day of October, with very great Splendor and Solemnity, he was baptiz'd, those of the highest Nobility, the Bishops, Abbots, Dignify'd Clergy, and Chaplains, with abundance of Knights and Gentlemen, being summon'd to be present. The Prince was carry'd from his Lodgings to the Chapel by the Marchioness of Exeter, with a most illustrious Attendance. The Two Princesses, the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth, were in the Retinue, and assisted. The Godfathers at the Font, were Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Duke of Norfolk; and the Duke of Suffolk was Godfather at his Confirmation the same time. After he was christen'd by one of the Bishops, his Name was aloud proclaim'd by Garter King at Arms, and call'd Prince Edward, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester: And so he was brought back in the like State to the Queen's Chamber.

On the 24th of October next following, that is, twelve Days from the Birth of the Prince, the Queen dy'd; as is evident from an authentick Manuscript of the Ceremonies of the Queen's Funeral, and from a Journal of Secretary Cecil's: So that a great Error hath been impos'd upon Readers by all our Historians, who have fix'd her Death at the 14th of October, that is, two Days after her Delivery; and by this Author, who assigns her Death to be four Days after; wherein he himself is single; (b) As he is also in that which follows, viz. That his Mother's Body was open'd, to make way for him, by Incision: And he says, *All Reports do constantly run so*: For none of our

De Schismat. Anglican.

Hist. Reformation. Vol. II. Book VII.

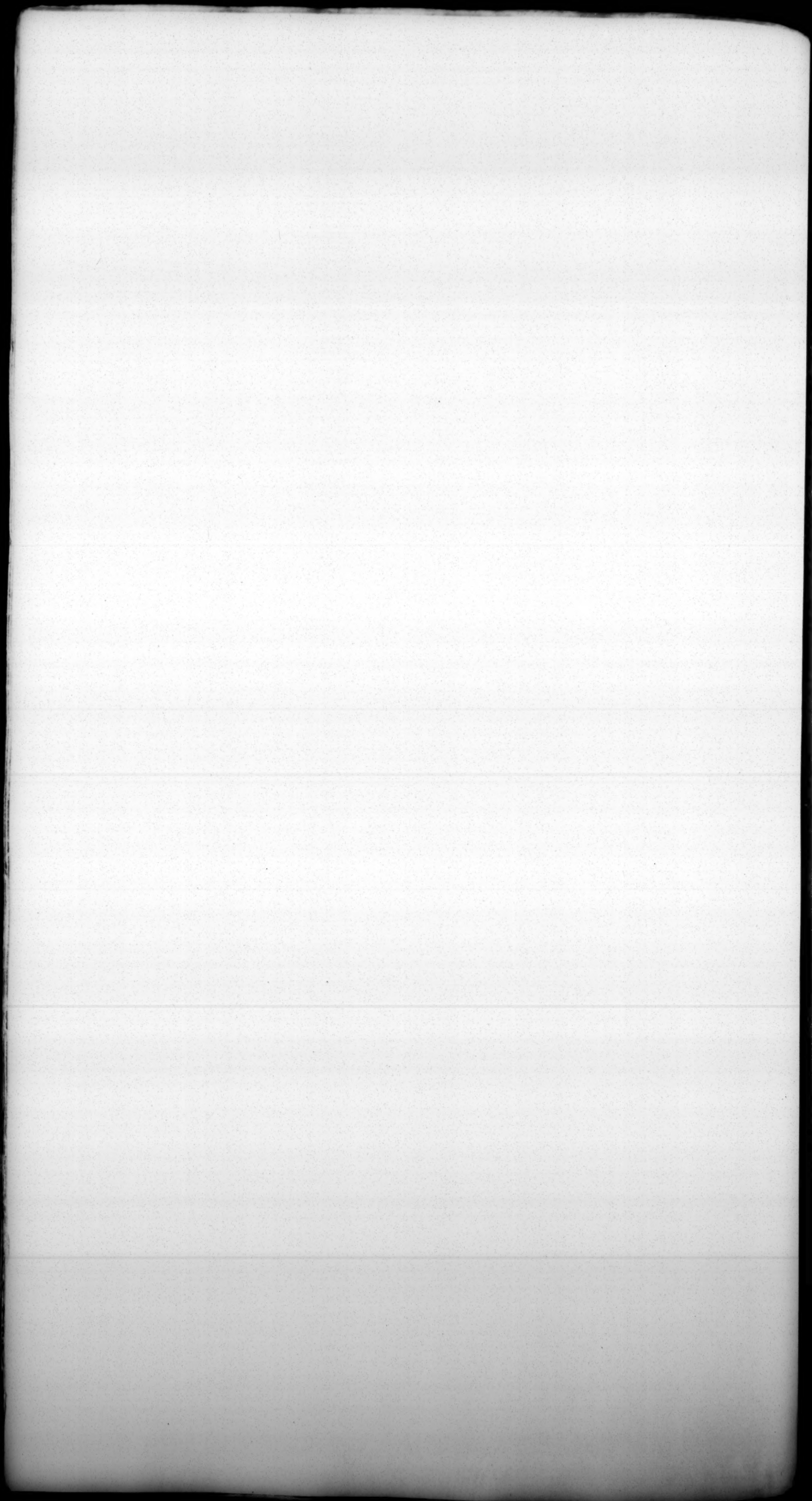
P. 421, 422.

Historians, that wrote before Hayward, give any Countenance to this, but only mention her Departure soon after; except it be Sanders, (whose Pen was not directed so much by Truth, as Malice) who frames a Story, That when the Queen was in extremum Labour, they ask'd the King, Whom he would have spar'd, the Queen or his Son? He answer'd, *His Son*; because he could easily find out other Wives. But yet even he has not a Word of cutting the young Infant out of his Mother's Belly: So that I make no question this was at first an idle Fable, invented by Papists, improv'd by what Sanders wrote; and the Report soon became current among that Party, out of Ill-will to King Henry VIII. to render him cruel, and the Prince his Son to have been unluckily born. Nor is it likely she should die of any Incision, since she liv'd twelve Days after she was deliver'd. Add, That Dr. Burnet (now the Bishop of Salisbury) mentions original Letters in the Cotton Library, that shew how the Queen was well deliver'd. Those Letters are exemplify'd in Fuller's Church History, the one from the Queen her self, the other from her Physicians, both written to the Privy Council.

Vol. II.

N n

Pliny



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Vol. II.

N n

Pliny

Anno 1537. Pliny writeth; *Auspiciatus enecta matre nascuntur*, sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus. These were called *Cæsares*, and afterwards *Cæsares*, as Pliny, cap. 9. *Festus Pompeius*, *Solinus*, and *Titius Probus*, Fest. lib. 3. affirm, *Quia cæso matris utero in lucem prodif-* Solin. ca. 4. sent.

In this Manner was *Cæso Fabius* born, whom *Livy* reporteth to have been thrice Consul, first with *Lucius Amilius*, next with *Sp. Furius*, and thirdly with *T. Virginus*. Thus also was *Scipio* born; who, by reason of his brave Achievements in *Africk*, was surnamed *Scipio Africanus prior*: But in that *Pliny* affirmeth, that he was the first who was called *Cæsar*, à *cæso matris utero*, he seemeth to have made a slip; for before him, and somewhat before the Wars with the *Samnites*, one *Claudius* was surnamed *Cæsar*, because he was in that Fashion brought into the World.

In ancient times these Births were esteemed sacred to *Apollo*, as *Servius* noteth out of these Words in *Virgil*:

Lib. 10. *Inde Lycham ferit exectum cum matre perempta,*
Et tibi Phæbe sacrum. —

And therefore *Æsculapius*, because he was ripped from his Mother's Womb, was feigned to be the Son of *Apollo*; as *Servius* upon another Place of *Virgil* hath observed. For this Cause also, in the ancient State of *Rome*, Things consecrated to *Apollo* were kept by the Family of the *Cæsars*. That *Julius Cæsar* was so born, it is an uncontrollable Report; but that he was the first of the Family of *Cæsars*, who was so either named or born, it is a thick misty Error, supported chiefly by some Men of excellent Judgment in their own Professions, but childishly unskilful in any thing besides. *Pliny* writeth, that his Father was surnamed *Cæsar*; who having born the Office of *Prætor*, determined his Life by sudden Death.

What would have been either the Fortunes or Endeavours of K. EDWARD, he never attained to Years of Proof. Assuredly both for the Time of his Age and Reign, he is rather to be admired than commended, whereby he raised an high Expectation for Times to ensue. In one point he was like the like-born

Julius Cæsar: For as *Cæsar* in the midst of his greatest Actions wrote an exact and curious Commentary of all his notable Enterprizes by Arms, so this *Edward* during all the Time of his Reign, but most especially towards the End, kept a most judicious (b) Journal of all the most principal Passages of the Affairs of his Estate. These Memorials, written with King *Edward's* Hand, (which now shall be the Ground of this History) were imparted unto me by the Great Treasurer of *English* Antiquities, Sir *Robert Cotton* Kt. & Bar. who, as he hath been a most industrious both Collector and Conserver of choice Pieces in that Kind, so is he most ingenuously free to communicate the Use of them to others.

This young Prince was brought up among Nurses, until he arrived to the Age of six Years. When he had passed this weak and sappy Age, he was committed to Dr. *Coxe*, who after was his Almoner, (c) and Mr. *John Cheeke*, Men of mean Birth; (d) but so well esteemed for Virtue and Learning, by reason of the Place of their Employment, that they might well be said to be born of themselves. These having equal Authority for Instruction of the young Prince, and well agreeing, bare equal Stroke in divers Faculties; Dr. *Coxe* for Knowledge of Divinity, Philosophy, and Gravity of Manners; Mr. *Cheeke* for Eloquence in the Latin and Greek Tongues: But for other Sufficiencies (so far as it appears by the Books which he wrote) Pedantick enough. (e) Others also were appointed to acquaint him with the Use of the most respected Foreign Languages; all jointly endeavouring to infuse into him Knowledge and Virtue by some mixture of honest Delight.

Under these Teachers the Prince thrived so well, that in short time he spake the *French* Tongue perfectly. In the *Latin* Tongue he could declaim upon the suddain no less both readily and purely than many who were reputed amongst the most learned of these Times. He attained not only commendable Knowledge, but Speech in the *Greek*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Languages; having always great Judgment in measuring his Words by his Matter; his Speech being alike, both fluent and weighty, such as best becomed a Prince. As for natu-

(b) This Journal is now printed among the Collections, at the End of the Second Volume of the History of the Reformation, by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, taken from the *Volume Nero*, c. 10. in the *Cotton* Library. It commences from the Year 1537. the Year of his Birth, and so proceeds more largely from the Year of his Accession to the Crown, viz. 1547. unto the End of *November*, 1552.

(c) And Master also of his Requests.

(d) Sir *Anthony Cook* Kt. was also a great Guide of his Learning and Manners in these his early Years, and his chief Instructor. In saying, the two other were of mean Birth, the Historian wrongs one, if not both: For *Cheeke's* Family was ancient, and of good Wealth. This *Cheeke* was sprung from the *Cheekes* of the Isle of *Wight*; the Antiquity of which Family is trac'd as far backwards as King *Richard* the Second's Time, when a *Cheeke* married a Daughter of the Lord *Mountague*, as appears in the *Heralds* Books.

(e) Upon *Cheeke's* Books and Learning, as well as his Birth, he leaves a Blot; saying, he was Pedantick enough. He translated two Orations of *St. Chrysostom* into elegant Latin. He wrote *The true Subject to the Rebel*, in the Time of the Insurrection under this King. And there were Letters in Latin passed between Bishop *Gardiner* and him from *Cambridge*, concerning the right pronouncing of the *Greek* Tongue; which were afterwards publish'd; with some other Letters, printed occasionally: Which no Man can depart from the reading of, but with very high Opinion of his great Ingenuity and Gravity. He was a Man of great Reading; an excellent *Platonist*, *Orator*, and *Philosopher*; one of the first Restorers of good polite Learning in *Cambridge*. Dr. *Tho. Wylson*, Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Contemporary at the University, and one that knew him well, call'd him, *That rare Learned Man, and Singular Ornament of the Land*.

Ann 1546. *ral* Philosophy, for Logick, Musick, Astronomy, and other Liberal Sciences, his Perfections were such, that the great *Italian* Philosopher *Cardane*, having tasted him by many Conferences, and finding him most strongly to encounter his new devised Paradoxes in Philosophy, seemed to be astonished between Admiration and Delight, and divulged his Abilities to be miraculous. (f) These his Acquirements by Industry were exceedingly both enriched and enlarged by many excellent Endowments of Nature: For in Disposition he was mild, gracious and pleasant, of an Heavenly Wit; in Body beautiful, but especially in his Eyes, which seemed to have a starry Liveliness and Lustre in them; generally he seemed to be as *Cardane* reported of him, A MIRACLE OF NATURE.

King Henry's Death.

When he was a few Months above nine Years of Age, great Preparation was made either for creating or for declaring him to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Count Palatine of *Chester*. (g) In the midst whereof *King Henry* his Father ended his Life of a Dropsy, accompanied with a spreading Scar of his Thigh. Hereupon *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Anthony Browne* Kt. of the Order and Master of the Horse, were forthwith dispatched, by the Residue of the Council, to the young King, then lying at *Hertford*. (h) These came unto him, and the next Day brought him to *Enfield*, neither with Preparation nor Train any more than ordinary. Here they first declared unto him and to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Sister the Death of *King Henry* their Father: Upon which Tidings they both brake forth into such unforced and unfeigned Passions, as it plainly appeared, that good Nature did work in them beyond all other Respects. Never was Sorrow more sweetly set forth, their Faces seeming rather to beautify their Sorrow, than their Sorrow to cloud the Beauty of their Faces. Their young Years, their excellent Beauties, their lovely and lively Enterchange of Complaints, in such Sort graced their Grief, as the most Iron Eyes at that time present were drawn thereby into Society of their Tears.

King Edward comes to London.

The next Day following, being the last of *January*, the young King advanced towards

London, the Earl of *Hertford* riding next before him, and Sir *Anthony Browne* behind. The same Day he was proclaimed King, and his Lodging was prepared within the Tower. He there was received by the Constable and Lieutenant on Horseback without the Gates, and upon the Bridge next the Ward-Gate by all the chief Lords of his Council. These attended him to his Chamber of Presence, and there swore Allegiance unto him.

Here he remained about three Weeks; and in the mean time the Council appointed unto him by his Father's Will daily fate, for ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. Among these, the Earl of *Hertford* was elected, * and forthwith proclaimed Protector of the Realm, and Governor of the King's Person, until he should accomplish the Age of eighteen Years. To this Office he was deemed most fit, for that he was the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, very near unto him in Blood, but yet of no Capacity to succeed; by reason whereof his natural Affection and Duty was less easy to be over-carried by Ambition. A few Days after, * the Lord Protector knighted the King within the Tower, and immediately the King stood up under his Cloth of State, took the Sword from the Lord Protector, and dubbed the Lord Mayor of *London* Knight. Hence * ensued divers other Advancements in Honour: For Sir *Edward Seymer*, Lord Protector and Earl of *Hertford*, was created Duke of *Somerset*; the Lord *William Parre*, Earl of *Essex*, was proclaimed Marquess of *Northampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymer*, the King's Uncle, was made Lord of *Sudley* and High Admiral of *England*; Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*; Sir *William Willoughby* Lord *Willoughby* of *Parreham*; and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* Lord *Sheffield* of *Buterwike*. And because high Titles of Honour were in that Time of the King's Minority sparingly granted, because Dignity then waited upon Desert, which caused it again to be waited on by Respect, every of these testified for others, that it was the Pleasure of the King's Father before his Death, that these Titles should thus be conferred.

During this time the Body of *King Henry* was with honourable Solemnities (i) conveyed from *London* to *Sheene*, * and thence to

Windsor, where the Corps and Company lodged that Night.

(f) But this Philosophical Conference of the King with *Cardan*, was not now at the Beginning of his Reign, but some Years after, when he was fifteen Years of Age.

(g) *L. Herbert* writes, this Prince was made so but six Days after his Birth; at which Time there was a Creation of two other Earls, viz. *Hertford* and *Southampton*: But this indeed the Author took from this King's Journal, that mentions great Preparations for it about this Time.

(h) *Hollingshead* makes the Place of the King's present Residence to be at *Hatfield*: But our Author follows herein the King's Journal, wherein those two Noblemen are said to come to him to *Hertford*.

(i) Because these Honourable Solemnities are not in any of our Historians particularly set down, take this short Account of it, from a Volume in the Office of Arms.

The Chest wherein the Royal Corps was laid stood in the midst of the Privy Chamber, with Lights, and Divine Service said about him, with Masses, Obsequies, and continual Watch, made by the Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, in their Order and Course, Night and Day, for five Days, till the Chapel was ready; where was a goodly Hearse, with eighty square Tapers, every Light containing two Foot in Length, in the whole 1800 Weight of Wax, [another Relation writeth about 2000 Weight,] garnished with Pensils, Escutcheons, Banners and Bannerols of Descents; and at the four Corners, Banners of Saints, beaten in fine Gold upon Damask; with a Majesty thereover of rich Cloth of Tissue, and Vallance of black Silk, and Fringe of black Silk and Gold; and the Barriers without the Hearse, and the Sides and Floor of the said Chapel, covered with black Cloth to the High Altar; and at the Sides and Ceiling of the said Chapel set with Banners and Standards of *St. George* and others. The 2d of *February* the Corps was removed, and brought into the Chapel, by the Lord Great Master and Officers of the Household, and there placed within the Hearse, under a Pall of rich Cloth of Tissue, garnished with Escutcheons, and a rich Cloth of Gold set with precious Stones thereon. It continued there twelve Days, with Masses

Anno 1547. Windsor, and there buried within the College. All his Officers brake their Staves, and threw them into the Grave; but at their Return to the Tower, new Staves were delivered unto them. This Solemnity being finished, the King, on the 19th of February, 1547. rode in great State from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster; and the Day following was Crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted with other Bishops, and all the chief Nobility of the Realm, about the 29th Year of the Empire of Charles V. and the 33d of the Reign of Francis I. of France, and in the 5th Year both of the Reign and Age of Mary Queen of Scotland.

King Edward's Coronation.

A general Pardon.

* The 6th of March.

King Edward's Virtues.

The same Day a general Pardon was granted to all Persons, as it hath been usual at Coronations: But by some envious Oppositions, or for some other Causes unknown, six only were excepted, the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, Edward le Courtois, eldest Son to the Marquis of Exeter, Dr. Pates, Mr. Fortescue, and Mr. Throgmorton: But they overlived that Envy, and had their Pardons afterwards, in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Mary. A few Days after * the Earl of Southampton, Lord Chancellor of England, for being Oppositive, (as it was reported, and obstinately opposite to the rest of the Lords in Matters of Council) was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his Place and Authority in Council, (k) and the Great Seal was delivered to Sir William Pavlet, Lord St. John, who was Lord Great Master of the King's Household: But this Wound of Disgrace never left bleeding, until it was stopt by the Protector's Fall.

It is certain, that from the first Entrance of of this King to his Reign, never was King either more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all: The one whereof proceeded from the Goodness of his Disposition,

the other from many Graces and Virtues illustrious in him; for, besides his excellent Beauty and Modesty befitting a Prince, besides his sweet Humanity, the very Life of mortal Condition, besides a natural Disposition to all Literature, whereto he seemed rather born than instructed, many noble and high Virtues sparkled in him, especially Clemency, Courage, Care, and Knowledge in Affairs of State.

To Clemency he was much enclined, especially in Matters of Blood, and most especially if it were for Religion; a Virtue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had been less used before; insomuch that albeit he was most earnestly affected to that Religion wherein he had been brought up: Yet none were executed in his time for other Religion, but only two blasphemous Hereticks, Joan Butcher and George a Dutchman.

And when Joan Butcher was to be burned, all the Council could not procure him to set his Hand to the Warrant: Wherefore they employed Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to deal privately with him for his Subscription. But the King remained firm both in Reason and Resolution, affirming, That he would not drive her headlong to the Devil: But because Hereticks for the most part have a Strain of Madness, he thought it best to apply her with some Corporal Chastisements, which with Respite of Time might happily reduce her to good Order. The Archbishop was violent both by Perswasions and Entreaties; and when with meer Importunity he had prevailed, the King in subscribing his Name said, That he would lay all the Charge thereof upon the Archbishop before God. Not many Years passed, but this Archbishop also felt the Smart of the Fire: And, it may be, that by his Importunity for Blood he did offend; for a

and Diriges sung and said every Day; Norroy each Day standing at the Choir Door, and beginning with these Words, pronounced aloud, *Of your Charity, Pray for the Soul of the High and Mighty Prince, our late Sovereign Lord and King, HENRY VIII.* February the 14th the Corps was removed, and lodged that Night at Syon, with the Mourners and Company; and the next Day arrived at Windsor: And the next Day, being February the 16th, the Corps was interred. Stephen Bishop of Winchester preached the Sermon, on that Text, *Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord:* Where he declared the Frailty of Man, and the Community of Death, both to High and Low; and shewing the Loss that all had sustained by the Death of so Gracious a King: Yet comforting them again by the Resurrection in the Life to come. And exhorted them all to joyce and give Thanks to Almighty God for having sent so towardsly and virtuous a Prince to Reign after him; desiring all Men to continue in Obedience and Duty: With many other Exhortations, notably set forth, and with great Learning.

The Corps being let down by a Vice, with the Help of 16 tall Yeomen of the Guard, the same Bishop, standing at the Head of the Vault, proceeded in the Service of the Burial; and about the same stood all the Head Officers of the Household, as, the Lord Great Master, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Treasurer, Comptroller, Sergeant-Porter, and the Four Gentlemen-Ushers in Ordinary, with their Staves and Rods in their Hands; and when the Mold was brought and cast into the Grave by the Prelate executing, at the Words *Pulvis Pulveris, Cinis Cineri*, first the Lord Great Master, and after the Lord Chamberlain, and all the rest, brake their Staves in Shivers upon their Heads, and cast them after the Corps within the Pit, with exceeding Sorrow and Heaviness, not without grievous Sighs and Tears.

After this finished, and *De Profundis* said, and the Grave covered again with Planks, Garter stood in the midst of the Choir, accompanied with all them of his Office in their Coats of Arms, and with a loud Voice proclaimed, *Almighty God, of his Infinite Goodness, give good Life and long to the most High and Mighty Prince, our Sovereign Lord, King EDWARD VI. by the Grace of GOD, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth, under GOD, of the Church of England and Ireland the Supreme Head, and Sovereign of the most Noble Order of the Garter:* And with that he cried, *VIVE LE NOBLE ROY EDWARD;* and the rest of the Officers of Arms cried the same three several times after him.

Then the Trumpets sounded with great Melody and Courage, to the Comfort of all them that were there present.

(k) This Verbatim from Hollingshed: But both he and our Author must be warily understood here; so as not to mean that the Earl was removed from being a Privy Counsellor, but from the Authority he had at the Board before: For this Earl was not removed from being a Counsellor till the 4th of the King at *Candlemas*, when he and the Earl of Arundel were both put out, as Hollingshed himself writes. What the Crime of the Lord Chancellor was, and the Proceedings thereupon, may be seen at large in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation; the Account wherof he seems to have from the Council Book.

Vol. II. p. 15, 16.

good

Ann 1547. good Thing is not good, if it be immoderately desired or done. (1)

His Courage.

His *Courage* did appear in the great Delight he took in Representations of Battels, Skirmishes, Assaults, and of all kind of Military Exercises; his Judgment was great, either for Errors, or fine Contrivances in the Field: And no Actions of Arms were executed in his Time, but he would perfectly understand by what Advantages on the one side, or Oversights on the other, the Event succeeded. He took great Pleasure in Exercises of Activity, whereto he much trained his Servants; and to that end he often appointed Challenges among them, for Wrestling, Leaping, Running, Riding, Shooting at Rovers and at Rounds, and such like Games; and at Riding and Shooting would sometimes be of one of the Sides. He had 100 Archers of his ordinary Guard, who once mustering before him, shot two Arrows every Man together through an Inch Board of well-season'd Timber: All stroke through the Board, and their Arrows stuck in another Board behind; and divers peared both the Boards generally. None might be of his Guard but besides of tall and comely Stature, such as were either good Archers or Wrestlers, or Casters of the Bar, or Leapers or Runners, or of some other Man-like Quality. He was exceeding skilful in Fortifications; and bestowed great Cost in strengthening *Calais*, *Berwick*, and other Parts thereabout. He knew all the principal Ports in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *France*, and other Countries not far distant, how they lay, when the Tide served, what Vessels of Burthen they could receive, and what Winds served for Entrance.

His Care and Knowledge of Affairs of State.

Touching his *Care and Knowledge* in Affairs of State, nothing was more conspicuous in him. He was much conversant amongst his Council, and could well understand what Matters passed their Judgments, and upon what Grounds. In Matters discoursed by them, he would often encounter their Reasons, and add most lively Reasons of his own; insomuch that at last they made an Order, That no Matters of Weight should be debated, unless he were present. Admirable he was to collect the Speeches and Opinions of many; and to draw their Differences to a true head, always bended himself rather Judiciously to resolve, than by Doubts and Distinctions to perplex a Business. He had a Chest, whereof he always carried the Key about him, for keeping Record of such Matters as were concluded by his Council: And embracing Business for part of his Solace, he appointed set Times with *Dr. Cox*, Master of his Requests, for speeding

poor Mens Causes, without tedious Attendance or Delay. Of all the Magistrates, Justices, and Gentlemen of Sort, within his Realm, he knew their Names, their Housekeeping, their Religion, and Manner of Life. He was skilful in the Exchange beyond the Seas, and in all the Circumstances and Practices thereof; and so was he both skilful and provident in Matters of the Mint at home. To Ambassadors he would give Answer upon the suddain, and touch both orderly and fully upon every Part of their Orations, to the Delight and Admiration of all the Hearers. He much frequented Sermons, and penned Notes with his own Hand; his Notes he cypher'd with Greek Characters, to the end that they who waited on him should not read them. His Disports were ingenuous and man-like, whereby he always learned somewhat. And yet, as well from these as his Businesses of State, he daily reserved some Hours for his private Studies and Exercises with his Teachers. These Endeavours fell upon so excellent a Capacity, that in every short Distance of Time he made incredible Encrease both in Learning and Experience of Affairs, and consequently in Love of all Men.

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His Sports.

His Studies.

Presently after that he was settled in his Government, *Dr. Wotton* the King's Ambassador, Resident with the Queen Dowager of *Hungary*, Regent of the Low Countries under the Emperor, was discharged of that Attendance, and addressed to the Emperor's Court, there to reside Ambassador for the King, instead of *Dr. Bonner* Bishop of *London* and of *Sir Francis Bryan*, who were called home. He was furnished with Instructions, that being first informed from the former Ambassadors, as well of the general State of the Emperor's Court, as of such particular Intelligences as might serve to advance the King's Intentions, he should deal with the Emperor to declare all Scots for his Enemies, except such as should be Friends to the King, which should appear by his safe Conduct: That because it had been agreed between the Emperor and the late King of *England*, that the Year next ensuing they should with Joint-Forces, invade the Territories of the *French* King, he should move the Emperor to advise of some Order and Form for those Proceedings: That whereas the Duke of *Lorraine* had been late before at the Emperor's Court, and made some Overture for Peace or Truce between the Emperor and the *French* King, he should be informed by *Sir Francis Bryan* of the whole State of that Business, and wait Opportunity to put the Emperor in Remembrance, That it had been covenanted

Dr. Wotton Ambassador with the Emperor.

His Instructions.

(1) This severe Charge laid upon Archbishop *Cranmer*, a good Man, whether it be true or not, I cannot tell: The King mentioneth nothing of it in his Journal, only that *Joan* was burnt for her Obstinacy in her Heresy: And the Character here given to the Archbishop is utterly disagreeing to his Temper: For none was more tender of Blood than he; none more pitiful and compassionate: Nor was he a Man of rigorous Methods and violent Courses. Indeed *Fox* mentions, that the Council put *Cranmer* upon moving the King to sign the Warrant; which was a Sign he had no great Forwardness to it himself: And, in Obedience to them he did labour with the King about it, and obtained it. And though he did this, it neither argued Violence, nor Importunity for Blood: For as he was not present at her Condemnation, as appears by the Council Book; so he may be concluded thence to have no Desire of this Person's Death. And it was needful at this time, that Protestants should shew that they were no Friends to Heresy; which, it is likely, might have confirmed the Papists to believe they were, if at this Juncture the chief Prelate and Patron of the Protestant Religion should have shewn any Partiality towards such an Heretick. And the Archbishop's Thoughts, I am apt to be believe, were, that this Fear of Death which this Woman saw so near, when the Warrant was signed for her Execution, might serve to reclaim her from her Error, though his and other Learned Mens Reasonings with her, being both ignorant and obstinate, were ineffectual. This seemed fit to be noted here, to vindicate the Chief Instrument of our Reformation, against our Author's Pen, who bore no Good-will to Churchmen.

between

Anno 1547. between him and the King of England, that neither of them should treat of Peace or Truce with the French King, or any other common Enemy, without Consent of the other; and that the King of England had well observed that Article, in refusing to give ear to the French Ambassador making Overture for such a Treaty: That whereas it had been agreed between him and the King of England, that either of them should send certain Ships to Sea, well mann'd and apparell'd for Fight, which all that Year had been performed by the King, whereas the Emperor shifted the Default upon his Officers; in case he should not cause the said Navy to be forthwith furnished, he should wait Occasion to sollicite the same. Lastly, That he should carry a nimble Ear, as well touching any Variation in all these Matters, as for other Occurrences in France, Spain, Italy, Almain, and thereof advertise the King.

The King entertains a Treaty with France. But notwithstanding all these Cautions and Preventions of Peace or Truce between the Emperor and the French, the King of England finding the Emperor slow in his Performances, and much suspecting his secret Ends, entertained a Treaty of Peace with France, but secretly and afar off, and to be governed as Occasions should vary; and in regard hereof Agreement was made, That all Ships and Goods which had been surpris'd at Sea by the English upon the French, or by the French upon the English, since the Beginning of that Treaty, should be freely discharged. And albeit the English had great Advantage in Value of Repairs, as being always both more strong and active at Sea; yet the King by his Proclamation commanded, that forthwith Restitution should be made.

Preparations for War with Scotland. Hostility being thus suspended with France, Preparation was made for Wars against Scotland, the Occasion whereof did thus arise:

MARY STEWART, sole Daughter and Heir to James V. King of Scots, began her Reign over the Realm of Scotland upon the 18th of December, 1542. being then not above 7 Days old, so as the Sun no sooner almost saw her an Infant, than a Queen; and no sooner was she a Queen, but she was desired of Henry, then King of England, to be assured in Marriage to Prince Edward his only Son, being then not much above 6 Years of Age. Upon this Overture the Governor of Scotland assembled the Nobility of the Realm at Edinburgh, where, after much Debatement of the Commodities or Discommodities like to ensue, they concluded in the End, That in March then next ensuing a Parliament should be held, to give Perfection and Form to that Business.

Sadler sent Ambassador to the King. In the mean time Sir Ralph Sadler Kt. was sent Ambassador from England to the Governor and other Lords of Scotland, who followed his Charge with so good Diligence and Advice, that in the same Parliament Authority was given to William Earl of Gloucestre, Sir George Douglas, Sir William Hamilton, Sir James Leirmouth, Kts. and to one of the Secretaries of State, to conclude this Marriage. These Commissioners came into England, with whom before the End of July, the same Year, all Covenants were concluded, Instruments of the Contract of Marriage interchangeably sealed and sworn, and a Peace established for Ten Years, which Time expired, both the Prince

and the Queen should be of Age to consent.

The French King all this Time was so entertained with Wars against the Emperor, that he had no Sense of these Proceedings; but when he understood that these Agreements were passed as well for Marriage as for Peace, he bent his best Endeavour to dissolve them both: First with Intention to impeach both the Greatness and Strength of the English Nation; after with Desire to win this Marriage for Francis, who afterwards was King of France. To this purpose the French King sent for Matthew Earl of Levenox, who then served under his Pay in Italy, and furnished him with Money, Forces, and Friends; and, above all, with many Encouragements to take upon him bravely the Honour of his House and Ancestors, to remove the Earl of Arran from the Regency of Scotland, and to reverse such Pactions as he had made. The Earl at his first Arrival in Scotland was joyfully received, as a Man most engaged in Domestical Factions. He always used Courtesy and Modesty disliked of none, sometimes Sociableness and Fellowship well liked by many; generally he was honoured by his Nation, and well reputed by Strangers: In Favour of him the Pope sent the Patriarch of Apulia his Legate into Scotland, who, in the Pope's Name, did faithfully assure, That both Forces and Money should be sent into Scotland to resist the English. He drew the greatest of the Clergy on his side, who were most powerful to draw on others. On the other side, the King was not negligent to support his Party with Supplies, whereby great Troubles ensued in Scotland, which fell not within the Times that I have in hand.

In the End, the Earl of Arran abandoned the King of England, and applied himself only to the French; by reason whereof the Regency was confirmed to him, which otherwise he had been upon Adventure to lose. And as the Earl of Arran did forsake the English, and adjoin to the French; so the Earl of Levenox, being forsaken by the French, applied his Service wholly to the English, which did not only continue, but much encrease, the Calamities of Scotland, during the Time of King Henry's Reign.

King Henry, at the Time of his Death, gave a special Charge to the Lords of his Council, That they should omit no Endeavours, whereby the said Marriage might be procured to take Effect: Hereupon they pursued this Quarrel in the same State that the King left it. But before they attempted any thing by Arms, the Lord Protector assailed the Scottish Nobility with a friendly Letter; herein he remembered them of the Promises, Seals and Oaths, which by publick Authority had passed for concluding this Marriage, That these being Religious Bonds betwixt God and their Souls, could not by any politic Act of State be dissolved, until their Queen should attain unto Years of Dissent. He farther added, That the Providence of God did then manifestly declare it self, in that the Male Princes of Scotland failing, the Kingdom was left to a Daughter, and in that King Henry left only one Son to succeed: That these two Princes were agreeable both for Years and Princely Qualities to be joined in Marriage, and thereby to knit both Realms into one: That this Union

Anno 1547. Practices of the French with Scotland against the English.

The Protector's Letter to the Scottish Nobility.

Anno 1547. Union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firm Continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable to both the Realms: That both the easiness and Firmness might be conjectured, for that both People are of the same Language, of like Habit and Fashion, of like Quality and Condition of Life, of one Climate, not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the World besides: For as these are sure Arguments, that both descended from one Original, and had been under one Government, so (by reason that Likeness is a great Cause of Liking, and of Love) they would be most forcible Means both to join and to hold them in one Body again: That the Profit would rise by extinguishing Wars between the Two Nations; by reason whereof, in former Times, Victories abroad have been impeached; Invasions and Seditions occasioned; the Confines of both Realms laid waste, or else made a Nursery of Rapines, Robbers and Murthers; the inner Parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched Spectacle to all Eyes of Humanity and Pity: That the Honour of both Realms would encrease, as well in regard of the Country's sufficient to furnish, not only the Necessities, but the moderate Pleasures of this Life; as also of the People, great in Multitude, in Bodies able, assured in Mind, not only for the Safety, but the Glory of their Common State: That hereby would follow, Assurance of Defence, Strength to Enterprise, Ease in sustaining publick Burthens and Charge: That herein the English desired no Preheminence, but offered Equality both in Liberty and Privilege, and in Capacity of Offices and Employments; and to that end, the Name of Britains should be assumed indifferent to both Nations: That this would be the Accomplishment of their common Felicity, in case by their evil, either Destiny or Advice, they suffered not the Occasion to be lost.

The Authority and Reasons of this Letter weighed much with Persons of most weighty Judgments; but others more powerful in that State, partly upon vain Hope, in regard of the young Years of the King, partly upon Fear of Alteration in Religion, and partly in favour of their ancient Amity with the French; and doubting to be brought under by the English, were altogether carried another way: Yet they dispatched an Ambassador into England; but neither was any thing done, neither do I find what was propounded to have been done.

Hostilities between the Two Nations.

Hereupon divers Hostilities began to be practised; and first, a small Ship of the King's, called the *Penfy*, hovering at Sea, was assailed by the *Lyon*, a principal Ship of Scotland. The Fight began afar off and slow; but when they approached, it grew very furious, wherein the *Penfy* so applied her Shot, that therewith the *Lyon's* Oar-loop was broken, her Sails and

Tacklings torn; and lastly, she was boarded *Anno 1547.* and taken: But as she was brought for England, she was cast away by Tempest and Negligence near *Harwich* Haven, and most of her Men perished with her. I would not have stay'd upon this small Adventure, but that it seemed a Presage to the succeeding War, wherein the English acquired a glorious Victory, but lost the Fruit thereof, by reason of their stormy Disorders at home.

Many such small Actions were enterprised *Preparations* daily, which were but scattering Drops in regard of the great Tempest which did ensue: *against Scotland.* For in the mean Season an Army was prepared for Invasion of Scotland, under the Fortune and Command of the Lord Protector. The Soldiers first assembled at *Newcastle*, and were there mustered by the Earl of *Warwick*. Here they sojourned three Days, in which time the King's Fleet arrived, consisting of 65 Bottoms, whereof one Galley and 34 tall Ships were well appointed for Fight; the residue served for Carriage of Ammunition and Victuals. Of this Fleet, *Edward* Lord *Clinton* was Admiral, and *Sir William Woodhouse* his Vice-Admiral: In this Time also a general Muster was taken, and Order appointed for the March.

In the whole Army were between 12 and 13000 Foot, 1300 Men at Arms, 2800 Light Horse, being such Men for their goodly Personages, their ready Horses, their brave Apparel, their Armour and Weapons, as never before was an Army set forth into those Parts in all Points better appointed. The Lord Protector, being General, represented the Person and Majesty of the King: The Earl of *Warwick* was Lieutenant-General; the Lord *Gray of Wilton* was Marshal of the Field, and Captain-General of the Horsemen; *Sir Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Men at Arms and Dimilances; *Sir Ralph Sadler* was General Treasurer: Other Gentlemen had their particular Charges. But upon the General, and the Earl of *Warwick*, both the Hopes and the Hazards of the main Adventure did wholly turn. And because much shall be said of these two hereafter, because during the Reign of King *Edward* they were the principal Actors in every Scene, I will briefly declare both what Persons and of what Demerits at that time they were.

Edward Seymour, Duke of *Somerset*, Lord General, was a Man little esteemed either for Wisdom or Personage, or Courage in Arms: *(m)* But being in Favour with King *Henry*, and by him much employed, was always observed to be both Faithful and Fortunate, as well in giving Advice, as in managing a Charge. About 5 Years before, he being Warden of the Marches against Scotland, the Invasion of *James V.* was by his Direction encountred and broken at *Solome Mousse*, whereof divers of the Scotch Nobility were taken Prisoners. The Year next after, he and the Earl of *Warwick*, with

Edward Duke of Somerset's Character.

(m) The Wrong the Author hath done the Name of this Good Duke (for so was he commonly stil'd) to Posterity, is interperfed through his Book: But he that shall but read forward through this Paragraph, where these undervaluing Words are bestow'd upon the Duke, will find the Author in a great measure confuting himself. Had there not been an Opinion in the Nobility and Great Men of the Court, of the Duke's Parts and Abilities, his Wisdom and Courage, they would never have consented, that he should have been not only Governor of the King's Person, and Protector of his Realms, but Lieutenant-General of his Armies both by Sea and Land, and Lord High Treasurer and Earl-Marshal of England, and Governor of the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*.

Annus 1547. a handful of Men to speak of, fired *Lieth* and *Edinburgh*, and returned by a leisurely March 44 Miles through the Body of *Scotland*. The Year next ensuing he invaded the *Scotch Borders*, wasted *Tivedale* and the *Marches*, and deformed the Country with Ruin and Spoil. The Year then next following, being appointed to view the Fortifications upon the *Marches of Calais*, he not only did that, but with the hardy Approach of 7000 *English Men*, raised an Army of 21000 *French*, encamped over the River before *Bulleine*, won their Ordnance, Carriage, Treasure, and Tents, with the Loss only of one Man, and returned from thence by Land to *Guesnes*, won in his Way, within Shot and Rescue of *Arde*, the Castle of *Outing*, commonly called the *Red Pile*. The Year next ensuing this he invaded and spoiled *Picardy*, began the Forces of *Newhaven*, *Blackness*, and *Bullinberge*, and so well applied his Endeavours, that in a few Weeks, and before his Departure, they were made tenable: Upon these and other like Successes his succeeding Fortunes were esteemed always rather new than strange, and his only Presence was reputed a sufficient Surety for an Army; and yet did he never rise hereby, either into Haughtiness in himself, or Contempt of others, but remained Courteous and Affable, choosing a Course least subject to Envy, between stiff Stubbornness and filthy Flattery, never aspiring higher than to be the second Person in State.

Character of
Dudley
Earl of War-
wick.

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was a Man of ancient Nobility, comely in Stature and Countenance, but of little Gravity or Abstinence in Pleasures, yea, sometimes almost dissolute, which was not much regarded, if in a time when Vices began to grow into Fashion, a great Man was not over severe. He was of a great Spirit, and highly aspiring, not forbearing to make any Mischief the Means of attaining his ambitious Ends. Hereto his good Wit and pleasant Speeches were altogether serviceable, having the Art also, by empty Promises and Threats, to draw others to his Purpose: In Matters of Arms he was both skilful and industrious, and as well in Foresight as Resolution present and great. Being made Lord Lieutenant of *Bulloine*, when it was first taken by the *English*, the Walls sore beaten and taken, and in very Truth scarce maintainable, he defended the Place against the Dauphin, whose Army was accounted to consist of 52000 Men: And when the Dauphin had entered the base Town, not without Slaughter of divers of the *English*, by a brave Sally, he cast out the *French* again, with the Loss of above 800 of their Men, esteemed the best Soldiers in *France*. The Year next ensuing, when the *French* had a great Fleet at Sea for Invasion of *England*, he was appointed Admiral, and presented Battle to the *French Navy*; which they refused, and returned home with all their Threats and Cost in vain. Hereupon he landed 5000 Men in *France*, fired *Treport*, and divers Villages thereabouts, and returned to his Ships with the Loss only of one Man. To say Truth, for Enterprises by Arms, he was the Minion of that Time, so as few Things he attempted but he achieved with Honour, which made him

more proud and ambitious when he had done. He generally increased both in Estimation with the King, and Authority among the Nobility, doubtful whether by fatal Destiny to the State, or whether by his Virtues, or at least by his Appearances of Virtues.

Now the General in this Voyage was diligent and careful, as well to perfect all Practices which might serve to advance the Adventure, as to give good Contentment to all the Soldiers. These also were of good Confidence and Cheer, as well out of their own Courage, as for the Skill, Valour, and Fortune, of their Commanders. And first, every Soldier was commanded to take with him Provision for four Days, and so were let out of *Berwick*, and encamped about two slight Shoot off the Town upon the Sea-side towards *Scotland*. The Lord *Clynton* also put to Sea with his Fleet, always holding his Course with the Army, to relieve them if need should require. Here Proclamation was made in three Parts of the Field, declaring the Causes of his Journey, and offering not only Peace, but Love and Rewards, to all such as would either advance or favour the Marriage between the two Princes. Hereof it was conceived, that the *Scots* had good Intelligence, having some Factors, doubtless, at this Mart; albeit, (as Wisdom was) they did not openly Trade.

The next day they began to march, wherein the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Bryan* led about 800 Light-Horsemen as a Scout a Mile or two before the Army, as well to give Advertisement of Appearance or Approach of Enemies, as to provide Lodging both Commodious and Safe. Sir *Francis Bryan* was so regardful of his Charge, as he never disposed any Matter of Weight, but first he acquainted the General therewith; neither did he at any time forsake his Saddle, until the Army were quartered, and seated in such Order, as, if any Alarm should be given, the Horse-men might issue forth without disturbance of the Foot, and the Avant-guard without shuffling with the Battail or Arrier; next to the Light Horsemen followed the Avant-guard, in number between 3 and 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms, and 600 Light Horse-men, led by the Earl of *Warwick*. The Battel followed, consisting of about 6000 Foot, 600 Men at Arms, and about 1000 Light Horse-men, conducted by the Lord General himself. Lastly, followed the Arrier, wherein were between 3 and 4000 Foot, 100 Men at Arms, and 600 Light-horse, under the Conduct of the Lord *Dacres*, a lively aged Gentleman, no less settled in Experience than in Years. Upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being 16 Pieces, every Piece having its Guard of Pioneers to plain the Way; the other Wing was made by Men at Arms, and Demilances for the Avant-guard, and half the Battail riding about two slight Shot from their side. The other half of the Battail, and the whole Flank of the Arrier, was closed by the Carriages, being 900 Carts besides Wagons. The residue of the Men at Arms and Demilances marched behind.

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The Eng-
lish Army
enter Scot-
land.

In this order, both beautiful and firm, they march'd two days using no Hostility, lest Peace thereby might happily be hindred. The second day they arriv'd at a place call'd the *Peathes*, a Valley stretching towards the Sea six Miles in length, about twenty score in breadth above, and five score in the bottom, wherein runs a little River. The Banks are so steep on either side, that the Passage is not direct, but by Paths leading slope-wise; which being many, the Place is thereupon call'd the *Peathes*. It was given forth in the Army, that here the Scots prepar'd to resist them: howbeit no Forces appear'd, only the Paths were cut in divers places with traverse Trenches, which much encumbred the Carriages till the Pioneers had level'd them again; assuredly a small Power join'd to the advantage of the Place might have troubled the *English* very much: For albeit no Resistance was made, yet the *English* had much to do in surmounting the natural Difficulties of the Place the greatest part of one day.

Passage being made, the General summon'd three Castles that were near; one desperate of Succour, and not desirous to dispute the Defence, presently yielded; but two stood upon their Adventure. So the Cannon was planted, a Breach made, and the Place enter'd: but then the Moderation of the General was both unusual and unexpected, in sparing the Defendants Lives; for it hath been a long observ'd Law of the Field, *That if a small Company, of better Courage than Judgment, will, contrary to all military Discipline, maintain a feeble Place against Royal Forces; if they will offer to impeach the Purposes of an Army, which they have no reason to think themselves able to resist, after Battery presented, they put themselves out of all ordinary expectation of Mercy:* And so Cesar answer'd the *Adviatici*, *Civitatem conservaturum, si priusquam aries murum attigisset se dedissent.* And so the Duke d' *Alva* much blam'd *Prosper Columnus* for receiving a Castle upon Conditions, after he had beaten it with the Cannon. And in this Case I conceive the Law of God to be understood, which spareth not those Citys that will not yield until they be besieg'd; meaning doubtless, when the Defendants have little reason to think themselves able to make defence. I will not involve in silence with what a sudden Stratagem of Wit, the Defendants of one of these Places escap'd Extremities: when they understood both that they were not able to defend themselves, and that their Obstinacy had excluded all hope of Pardon, they made Petition that they might not presently be slain, but have some time to recommend their Souls to God, and afterwards be hang'd: This Respite being first obtain'd, their Pardon did more easily ensue.

Upon the first News of the Approaches of the *English*, and all Truths enlarg'd by Report, the Governor of *Scotland* was somewhat appal'd, as neither furnish'd at that time with Foreign Aid, nor much trusting his Forces at home: yet resuming his accustomed Courage, well acquainted with both Fortunes, he sent his Heralds through all parts of the Realm, and commanded the *Fire-crofts* to be carried (an antient Custom in cases of Importance) namely, two Fire-brands set in fashion of a Crofs, and pitch'd upon the point of a Spear; therewith Proclamation to be made, that all Men above sixteen Years of Age; and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Muscle-*

borough, with convenient provision of Victuals with them.

Hereupon they flock'd to the place in so great Multitudes, that it was thought fit not only to stay further Resort, but making choice of the most serviceable, to discharge divers of the rest.

Now as the *English* directed their way towards the Place where they understood the Scots assembled, they came to a River call'd *Lynne*, cross'd with a Bridge of Stone. The Horsemen and Carriages pass'd through the Water, the Footmen over the Bridge, which because it was narrow, the Army was long in setting over: The Avant-guard march'd forth, and the Battail follow'd; but as the Arrier was passing over, a very thick Mist did arise. The Earl of *Warwick* having before espied certain plumps of *Scottish* Horsemen ranging the Field, return'd towards the Arrier to prevent such Danger as the thicknes of the Mist, the nearness of the Enemy, and the Disarray occasion'd by the narrowness of the Bridge might cast upon them. The Scots conjecturing (as it was) that some Personage of Honour stand to have a view of the Arrier, call'd to the *English* to know if any Nobleman were near, for that one whom they nam'd (well known to be of honourable Condition) would present himself to the General in case he might safely be conducted. Certain young Soldiers not us'd to such Trains, made rash and sudden answer, that the Earl of *Warwick* was near, under whose Protection he might be assur'd. Hereupon they pass'd the Water, placed two hundred of their Prickers behind a Hillock, and with forty more cast about to find the Earl. Now the Earl espying six or seven of them scatter'd near the Army, and taking them to be of the *English*, sent one to command them to their Array, and to that end himself rode an easy pace towards them, follow'd only with ten or twelve on Horseback: He that had been sent before was so heedless, either to observe or advertise what they were, that the Earl did not discover them to be Enemies until he was in the mid't among them.

Certainly a Commander should not carelessly cast himself into danger; but when either upon necessity or misadventure he falleth into it, it much advanceth both his Reputation and Enterprise if bravely he behave himself. Now the Earl espying where he was, gave so rude a Charge upon a Captain of the Scots, nam'd *Dandy Care*, that he forc'd him to turn, and chased him above twelve score at the Lance's point. Herewith the residue retir'd deceitfully towards the place of their Ambush, from whence issued about sixty more. Then the Earl gather'd his small Company about him, and with good Countenance maintain'd the Fight. But the Enemy in the end, whether perceiving some Succours advancing from the Army where the Alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the *English* further into their Ambush, turn'd away an easy pace. The Earl forbade his Men from following, fearing a greater Ambush behind the Hill, as in truth there was. At his return he was receiv'd with great Applause by the *English* Soldiers, for that he did so well acquit himself in the Danger, whereinto by Error and not by Rashness he had been carry'd. One of his Men was slain, another hurt in the Buttock, a third nam'd *Vane* so grievously hewn, that many thousands have

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The Scots
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1547. dy'd of less than half his Hurts, whereof notwithstanding, he was cur'd afterwards. Of the Scots three were taken Prisoners and presented to the General by the Earl, of whom one had receiv'd many great Entertainments and Courtesies in England.

I may happily be thought tedious in setting down these Occurrences which may seem small. But besides that in Actions of Arms small Matters are many times of very great Moment, especially when they serve to raise an opinion of Commanders, I intend to describe this Battel fully, not to derogate thereby any thing from the one Nation, or to arrogate to the other. For what Honour riseth upon event of a Battel, when oftentimes the smallest Accident overthroweth a side; and when Victory doth more often fall, by Errour of the vanquish'd than by Valour of the victorious. "But my Purpose is to make it appear what Miseries both Nations have avoided, and what Quietness and Security they have attain'd by their peaceable Union, when as either of them being able to bring such Forces into the Field for their mutual Ruin, they may now do the like for their common either Glory or Necessity. Again, this Battel being partially describ'd heretofore by the Writers of either Nation, and not without uncivil Terms, I will now set it forth as indifferently and fairly as I can. Lastly, this Battel is not slightly to be slip'd over, being the last (wherein I pray that I may prophecy truly) that was or ever shall be struck between the two Nations. But I return to my Purpose.

A Fight at Salt-Preston.

Now the Scottish Horsemen began to hover much upon the English Army, and to come pricking about them sometimes within the length of their staves, using some Liberty of Language to draw the English from their strength. But the General of the English knowing right well, that the Scots were expert in tumultuous Fights, restrain'd his Horse from falling forth, and maintain'd a close March until they came to Salt Preston by the Frith. Here they incamp'd within View of the Scottish Army, little more than two Miles distant from them. About a Mile from the English another way, the Scottish Horsemen were very busy upon a Hill, and embolden'd much partly upon their former Approaches, and partly by the nearness of their Army, but chiefly upon an Opinion which they conceiv'd, that the English Horsemen were young and unskilful, and easy to be dealt with, came upon the English with increas'd Troops, to the Number of 1200 besides 500 Foot which lay in ambush behind the Hill. The Lord Gray and Sir Francis Brian impatient of Braveries obtain'd leave of the General a little to assay them; and so as they came scatter'd upon the spur within a stones cast of the English and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord Gray with some Troops of Lighthorsemen charg'd them home. These were forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both back'd with about a thousand Men at Arms. The Scots meant not to depart before they had done their Errand; wherefore turning their Faces, boldly maintain'd the Fight, three Hours and more. In the end overlaid with Numbers they were put to flight, and chas'd almost to the Edge of their Camp: in this Fight the chiefest Force of the Scottish Horsemen was defeated, to their great Disadvantage after-

wards. The Lord Hume by a fall from his Horse lost his Life. His Son and Heir with two Priests and six Gentlemen were taken Prisoners, and about 1300 slain. Of the English one Spanish Hackbutter was hurt, and three Captains of the Light-horse, by unadvis'd Pursuit, were taken Prisoners.

The day next following the Lord General and the Earl of Warwick rode towards the Place where the Scottish Army lay, to view the manner of their encamping: as they were return'd an Herald and a Trumpeter from the Scots overtook them, and having obtain'd Audience the Herald began, *That he was sent from the Lord Governor of Scotland partly to inquire of Prisoners, but chiefly to make Offer, that because he was desirous to avoid not only Profusio: but the least Effusion of Christian Blood, and for that the English had not done any unmanlike Outrage or Spoil, he was content they might return, and should have his safe Conduct for their peaceable Passage.*

Then the Trumpeter, that the Lord Huntley his Master sent Message by him, that as well for brief Expedition, as to spare Expence of Christian Blood, he would fight upon the whole Quarrel either with 20 against 20, or with 10 against 10, or more particularly by single Combat between the Lord General and himself; which in regard the Scots had Advantage both for Number and Freshness of Men, in regard also that for Supply, both for Provision and Succors they were at home, he esteem'd an honourable and charitable Offer.

To the Herald the Lord General answer'd, *That as his coming was not with Purpose or Desire to endamage their Realm, as he was there, he would neither intreat nor accept of him leave to depart, but would measure his Marches in advancing or retiring, as his own Judgment, guided by Advice of his Council, should deem expedient.*

To the Trumpeter he return'd answer, *That the Lord Huntley his Master was a young Gentleman full of free more Courage, but more desirous of Glory than Judicious, as it seem'd, how to win it. That for number of Combatants it was not in his Power to conclude a Bargain, but was to employ all the Forces put under his Charge to the best Advantage that he could: that in case this were a particular Quarrel between the Governour and him, he would not refuse a particular Combat, but being a difference between the two Kingdoms, it was neither fit, nor in his Power either to undertake the Adventure upon his own Fortune, or bearing a publick Charge to hazard himself against a Man of private Condition.*

Then the Earl of Warwick said, *I marvel, Trumpeter, that thy Master would make his Challenge so fond, as he might well know it could not be accepted. For tell me, Trumpeter, can he think it fit, that he, to whose Charge is committed the Command of all this Army abroad, and at home the King's Person and Protection of all his Realms, should undertake a Combat with a particular Man? But he might have found others his equals amongst us, by whom he might have been assur'd that he should be answer'd. And (therewith turning his Speech to the Lord General) under your Grace's favour, I accept the Challenge. And bring me word, Trumpeter, that thy Master will perform with me as thou hast said, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy Travel.*

Nay, answer'd the Lord General, *you have a great Charge in the Army, which upon a private Man's Challenge you must not abandon. But, Herald, tell the Lord Governor, and the Lord Huntley, That*

1547. That we have entred your Country with a sober Company (for so the Scots term a thing that is mean) your Army is both great and fresh, but let them appear upon indifferent ground, and assuredly they shall have fighting enough. And bring me word, Herald, that they will so do, and I will reward thee with a thousand Crowns.

This Earl of Huntley was a Man young, bold, adventurous, of very good Resolution and Skill in Arms. But this Challenge was so far beyond the Point both of Discretion and Honour, that the English that knew his noble Spirit, did believe that his Name was therein abus'd, which he manifested to be true by disavowing it openly afterwards. For it is not fit that a Man should abandon his publick Charge to undertake both the Office and Danger of a private Soldier. And therefore the like Challenge of Tullus was refus'd by the Commander of the Albanes, for that the Contention was not between their Persons, but between the Cities of Alba and Rome. So Sertorius was refus'd by Metellus, Antonius by Augustus, and John Emperor of Constantinople by a King of Scythia: so Antonius Caracalla by reason of his often Challenges, was esteem'd not to be so valiant as vain. And hereupon the Histories of our times forbear not to blame Charles the Fifth, Emperor, Henry the Eighth, King of England, and Francis the First, King of France, for that they often adventur'd rather as Soldiers than as Commanders.

But doubtless the Lord Governor made a most honourable Offer, and the rather for that it was conceiv'd by the English, that he held himself no less assur'd of Victory than he was of his own Resolution to fight, whereto it seem'd that he wanted not good Reason, chiefly upon Confidence of his own Forces, and partly upon Expectation of twelve Gallies and fifty Ships well appointed out of France to assail the English at their backs. All the chief Captains yielded to the same Advice of giving Battel, as out of their own Judgments, because they saw it agreeable to that which the Lord Governor had determin'd. To these the Residue attributed so much, that albeit diverse were of a different Opinion, yet they chose rather to condemn their own Understanding than to question theirs.

During this Enterparlance the Scots discharged four great shots against the English Camp, without harm as it happen'd, but not without breach of the 'Laws of the Field, whereby not only publick Messengers are privileged to pass without either Danger or Scorn, but until they have discharged their Message all hostility should surcease. However this happen'd the General of the English Army unwilling to be behind in any equal or honourable Offer, sent Letters to the Lord Governor of Scotland: Wherein he desir'd him and the residue of the Scottish Nobility to consider, That both Armies consisted of Christians, to whom nothing should be more dear than Peace, nothing more detestable than Effusion of humane Blood. That the Cause of this War did not proceed from Ambition, Avarice, or Hate, but from desire of perpetual Peace between their People and Nations, which could no way so firmly be knit as by knitting their Princes together in Marriage. That many other respects set aside, their King, for his Birth, his Years, his Royal Estate, his Princely Personage, Education, and Qualities,

1547. was such a Marriage for their Queen, that a more convenient could not be found; that in case all the Nobility of Scotland were not of one Mind, the English would be content that their Queen should be brought up amongst them, until she should be of Age to make her own choice; provided that in the meantime she should not be transported to any foreign Country, or any Agreement made for any other Marriage. That upon this Condition there should be an Abstinence of Hostility for all that time; and they would in quiet manner withdraw their Army, and repair all Damages which indifferent Commissioners should adjudg.

No Answer was hereto return'd, but Rumors ran freely among the Scottish Soldiers, that the Intention of the English was to take away their Queen by force, and under pretence of Marriage to reduce the Kingdom under their Dominion: and verily it may seem almost incredible that all these fair Overtures, made by Men well esteem'd for honest dealing, could take no place; that nothing could move the Scots to forsake their distant and heavy helps, and to embrace Friends, both ready and at hand. But besides that the long continu'd Wars between the English and the Scots, had then rais'd invincible Jealousies and Hate, which long continu'd Peace had since abolish'd, I do herein admire the unsearchable working and will of God, by whose inflexible Decree the Union between the two Realms did not then take effect, when by the Death of King Edward it should have been of short continuance (as by the Death of Francis the Second, the Union between France and Scotland did suddenly dissolve) but was reserv'd unto a more peaceable and friendly time, so for a Person in whose Progeny it hath taken deep and durable root. And so for that time no Conditions of Peace being regarded, both sides address'd themselves to their Adventure.

The Places where the two Armies lay encamp'd, were divided by the River Eske, the Banks whereof were almost as deep as the Banks of the Peathes mention'd before. The Scots lay somewhat near the one side, and the English about two miles from the other. The English first rais'd their Camp, and began to march towards the River Eske, intending to possess a Hill call'd Under-Eske, which commanded the Place where their Enemies lay. The Scots conjecturing so much, cast their Tents flat upon the ground, pass'd the River and mounted the Hill before the English could come near. Hereupon the English turn'd aside to another Hill call'd Pinkenclench, which afterwards fell much to their Advantage, as well for that they were then in Place to be aided by their Ships which rode near in Edinburg Frith, as also for that they gain'd thereby the Advantage both of Wind and Sun, a great part of the strength of an Army, and lastly for that their Enemies were thereby cast into a cruel Errour.

For no sooner did they espy the English turning from them, but forthwith they were of Opinion that they fled towards their Shipping. This surmise was first occasion'd for that the English Ships remov'd the day before from Leith to Muscledborough Frith, which was conceiv'd to be for taking in their Foot and Carriages, that the Horsemen might with less incumbrance and more hast return back upon

1547. the spur. Hereupon they had appointed the same Night (whose Darknes would have encreas'd the Fear) to have given a Camifado upon the *English*. But understanding that they were well entrench'd, having good Scouts abroad, and sure Watch within, they brake that purpose; but upon this declining of the *English* from them, the Conceit did again revive, not only as a thing desir'd, but because the *English* were inferior to them in number, and had travel'd far, and were well known to grow short in their Provisions. Yea when they were discern'd to make stand upon the first ascent of *Pinkenslench Hill*, the Conjecture ran that their Flight was only defer'd, until they might cover their Disorders, by the dead Darknes of the Night. *Marvellous Security and always dangerous, when Men will not believe any Bees to be in a Hive, until they have a sharp sense of their Stings.*

And thus the *Scots* heav'd up into high hope of Victory, took the *English* fallen, for foolish Birds fallen into their Net; and seeming to fear nothing more than that they should escape, forsook their Hill and march'd into the Plain, directly towards the *English*. *Here the Lord Governour put them in remembrance, how they could never yet be brought under by the English, but were always able either to beat them back, or to weary them away. He had them look upon themselves and upon their Enemies, themselves dreadful, their Enemies gorgeous and brave; on their side, Men, on the other, Spoil, in case either through Slowness or Cowardice, they did not permit them to escape, who (so now) already have begun their Fight.*

The Scots Army.

The whole Army consisted of 35 or 36000 Men, of whom they made three Battalions. In the Vanguard commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about 15000 were plac'd, about 10000 in the Battail, over whom was the Lord Governour, and so many in the Rear, led by the valiant *Gordone* Earl of *Huntley*. Hackbutters they had none, no Men at Arms but about 2000 Horsemen, Prickers as they are term'd, fitter to make Excursions and to chafe, than to sustain any strong Charge. The residue were on Foot well furnish'd, with Jack and Skull, Pike, Dagger, Bucklers made of Board, and Slicing Swords, broad, thin and of an excellent Temper. Every Man had a large Kerchief folded twice or thrice about the Neck, and many of them had Chains of Latten, drawn three or four times along their Hofes and doublet Sleeves; they had also to affright the Enemies Horses, big Rattles cover'd with Parchment or Paper, and small Stones within, put upon Staves about three Ells long. But doubtless the rattling of Shot might have done better Service.

The Earl of *Angus* led the Vanguard with a well measur'd march; whereupon the Lord Governour commanded him by a Messenger to double his Pace, thereby to strike some Terror into the Enemy. Himself follow'd with the Battail a good distance behind, and after came the Rear well nigh even with the Battail on the left side: the Vanguard was flank'd on the right side with four or five Pieces of Artillery drawn by Men, and with 400 Horsemen Prickers on the left. The Battail and Rear were likewise guarded with Artillery, in like sort drawn; and about 4000 *Irish* Archers, brought by the Earl of *Argyle*, serv'd as a Wing to them both, rightly so term'd as being the first who began the Flight.

The General of the *English* and the Earl of *Warwick* were together, when the *Scots* thus abandon'd the Hill; which they espying, gave Thanks to God, holding themselves in good hope of the Event: forthwith they order'd the Artillery, and taking a loving leave departed to their severall Charge, the General to the Battail, where the King's Standard was born, the Earl to the Vanguard, both on Foot, protesting that they would live or die with the Soldiers, *whom also with bold Countenance and Speech* (which serve Soldiers for the best Eloquence) *they put in mind of the Honor their Ancestors had acquir'd, of their own extreme Disgrace and Danger if they fought not well, that the Justice of their Quarrel should not so much encourage as enrage them, being to revenge the Dishonor done to their King, and to chastise the deceitful dealings of their Enemies; that the multitude of their Enemies should nothing dismay them, because they who come to maintain their own Breach of Faith, besides that the Check of their Consciences much breaketh their Spirit, have the omnipotent Arm of God most furious against them.*

Herewith arose a buzzing noise among them, as if it had been the rustling found of the Sca afar off, every Man addressing himself to his Office, and encouraging those who were nearest unto them. The Earl rang'd his Vanguard in array, upon the side of the Hill, expecting until the Enemy should more nearly approach. The General after he had order'd his Battail, part upon the Hill, and part upon the Plain, somewhat distant from the Vanguard on the right side, mounted the Hill to the great Artillery, to take a view of both the Armies, and to give directions as occasion should change. The Rear stood wide of the Battail, upon the same side, but altogether upon the Plain. The Lord *Gray* Captain of the Men at Arms, was appointed to stand somewhat distant from the Vanguard on the left side, in such a sort as he might take the Flank of the Enemy, but was forbidden to charge, until the Foot of the Vanguard were buckled with them in Front, and until the Battail should be near enough for his relief.

Now after that the *Scots* were well advanc'd in the Field, marching more than an ordinary pace, the great Shot from the *English* Ships, and especially from the Gally, began furiously to scour among them, whereby the Master of *Grime*, and divers others about were torn in pieces; especially the Wing of the *Irish* was so grievously either gall'd or scar'd therewith, that (being Strangers and in a manner Neutrals) they had neither good heart to go forward, nor good liking to stand still, nor good assurance to run away. The Lord *Gray* perceiv'd this Amazement, and conceiv'd thereby occasion to be ripe; whereupon when the Enemy was not above two flight shot from the *English* Vanguard, suddenly and against direction with his Men at Arms, he charg'd them on head.

The *Scots* were then in a fallow Field, whereinto the *English* could not enter, but over a cross Ditch and a Slough, in passing whereof, many of the *English* Horse were plung'd, and some mir'd: when with some difficulty and much disorder they had pass'd this Ditch, the Ridges of the fallow Field lay traverse, so as the *English* must cross them in presenting the Charge. Two other disadvantages they had, the Enemy's Pikes were longer than

1547. than their Staves, and their Horses were naked without any Barbs. For albeit many brought Barbs out of *England*, yet because they expected not in the morning to fight that day, few regarded to put them on.

The manner of the Engagement of the Armies.

The *Scots* confident both in their Number, Order, and good Appointment, did not only abide the *English*, but with some biting Terms provok'd them to charge. They clos'd, and in a manner lock'd themselves together, Shoulder to Shoulder, so near as possibly they could; their Pikes they strain'd in both Hands, and therewith their Buckler in the left, the one end of the Pike against the right Foot, the other Breast high against the Enemy. The fore Rank stoop'd so low, as they seem'd to kneel; the second Rank close at their Backs, cross'd their Pikes over their Shoulders, and so did the third and the rest in their order, so as they appear'd like the thorny Skin of a Hedgehog, and it might be thought impossible to break them. Notwithstanding the Charge was given with so well govern'd Fury, that the left Corner of the *Scots* Battalion was enforc'd to give in; but the *Scots* did so bravely recover and acquit themselves, that divers of the *English* Horsemen were overthrown, and the residue so disorder'd as they could not conveniently fight or fly, and not only justled and bare down one another, but in their confus'd tumbling back, brake a part of the Vanguard on Foot. In this encounter Six and Twenty of the *English* were slain, most part Gentlemen of the best Esteem. Divers others lost their Horses, and carry'd away Marks that they had been there. The Lord *Gray* was dangerously hurt with a Pike in the Mouth, which struck two Inches into his Neck. The Lord *Edward Seymour* Son to the Lord General lost his Horse, and the *English* Standard was almost lost.

Assuredly albeit Encounters between Horsemen on the one side, and Foot on the other, are seldom with the Extremity of Danger, because as Horsemen can hardly break a Battail on Foot, so Men on Foot cannot possibly chase Horsemen: Yet hereupon so great was the Tumult and Fear among the *English*, that had not the Commanders been Men both of approv'd Courage and Skill, or happily had the *Scots* been well furnish'd with Men at Arms, the Army had that day been utterly undone. For an Army is commonly like a Flock of Fowls, when some begin to fly all will follow. But the Lord *Gray* to repair his Error endeavour'd with all Industry to rally his Horse: The Lord General also mounted on Horseback and came amongst them, both by his Presence and Advice, to reduce them into order. Sir *Ralph Vane* and Sir *Ralph Sadler* did memorable Service. But especially the Earl of *Warwick*, who was in greatest Danger, declar'd his Resolution and Judgment, to be most present in retaining his Men both in Order and in Heart. And having clear'd his Foot from Disturbance by the Horsemen, he sent forth before the Front of his Vanguard Sir *Peter Mewcas* Captain of all the Hackbutterers on Foot, and Sir *Peter Gamboa*, a Spaniard, Captain of two hundred Hackbutterers Spanish and Italians on Horse. These brought their Men to the Slough mention'd before, who discharging lively almost close to the Face of the Enemy did much amaze them, being also disorder'd by the late pursuit of the *English* Horsemen, and by spoiling such as they had overthrown.

At the Backs of these, the Archers were plac'd, who before had march'd on the right Wing of the Vanguard, and then sent such Showers of Shot over the Hackbutterers Heads, that many Bodies of their Enemies being but half arm'd, were beaten down and bury'd therewith. And besides, the Master of the Artillery did visit them sharply, with murdering Hail-shot from the Pieces mounted towards the Top of the Hill; also the Artillery which flank'd the Rear executed hotly. Lastly the Ships were not idle, but especially the Gally did play upon them, and plague them very fore.

The *Scots* being thus apply'd with Shot, and perceiving the Vanguard of the *English* to be in good Order, nearly to approach, and the Men at Arms to have recover'd their Array, turn'd their Vanguard somewhat towards the South, to win, as it was thought, some advantage of ground. By this means they fell directly on the head of the *English* Battail, whereupon the Earl of *Warwick* address'd his Men to take the Flank. The Vanguard of the *Scots* being thus upon, and beset with Enemies, began a little to retire towards their great Battail, either to be in place to be reliev'd by them, or happily to draw the *English* more separate and apart. The *Irish* Archers espying this, and surmising the Danger to be greater than it was, suddenly broke up, and committed the Safety of their Lives to their nimble Footmanship. After whose example, all the rest threw away their Weapons, and in headlong haste abandon'd the Field, not one stroke having been given by the *English* on foot. But then the Horsemen coming furiously forward, had them very cheap.

The Flight was made three Ways, some *The Scots* running to *Edinburgh*, some along the Sands *sh.* towards *Leith*, but the most towards *Dalkeith*, which way, by reason of the Marsh the *English* Horse were least able to pursue. The Chase was given from One of the Clock in the Afternoon, till almost Six. It reach'd five Miles in length, and four in breadth, all which Ways the *Scots* scatter'd in their Flight Jacks, Swords, Bucklers, Daggers, or whatsoever was either cumbersome, or of weight to impeach their haste; yea some cast off their Shoes and Doublets, and fled in their Shirts. Divers other Devices were practis'd to avoid or defer the present Danger. Some intreated and offer'd large Ransoms, some being pursu'd only by one, suddenly turn'd Head and made Resistance, by whom many Horses were disabled, and some of their Horses either slain or hurt. The Earl of *Angus*, a Man of assur'd both Hardiness and Understanding, couch'd in a Furrow, and was pass'd over for dead, until a Horse was brought for his Escape. Two thousand others lying all the Day as dead, departed in the Night, divers others plung'd into the River *Eske*, and cover'd themselves under Roots and Branches of Trees, many so strain'd themselves in their Race, that they fell down breathless and dead, whereby they seem'd in running from their Deaths, to run unto it.

The *English* discern'd in their Retreat that the Execution had been too cruel, and far exceeding the Bounds of ordinary Hostility, which happily was a Cause in the secret Judgment of God, that they had no better fruit of their Victory. The dead Bodies lay all the way scatter'd so thick, as a Man may see Sheep

A great Slaughter of Scots.

1547. Sheep grazing in a well-stor'd Pasture, most slain in the Head or Neck, for that the Horsemen could not well touch lower with their Swords; and scarce credible it is how soon they were strip'd and laid naked upon the Ground. But then again the Eyes of all Men were fastned upon them with pity and admiration to behold so many naked Bodys, as for tallness of Stature, whiteness of Skin, largeness and due proportion of Limbs, could hardly be equal'd in any one Country. The Ground where their several Battalions first brake, lay strew'd with Pikes so thick as a Floor is usually strew'd with Rushes, whereby the places could hardly be pass'd over either by Horse or by Foot: The River *Eske* ran red with Blood, so as they who perish'd therein might almost be said to be drown'd in their Fellows Blood.

On the other side, when they came to the place where the *Englishmen* at Arms had been defeated, many of their Horses were found grievously gash'd or goar'd to death. The *English* who there perish'd were so deeply wounded, especially on the Head, that not one could be discern'd by his Face. Brave *Edward Shellie*, who was the first Man that charg'd, was known only by his Beard; Little *Preston*, for that both his Hands were cut off, being known to have worn Bracelets of Gold about his Wrists; others were brought to knowledg by some such particular Marks. *Hereby appeareth (as I said before) what Blessing is grown to both Nations by their late happy Union, when before they were like two rude encountring Rams, whercof he that escapes best is sure of a Blow.*

Of the
Scots slain
and taken
Prisoners.

Divers of the Nobility of Scotland were here slain, and many Gentlemen both of Worth and noble Birth; of the inferior sort about 10000, and as some say 14000 lost their Lives. Of the *English* were slain 51 Horsemen and one Footman, but a far greater number hurt. The *Scottish* Prisoners accounted by the Marshal's Book were about 1500. The chief whereof were the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Tesler*, *Hoblie* and *Hamilton*, the Mr. of *Sam-poole*, and the Lord of *Wimmes*. A Herauld was also taken, but discharg'd forthwith. The Execution was much maintain'd by the Scots own Swords scatter'd in every place: for no sooner had an *English* Horseman broke his Sword, but forthwith he might take up another; infomuch that many of them broke three or four before their return. So apparent is the Hand of God against violation of Faith, that it is often chastis'd by the Means appointed to defend it.

Kirkmen in
the Scots
Army.

Of all other the *Englishmen* were least favourable to the Priests and Monks, by the Scots call'd *Kirkmen*, who had been equally troublesome in Peace, and unprofitable in War. To whom many, as well *English* as *Scots*, imputed the Calamity of that Day; these made a Band of three or four thousand, as it was said, but they were not altogether so many. Howbeit many Bishops and Abbots were among them; from these divers Scots feared more Harm by Victory, than they found among their Enemies by their Overthrow. After the Field a Banner was found of white Sarfenet, whereon a Woman was painted, her Hair about her Shoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, on her right Hand a Church, and along the Banner in fair Letters written, *Afflicta Ecclesia ne obliviscaris*. This was suppos'd to have been the *Kirkmens* Banner. But could this Crucifix have spoken, as one is said to have spoken to *St. Francis*, and

another to *St. Thomas*, it might happily have told them, that *neither Religious Persons are fit Men for Arms, nor Arms fit Means either to establish or advance Religion.*

I must not forget the Fidelity of a *Scottish* Earl of Soldier towards the Earl of *Huntley*. He finding the Earl assaulted by the *English*, and without his Helmet, took off his own Headpiece and put it on the Earl's Head. The Earl was therewith taken Prisoner, but the Soldier for want thereof was presently struck down. This Earl was of great Courage, and for this Cause much loved of his Soldiers, to whom he was no less loving again. This he manifested by his great Care for such *Scottish* Prisoners as were either wounded or poor, providing at his proper Charge, Cure for the one, and Relief for the other. This Earl being ask'd whilst he was Prisoner, how he stood affected to the Marriage? answer'd, That he was well-affected to favour the Marriage, but he nothing liked that kind of Wooing.

Certain of those who escap'd by flight excus'd their Dishonor, not without a sharp Jest against some of their Leaders, affirming, That as they had follow'd them into the Field, so it was good reason they should follow them out. Those bitter Jests, the more Truth they carry, the more biting Memory they leave behind.

The Day of this Fight being the 10th of September, seemeth to be a most disastrous Day to the Scots, not only in regard of this Overthrow, but for that upon the same Day 34 Years before, they were in like sort defeated by the *English* at *Flodden* Field. The Victory rais'd exceeding Joy among the *English*, partly because it came so Cheap, and partly by reason of the great Danger and greater Terror that had been cast upon them by reason of the Repulse and Disarray of their Men at Arms.

Now as seldom one Accident, either prosperous or adverse, cometh unaccompany'd with the like, so this Calamity hapned not to the Scots alone: For whilst the *English* Army had thus drawn both the Preparations and Intentions of the Scots wholly upon them, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Earl of *Lenox*, entred Scotland on the West Marches with 5000 Men, and having marched two Miles they won the Church of *Anan*, a strong Place, and always much annoying the *English*; there they took sixty two Prisoners, fir'd most part of the Spoil, and overthrew the Fort with Powder: Passing sixteen Miles further, they took the Castle of *Milk*, which they fortify'd strongly, and planted a Garison therein; and after much spoil and wast of the Country, return'd safely into England.

These Successes did strike such a Terror into many of the Scots, that the Earl *Bothwell*, and divers chief Gentlemen of *Trivedale* and *Meers*, supposing to find more easy Conditions by yielding than by striving, submitted themselves to the King of England, and were receiv'd by the Lord General into protection. But it is most certain that the *English* made not their best Improvements of these fortunate Events, and that especially by two miserable Errors, Cunctation in prosecuting, and Hast in departure. But doubtless the Union of these two Realms was a Work most proper to God's Omnipotent Arm, which afterwards effected the same, as by milder Means, so in a more durable Manner than they could have been united by Arms. This high Appointment of God we must reverence and admire,

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1547. mire, but not omit to observe the Errors committed.

First therefore after the Retreat, the *English* lodg'd the same Night in the Place where the Battle had been fought. Where, and in the Villages not far distant, they sojourn'd five Days without doing any thing; in the mean time the *English* search'd the Rivers and Havens where the *Scottish* Ships were retir'd, in such sort as they left few Ships of War unspoiled or untaken: The Army also gather'd the Spoil of the Field, whereof 30000 Jacks and Swords, and thirty Pieces of great Artillery were ship'd for *England*.

The *English* take many Places,

The *English* having thus long breath'd, and thereby given breathing to their Enemies, fir'd *Leith*, took *St. Colmes*, *Broughticragge*, *Rockefborough*, *Humes Castle*, *Aymouth*, *Fial Castle*, *Dunglass*, *Kilnecombe*, and divers other small Places, whereof part they ruin'd, part they enlarg'd and fortify'd, and furnish'd them with able Soldiers, accusom'd with often and prosperous Success. Herewith, as if they had been weary of their fair Fortunes, they suddenly brake off the Enterprize, and return'd another way into *England*, having staid not above five and twenty Days in *Scotland*, and lost under sixty Men. The Pretence of their departure was worse than the Departure it self, namely, for that the Year and their Provisions were far spent, and the Country afforded little Forage. Assuredly, as Nature taketh least care for those things which she formeth in haste, so violent and storm-like Fortunes, how terrible so ever, are seldom durable.

And depart home.

The Policy of the *Scotts* Government.

Now the Lord Governor of *Scotland* being of great Courage, and sober Judgment, as a Man might well read in his Face; as he had amply perform'd his Duty, both before the Battel and in the Field; so especially after the Fight he declar'd himself to be of a stout and unbroken Spirit: For, first, he assembled the disperfed Forces of the *Scottish* Army, albeit not in sufficient manner to give a fresh Battel, by reason that much of their Armour was lost, yet able to keep the *English* from ranging at large. Then he presented the *English* with divers offers of Treaty touching Matters in difference, until the Country was discharg'd of them. Lastly, Knowing right-well that Counsels are commonly censur'd by Events, and that in Matters of Arms, albeit the praise of prosperous Success is shar'd amongst many, yet the blame of Misadventures is charged upon one; and fearing hereby Mutinies among his own People, and contempt of others, having first assur'd the young Queen in place of good Defence, he assembled the *Scottish* Nobility, and us'd words to this effect.

The Governor of Scotland's Speech to the Nobility.

I Assure my self that many of you, my Lords, and more of the Vulgar, are much displeas'd with me, for that I have advis'd this War whereof so sad Events have follow'd. For this Cause I have assembled you together to reduce you to a better Opinion, or to blame you deeply, either if you remain offended, or if you cast down your Courage through Fear, the betrayer of all Succours which Reason can afford. For tell me, if you are discontented with me for advising this War, do you not condemn yourselves for following the Advice? It is certain that at the first you were all of my Opinion, and that I did nothing without your Approvement. If now upon one Misadven-

ture you change your Judgments, and charge the Fault only upon me, you do me wrong and discover your own Weakness, in being unable to endure those things which you knew were casual, and which you were resolv'd to endure. But I make no doubt but the same Reasons which induc'd you to entertain this War, will induce you also to prosecute the same, howsoever sudden and unexpected Events dismay your Judgments for the present.

Touching my self I was always of Opinion, and shall never change, that it is better the Kingdom should be in good Estate, with particular Loss to many of the People, than that all the People should be well, and the State of the Kingdom altogether lost or dishonourably impair'd; even as it is better that a Ship should be preserv'd with some discommodity to the Sailers, than that the Sailers being in health the Ship should perish; or as it is less dangerous when divers parts of a Tower are decay'd, and the Foundation firm, than when the Foundation is ruinous, albeit the Parts remain entire: For the common Estate is but weakned by Calamities of particular Persons, but the Ruin of the State involveth all in a general Destruction. And therefore they are to be blam'd alike, both who move and who decline War upon particular respects, the common either Honour or Necessity must be the true Measure of both.

But the Cause of this War is no other, than that we will not incontinently submit our selves to do what our Neighbours require; that is, because at the first word we are not forward to thrust our Necks under the Girdles of our Enemies, yea our old Enemies, yea our only Enemies of any account for many Years, who in their gluttonous Hope have devour'd our Kingdom; who by the bloody Execution of their late Victories, have shewn what Courtesy we may expect at their hands. In doing whereof we shall abandon our antient and approved Friends, who as they never fail'd us in our Extremities, so are they now prepar'd with large Aids to relieve us, who will not fear or pause at the least, before he leap upon this sudden Changer, who will forsake long try'd Friends to rely upon those who always have been ready by Arms to infest us: Not at all times upon desire either of Revenge or Spoil, but to bring us under their ambitious Dominion. Which of us had not rather die this Day, than see our Enemies in our strongest Castles, and Yoaks of Garisons cast upon our Necks? Who will not prefer a Death for Liberty, before a Life without it?

Their Promises are fair and large indeed, I must say, but of what Assurance? What Assurance can we have, but that when we have lifted them into the Chair of State, we shall not be compelled to be their Footmen? If our Prince were a Man, and should marry an Inheritrix of *England*, we should happily have no cause to fear but that he would maintain the Liberty of his native Country; but being a Woman, and desir'd in marriage of a King of *England*, under whose Power and Custody she must abide, how shall we be able against his Mind either to benefit or preserve us? Verily, as Men hate those that affect that Honour by Ambition which pertaineth not to them, so are they much more odious

who,

1547. who, either through Negligence or through Fear, will betray the Glory and Liberty which they have.

Now, my Lords, if any surmise, either that this War will be long, or that we shall have the worst in the End, his Error is great; for removing whereof I must tell you, that which many of you seem either little to remember, or never to have known: Do you suppose the State of this Realm (of the Valour whereof the Enemy hath often woful proof) to be now so feeble that it cannot bear off a greater Blow than this? It hath often done it, and is able of it self to do it again, if our Endeavours be answerable to our Means. Our Ancestors have sustained many greater Dangers, and yet retaining their Liberty, have left both it and their Honour entire to us; what are we of less Heart than they? For of less Ability we are not: Shall we shew our selves unworthy of our Succession from them? Assuredly it is more shame for a Man to lose that which he holdeth, than to fail in getting that which he never had.

But suppose our Forces to be nearer driven than they are; our antient Allies the French are upon the Seas and near approaching for our Relief, also our Friends in Italy, and other Parts have sent us Mony to supply our Wants: wherefore, Lords, it is meet that we resume our antient Courage, and address our selves for new Preparation, not only upon those hopes both from our selves and our Friends, but in Contempt of our Enemies. For often it happeneth that a Prosperity unexpected maketh Men careless and remiss if they be not very wise; whereas they who have received that Wound become more vigilant and collected, especially when they see not only the common Honour and Liberty, but their particular both Seigniories and Safeties to be at the stake.

And albeit the Enemy hath done that which it was to be believ'd they would endeavour to do, in case we would not yield unto them, yet as those things must be endured upon necessity, which happen by the hand of God, so those which come from Enemies must be born by Virtue. And since it is a Custom of our Country so to do, sith our People are famous for being nothing abash'd at cross Events, take we heed this Virtue fail not in us. If it doth, if we shew our selves heartless and faint, we shall utterly overthrow not only the Glory but the Memory, both of our Ancestors and of our State.

As for those who have yielded to our Enemies, let us esteem them as Fugitives and Traitors, who endeavour to cast themselves and their Country into Subjection; but let us stand assur'd, that they who least shrink at the storms of Fortune, whether in publick or private Affairs, are always most virtuous and victorious in the end.

The Lord
Protector
rewarded.

On the other side King Edward added to his Glory, Courtesy and Liberality; shewing himself most gracious in Countenance to all, and giving Rewards suitable to every Mans Performance or Place. The Lord Protector he rewarded with Lands of the yearly Value of 500*l.* and certain it is that these first Fortunes rais'd unto him a great Respect both in other Countries and among his own People, and the

rather because he was discern'd to be much searching both into the Counsels and after the Events of all his Affairs, and likewise into the Condition and State both of his own Strength and of the Countries near unto him.

But these prosperous Proceedings were not only hinder'd, in their fairest Course, but altogether stay'd, and in some measure turn'd back by reason of the unadvis'd Forwardness of divers chief Counsellors, in making both sudden and unseasonable Alterations in Matters of State, whose greedy desires of having their Wills in all they lik'd, bred both trouble to the Realm and to themselves danger. For great and sudden Changes are never without danger, unless the Prince be both well settl'd in Government and able to bear out his Actions by Power; but whilst King Edward was both unripe in years and new in Government, to attempt a Change both sudden and great, could not but be accompany'd with many Mischiefs. The great Matters wherein Alteration was wrought were especially two, Religion, and Inclosures.

Now for that Religion is of so high and noble a Nature, of so absolute necessity in a Commonwealth, that it is esteem'd the Foundation of Laws, and the common band of human Society, no sudden Alteration can almost be made therein, but many will be induc'd thereby to attempt some Alteration in Rule, whence (saith Dio) Conspiracies and Seditions are often occasion'd. For Religion being seated in the high Throne of Conscience, is a most powerful Ruler of the Soul, and far prefer'd before Estimation of Life, or any other worldly respect; for this advanceth Man to the highest Happiness, it leadeth him to his last End; all other things are but Instruments, this is the Hand; all other things are but Accessories, this is the Principal. And therefore as all Men are naturally mov'd by Religion, so when they are violently thrust forward by those who (as Livy speaketh) make it their purpose to possess Souls by Superstition, then do they break all bands of Reason and of Rule, no Persuasion of the one, no Command of the other can then restrain them. *Multitudo ubi religione capta est, melius vatibus quam ducibus suis parat.* Curt. lib. 4.

I will not deny but that some Change in Religion is often expedient and sometimes necessary; because, more in that than in any other thing, it is hard to contain Men from running into one of these Extremes, either of vain Superstition, or of careless Contempt. But this must be done with a soft and tender hand, and as Cicero speaketh, *Ut quum minima sonitu orbis in republica convertatur.* Some Respect should also have been given to those green times, to the monstrous Multitude muffled with two great Plagues and Corruptions of Judgment, Custom and Ignorance, whereto may be added Grief at their own Wants, and Envy at the Prosperity of others, especially for that many bold Spirits were busy'd, not only to incense, but to lead them into much Variety of Mischief. And if it be said that King Henry the Eighth had quietly pass'd the like Change before; I answer, the Example was not then to be follow'd, the Kings were not equal either in Spirit or in Power. Even as it is in the Fable, that albeit an Eagle did bear away a Lamb in her Talons with full flight, yet a Raven endeavouring to do the like was held

1547. *Inclosures.* held entangl'd and fetter'd in the Fleece. Touching Inclosures, I am not ignorant what a profitable Purchase is made thereby, not only to particular Persons, but generally to the whole Commonwealth, in case it be without Depopulation, because a Company of Lands inclos'd are thereby improv'd in worth two or three parts at the least; hereby two great Commodities ensue, Riches and Multitude of People, because the more Riches are rais'd out of Lands, the more People are thereby maintain'd. This doth plainly appear by two Shires, almost equal both in Greatness and in Goodness of Soil: *Northampton* much Champain, and *Somerset* altogether Inclos'd. For if Estimation may be made by Musters, and by Subsidies, Tenths, and Fifteens, Inclosure hath made the one County more than double to exceed the other, both in People and in Wealth. (n)

The Protector censur'd in forbidding Inclosures. Notwithstanding the Lord Protector gaping after the fruitless Breath of the Multitude, and more desirous to please the most than the best, caused a Proclamation to be set forth against Inclosures, commanding that they who had inclos'd any Lands accustomed to lie open, should upon (o) a certain Pain before a day assign'd lay them open again. This Proclamation, whilst few were forward to obey, gave occasion to the mutinous Multitude, instable in Judgment, and tempestuous when they are stir'd, all carry'd with a headlong Rashness, and one following another, as wiser than himself, immoderately both in Desire and Hope to be easily drawn by others who had deeper Reaches than themselves, to matters which at the first they least intended.

Commissioners sent abroad with Injunctions for Religion. And again, soon after the beginning of the young King's Reign, certain Injunctions (p) were set forth for removing Images out of Churches, which had been highly, not only

esteem'd but honour'd before, and for abolishing or altering some other antient Observations in the Church. Hereupon Commissioners were dispatch'd into all parts of the Realm to see those Injunctions to be executed: with those divers Preachers were sent, furnish'd with Instructions to persuade the People from praying to Saints and for the dead, from adoring Images, from use of Beads, Ashes and Processions, from Mass, Dirges, praying in an unknown Language; and from some other like things, whereunto long Custom had wrought a religious Observation. And for Defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed to be publickly read in Churches, aiming at the very same end.

Some others offering to maintain these Ceremonies, were either punish'd or forc'd to recant. *Edmund Bonner* (q) Bishop of London was committed Prisoner to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these Injunctions. *Stephen Gardiner* was likewise committed first to the Fleet, afterwards to the Tower, for that he had openly preach'd, that it were well these Changes in Religion should be stay'd, until the King were of years to govern by himself. This the People apprehending worse than it was either spoken or meant, a Question began to be rais'd among them, whether during the King's Minority such Alterations might lawfully be made or no. For the like Causes *Tunstall* Bishop of *Duresme*, and *Heath* Bishop of *Rochester*, were in like manner committed to Prison: all these being then and still continuing famous for Learning and Judgment, were dispossest of their Bishopricks; but no Man was touch'd in Life.

Hereupon a Parliament was held in the first Year of the King: and by Prorogation in the second, wherein diverse Colleges, Chantries, free Chappels, Fraternities, Guildes, &c.

(n) Our Author blames the Counsels, as unadvised, that were taken for Alterations, both in respect of Religion and of Inclosures; because of the Danger thereof in the new Reign of the young King; and that as to Religion, the King Henry VIII. past the like Change before, yet that Example was not then to be followed, the King being not equal either in Spirit or Power.] These were the very Considerations that Bishop Gardiner, and the Papists in those times used with the Protector, and others of the Council, against attempting a Reformation of Religion. But there was indeed no such Danger in the Attempt, that it required King Henry's Spirit and Power, since the Nation generally was well prepared and disposed to it; nay, and most earnestly waited for and desired it. J. S.

(o) The Author dislikes the Protector's Proclamation for laying down Inclosures by a certain day. Which he saith being not obeyed, gave occasion to the Multitude to make Tumults. In truth, the Inclosures themselves, whereby vast Numbers of poor People (whose Right it was) had the Food taken out of their Mouths by the Rich, were the Causes of Tumults. The Proclamation was but just and reasonable, to redress such Wrongs done to the poor Subjects. J. S.

(p) The Author seems to disapprove the setting forth of the Injunctions in the beginning of the King's Reign, for removing Images out of the Churches, and for abolishing some Ceremonies, because the People had an Honour and Esteem of them. If such Regard was to be had to the People, why should they not be as well regarded in their Complaints of Inclosures, which he expresses himself much for? But herein, whatsoever of a Politician, our Author shewed himself surely but an indifferent Protestant. If it were ground sufficient not to reform Religion, because it would give Distast to the superstitious People, Religion must never be reformed. But in truth, vast were the Numbers of People, throughout the Land, especially the most civilized Parts of it, that at this time of day did heartily expect a Reformation from the Worship of Images, and superstitious Ceremonies. J. S.

(q) He placeth here, in the first year of the King, the Commitment of Bishop Bonner, Bishop Gardiner, Bishop Tunstall, and Bishop Heath. Bonner indeed endured a short Restraint in the Fleet then; but that which may be truly called his Imprisonment happened but in September 1549. Heath's the same year, Tunstall's not before the year 1551. And only Gardiner's happened in the King's first year, tho he was put at Liberty again not long after. Nor was Bonner put into Prison for refusing the King's Injunctions, as Hayward asserts; for he did receive them, tho under a Protestation: but the true Reason was, because he did not publish in a Sermon the King's Authority during his Minority, as he was commanded. But hitherto, having recanted before the Council, for the ill manner of his receiving the Injunctions and Homilies from the King's Visitors, he went along with the King's Proceedings, swore Obedience to the King, professed his Assent and Consent touching the State of Religion then settled, directed out his Letters according to the Archbishop's Precepts, for abolishing Images, Abrogation of the Mass, setting up Bibles in Churches, ministering in both kinds, &c.

Neither was the Cause of Gardiner's Imprisonment this first year of the King, because he had preached against making Changes in Religion till the King was of years, as it is here said, but for his Refractoriness to the King's Proceedings. His second Imprisonment indeed was occasioned by a Sermon which he preached on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the King; yet not for preaching that the Changes in Religion should be stay'd, but for omitting to speak of several Matters committed to him in Writing, by Command of the Council, as concerning the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome, the Superstitions used towards St. Nicolas, and other Saints; concerning the Authority of the King in his Minority; concerning auricular Confession, and some other things.

Heath was committed for refusing to subscribe the new Book of Ordinations: Nor was Heath now Bishop of Rochester, as our Author styles him, but of Worcester.

He leaves out Day Bishop of Chichester; whom he might have mentioned among the rest of Bishops committed. The Cause of whose Restraint was, because he refused to obey an Order from the King, to take away Altars out of his Diocess. J. S.

1547. with all their Lands and Goods were put into the actual Possession of the King: part of the Goods and Lands being sold at a low Value, enrich'd many, and ennobl'd some, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the Change; also that no Man should speak against receiving the Eucharist under both kinds (r), which had been restrain'd in times before; and that Bishops should be plac'd by Collation of the King under his Letters Patent, without any precedent Election or Confirmation ensuing, and that all Processes Ecclesiastical should be made in the King's Name, as in Writs at the common Law; and that all Persons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, should have the King's Arms in their Seals of Office: and further the Statute of the six Articles, and other Statutes concerning Punishment of *Lollards* were repeal'd, and so was another Statute restraining the Use of Scriptures in the *English* Tongue, and the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirm'd. Herewith a Book was set forth for publick Prayers by Proclamation, and for Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Offices of the Church (f); and diverse Punishments were appointed by Proclamation, either for not using the Forms prescribed in that Book, or for depraving any thing therein contain'd.

I forbear to rehearse other Acts of this Parliament, albeit a noble Writer in our time esteems it to be a main in History that the Acts of Parliament should not be recited: which I conceive so far to be true, as they occasion Tumults or Division, or some remarkable Alteration in State; otherwise as I find them not regarded by most imitable Writers, so I account the Relation of them both fruitless and improper for a true carry'd History.

The Commissioners pull down Images.

Now in this mean time the Commissioners before mention'd (t) were earnest in executing their Authority. And either pull'd down or defac'd all Images in Churches, and that in such unseasonable and unseason'd Fashion, as if it had been done in Hostility against them. Hereat many did express a Sense of Distast, some for religious Respects, others in regard of the excellent Artifice of some of their Pieces, affirming that albeit religious Reverence might happily have been either taken away or moderated, yet the civil Regard which all Men do not only afford but affect, in maintaining the Memory of those whom they honour or love, might be indur'd without Offence.

Certainly albeit the Religion of the *Romans* indur'd 170 Years according to the Law of *Numa Pompilius* without any Images; albeit the *Persians* had neither Images nor Temples nor Altars, being of Opinion that God could be represented by no Device, that he had no Temple but the *World*, no Altar but the *Heart* of Man; albeit *Eusebius* writeth that the People of *Asia*, call'd *Seres*, by express Law forbad Adoration of Images; albeit that Images were forbidden of *Lycurgus* as drawing Men from the true Worship of that which cannot be seen; albeit the antient *Germans*, and from them the *Britans*, and the *Gauls* had neither Images nor Temples; albeit the *Jews*, and in imitation of them, the *Saracens* and *Turks*, abhor nothing more than Images, either in their Temples, or in their Houses; because the Law of God forbiddeth not only to adore, but to make any Image: Albeit the *Christians* continu'd a long time without Images in their Churches; yet were they never entertain'd into any Religion, but presently they took deep root in the Hearts and Consciences of the common People. When *Leo Isauricus* furnam'd *Iconomachus* assembl'd a Council at *Constantinople*, wherein it was decreed that Images should be cast out of Churches and burnt, the West part of his Empire did thereupon first rebel, and afterwards revolt.

And yet while these Proceedings were but in the Bud, Affairs of State without the Realm were maintain'd in good Condition of Honour, but seem'd rather to stand at a stay, than either to advance or decline. In *Scotland* the Wars were maintain'd by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lieutenant of the North, with variable Success. He fortify'd *Haddington*, fir'd *Dalkeith*, and won the Castle where fourteen *Scots* were slain, and three hundred taken Prisoners; he spoil'd much of the Country about *Edinburg*, *Lowthian*, and *Meers*, fir'd *Muscleborough*, and fortify'd *Lowder*, and took *Yester*, at the yielding whereof he granted Life to all, except to one who had us'd vile Speeches against King *Edward*. Those Speeches were commonly cast upon one *Newton*, but he charg'd them upon one *Hamilton*; hereupon *Hamilton* challeng'd *Newton* to the Combate, which he did readily accept, and the Lord *Gray* consented to the Trial: to this purpose Lists were erected in the Market Place at *Haddington*, whereinto at the time appointed,

(r) This Act was not against such as should speak against receiving the Eucharist under both kinds; but against such as should deprave or despise the Blessed Sacrament: which further appears by the Preamble to that Act, shewing how some had disputed and reasoned unreverently and ungodly of that most holy Mystery, and called it by such vile and unseemly Words, as *Christian* Ears did abhor. The Act forbears the mention of them. They were *Round Robin*, *Jack in a Box*, &c. because the Wafer was round, and they used to keep it in a *Pix* or *Box*. The same Act in the last Paragraph of it did enjoin the said Holy Sacrament to be delivered and ministered unto the People in both kinds of Bread and Wine, as being more conformable to the common Use and Practice of the Apostles and Primitive Church, by the Space of five hundred years and more after *Christ's* Ascension. J. S.

(f) Our Author here confoundeth two Books that were to be publicly used for Divine Service; and both belonging not to this, but the next Year. For there was first a new Office for the Communion only, and was enjoined by Proclamation in the Month of *March*, 1547. to be generally used at *Easter* following. This was pursuant to the Act *An. 1. Edw. 6.* for the Administration of the Sacrament in both kinds. The second Book was set forth the latter end of that year 1548. by Act of Parliament, 2 and 3 *Edw.* and was a compleat Liturgy, or Form of publick Prayer, intitl'd, *The Book of the Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England.* This Book was again, by the Care of Archbishop *Cranmer*, review'd and corrected in the Year 1550. and set forth for Publick Use. And this was call'd King *Edward's* Book. J. S.

Hist. Reform. Vol. 2. p. 28.

(t) If by these Commissioners be meant the King's Visitors, which he sent forth lately for a Royal Visitation all over *England* and *Wales*, they indeed enjoined the Curats to take down such Images as they knew were abused by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them; but that private Persons should not do it, no doubt to prevent Confusion and Disturbance. And they also enjoined the Ordinaries, to take care that all Monuments of Idolatry should be removed out of the Walls, and Windows of Churches; as may appear by the Injunctions. By which it seems that the Visitors themselves removed not, nor pulled down any Images; but only left Order, both with the Ordinaries and Curats to see it done. Wherein there was so much Backwardness, that the next year, 1548. the Protector and Privy Council sent Command to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and he by the same Order to the rest of the Bishops, to see that all Images be taken away out of the Churches. J. S.

both

1548. both the Combatants enter'd, apparel'd only in their Doublets and Hofes, and weapon'd with Sword, Buckler, and Dagger. At the first Encounter *Hamilton* drave *Newton* almost to the end of the Lifts, which if he had fully done he had thereby remain'd victorious; but *Newton* on the sudden gave him such a gash on the Leg that therewith he fell to the Ground, and *Newton* forthwith dispatch'd him with his Dagger: certain Gentlemen then present offer'd to have fought with *Newton* upon the same point, but this was adjudg'd to be against the Lawes of Combate; wherefore *Newton* was not only acquitted but rewarded with a Chain of Gold, and with the Gown which the Lord *Gray* did then wear: howbeit many were perswaded that he was faulty, and happily neither of them was free; but he enjoy'd neither his Escape nor his Honour long, for soon after he was hewn in pieces by *Hamilton's* Friends.

The Scots take Broughtirage. On the other side, the Scots came before *Broughtirage*, with 8000 Men and eight pieces of Artillery; but it was for that time well defended by the English, who by often Sallies enforce'd their Enemies with loss of their Artillery to abandon the Attempt. After this divers other Enterprizes were made upon that Fort; at the last it was taken, where the Scots slew all except Sir *John Lutterel* the Captain, who was taken Prisoner.

Haddington besieged by Fr. and Scots. And now *Henry* the Second of France having newly succeeded *Francis* the First, who dy'd the last of March 1547. sent Monsieur *Dassie* his Lieutenant into Scotland, with an Army of about 10000 French and *Almanes*, who joining with the Scots besieg'd *Haddington*, and that with so good earnest, as six pieces of Artillery discharg'd 340 shot in one day, and in another 200 within sixty Paces of the Wall: they lodg'd so near within the very Ditches, that the English slew divers of them with Plummets of Lead ty'd to a Trunchion or Staff by a Cord. The Place was but weak, and the Brackes fair; but the Defendants by Resolution supply'd all the Defects, making divers Sallies with such lively Spirit, that the Assailants were thereby discourag'd from making Assault: the English from *Berwick* with about 1500 Horse did often relieve the Defendants, by breaking thro the midst of their Enemies. But at the last they were so strongly both encounter'd and inclos'd between the French, *Almanes*, and Scots, that Sir *Thomas Palmer* the chief Leader and about 400 were taken Prisoners, and divers slain.

Earl of Shrewsbury relieves them. Hereupon the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was sent with an Army of about 15000 Men, whereof 3000 were *Almanes*; but upon notice of his Approach the French rais'd the Field, retir'd so far as *Muscleborough* and there encamp'd, attributing much Honour to the English for their Valour, in regard of the small strength of the Place which they defended. When the Earl had victual'd and reinforc'd the Town, he march'd forth towards the Enemies, and encamp'd near unto them; and first a few of the English Horse approach'd near the Army of the French, who sent forth some Troops of their Horse to encounter them: but the English retir'd until they had drawn the French into an Ambush laid for the purpose, and then charging together they had them cheap, amongst which two Captains of Account were taken Prisoners.

And offers the French Battel. The next day the Earl presented his Army in plain Field before the Enemy's Camp, clos'd in three Bodies, and rang'd ready to

abide Battel. The French had newly receiv'd Supply of 14 or 15000 Scots, but yet remain'd within their Strength, holding it no Wisdom to venture on Men resolv'd to fight, who being forthwith to depart the Realm could neither long endanger nor endamage them much. So the Earl, after that he had remain'd about an Hour, and perceiving that the French intended not to forsake their Strength, return'd unto his Camp, and afterwards to England, destroying *Dunbar* and some other which stood near his Passage: The Army being dissolv'd, and the Scots thought secure, the Lord *Gray* with his Horsemen enter'd Scotland, did great Wast in *Tivedale* and *Liddesdale* for the space of 20 Miles, and return'd without Encounter. Also a Navy was apointed to coast along with the Army before mention'd: This Fleet coming to *Brent* Island, fir'd four Ships; then attempting upon *S. Minoes*, were repuls'd by the Lord *Dum*, and so without either Glory or Gain return'd into England.

Not long after the departure of the English Army, Monsieur *Dassie* with his French and *Almanes*, attempted suddenly to surprize *Haddington*. The Enterprize was govern'd in so secret manner, that the French had slain the English Scouts, and entred the Base Court, and approach'd the main Gates before any Alarm was taken; but then the Townsmen came forth, many in their Shirts, who with the help of the Watch sustain'd the Assault, until the Soldiers in better appointment came to their Aid. These issued into the Base Court through a privy Postern, and sharply visited the Assailants with Halberts and Swords. Here the Fight grew hot, the Darknes and Danger terrifying some and animating others: Blows flew at all adventures, Wounds and Deaths given and taken unexpected, many scarce knowing their Enemies from their Friends: But shame wrought such Life and Courage in the English, as very few of the Enemies who enter'd the Court escap'd alive, leaving their Fellows bleeding in their deadly Wounds; yet Monsieur *Dassie* not discourag'd herewith, gave three lively Assaults more that Morning, but was repelled with so great loss, that 16 Carts and Waggon were charg'd with carrying away their dead and dying Bodies, besides 300 left in the Base Court.

After divers like Adventures, the English perceiving that the Town could not be kept without danger, nor lost without dishonour; the Earl of *Rutland* was sent with 3000 *Almanes*, and as many Borderers, to demolish the Town, and to bring the Artillery away to *Berwick*. The Earl not only accomplish'd his Charge, but made wide wast in his passage by ruin and spoil. Herewith the Castle of *Hume* was suddenly surpriz'd by the Scots, and all the English therein either taken or slain. This was effected by means of certain Scots who us'd to bring Victuals to the English, and were reputed their assured Friends; these both observing the Weakness of the Place and Orders of the Garison, discover'd them to their Fellows, and gave entertainment for the Surprize. Giving also warning to others, never to trust either the Courtesies or Services of those whom they have provok'd to be their Enemies.

About these Times Sir *Edward Bellingham* Lord Deputy of Ireland, first with great Diligence and Care, then Credit and Reputation, especially gain'd by that Service, took Ocanor

1548. and *Omor*, and reduc'd the other seditious Lords to good Subjection. *Ocanor* and *Omor* guided by overlate Counsel, of Necessity left their Lordships, and had a yearly Pension of 100*l.* assign'd to either of them.

Bulling-
berge at-
tempted by
the French
but beaten
off.

And now the *French* supposing that by reason, partly of suspence of Hostility between *England* and *France*, and partly of the *English* Affairs in other Places, Matters with them would be neglected, determin'd to attempt a sudden Surprize of the Fortres of *Bullingberge*; to this end 7000 Men were appointed, under the Conduct of Mr. *Chastilion*, furnish'd with Ladders and other Preparations for the Surprize. They marched secretly in the dead time of the Night; and when they approach'd within a quarter of a League, one *Carter* who had been discharg'd of his Pay by the *English*, for taking a *French* Woman to Wife, and then serv'd under the *French*, ran privily before and gave the Alarm to those in the Fort. The *English* drew him up the Walls between two Pikes, and understanding the Danger, address'd themselves to their Defence. By reason whereof the *French* at their approach had so warm a Welcome, every of the *English* contending that his Valour might be noted for some Help in the Fight, that at their departure they laded fifteen Waggons with their Dead. *Carter* himself adventur'd bravely in Places of greatest danger, and receiv'd two great Hurts in his Body. Sir *Nicholas Arnault* the Captain was likewise hurt with a Pike in the Face; divers others were wounded, and about 25 slain. The Assault continu'd with great Obstinacy from midnight until somewhat after break of day.

A skirmish
between
the French
& English.

Shortly after 300 *English* on Foot, and 25 Horsemen, were appointed to go to a Wood about two Leagues from *Bullingberge*, having Carriages with them, for bringing certain Timber for mounting great Artillery, and some other uses: When they approach'd near the edge of the Wood, about 500 *French* Horsemen issu'd forth and gave three sharp Charges upon them; the *English* impal'd themselves with their Pikes, and therewith bare off their Enemies; and being lin'd with Shot (the cruel plague of Horsemen) the *French* were in such sort galled with Arrows that many were wounded, Mr. *Cauret* and divers others slain, 70 great Horses lay dead in the Field, and one Cornet was taken. The *English* fearing greater Forces, began to retire; and therewith appear'd about 2000 *French* and *Almanes* on foot. But the *English* maintain'd an orderly Retreat, until they came within favour of the Shot of *Bullingberge*, and then the Enemy adventur'd no further: And in this manner the old Wounds of War began freshly to open and bleed between *England* and *France*.

But in this mean time such Tempests of Sedition tumbled in *England*, more by default of Governors, than the peoples Impatience to live in Subjection, that not only the Honour but the Safety of the State was thereby endanger'd. For as the Commissioners before-mention'd pass'd to divers Places for establishing of their new Injunctions, many unfavoury Scorns were cast upon them; and the further they went from *London*, as the People were more uncivil, so did they more rise into Insolency and Contempt. At the last, as one Mr. *Body* a Commissioner was pulling down Images in *Cornwal*, he was suddenly stab'd into the Body by a Priest with a Knife.

Hereupon the People more regarding Com-
motioners than Commissioners, flock'd to-
gether in divers Parts of the Shire, as Clouds
cluster against a Storm: And albeit Justice
was afterwards done upon the Offenders, the
Principal being hang'd and quarter'd in *Smith-
field*, and divers of his chief Complices exe-
cuted in divers parts of the Realm; albeit so
ample a Pardon was proclaim'd for all others
within that Shire touching any Action or
Speech tending to Treason; yet could not the
Boldness be beaten down either with that Se-
verity, or with this Lenity be abated. For
the Mischief forthwith spread into *Wiltshire*
and *Somersetshire*, where the People supposing
that a Commonwealth could not stand with-
out Commons, beat down Enclosures, laid
Parks and Fields Champain. But Sir *William
Herbert*, afterwards Earl of *Pembroke*, with a
well arm'd and order'd Company, set sharply
upon them, and oppressing some of the for-
wardest of them by Death, suppress'd all the
Residue of them by fear. But their Duty de-
pending upon Fear, the one was of no greater
continuance than the other.

The like Motions follow'd in *Suffex*, *Hamp-
shire*, *Kent*, *Glocestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Essex*,
Hartfordshire, *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire* and
Rutlandshire. But being neither in Numbers
nor in Courage great, partly by Authority of
Gentlemen, and partly by Entreaty and Ad-
vice of honest Persons, they were reduc'd to
some good Appeasement; as with People more
guided by Rage than by Right, yet not altoge-
ther mad, it was not uneasy. But herein hap-
pily some Error was committed, that being
only brought to a Countenance of Quiet, re-
gard was not had to distinguish the Rebellion
fully: for soon after they broke forth more
dangerously than before, for no part could
content them who aim'd at all.

After this the People in *Oxfordshire*, *Devon-
shire*, *Norfolk* and *Yorkshire*, fell into the same
madness, incens'd by such who being in them-
selves base and degenerate, and dangerous to
the State, had no hope but in troublesom
Times. To *Oxfordshire* the Lord *Gray* of *Wil-
ton* was sent with 1500 Horse and Foot, to
whom the Gentlemen of the Country resorted,
drawing many Followers with them: The very
Name of the Lord *Gray*, being known to be a
Man of great Valour and Fortune, so terrify'd
the Seditious, that upon the very Report of
his Approach, more than half fell away and
dispersed; of the Residue, who being either
more desperate or more sottish, did abide in
the Field, many were presently slain, many
taken and forthwith executed.

To *Devonshire* was sent John Lord *Russel*, The Mai-
Lord of the Privy Seal, whose Forces being
indeed, or being by him distrusted to be infe-
rior to the Importance of the Service, he sat
down at *Honington*, whilst the Seditious did
almost what they would: Upon this heaviness
of the King's Forces going forward, interpre-
ted to be Fear and want of Mettle, divers,
either of the most audacious, or such as Po-
verty or fear of Punishment might easily
plunge into any Mischief, resorted to the sedi-
tious daily from *Cornwal* and other Parts; as
bad Humours gather to a Bile, or as divers
Kennels flow to one Sink, so in short time
their Numbers increas'd to 10000 tall and able
Bodys. They were chiefly guided by *Hum-
phrey Arundel*, a Man well esteem'd for Milita-
ry Services. About six others of inferior Note
were

1549. were bold Actors with him. Many Priests, unworthy to be nam'd, were also impetuous and importunate Incensors of the Rage; Men of some Academical Learning in Discourse, but their Minds not season'd with any virtuous or religious Thoughts.

Assuredly the vulgar Multitude is not unfitly term'd a *Beast*, with many Heads not guided, I will not say with any proportion but portion of Reason: Violence and Obstinacy, like two untam'd Horses, draw their Desire in a blindfold Carrier. They intend most foolishly what they never put in action, and often act most madly what they never intended; all that they know to do, is that they know not what to do; all that they mean to determine, proves a Determination and Meaning to do nothing. They attribute more to others Judgments than to their own, esteeming bold Obstinacy for bravest Courage, and impudent Prating for soundest Wisdom. And now being assembled into one Company, rather without a Lord than at Liberty, to accomplish their Misery they fall to Division, of all Calamities the worst, and so broken in their Desires, that many could not learn either wherefore they came, or what they would have done. Some were Commonwealth Mutiners, and some did mutiny for Religion. They who were for the Commonwealth, could agree upon no certain Thing, but it was certain they could agree upon nothing: Some would have no Justices, some no Gentlemen, some no Lawyers nor ordinary Courts of Justice; and above all Inclosures must down: but whether all, or which, or how to be employ'd, none could tell, every Man regarding what he follow'd, but not what might follow thereof. All would have the State transform'd, but whether reform'd or deform'd, they neither car'd nor knew. They concurred only in confus'd Clamours, every Man thinking it no less reasonable that his Opinion should be heard, than that his Body should be adventur'd.

Their Demands.

The religious Mutiners were not altogether so various in their Voices, as having some few Spirits among them by whom they were both stirred and guided: these in the name of the People, hammer'd up the Articles following, and sent them to the King; upon granting of which they professed that both their Bodys and Goods should be absolutely at the King's Devotion.

1. That Curats should administer Baptism at all times of Necessity, as well on Week-days as on Holy-days.

2. That their Children might be confirm'd by the Bishop, whensoever they should within the Diocess resort unto him.

3. Forasmuch as they believ'd, that after the words of Consecration no Substance of Bread remained but the real Body and Blood of Christ: That the Mass should be celebrated without any Man communicating with the Priest, for that many put no difference between the Lord's Body and other Meat, some saying that it is Bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to none except he receives it.

4. That they might have reservation of the Lord's Body in their Churches.

5. That they might have holy Bread and holy Water, in remembrance of Christ's precious Body and Blood.

6. That God's Service might be said or sung with an audible Voice in the Quire, and not forth like a Christmas Play.

7. That Priests live chaste (as St. Paul did) without marriage, who said to all honest Priests, Be ye followers of me.

8. That the six Articles set forth by King Henry the Eighth be so used as they were in his Time, at least until the King should accomplish his full Age. (v)

Now albeit the King knew right well that no Reasons would serve for denial, and that the yielding to them in any thing would profit him nothing, but rather make them rise to more insolent Demands; yet he return'd an Answer in writing, and therewith his general Pardon, in case they would desist, and open their Eyes to discern how their uncircumspect Simplicity had been abus'd, especially in Matters of Religion: for that as some Virtues resemble some Vices so near, as the one is often taken for the other; so Religion and Superstition do so nearly resemble, that it was easy for Men to disguise the one under the Mask of the other. First, therefore he reprov'd them fairly for their disorderly Assemblies, against the peaceable People of the Realm, and against the Honour of his Estate, fearing much that by reason of their Disobedience, his Lenity should appear to be less than he would have it; also for that they us'd his Name in all their Writings, not only without his Authority, but even against himself, abusing thereby the Weakness of many, and drawing them into society of their Evil. Then he pitied their Ignorance and the Errors thence arising, whereby they were allur'd to new Hopes by some, who could not thrive so well by their honest Endeavours as by Rapine and Spoil; who stop'd all Course of Law and Discourse of Reason, to open the Floodgate of their unmeasurable Madness; who to overthrow the State pretend Liberty, but if they should overthrow it all Liberty were lost.

For, saith he, who hath born you in hand that Children even in case of necessity cannot be baptiz'd but upon Holidays? whereas there is no Day nor Hour wherein the Minister is not only permitted but commanded to baptize. By like abuse you are perswaded that many hold that the blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body doth nothing differ from common Bread; whereas Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, common Practice agree, that common Bread is only to sustain the Body, but this blessed Bread is Food for the Soul. Touching Confirmation, doth any believe that a Child baptiz'd is damn'd unless it be confirm'd? If it be baptiz'd and also confirm'd, is it sav'd only by Confirmation, and not by Baptism? Or is it the more sav'd by Confirmation? Children are confirm'd at the Age of Discretion, to teach them what they receiv'd in their Infancy; they

(v) The full and whole Answers made to these Articles of the Rebels are set down in *Hollingshed's Chronicle*; whereof our Author hath given here some imperfect Abstract.

These Rebels of Devon required several other things of the King, consisting in fifteen Articles more, the first whereof was, We will have all the General Councils, and holy Decrees of our Fore-fathers observed, kept and performed. And whosoever shall gainsay them, we hold them as Hereticks. To this and the rest, Archbishop Crammer wrote excellent Answers, which are publish'd in the Appendix to the *Memorials* of his Life. J. S.

are

1549. are taught by Confirmation to continue in that whereto they were baptiz'd. Oh how much do they need who will never be content! what may satisfy those who have no Limits to their Desires!

As for the Order of Service and Use thereof in the *English* Tongue, which you esteem new, it is no other than the old, the same Words in *English* which were in *Latin*, except a few things omitted so fond, that it had been a Shame to have heard them in *English*. And how can any reasonable Man be offended to understand what God by his Word speaketh unto them, what they by their Prayers speak unto God? If the Service were good in *Latin*, it remains so in *English*; for nothing is alter'd but to make you understand what is said. In like sort the Mass with great Judgment and Care was reduc'd to the same manner as Christ left it, as the Apostles us'd it, as the ancient Fathers receiv'd, practis'd and left it.

But you would in sober earnest have the six Articles again reviv'd: Do you understand what you would have, or are you Masters of your own Judgment? If you understand them and yet desire them, it is not long since they were enacted, and have since drawn much Blood from the Subjects: As would you have bloody Laws again in Life, or would they any long time be endur'd? Upon pity they were taken away, upon Ignorance they are again demanded: Verily that in the Gospel may truly be said of you, ye ask ye know not what, for ye neither know what Good ye shall have by receiving them, nor what Evil you have lost by their abolishing: our Intention is to have our Laws written with Milk, but you would have them written with Blood. They were establish'd by Law and so observ'd, altho with much Expence of Blood; they are abolish'd by Law with sparing of Blood, and that also must be observ'd: for *unless Laws be duly observ'd, neither the Authority of the Prince, or Safety of the People can be preserv'd.*

And whereas you would have them remain in force until our full Age, if you had known what you speak, you never would have given breath to such an unseason'd thought: for what is our Authority the less for our Age, or shall we be more King hereafter than now? or are you less Subjects now than in future times you shall be? Verily as a natural Man we have now Youth, and by God's Sufferance expect Age; but as a King we have no difference in Years, we are rightful King by God's Ordinance, and by Descent from our Royal Ancestors, and not by any set Number of Years: and much it is to be fear'd, that they who mov'd you to require this Suspence of time, would absolutely deny our Royal Power, if they durst so plainly expresse themselves.

The seditious, as Men always dangerous, when they have once broken Awe, interpreted this or any other mild Dealing to proceed from some faining or fainting Disposition, either doubting or daring most when they are most fairly intreated: and the more to inflame the Popular Rage, fresh Rumours were devis'd and divulg'd, that the People should be constrain'd to pay a ratable Tax for their Sheep and other Cattle, and an Excise for every thing which they should eat or drink; by which and other like Reports the simple were blinded, the malicious edg'd, all hardned from applying to any peaceable Persuasion.

And now unable to support themselves either

with their own Estate, or by waite of Villages, they aspir'd to the Spoil and Subjection of Cities: and first they came to *Exeter* and demanded Entrance, but the Citizens as they were both civil and rich, so were they better advis'd, and therefore clos'd their Gates, and refus'd to have any Intercourse with the seditious, but either by common Obedience, or else by Hostility and Arms. The popular Fury being thus stop'd, swell'd the more. Whereupon they resolv'd to apply their Endeavours for taking the City, and either by destroying it to increase Terror, or else by sparing it to win an Opinion of Moderation: they had no great Artillery to open a Breach, and yet without Reason they gave an Assault, and us'd divers Means to mount the Walls: but the more Madnes they shew'd in their Attempt, with the greater Loss they were driven back. Then they fir'd the Gates at two several times, but the Citizens at both times by casting in Wood maintain'd the fire, until they had cast up a Half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were slain from the Corners like Dogs. After this they min'd the Walls, laid the Poudre and ramm'd the Mouth; but the Citizens made a Countermine, whereinto they pour'd such Plenty of Water, that the wet Powder could not be fir'd.

In the meantime the Lord Privy-Seal lay at *Honington* expecting more strength: and knowing right well that as the Multitude are slow to danger, so are they most desperate when they are stir'd, but whilst he expected more Company, many of those he had slip'd away from him; hereupon he resolv'd for retaining the rest, to entertain some present Enterprize, and first he assay'd by a by-way to enter and relieve the City, but the seditious for prevention hereof had fell'd all the Trees between *S. Mary Outry* and *Exeter*, and laid them cross the way, in such sort as they impeach'd his Passage. Hereupon firing such Places as he thought might serve either for use or ease to the seditious, he determin'd to return to *Honington*. But the seditious forelaid a Bridge, over which he should pass, call'd *Fenington* Bridge; and in a great fair Meddow behind the Bridge plac'd a great number under Banners display'd. The Lord Privy-Seal had but a small Company in regard of the seditious. Yet with good Order and Courage he attempted the Bridge, but could not force it: at the last finding the River to be fordable at the foot of the Bridge, he there set over his Horse, whereupon the Guards appointed to defend the Bridge forsook their Charge, and retir'd to their Strength in the Meddow. Then the King's Forces charg'd lively upon them, and they again as stoutly receiv'd the Charge; but being an untrain'd Multitude without either Soldier or Guide, they were soon broken and put to flight: yet they rally'd themselves and tumultuously charg'd upon the King's Forces, but were presently routed and cast out of the Field; the Chase was not far pursu'd for fear of fresh Succours from before the City. Notwithstanding the seditious lost 600 of their Men, and the Lord Privy-Seal return'd without Loss to *Honington*.

At this time the Seditious liv'd by Rapine and Ruin of all the Country, omitting nothing of that which Savages enrag'd in the height of their unruly Behaviour do commit; but the Citizens driven to great Distress for want

1549. want of Victuals, Bread they made of coarsest Bran moulded in Cloths, for that otherwise it would not cleave together: Their finest Flesh was of their own Horses, especially for twelve days they endur'd most extreme Famine. During this time they were much encourag'd by an aged Citizen, who brought forth all his Provisions, and said, that as he did communicate unto them his Store, so would he participate of their Wants; and that for his part he would feed on the one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would consent to put the City into the seditious hands. Here-with the Lord Privy Seal, for want of Power to perform any Services, was about to rise and return to London. But in good time the

The Lord Gray comes with a Supply.

Lord Gray came to him with Supply of Forces most *Almane* Horsemen, and with him came *Spinola* with his Band of *Italians*, consisting of 300 Shot, purposed for *Scotland*, also 200 Men were sent unto him from *Reading*; so being in all not much above 1000 strong, he made head against the Seditious. So departing from *Honington*, he came to a little Village, from whence lay two ways towards *Exeter*, both which were block'd up with two Bulwarks of Earth made by the Seditious; hither they had driven 2000 Men from before *Exeter*, whom they divided into four Companies. In either of the Bulwarks they lodg'd one; at the Bridge near the Back of one of the Forts a third Company was plac'd; the fourth was laid in ambush behind a Hedge on the Highway, at the back of the other Forts. The Arrier of the King's Forces led by Captain *Wavers* set upon one of the Forts, the Vaward and Battail upon the other; *Spinola* with his Shot did bear upon those within, who offer'd to appear upon the Walls. At length Captain *Wavers* won the Fort which he assail'd, and drave the Defendants to the Bridge, where one of their Companies made stand. Here-with the other two Companies did forthwith resort unto them, one from the second Fort, the other from the Ambush. These casting a strong guard upon the Bridge, marshal'd the Residue upon a plain ground behind the Bridge. The King's Forces coming forward, drave the Guard from the Bridge; and making profit of the fresh Terror, set upon those who were upon the Plain. The King's Footmen were firmly rank'd, the Troops of Horse in good Array; whereas the Seditious had neither Weapons, Order, or Counsel, but being in all things unprovided, were slain like Beasts. They took their Flight towards *St. Marycliffe*; but the Soldiers, upon disdain of their unworthy Actions, fill'd themselves with Revenge and Blood, and slew of them above 900, not sparing one.

The Seditious routed and slain.

This sad Blow abated much the Courage and Hope of the Seditious; and yet the next day about 2000 of them affronted the King's Forces at the entrance of a Highway, whom when they found both ready and resolute to fight, they desir'd Enterparlance, and in the mean time began to fortify. But understanding that their Intention was known, more like Slaves than Soldiers they furiously ran away. The same night the Seditious before *Exeter* rais'd their Siege, and therewith discharg'd the City from many Miseries and Despairs. The King afterwards enlarg'd the constant Obedience of the City, with Enlargement both of Liberties and of Revenues; he gave unto them the Mannor of *Eutland*, for

The Siege of Exeter rais'd.

a perpetual Remembrance both of their Loyalty and of his Love.

Now the Seditious driven almost to a dead despair, and supported only by the Vehemency of Desire, brought forth their Forces to *Clifton Heath*, to whom many of the most vile Vulgars resorted hourly, which much enlarg'd their Numbers but nothing their Strength. But what Measure have Men in the increase of Madness, if they keep not themselves from falling into it? They brought with them a Crucifix upon a Cart cover'd with a Canopy, and beset with Crosses, Tapers, Banners, Holy Bread and Holy Water, as a Representation of those things for which they fought. The Lord Gray encourag'd his Men to set sharply upon the vague Villains, good neither to live peaceably nor to fight, and to win at once both Quiet to the Realm, and to themselves Glory: so he brought the King's Forces upon them, rather as to a Carnage than to a Fight, inasmuch as without any great either loss or danger to themselves, the greatest part of the seditious were slain, diverse also were taken, of whom the common sort were forthwith executed by martial Law, the chiefest Leaders were sent to receive Justice at London; some escap'd and sail'd to *Bridgwater*, who taking Dangers to be the only Remedy against Dangers, endeavour'd to set up the Seditio again, but they were speedily repress'd, and thereby the Seditio suppress'd wholly.

1549.

They appear again at Clifton-Heath.

But slain and taken.

The Seditio thus broken and beaten down, Sir *Anthony Kingston* Provost Marshal of the King's Army was deem'd by many not only cruel but uncivil, and inhumane in his Executions. One *Boyer* Mayor of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall* was observ'd to have been among the seditious, but by absolute Inforcement as many others were. The Marshal wrote to him a Letter that he would dine at his House upon a day which he appointed; the Mayor seem'd glad, and made for him the best Provision that he could: upon the day he came, and a large Company with him, and was receiv'd with many Ceremonies of Entertainment. A little before Dinner he took the Mayor aside, and whisper'd him in the Ear, that Execution must that day be done in the Town, and therefore requir'd him that a pair of Gallows should be fram'd and erected against the time that Dinner should end. The Mayor was diligent to accomplish his Demand, and no sooner was Dinner ended, but he demanded of the Mayor whether the Work was finish'd; the Mayor answer'd that all was ready. I pray you, said the Provost, bring me to the Place; and therewith he took him friendly by the Hand. Here, beholding the Gallows, he ask'd the Mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough; yes, said the Mayor, doubtless they are: Well, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are prepar'd for you; I hope, answer'd the Mayor, you mean not as you speak; in faith, said the Provost, there is no Remedy, for you have been a busy Rebel, and so without Respite or Defence he was strangl'd to death.

The Mayor of Bodmin hang'd by Martial Law.

Near the said Place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busy Actor in that Rebellion; and fearing the Approach of the Provost Marshal, told a sturdy tall Fellow his Servant that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore gave Directions that if any one should inquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but affirm that himself was the Miller, and that so he had been for three years before: So the Provost

And a Miller's Man.

1549. Provost came and call'd for the Miller, his Servant came forth and said he was the Man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill; these three years answer'd the Servant: then the Provost commanded his Men to lay hold on him, and to hang him on the nearest Tree: then the Fellow cry'd out that he was not the Miller but the Miller's Man; nay Sir, answer'd the Provost, I will take thee at thy word, and if thou beest the Miller thou art a busy Knave, if thou beest not, thou art a false lying Knave, whatsoever thou art thou shalt be hang'd. When others also told him that the Fellow was but the Miller's Man, and what then said he? could he ever have done his Master a better Service than to hang for him? and so without more to do he was dispatch'd. Assuredly this might have pass'd for a tolerable Jest if it had not been in case of Life.

Diverse others were executed by Martial Law, and a great part of the Country was abandon'd to the Spoil of the Soldiers, who not troubling themselves to discern between a Subject and a Rebel, whilst their Liberty lasted, made indifferently Profit of both.

Sedition in Norfolk.

The seditious in *Northfolk* were somewhat dangerous, both because their Strength was greater, as also because the City of *Norwich* was a Friend unto them, or at least wish'd them no great harm, and being faithful to neither side, was always ready to entertain the stronger. Their first Attempt was made at *Attleborough*, where they threw down the Fences of one *Green of Wilby*, who was suppos'd to have inclos'd a part of *Attleborough* Common adjoining to the Common Pasture of *Harsham*. Afterward they assembl'd at a Play accusom'd yearly to be kept at *Wimondham*, and from thence went to *Morley* a Mile distant, and there cast down the Ditches of one *Hubbard*, next by Incitement of *John Flowerdew* of *Netheset*, a Gentleman of good Estate: but never expressing Desire of Quiet, they did the like to certain Inclosures of *Robert Ket* a Tanner in *Wimondham*, and receiv'd of him thirty eight Shillings and four pence for their Labor. This *Ket*, who hath made his obscure beginning well known by his mischievous Attempts to requite *Flowerdew*, carry'd them to *Netheset*, where they cast down all the inclos'd Pasture of *Flowerdew*, and not staying there he led them indifferently to diverse other Places, laying all Inclosures where he came rather wast than open.

Ket provoketh the Rabble against Gentlemen.

And the rather to train them to his Allure, he told them both often and with vehement Voice, how they were overtop'd and trodden down by Gentlemen, and other their good Masters, and put out of Possibility ever to recover foot; how whilst Rivers of Riches ran into their Landlords Coffers, they were par'd to the quick, and fed upon Pease and Oats like Beasts; how being fleec'd by these for private Benefit, they were stay'd by publick Burthens of State, wherein whilst the richer sort favour'd themselves, they were gnawn to the very Bones; how the more to terrify and torture them to their Minds, and wind their Necks more surely under their Arm, their tyrannous Master did often implead, arrest, cast them into Prison, and thereby consume them to worse than nothing; how they did palliate these Pillaries with the fair Pretence of Authority and of Law, fine Workmen I warrant you, who can so closely carry their

Dealings, that then Men only discover them, how harmless Counsels were fit for tame Fools, but for them who had already stir'd there was no Hope but in adventuring boldly.

The Likeness of Affection and the masking of Vices under pleasant Terms, procur'd not only Assent, but Applause to all that he said: and so by often and earnest repeating of these and the like Speeches, and by bearing a confident Countenance in all his Actions, the Vulgars took him to be both valiant and wise, and a fit Man to be their Commander, being glad they had found any Captain to follow.

Their Numbers increas'd daily, and there-with their Boldness and Power to do harm: They were largely supply'd at the first both with Victuals and Arms, albeit not with open Consent of the Places adjoining, yet with much private Good-will; for many did not only secretly favour, but openly approve their Designs. Generally every good Man was much griev'd; many upon some dislikes before rejoic'd in their greater Harms, and not regarding in what Liberty they stood, were ready to run into any Bondage. The Sheriff of *Norfolk* resorted unto them, and made Proclamation in the King's Name, that forthwith they should peaceably depart; and had he not been ready, and his Horse swift to depart in time, he should hardly have departed from them alive.

After this they drew towards *Norwich*, and seated themselves at *Monshold* near *Mount Surrey*, and upon *St. Leonhards*, which hangeth over *Norwich*: Another Company seated at *Rising* near *Lynne*, but they were dislodg'd by the Gentlemen of the Country, and forc'd to draw to their Fellows at *Monshold*. Here the main Body encamp'd, and sent divers light Companies forth to terrify and rove. To this place many resorted out of *Suffolk*, and from all places of *Norfolk*, many for want, but most upon a turbulent mind; and in all places thereabout Beacons were fir'd and Bells rung, as a roaring Furtherance to his Up roar; so as in short time the Multitude increas'd to 16000, and yet rather to be esteem'd a Number than an Army.

Their Actions were cover'd and disguis'd with Mantles, very usual in time of Disorder, of Religion and Justice; for they had one *Coniers* for their Chaplain, a Man brought up in idle and dead Studies, who both Morning and Evening read solemn Prayers: many Sermons they also had either by Intreaty or Enforcement. But *Dr. Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Sermon before them, touch'd them for their living so near, that they went near to touch him for his Life. As for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* usually sat, and with him two of every Hundred whence their Companies had been rais'd. Here Complaints were exhibited and examin'd as well against those of their own Company, who receiv'd Judgment for their Offences, as against any Gentleman or other in the Country: by Commandment from hence many were very violently pull'd from their Houses, of whom some were enforc'd to follow them, others were cast into Prison, and haply fetter'd with Irons, and not a few rudely and dangerously entreated: From hence also Warrants were sent forth in the King's Name, whereby Ordnance, Powder and Shot were commanded out of Ships, and any other Furniture of War out of Houses where it could be found. This Tree

*

was

1549.

Require
the King
to send an
Herald to
them.

The King's
Answer.

was ever since term'd the *Oak of Reformation*.

And now the Seditious being advanc'd unto the height both of their Power and of their Pride, presented certain Complaints to the King, and desir'd that a Herald or some other Messenger of Credit may be sent unto them to receive Articles of all those Matters wherewith they concern'd themselves to be griev'd. The King took it for a great Indignity that base Traitors and Thieves should offer to capitulate with him as Enemies Law, fully holding the Field; and yet knowing right well, that as good Counsels gather Strength by time, so upon a little Respite evil Advices either vanish or grow weaker to win some Advantage of time, return'd an Answer: That seeing he was ready always to receive and relieve the quiet Complaints of any of his Subjects, he marvel'd much either upon what Opinion of Necessity in themselves or of Injustice in him, they should first put themselves into Arms, as a Party against him, and then present him with their bold Petitions, especially at such a time, when having fully reform'd many other Matters, he had lately set forth a Proclamation against excessive Prices of Victuals, and had also appointed Commissioners with ample Authority for divers other things, whereof many doubtless had been by that time redress'd, had not these Disorders given impediment to his Designs, generally when they might well discern both his Care and Endeavours to set all Matters in a right Frame of Reformation, as might best stand both with his Honour and their Sureties, and with Justice and Providence towards all. Touching their particular Complaint for reducing Lands and Farms to their antient Rents, altho it could not be done by his ordinary Power without a Parliament, yet he would so far extend his Authority Royal and Absolute as to give Charge to his Commissioners to travel with all Persons within their Counties, to reduce Lands to their former Rents wherewith they were farm'd forty years before, and that Rents should be paid at *Michelmass* then next ensuing according to that Rate, and that such as would not presently yield to his Commissioners for that redress, should at the Parliament which he would forthwith summon be overul'd.

Concerning their Complaint for Price of Wools, he would forthwith give Order that his Commissioners should cause Clothiers take Wools, paying only two parts of the Price wherewith they were commonly sold the year next before; and for the other third part, the Owner and Buyer should stand to such Order as the Parliament should appoint. At which time also he would give Order, that landed Men to a certain Proportion should be neither Clothiers nor Farmers, and farther that one Man should not use divers Occupations, nor have Plurality of Benefices, nor of Farms; and generally that he would then give Order for all the Residue of their Requests, in such sort as they should have good Cause not only to remain quiet, but to pray for him, and to adventure their Lives in his Service.

This Parliament he promis'd should begin in the beginning of *October* then next ensuing, against which time they should appoint four or six of their County, to present Bills of their Desires; and in the mean season apply themselves to their Harvest, and other peaceable Business at home, and not to drive him

to Necessity (whereof he would be sorry) by sharper Means to maintain both his own Dignity and the Common Quiet.

These Letters carrying the King's Name in the front, and the Protector's with the King's Signature at the foot, were sent by a Herald to *Monshold*, a Place guarded with great, but confus'd and disorder'd Strength of the Seditious. Herewith also the King sent his general Pardon, in case they would quietly desist and dissolve. But the Seditious were so far from accepting these or any other Offers of Accord, that hereupon they discharg'd the first shot against the City; and because their Artillery being planted on a Hill, could little or nothing endamage the Walls, they remov'd their Battery to a lower ground: but because the City was weak, and the Citizens but weakly dispos'd against them, with no Danger, and little Travel, they made themselves Masters thereof.

Here they imprison'd the Mayor and many other of the chief Citizens, and order'd all things at their Pleasure, but maintain'd the chief Seat at *Monshold*, where it was before. The Mayor of *Norwich* and some other Gentlemen of Credit they constrain'd to be present at all their Counsels, with Intention to countenance their Actions with some Authority, but in no sort to be guided by them. All this time the King's Forces advanc'd but slowly, being employ'd in appeasing the like Disorders more near the Heart of the Kingdom. So that it is most certain, that had these Seditious been so mischievously bent as in Number they were great, they might have prov'd more dangerous than they were; but they aim'd not at ambitious Ends, their rude Earthly Spirits were never season'd with any manly adventurous thought, and therefore they were content with a licentious and idle Life, wherein they might fill their Bellies with Spoil rather than by Labour: to this side their Companies rang'd in all parts thereabouts, and took away for their Householdstuff and Goods; but especially they brought to their Stations many Drovers of Cattle; for besides Deer out of Parks, besides Beeves, besides Fowls of all kinds, within a few days were brought out of the Country 2000 Muttons; such Numbers of Sheep were daily brought in, that a fat Weather was sold for four Pence. This was interpreted for a present Plenty, but it made such Scarcity afterwards, as could not in many years be repair'd. Sir *Edmund Knevet* Kt. with such Company as he could assemble, charg'd upon one of their Watches by night; but he was so far inferior unto them, that it was esteem'd a great Fortune that he departed from them with his Life.

But soon after the Lord *William Parre* Marquis of *Northampton* was sent against them with 1500 Horsemen, and a small Band of *Italians*, under a Captain nam'd *Malatesta*: he was accompany'd with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen of Principal Estimation. When he approach'd within a Mile of the City, the Magistrates and chief Citizens upon Summons resorted to his Standard, yielded unto him the City Sword, and profess'd their own Loyalty, and excus'd others of inferior force, who either by Ignorance favour'd the Seditious, or thro fear durst not declare against them; with these the Lord Marquis enter'd the City at *St. Stephens Gate*, the City Sword being born before him, and therewith caus'd the chief Citizens to assemble

1549.

And a general Pardon.

Marquis of Northampton sent against them.

1549. in the Market Place, both to give Advice and to take Direction how the City might best be defended.

In the mean time the Strangers who came with him, whether by Appointment or by Adventure, issu'd forth of the City, to view both the Numbers and Orders of the Seditious. They again first put forth their Archers, then their Horsemen, lastly a Company ran furiously forth without either Direction of others or Judgment in themselves, intending to have inclos'd the *Italians*: but here might have been a great Difference between Men practis'd to fight, and Men accustom'd only to spoil. For the *Italians* in so well advis'd Order receiv'd the seditious coming rashly upon them without either Fear or Skill, that divers of the tumultuous Numbers were slain: at the last the *Italians* perceiving themselves almost inviron'd, cast themselves into a Ring and retir'd back into the City. But they left one Gentleman of their Company behind, who being overthrown from his Horse fell into the Hands of the Seditious, who like Savages spoil'd him of his Armour, and of his Apparel, and hang'd him over the Walls of *Mount Surry*.

They assault the City.

This caus'd the Seditious to remain the first part of the Night within their Station, which by reason of the Nastiness of the beaitly Multitude, might more fitly be term'd a Kennel than a Camp. Within the City diligent Watch was kept, which was often visited and reliev'd. The Soldiers remain'd in their Armour all Night, and kept so great a Fire in the Market place, that all Parts of the City were lighted therewith. The Seditious about Midnight began to shoot off their great Artillery very lively and thick: hereupon the Lord Marquis directed part of his Forces to rampart the Gates and ruinous Places of the Walls, which the Seditious espying, with a hideous Roaring and Rage they pour'd themselves upon the City, some endeavour'd to fire the Gates, some to mount over the Walls, and some to pass the River: the fight continu'd three hours, and it is almost incredible with what rude Rage the Seditious maintain'd their Assault; some being almost disabled to hold up their Weapons would strive what they could to strike their Enemies; others being thrust thro the Body with a Spear, would run themselves further to reach those who gave them that deadly Wound; at the last their Obstinacy was overcome, and they return'd to their Cabbins with loss of 300 of their Company.

And enter it.

The Residue of the Night which was not much, the Soldiers within the City apply'd in refreshing themselves; but the next Morning the Seditious both with greater Strength and better Order enter'd the City by the Hospital, and began a most desperate Surprise. The Forces of the Marquis, albeit inferior in Numbers, yet by reason of the Freshness of the Place might have been sufficient, if they had charg'd in order, and together; but being scatter'd in the Streets, they were not able to make Resistance: herewith they were much endamag'd by the Citizens from their Houses, so as 100 of them perish'd, many were hurt, and the Residue driven to forsake the City; the Lord *Sheffields* Horse fell with him into a Ditch, whereby he fell into the Power of the Seditious, and as he pull'd of his Helmet to shew them who he was, a Butcher slew him with the Stroke of a Club. Divers Gen-

tlemen to the Number of 30 were taken and committed to freight Prison, where they were vex'd alike with Scarcity and Scorn. The Seditious lost about seven score of their Company; and yet much flesh'd with this Success, they spoil'd many Parts of the City, and fir'd the Houses of those whom they esteem'd not to be their Friends: but the Rage of the Fire was at first hinder'd, and then appeas'd by fall of a sudden Shower of Rain; whereupon many presag'd that the Flames of this Seditious should neither spread far nor long endure. The Report of this Repulse flying to *London*, the most was made of that which was true, and many Falsities added thereto. The Earl of *Warwick* was sent with such Forces both *English* and *Strangers*, wherewith he had appointed for Service in *Scotland*: when he came to *Cambridge*, the Lord Marquis resorted unto him, and also the Lord *Willoughby*, *Powes* and *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of Name; with these he march'd somewhat leisurely, because the Importance of the Danger might make the Service the more esteem'd. At length he presented his Forces, consisting of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, before the City upon the Plain, and forthwith sent to summon the Seditious, and to offer Pardon if it would be accepted; but neither Summons nor Pardon was any thing regarded. Infomuch as when the King's Pardon was offer'd by a Herald, a lewd Boy turn'd towards him his naked Breech, and us'd Words futable to that Gesture: one standing by and mov'd with this barbarous Behaviour, discharged a Harquebur upon the Boy, and stroke him with a Shot a little above the Reins. Hereat those Seditious that seem'd moderate before became desperate, and those who were desperate seem'd stark mad; whence such Tumults, such confus'd Hollowings and Howlings ensu'd, that the Herald was glad to withdraw himself.

Then the Earl planted his Cannon against *St. Stephen's Gate*, and set Pioneers to work against the *Brazen Gate*. The Cannon against *St. Stephen's Gate* executed so well, that in short time the *Portcullis* and Gate were broken, and Entry open'd into the City; others enter'd at the *brazen Gate*, but in that Entrance some were slain. Also the Mayor's Deputy open'd *Westwick Gate*, where the Earl himself enter'd without Resistance, and possess'd himself of the Market Place; at these Entrances 130 of the seditious were slain, 60 were taken and forthwith executed by Martial Law. As the Earl's Carriages were brought into the City, neither guarded nor regarded as they should, divers of them were surpriz'd by the Seditious, and driven to *Monshold*. At this Booty they were more joyful than griev'd at the Loss, either of the City or of their Companions, especially for that they were supply'd thereby with good store of Powder and Shot, wherein their Want did most consist.

The Earl being in possession of the City, rampar'd all the Gates, except those which open'd towards *Monshold*, wherein he planted good Artillery. But the Seditious, the more terrible by reason of their more desperate Fury, fell upon those Gates, albeit without order, yet with such rude and careless Courage and Cries, that they beat back the Guards, slew the principal Gunners, carry'd away their Artillery, and therewith certain Carts laden with Munition: here were

1549. were Boys observ'd to be so desperately resolv'd, as to pull Arrows out of their own Flesh, and deliver them to be shot again by the Archers on their side: Hereupon the Earl was enforced to block up those Gates as he had done the rest, but the City was so weak that it could hardly be defended.

For the Seditious being now furnish'd with Artillery, Powder and Shot, batter'd *Bishopsgate*, and cast down a great part of the Walls upon that side of the City. They afterwards pass'd the River likewise, and assail'd the Earl's Men upon Advantage in the Streets, of whom many they slew, and fir'd divers Places, prostrating two Parishes almost entirely; so they did mischief, they little car'd what they did, or to what End: And in such sort the Danger increas'd, that many perswaded the Earl to submit Courage to Rage, and for a time to abandon the City. But he not easily vincible in Spirit, and well assur'd that having stop'd all Passages for Relief, shortness of Provision would in very short time draw the Obstinacy of the Seditious to shorter Limits, drew his Sword, and caus'd others to do the like, and (according to a Soldiery Custom in Cases of Extremity) by interchange of a Kiss by every of them upon the Swords of others, seal'd a Resolution to maintain the Place.

Assuredly as it is advantageable to a Physician to be call'd to the Cure of a declining Disease, so it is for a Commander to suppress a Sedition which hath pass'd the height; for in both alike the noxious Humour doth first weaken, and afterwards wast and wear to nothing; and besides it is scarce possible that a rude and ruinous Multitude should continue long together, if any Prevention be apply'd, but they will fall into irreparable Wants: And so it hapned to these Seditious, who after three days, finding their Provision to fail, fired their Cabbins built of Timber and cover'd with Bushes, and with a broken Noise between certain Questions and doubtful Answers, dislodg'd from their Hill, and entrench'd them at the foot thereof, in a Valley call'd *Dussendale*, where they invited the Earl to a present Encounter. And as there hath seldom hapned any Sedition within this Realm, but the chief Actors therein have been abus'd with some Prophecies of doubtful Construction, so the Seditious were moved to remove to this Place, upon a Prophecy much credited among them, that they should fill it with slaughter'd Bodies; but whether of their Enemies or of their own it was left uncertain: The Words of the Prophecy were these;

A Prophecy which the Seditious depend on.

The Country Knuffs, Hob, Dick and Hick,
With Clubs and clouted Shoon,
Shall fill up Dussendale
With slaughter'd Bodies soon.

The Earl being newly supply'd with 1400 Horse, was glad that the Seditious had forsaken their Hill, for that his Horsemen, in whom consisted his greatest Strength, could there perform but little Service: So the next Morning he sent forth all his Horsemen, of whom 1000 were *Almanes*, as accusom'd, so adventrous in Arms; his Foot he retain'd within the Town.

The Seditious rang'd themselves for the Fight, 1549. placing all the Gentlemen whom they had taken in Front, every two couple together, to make them sure from starting away. The Earl, before he would charge, sent to them an Offer of a General Pardon, one or two of the Principal excepted. But this more chafed the Rage of those who were resolv'd either to live or die together; and what cared they for Pardon who have nothing but a vile and servile Life to lose. For no more could be gotten from their Estates than from the hatching of an Egg; wherefore in a proud Scorn they answer'd this Offer with a great Shot, that strook the King's Standard-bearer on the Thigh, and his Horse on the shoulder.

Hereupon the Earl commanded his Artillery to be apply'd; the *Almanes* also, and Captain *Drury* with his Troops, gave a resolute Charge, and yet with such discretion, that most of the Captive Gentlemen who were placed in the Front escap'd without harm; these were so well seconded by the Light-horse, that in a short time they brake the Seditious, chased them above three Miles, and filled themselves with Blood until Night: There died of them 2000, as King *Edward* took the Number, but our Histories report more than 3500. (w)

In the mean time they who guarded the Artillery and Baggage, inclosed themselves with Carriage and a Trench, and pitched Stakes to bear off the approach of Horses, determining to stand stilly upon their Defence. The Earl returning from the Execution, did certify them by Messager, that because the King his Master was desirous to establish Peace, rather by Benignity than by Blood, he did assure them their Pardon if they would submit, otherwise they might expect nothing but Death. Answer was made, that they expected nothing but Death, and that they respected nothing at all, but it was by the Sword if they stood upon Defence, and by the Halter if they should yield; wherefore they made choice to die rather as Soldiers, than as Dogs.

The Earl sent again to know if they would entertain their Pardon in case he should come in Person and assure it? They answer'd, they did conceive him to be so Honourable, that from himself they would most thankfully embrace it. So he rode and caus'd their Pardon to be read to them, and engag'd his Honour that it should be perform'd. Then seeming to respect Life more than any other thing, they threw away their Weapons and Disloyalty together, and with Voices so lowd as before they were lewd, wished all Joy and Prosperity to the King.

The Commander *Ket* having a good Horse, fled away with the first; and the next day was taken with his Brother *William* in a Barn, and brought with a Guard of twenty Horsemen to *Norwich*, both of them having made good proof, that they were no less able to guide an Army in War, than they were to govern themselves in Peace.

Nine of the Principal were hang'd upon the Tree of Reformation, of whom two were seducing Prophets, a third was a most excellent Cannonier, whose good Skill evilly employ'd, did much endamage the Forces of the King.

(w) During this dangerous Insurrection, Sir John Cheek, a very learned Man, and the King's Preceptor, wrote and published a Tract to them, intitl'd, *The true Subject to the Rebel*: Where in an expositulatory Address to them, he shew'd them the great Mischiefs of Sedition. This is printed at large in *Hollingshed*, and by it self. J. S.

1549.
He and his
Brother
hanged.

Robert Ket and his Brother were sent to London, and from thence return'd to be executed in Norfolk. Robert Ket was hang'd in Chains upon Norwich-Castle, his Brother William was in like sort executed upon Wymondham Steeple, but not without some murmuring, that that Church, dedicated to the Service of God, and which is polluted by violent Death, should be made a place of publick Execution. The day of this Defeat of the Seditious was a long time after yearly observ'd for a festival Day by the Inhabitants of Norwich, as well by cessation from Labour, as by resorting to Church to give publick Thanks for their deliverance.

Another
Rising in
Yorkshire.

About the same time another Sedition was rais'd at Semor in the North-riding of Yorkshire, whereof the chief Movers were William Ombler a Gentleman, Thomas Dale a Parish Clark, and Stevenson a Post. They took encouragement from a dark and deceivable Prophecy, a common Law both of Obedience and Peace, which did foretel that the Time should arrive when there should be no King, when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroy'd, when the Realm should be ruled by four Governors elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, which should begin at the South and North Seas of England; and that present they understood to be the Time, and that the Rebellious in Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecy. The Pretences were to restore the Church to her antient Rights (for that was always one Note in their Musick) to relieve the Poor, to abate the Rich, and generally to disburden the Realm of all Grievances, a seemly task for such Undertakers.

The Ring-
leaders ex-
ecuted at
York.

And now for execution hereof, first by firing of Beacons and ringing of Bells (as if the Coast had been assail'd by Enemies) they assembled about 3000 in Arms, whom they drew to be applyable to their purpose. Then to begin their great Work of Reformation, they slew one White a Gentleman, Savage a Merchant, and two others of meaner quality, and left their Bodies naked upon the Wild near Semor. After this they pass'd to the East-riding in Yorkshire, their Company daily increasing like a Snow-ball in rowling; and many they took with them much against their minds. But no sooner was the King's Pardon presented, but most of them fell off and dispersed, leaving Ombler and Dale almost alone. These, as they were riding like Madmen from Town to Town, charging People in the King's Name to assemble at Hummanby, were apprehended, and with four others of the most tumultuous, soon after executed at York; whose speedy Punishment staid others who were thought to waver between Obedience and Revolt.

The French
break out
into Hosti-
lity.

Now the French King supposing to make his hand by these rude Ravages in England, brake off his Treaty of Peace, proclaim'd Hostility, and denounc'd the same by his Ambassador to the King. Hereupon all French men in England not Denizens were taken Prisoners, and all their Goods seiz'd for the King. The French King understanding that certain English Ships lay at Jersey, set forth a Fleet of Gallies and Ships, intending to surprize them as they lay at Anchor. But the English being both vigilant and well appointed, in such sort did entertain them, that their Ships departed terribly torn, with loss of a thousand Men at the

least. The French King fearing lest that the bad Success of this first Enterprize, might both discourage his People, and bring Disreputation to himself, forbid any Report to be made, not only of the Event, but of the Journey.

After this the French King levy'd an Army by Land, wherewith marching towards Bulloine, he took Blackness and Newhaven, two Ports of the English near unto Bulloine. This he did effect chiefly by the Treason of one Sturton, a Bastard Son of Lord Sturton's; and by Revolt of divers Almanes who serv'd in the Garisons, who being merely Mercenary, did easily encline to the strongest.

From whence the French King marched towards Bulloine; upon whose approach Sir Nicholas Arnault Captain of Bullingberge, holding the Place not of Strength to be held, withdrew all the Ordinance and Matters of Worth into High Bulloine, and with Gunpowder blew up the Fort. So the French King brought his Army before Bulloine; but because the Plague rag'd amongst his Soldiers, and the Weather was unseasonable by reason of much fall of Rain, he departed from his Army and left Chastilion Governor in his stead.

Chastilion bent his Siege against the Pierre, which was erected in Bulloine Haven, and after battery of 20000 Shot or more, the Breach was thought reasonable, and thereupon the Assault was given. But the same was so well encountered by the Valour of the Defendants, help'd with advantage of Place, that the Obstinacy of the Assailants did nothing but increase their loss; so as the first Fury being broken and spent, the French resolv'd to attempt the Place no more by Assault, notwithstanding they continu'd the Siege, presented divers Skirmishes and false Attempts; but they spent both their Labour and Shot without putting the Defendants in any fear. Then they planted their Artillery against the Mouth of the Haven, to impeach supply of Victuals to the Town. Yet the English Victualers surceased not at the King's Adventure to bring all things necessary, until the end the Soldiers of the Town set upon the French suddenly by Night, slew many of them, and dismounted their Pieces.

Then the French apply'd their Battery again, wherein they sometimes spent 1500 Shot in one day. But finding this to be a fruitless Fury, they afterwards us'd it more sparingly, and rather upon a shew of Hostility, than upon any hope thereby to prevail. In the mean Season they charg'd a Galley with Gravel and Stones, and prepar'd to sink it in the midst of the Haven. But the English took the Galley before it sunk and drew it to the Shore, and us'd the Stones to reinforce the Pierre. After this they made Faggots of light Matter mixt with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder and Wildfire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven; but that Enterprize was defeated by the Bullenais, and their Faggots taken from the French. During these Enterfeits divers Skirmishes pass'd between the English and the French about the Frontiers of Calais, which as they were but light, so most of them ended with disadvantage to the French.

And now if all these Troubles had not been sufficient to travail the Realm of England, at once a great Division fell among the Nobility; so much the more dangerous, by how much the Spirits were more active and high. And albeit the Heat thereof was much appeas'd for

1549. a time by the great Judgment and Moderation of the King, yet did it break forth in the end to tragical Events, not upon particular Persons only, but did much overflow, and almost overwhelm the whole Realm with disquiet, and hereof the most apparent Original was this.

The King's two Uncles fall out.

The King had two Uncles, Brothers to Queen Jane his deceased Mother, Edward Duke of Somerset Lord Protector, and Thomas Lord Seymour Baron of Sudley, High Admiral of England. As the Duke was elder in Years, so was he more staid in Behaviour. The Lord Sudley was fierce in Courage, courtly in Fashion, in Personage stately, in Voice magnificent, but somewhat empty of Matter: Both were so faithfully affected to the King, that the one might well be termed his Sword, the other his Target. The Duke was greatest in favour with the People, the Lord Sudley most respected by the Nobility; both highly esteem'd by the King; both fortunate alike in their Advancements, both ruin'd alike by their own Vanity and Folly. Whilst these two Brothers held in Amity, they were like two Arms, the one defending the other, and both of them the King. But many things did move together to dissolve their Love, and bring them to ruin: First, their contrary Disposition, the one being tractable and mild, the other stiff and impatient of a Superior, whereby they liv'd but in cunning Concord, as Brothers glew'd together, but not united in grain: Then much secret Envy was born against them, for that their new Lustre did dim the Light of Men honour'd with antient Nobility. Lastly, They were openly minded, as hasty and soon mov'd, so uncircumspect and easy to be minded. By these the Knot, not only of Love but of Nature, be-

tween them was dissolv'd; so much the more pitty, for that the first Cause proceeded from the Pride, the haughty Hate, the unquiet Vanity of a mannish or rather of a devilish Woman.

For the Lord Sudley had taken to Wife Katherine Parre Queen Dowager, last Wife to King Henry the Eighth; a Woman beautify'd with many excellent Virtues, especially with Humility the Beauty of all other Virtues. The Duke had taken to Wife Anne Stanhope, a Woman for many Imperfections intolerable, but for Pride monstrous: She was exceeding both subtle and violent in accomplishing her Ends, for which she spurn'd over all respects both of Conscience and of Shame. This Woman did bear such invincible Hate, first against the Queen Dowager, for light Causes and womens Quarrels, especially for that she had precedency of place (x) before her, being Wife to the greatest Peer in the Land, then to the Lord Sudley for her sake; that albeit the Queen Dowager died by Childbirth, yet would not her Malice either die or decrease; but continually she rubbed into the Duke's dull Capacity, that the Lord Sudley dissenting from him in Opinion of Religion (y), sought nothing more than to take away his Life, as well in regard of the common Cause of Religion, as thereby happily to attain his Place. Many other things she boldly feign'd, being assur'd of easy belief in her heedless Hearer, always fearful and suspicious (as of feeble Spirit) but then more than ever, by reason of some late Opposition against him. Her Perswasions she cunningly intermix'd with Tears, affirming, that she would depart from him, as willing rather to hear both of his Disgraces and Dangers, than either to see the one or participate of the other.

Their Wives.

(x) This Story of the Dutchess's Quarrel with the Queen about taking place, Hayward had neither from Stow, nor Hollingshed, nor yet from King Edward's Journal; none of which Writers speak a word of it. So that he must have it from Sanders*, who was the first Broacher of that Fable; and who thus relates it, 'That there arose a very great Contest * De Schij- between Queen Katherine Parre, and the Protector's Wife, who should have the Precedency. And the Contest rested mat. An- not in the Women, but passed to the Men: And when the Emulation continually increast, the Protector's Wife would glican. not let her Husband alone, till at last it came to pass, that the Protector (who altho he ruled the King, yet was ruled by his Wife) must cut off his Brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her Will. Thus Sanders: who being an Author of such a profligate Character, it became not a just Historian and a good English-man, to borrow any thing from, unless confirmed with better Authority. J. S.

(y) The Author suggests, that this Lord Sudley dissented from his Brother the Duke in Religion; that is, in other words, that he was a Papist. No such thing appears in History, but rather that he was of the Religion now professed and countenanced: For one of his last Requests, when the Message was brought him to prepare for Death, was, that his Daughter might be committed to the Care of the Dutchess of Suffolk, a fast Protestant; and another was, that Mr. Latymer might be sent to him, to assist him with his Counsel and Prayers. Who would not have been a Ghostly Father fit for his Turn, had he been of a Religion different from Latymer. And here our Author dissents from Sanders, whom at other times he too much follows; who saith, that the Admiral was tainted with the same Herefy with his Brother the Protector.

Here the Author likewise will scarcely obtain Credit in other of his Reflexions upon the Duke, when he makes the first Cause of dissolving the Knot of these two Brothers Love to proceed from the Dutchess; and that she rubbed into the Duke's dull Capacity (as he unhanfomely and rudely treats with his Words that great Peer) that his Brother sought to take away his Life, and to attain his Place. And that the Duke at length yielding himself to her, did devise his Bro- ther's Destruction. And that being arrested and sent to the Tower, he was condemned by Act of Parliament a very short time after. And lastly, that the Accusations against him consisted of frivolous or pittifull Matters. By all this Account of this Lord's Fall, he is represented to come unjustly by his Death, by the unnatural acting of his Brother against him. And that he was set on in all this Mischief, like a weak Man, by his Wife. This, if it were true, layeth a most heavy Imputation upon the Duke. But surely he was no such Man as he is here delivered down to be; He had better Morals, and more Religion than this came to. The Admiral was certainly an evil Man, turbulent, and full of ambitious Designs from the beginning of this King's Reign. And his Brother the Duke observing it, did often advise him, and earnestly dissuade him from his dangerous Courses, using all the fairest Means with him; pardoning what was past: and that he might meet with his Brother's high Mind, gratifying him with Possessions, besides the high and honourable Office of Lord High Admiral. Yet was he continually practising after this: He raised Soldiers, and threatned, he would make the blackest Parliament that ever was in England. He is suspected to have poisoned his Wife, that excellent Woman, Queen Katherine; that being single, he might make his Addresses to the Lady Elizabeth the King's Sister, and one of the Heirs to the Crown. So that in fine, the Parliament did judg these Things to be a traiterous aspiring to the Crown. And surely Sir John Hayward had never read the Act of Parliament whereby that Lord was attainted, to term his Accusations to be frivolous and pittifull Matters. The Writer of the History of the Reformation of the Church of England hath, from the Council Book, exemplified the Articles against him to the Number of Thirty three: which will shew what heavy Crimes he was charged with. And which, altho he was urged by the Lords of the Privy Council, and that upon his Allegiance, to make Answer to, he would never be persuaded to do: Till at last he made some Answer to the three first; but no more. Nor would he set his Hand to them.

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And how fairly he was judged and dealt with in the Parliament, will appear by this Account, as it stands in the Journals of both Houses: viz. February the 25th, was read in the House of Lords the first time, the Bill of Attaindor of the Lord Admiral. Febr. the 26th read the second time. Febr. the 27th read the third; and concluded with the common

1549.
L. Admiral
arrested.

The Duke embracing this Woman's Counsel (a Woman's Counsel indeed, and nothing the better) yielded himself both to advise and devise for Destruction of his Brother. The Earl of Warwick had his finger in the business, and drew others also to give either furtherance or way to her violent Desires; being well content she should have her mind, so as the Duke might thereby incur Infamy and Hate. Hereupon the Lord Sudley was arrested, and sent

to the Tower; and in very short time after, condemn'd by Act of Parliament. And within few days after his Condemnation, a Warrant was sent under the Hand of his Brother the Duke, whereby his Head was deliver'd to the Ax. His own fierce Courage hasten'd his Death, because equally ballanc'd between Doubt and Disdain, he was desirous rather to die at once, than to linger long upon Curtesy and in fear.

The

common Assent of all the Peers. The same Day, being Wednesday, the Bill was sent down to the Commons; when it was thought good by them to send down certain Members of their House, to declare unto the Commons the Manner after which the Lords had proceeded in that matter; and further to declare unto them, that in case they were minded to proceed in like sort, certain Noblemen who had given evidence against the said Lord Admiral, should be sent unto them to declare by Mouth and Presence such Matters, as by their Writing should in the mean time appear unto them. The Master of the Rolls, Sir James Hales, and Sergeant Molineux were the Persons sent by the Lords.

March the 2d, they were sent again to the Lower House, with the like Commission in effect, as they were sent the Wednesday before. Answer was made, that they would consult together, and thereupon they would with speed send up their Resolution. But no Haste having been made therein by them of the Nether House, the Lords having sat so long as it was thought the Time now far spent, they concluded to depart; desiring the Lord Protector, that it would please him to receive such Answer as should be sent touching that Purpose, and to make report thereof at their next Assembly, which should be the next Monday.

March the 5th, the Bill was brought from the Commons for the Attainder of the L. Sudley. Thus it is related in the Journal of the House of Lords.

By the Journal of the House of Commons it appears, That this Bill was read there the last Day of February the first time. March the 1st, read again. And March the 2d, the Master of the Rolls, Sergeant Molineux, Sergeant Hales, and the King's Solicitor, were sent from the Lords, to know the Pleasure of this House, if it should be resolved there, to pass upon the Attainder of the Admiral in such Order as was passed in the Higher House. Whereupon it was ordered, that Advertisement thereof be sent to the Lords by some of that House; That it was resolved, that the Evidence should be heard orderly as it was before the Lords: And also to require, that the Lords who affirmed that Evidence, might come hither, and declare it *viva voce* . And this to be delivered to the Lord Protector by Mr. Speaker, and other the King's Privy Council of the House.

March the 4th, The Master of the Rolls, &c. declared the King's Majesty's Pleasure to be, that the Admiral's Presence was not necessary in this Court. And therefore not to be there. And further declared, that if the House would require to have the Lords to come, and to satisfy the House for the Evidence against the Admiral, the Lords would come. Then it was ordered, that Master Comptroller [and others] of the King's Privy Council should hear the Lords; and require, that if it were judged necessary to have the Lords come down, that upon any further Suit they might come down to the House. And the Bill for the Attainder of High Treason of Sir Tho. Seymour, L. Sudley, was read the third time.

This Lord was sent to the Tower the 16th of January, according to Stow; and the Bill for his Attainder was not finished till the 5th of March. Which shews that his Condemnation was not so very short a time after his Commitment, as our Author here writeth. And he was executed the 20th Day of March.

The ground then of the Admiral's Fall was his apparent Treason. But that the Cause should spring from an Envy the Dutcheffs of Somerset had against the L. Admiral, because his Wife, Queen Katherine, took place of her, is both trifling and incredible; and the less to be credited, because it is a Surmise taken from Sanders's Book of the English Schism, that abounds with Malice and Lyes, and Ill-will to all the Transactions of this Reign.

The Author speaks of the Admiral's Protestation at his Death; and that the open Course and Carriage of his Life cleared him in the Opinion of many. What his Protestation was, Stow tells us, viz. that he never committed or meant any Treason against the King or Realm. The contrary to which his Deeds declared, and the Act for the Attainder abundantly sheweth; and also that the Course and Carriage of his Life was, during this King's Reign, vicious and turbulent; and in the preceding King's Reign he was very dissolute. A Woman going to her Execution for a Robbery, confessed that Sir Tho. Seymour first debauched her. He seldom or never came to Common Prayer, which the Queen his Wife had said daily in her Family; and was reported to disbelieve the Immortality of the Soul. This, and a great deal more, Latymer in a Sermon preached before the King a little after his Execution, related upon his own Knowledge or upon good Evidence, to satisfy all People of the Manners of the Man, and how well he deserved his Punishment.

Latymer

Then the Author hath a most vile Insinuation against the Protector, and the said Reverend Father and Martyr Hugh cleared about a Part of the Odium of the Admiral's Death; and that he pretending all the Gravity and Sincerity of a professed Divine, yet contented in his to be serviceable to great mens Ends, declared in a Sermon before the King, that while the L. Sudley was a Prisoner in the Tower, he wrote to the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth, that they should revenge his Death. He adds, that Latymer concerning the cast forth many other Imputations, most doubted, many known to be untrue. And then from this Story the Author takes occasion to express his cankered Mind against Men in Holy Orders in these words: Some Theologians have been employed to defile Places erected only for Religion and Truth, by defending Oppressions and Faction, distaining their Profession, and the good Arts which they have learned, by publishing odious Untruths upon report and credit of others. As tho they were a mercenary base sort of Men, that however Sacred their Office is, would be hired to be Trumpets of other mens lying Inventions, for the easier deceiving of the People. This Author going thus out of the Road of an Historian, that he might give a Lash to the Theologians, as he calls them, betrays only the Good-will he had to that Order, and leaves upon record his Malice: and particularly his ingrateful Pains to render (as much as lay in his power) that grave and good Man, Bishop, and constant Martyr for Religion and Truth, to be a publick Lyar in the Pulpit, to do a piece of Service to the Protector. And he that would die rather than to subscribe or acknowledg that to be true which he thought to be false, is made such a mercenary Wretch, as willfully and openly to promulgate, and that before so solemn an Assembly, Uncertainties and downright Lyes.

Hayward here again goeth hand in hand with Sanders to defame this Reverend Man; who, speaking of Latymer, giveth him this broad Complement (because he was commonly stiled the Apostle of England) his Apostleship consisted in Lying. And tells this Story of him; That after the Dutcheffs had invented the Mischief against the Admiral, the Protector went and dealt with Latymer, that he should in his Sermon traduce him before the People for a Traitor. And that accordingly Latymer readily undertook it; and soon after in the Pulpit told a Tale of I know not what Snares prepared against the King's Majesty by the Admiral: and therefore that he deserved Death. So that by this Account the Duke and the Divine are represented to Posterity as a couple of bloody Wretches, combining together to make an innocent Man seem guilty of Treason, and then cry out for Execution of him.

But for more particular Satisfaction concerning Latymer, as to his Concern about the Admiral, I add further, That these Passages related by Hayward to have been spoken by this Divine in one of his Sermons before the King, are not to be found in the last Edition of his Sermons in Quarto, An. 1571. it being thought good then to leave out what was said of this particular Act of Justice; but indeed they are found in an Edition of the said Sermons in Octavo, set forth while the King lived. Where, in the fourth Sermon, Latymer took occasion to relate something of the Admiral's evil Conversation, and particularly concerning two small Papers writ by way of Letter to those two Princesses a little before his Death; which for Secrecy sake he caused to be sewed up within the Sole of his Shoe, with a Command to his

Man

1549.
His Accu-
sations.

The Accusations against him contain'd much frivolous Matter, or term them *Pittiful*, if you please. The Act of Parliament expresses these Causes of his Attainder: For attempting to get into his Custody the Person of the King, and Government of the Realm; for making much Provision of Mony and of Victuals; for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sister; for persuading the King in his tender Age to take upon him the Rule and Order of himself. The Proofs might easily be made, because he was never call'd to his Answer. But as well the Protestations at the point of his Death, as the open Course and Carriage of his Life, clear'd him in opinion of many. So doubtful are all weighty matters, whilst some take all they hear for certain, others making question of any Truths, Posterity enlarging both. Dr. *Latymer* pretending all the Gravity and Sincerity of a profess'd Divine, yet content to be serviceable to Great Mens ends, declar'd in a Sermon before the King, that whilst the Lord *Sudley* was a Prisoner in the Tower, he wrote to the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the King's Sisters, that they should revenge his Death; which indeed the Lady *Mary* afterwards more truly did, by executing the Earl of *Warwick*, than either she was, or at that time could in particular be requir'd. Many other Imputations he cast forth, besides most doubted, many known to be untrue: And so whereas *Papinian* a Civil Lawyer, but a Heathen, chose rather to die than to defend the Murder which the Emperor *Caracalla* had done upon his Brother *Geta*, some Theologians have been employ'd to defile Places erected only for Religion and Truth, by defending Oppressions and Factions, staining their Professions and the good Arts which they had learn'd, by publishing odious Untruths upon report and credit of others.

O Wives! the most sweet Poison, the most desir'd Evil in the world! Certainly as it is true as, *Syracides* saith, that there is no Malice like the Malice of a Woman, so no Mischief wanteth, where a malicious Woman beareth sway. A Woman was first given to Man for a Comforter, but not for a Counsellor, much less a Controller and Director; and therefore in the first Sentence against Man this Cause is express'd, *because thou obey'st the Voice of thy Wife*. And doubtless the Protector by being thus rul'd to the Death of his Brother, seem'd with his left Hand to have cut off his right: For hereupon many of the Nobility cry'd out upon him, that he was a

Bloodsucker, a Murderer, a Parricide, a Villain, and that it was not fit the King should be under the Protection of such a ravenous Wolf. Soon after it was given forth, and believ'd by many, that the King was dead; whereupon he pass'd in great State thro the City of *London*, to manifest that he was both alive and in good health. Whether this Speech were spread either by Adventure or by Art, it is uncertain; certain it is, it did something shake the Strength of the King's Affection towards the Protector.

Besides, many well-dispos'd Minds conceiv'd an hard Opinion of him, for that a Church by *Strand-bridg* and two Bishops Houses were pull'd down, to make a Seat for his new Building; in digging the Foundation whereof, the Bones of many, who had been there bury'd, were cast up, and carry'd into the Fields: and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church did nothing suffice for his Work, the Steeple and most part of the Church of *St. John of Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, most beautifully erected and adorn'd not long before by *Docray*, Prior of that Church, was min'd and overthrown with Poulder, and the Stones apply'd to this spacious Building. And because the Work could not be therewith finish'd, the Cloister of *Paul's* on the North-side of the Church, in a place call'd *Pardon Churchyard*, and the *Dance of Death*, very curiously wrought about the Cloister, and a Chappel that stood in the midst of the Churchyard; also the Charnel-house that stood upon the South-side of *Paul's* (now a Carpenter's Yard) with the Chappel, Tombs, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the Bones of the Dead carry'd into *Finsbury* Fields, and the Stones converted to his Building. It is constantly affirm'd, that for the same purpose he intended to pull down the Church of *St. Margaret* in *Westminster*, and that the standing thereof was preserv'd only by his Fall. Assuredly as these Actions were in a high degree impious, so did they draw with them both open Dislike from Men, and much secret Revenge from God.

And now hath the Lord Protector play'd the first Act of the Tragedy of his Life, namely his high and prosperous Estate; he is now stepping into the second Act, wherein he begins mainly to decline.

For the Earl of *Warwick* espying opportunity, shewing himself, and knowing that in troublesom Times the Obedience of Great Persons is most easily shaken, drew about 18 of the (2) Privy Council to knit with him against

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The King rides thro the row London.

The Protector hard-ly thought on for pulling down Churches.

A Plot of Warwick against him.

Man to convey them privately to the said Ladies. Which Practice nevertheless came to light by his Man's own Confession. The Substance of which Papers (betraying his implacable Malice to the last) was to excite them to a Jealousy of the L. Protector, that they might join their Interests to overthrow him. The Reason why *Latymer* spake these things of the Admiral in this Auditory, was to justify the Authority that put him to death; against which some (perhaps of his own Party) had uttered unbecoming Words. Therefore that Holy Man warned and charged his Auditors not to judg those that were in Authority, but to pray for them; saying, that it became not them to judg great Magistrates, nor to condemn their Doings, unless their Deeds were openly and apparently wicked. And that these Imputations, whatever *Hayward* writes, were neither doubted nor untrue, nor taken upon vain Report, the Reverend Preacher averred at the same time, that he himself saw those two Letters, and shewed that he was an Eye and Ear-witness of the rest of the Matters he related. And what *Latymer* spake in the Pulpit, and that upon his own Knowledge, I know no reason why we may not conclude true, because so just and honest a Man spake it; who was above the being hired to speak a Falshood, or to serve a base Turn. And in a word, if we may depend upon the Protestation of such a vertuous Person, we have him making it publicly before the King and the rest of his Noble Auditory (as tho he forecasted some such Calumny should afterwards be laid upon him) 'That what he spoke of the Admiral and his Writing, he spake it of a good zeal and on good ground, and that he neither feigned nor lyed a jot. J. S.

(2) There were but fifteen (besides himself and Secretary *Petre*, detained with them by Force.) For so many only set forth the Proclamation against the Lord Protector, and signed it with their Hands; but indeed they were Men of the greatest Sway, viz. the L. *Rich*, L. Chancellor, L. *St. John*, L. Great Master and President of the Council, the Lord Marquiss

1549. against the Lord Protector. These he did so wind up to his purpose, that they withdrew from the Court, fell to secret Consultations, and walk'd in the City with many Servants weapon'd, and in new Liverys: the Causes thereof many conjectur'd, but few knew. They were all desirous that the Protector's Greatness should be taken lower, but none conceiv'd that the Earl's Malice did extend unto Death. But the Lord Protector, as humble then as he had been haughty before, sent Secretary *Petre* to them in the King's Name, to understand the Causes of their Assembly, and to declare unto them that he would thank them for hating him, in case they did it in love to the King (a); intreating them for the King's sake, if not for his Safety, yet for his Quiet, that they would forbear open shew of Hostility, and resort unto him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends. In the mean time he arm'd five hundred Men, part of the King's, and part his own; the Court-gates were rampard, and People rais'd both by Letters and Proclamation to aid the King: and the more to increase the present Terror, he remov'd the King by night from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*, with a Company more resembling an Army than a Train.

The Lords with the E. of Warwick at London.

On the other side, the Lords at *London* first taking possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City to the Earl of *Warwick*, lodging at *Ely House* in *Holborn*. Here they presented themselves secretly arm'd; and the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, a Man of quick and lively Delivery of Speech, in this manner spake unto them. (b)

L. Rich's Speech against the Protector.

I Am not ignorant into what Adventure I now plunge my self, in speaking against a Man both high in Honour and great in Favor, both with the King and many of the People. But my Duty prevailing against respect of Danger, I will plainly declare the Discontentments which the Lords of his Majesty's Council have already conceiv'd against the Actions past of the Lord Protector, as also their Fears touching matters to ensue; that with your Aid they may in good time happily remedy the one, and remove the other: assuring you all, that as I will not utter any thing falsely, so will I forbear to tell many Truths.

And first to touch upon his open Ambition; with what good reason or purpose, think we, did he, being a Man of many Imperfections, as want of Eloquence, Personage, Learning, or good Wit, aspire to the great Offices of governing all Affairs of State, fit for none but whom God hath fa-

vour'd with fitting Graces? And albeit these Defects might have been well supply'd by Sufficiency of others of the Council, yet was he so peevishly opinionative and proud, that he would neither ask nor hear the Advice of any, but was absolutely rul'd by that obstinate and imperious Woman his Wife, whose ambitious and mischievous Will so guided him in the most weighty Affairs of the Realm, that albeit he was counsel'd by others what was best, yet would he do quite contrary, lest he should seem to need their Advice. And yet this was not enough, as Avarice and Ambition have never enough; but to add Dignity to Authority, and to make sure that as no Man should as in Power so in Title surmount him, he would be advanced to the Degree of Duke of *Somerset*, which hath always been a Title for one of the King's Sons inheritable to the Crown.

And albeit it may seem a light matter to speak of Bribery and Extortion against him, yet his Robberies and Oppressions have been such, that no Man would willingly have adventur'd to commit them, unless he thought by Treason so to assure himself, as he could not be call'd to answer for them. For he hath laid his ravenous hands upon the King's Treasure and Jewels left by his Father, which were known to be of an inestimable Value; that it might well be said, even as he had given forth, that King *Henry* died a very poor Prince, and had been utterly shamed, in case he had liv'd one quarter of a Year longer.

Then also what havock hath he made of the King's Lands and Inheritance? What Sales and Exchanges, upon pretence of necessity? And yet what a high deal hath he transported to himself, without regard of others, who have employ'd their Travels and Estates in service of the King and of his deceas'd Father? What Arts hath he us'd to spend those, and spare himself against the time of his mischievous Purpose? How greedily, how insatiably hath he never ceas'd the whilst to rake and glean Mony together? What shameful Sale of Offices and Preferments hath he made, nothing regarding the Worthiness of the Person, but the Worth and Weight of the Gift? betraying thereby the Administration of the Realm into the Hands both of worthless and corrupt Men: To speak nothing the whilst of his Mint at *Duresme Place*, erected and us'd for his private Profit; to speak nothing of the great Boutifale of Colleges and Chanceries; to speak nothing of all his other particular Pillages. All which were so far from satisfying his bottomless Desires,

Marquis of *Northampton*, Earl of *Arundel*, L. Chamberlain, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Southampton*, Sir *Tho. Cheincy*, Treasurer of the King's House and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Sir *John Cage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Edw. Mountagu*, L. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Rafe Sadleir*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Richard Southwel*. J. S.

(a) There was no such word passed from the Protector; nor is the rest truly represented. The Letter the Protector sent to these Lords by Secretary *Petre*, is extant in our Histories, which speak him of no such timorous Spirit. He wrote in the King's Name and his own, and the other Lords with him; 'That they marvelled to see the manner of those Lords Doings, bent with force of Violence to bring the King's Majesty and him into Extremities. But that if they would take no other way, he intended to defend the King and himself with Extremity of Death, and to put all to God's hand. But that if they fought no hurt to the King, as touching other private Matters, to avoid Effusion of Christian Blood, and to preserve the King's Person, his Realms and Subjects, they should find him agreeable unto any reasonable Conditions. And so he prayed them to send their final Answer. J. S.

(b) This large Speech ensuing, attributed to the L. Chancellor *Rich*, is no where to be met with in our Histories, nor one word of it. Only *Stow* writeth, that the L. Chancellor and others of the King's Council being assembled at the L. *Warwick's* Place, declared to the Mayor and Citizens the Abuses of the L. Protector, &c. So that this Harangue is wholly framed out of the Head of our Author, to display his own Eloquence. J. S.

that

1549. that he proceeded to fleece the whole Commonwealth, to cut and pare it to the very quick.

For under colour of War, which either his Negligence drew on, or his false Practices procur'd, he levy'd such a Subsidy upon the whole Realm, as never was ask'd a greater at once; which should not have need'd, albeit the Wars had been just, in case he had not imbezeld the King's Treasure as he did: for besides he extorted Mony by way of Loan from all Men who were suppos'd to have it, and yet left the King's Soldiers and Servants unpaid. But in all these pretended Necessities, how profuse was he in his private Expences? carrying himself rather as fitting his own Greatness, than the common Good. How did he riot, surfeit upon vain hopes, as if new Supply for waste would never want? What Treasures did he bury in his sumptuous Buildings? And how foolish and fanciful were they? A fit Man forsooth to govern a Realm, who had so goodly Government in his own Estate. All these things, as there are but few but know, so we may be assur'd that he never durst have committed half of them with a mind to have remain'd a Subject under the Law, and to be answerable for his Actions afterwards; but did manifestly intend to heap his Mischiefs with so high a Treason, as he might climb above his Sovereign, and stand sure beyond reach of Law.

And for inducement to this his traitorous Design, he suborn'd his Servants and certain Preachers to spread abroad the Praises of his Government, with as much abasing the Noble King Henry, as without Impudence they could devise: Following therein the Practices of King Richard the Tyrant, by depraving the Father to honour the Son, to extinguish the Love of the People to the young King, by remembring some Imperfections of his Father; which Example, both traitorous and unnatural, who doubts but his Heart was ready to follow? Whose Heart was ready to defame his Father, and set nought by his Mother (as it is well known) and to procure, yea labour the Death of his Brother; whom albeit the Law and Consent of many had condemn'd upon his own Speeches, yet his earnest Endeavour therein did well declare what Thoughts can sink into his unnatural Breast, and what foul shifts he would have made, rather than that his Brother should have escap'd Death, to that end that he might remove at once both an Impeachment to his poisonous Purposes, and a Surety to the King's Life and Estate. To this end he also practis'd to dispatch such of the Nobility as were like to oppose his mischievous Drift, and in such sort either to encumber and weaken the rest, that they should be no impediments to him. In the mean time he endeavour'd to win the common People both by strain'd Courtesy and by Looseness of Life, whereto he gave not only Licence, but Encouragement and Means.

And the better to advance his Intents, he deviseth to intangle the Realm not only with outward War, that with rumor thereof his dangerous Devices might be obscur'd; but with inward Sedition, by stirring and nourishing Discontentments among the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of the Realm. This

he did under pretence of such matters as all Men desir'd might be redress'd more gladly than he, but in a more quiet and settled time. But the time seem'd most convenient for him, when, under the sweet Pretence of Release and Liberty to the People, he might have destroy'd the Nobility and Gentry, who are the Defence and Safety of the People; and so at pleasure have reduc'd all under his tyrannous Subjection.

Which, how insupportable it would have been, may well be conjectur'd by his Actions already past. What Pride and Insolency of his Men made up of nought? What Instruments had he in every Shire to work his Purposes, to spread his Rumors, to hearken and to carry Tales? And those, what Flatterers? What Lyars? How greedily gaping for other mens Livings? How vigilant to grope mens Thoughts, and to pick out somewhat whereof they might complain? And such vile Vermin, how dear were they to him? And namely John Bonham his one Hand in Wiltshire, Sir Miles Partridge his other Hand in Gloucestershire, his Customers in Wells, Pier's Country, his Minister in Devonshire; besides many his bad-condition'd Minions in Court: what Monsters were they? How esteem'd they his Favour above all mortal respects?

And further to accomplish his ambitious Ends, he devis'd to make the French King his Friend, by betraying unto him the King's Fortresses beyond the Seas, which the late Noble King Henry with great Charge, Courage and Glory, had brought under his power; which Practice was so carry'd, that no Man, but such as discern'd nothing, but did perceive it: And that as well by his often private Conference with the French Embassadors and their Secretaries, as by failing to furnish those Pieces with necessary Supplies, as also by the Speeches which himself and his Servants cast abroad, that Bulloigne and the Fortresses about it were an unprofitable Burden to the Realm. But for the Charge no Man will conceive that he wanted Mony to keep them, who undertook so great a Charge as the Conquest of Scotland, and wasted every day a hundred pounds on his fantastical Building.

Besides, it hath been often heard from his own Communication, how he intended to procure a Resignation of the Rights of the King's Majesty's Sisters, and others who are entitled to the Possession of the Crown, and to have entail'd the same upon his own Issue; which when he had effected, and having the King's Person in his power the Chain of Sovereignty could not long have ty'd him short, he might have atchiev'd all his ambitious Intentions at will.

Wherefore surely he hath thus put on the Person not only of a Robber and of a Murderer, but of a Traitor to the State, since we have evidently discover'd both his lofty and bloody Mind. It behoveth you to join in aid with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, as in extinguishing a raging Fire, as in repelling a cruel Enemy; for assuredly we must either weakly yield to his Rule and Command, or else the ambitious Author must be taken away.

In the afternoon of the same Day the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in Guild-hall, City requir'd to send Soldiers.

1549. *hall*, where two Letters arriv'd almost in one instant, one from the King and the L. Protector for 1000 Men to be arm'd for Defence of the King's Person, another from the Lords at *London*, for 2000 Men to aid them in defence of the King's Person; both Parties pretending alike, but both intending nothing less. The Recorder, whose Voice accordeth commonly with the Lord Chancellor, did so well set forth the Complaints of the Lords against the Protector, that many were inclinable to favour their side. But one nam'd *George Stadlowe*, somewhat better advis'd, stept up and spake unto them as followeth.

*A Citizen's
Speech in
Common
Council
hereupon.*

This Buiness (Right honourable Lord Mayor and the Residue of this Court) as it is a very high Passage of State, so it is worthy of serious Consideration; and that upon sudden Advice nothing be done or determin'd therein, lest happily by being serviceable to the Designs of other Men whose Purposes we know not, we cast our selves into the throat of danger, which hitherto we do not see, two things I much fear in case we afford present Aid to the Lords, either of which should cast upon us a Bridle rather for stopping a while, than for stepping or stirring too soon or too fast at their Incitement. One is the certain Dangers of the City, the other the uncertain Adventure of all the Realm. First then if we adjoin to the Lords, whether they prevail or not we ingulph our selves into assured Danger, an Example whereof I find in *Fabian*, whose report I intreat you all to observe. In the time of *Henry the Third*, the Lords in a good Cause, for Maintenance of divers beneficial Laws, desir'd Aid of the City against the King. Aid was granted, and the Quarrel brought to the Arbitriment of the Sword. In this Battel the King and his Son were taken Prisoners, and upon their Enlargement free Pardon was granted, not only to the Lords but the Citizens of *London*, which was afterwards confirm'd both by Oath and by Act of Parliament. But what follow'd? Was the Displeasure forgotten? No verily, nor ever forgotten during that King's Life; for afterwards the Liberties of the City were taken away, Strangers were appointed Governours, and the Citizens perpetually vex'd, both in their Persons and in their Estates. So heavy and durable is the Wrath of Kings, that *Solomon* saith, The Indignation of the King is death. For it is natural for Princes to uphold their Sovereignty, and to hold it in highest esteem, in no case to indure their Supreme Authority to be forceably either oppress'd or dispres'd by their Subjects; inso much as they mortally hate such Subjects as have once attempted either to overrule them by Power, or to cast any Terror upon them. And howsoever they may be either constrain'd or content to bear Sail for a time, yet are they so sure Paymasters in the end, that few have held out their Lives, I will not say prosperously but safely, who have offer'd Inforcements against their King.

Now touching my Fear for the Commonwealth, I much suspect these Considerations. I always expect from them some lurking Mis-

chief, which the more cunningly it be kept in, the more dangerously it will break forth. For albeit there be many Hands in this Action, yet one is the Head, who doubtless hath Skill to play his own Game: and albeit the Pretences given forth are always fair, and for the publick Good, yet are the secret Intentions commonly ambitious, and only aim at private Ends. Yea many times the End is worse than the first Intent; because when a Subject hath obtain'd the Hand against his Prince, I will not say, he will be loth, but doubtless it is not safe for him to give over his Advantage: wherefore I am of Opinion, that for the present we will not be so uncourteous as to delay, and suspend our giving Aid to the Lords for a time. (c)

Upon this Advice the Court resolv'd to arm a hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot for Defence of the City. To the King they return'd Answer, that they would be ready upon any Necessity to apply all their Forces either for his Defence or for his Honour. But they intreated him to be pleas'd to hear such Complaints as were objected against the Lord Protector before he assembl'd Forces in the Field, which in those tempestuous times, as it could not be done without great Danger, so without great Cause it should not. To the Lords they answer'd, that they were ready to join with them in any dutiful Petition to the King, but to join with them in Arms, they could not upon the sudden resolve.

The next day, the Lords at *London* dispatch'd a Letter to the Lords at *Windfor*, wherein they charg'd the Protector with many Disorders both in his private Actions, and in his manner of Government, requiring that he would disperse the Forces which he had rais'd, and withdraw himself from the King, and be content to be order'd by Justice and Reason. That this done, they would gladly commune with the rest of the Council for the Surety of the King's Person, and for ordering of his Estate, otherwise they would make no other Account of them than they might trust to find Cause, and would assuredly charge them according to their Demerits.

The King all this time was so far from governing his Lords, that he was scarce at his own Liberty: and considering that the late Rebellions had but newly weary'd themselves into Quiet, and fearing new Rages among the unstable People daily threatned, and upon such occasion not unlike to take Flame; conceiving also that the Confederacy trench'd no deeper, or that the only Remedy was to seem so to conceive, dissolv'd his Companies except only his Guard, but charg'd them upon warning to be ready; so it is most certain, that the troublesome times were a great Advantage to the Lords. Had the People been well settl'd in Subjection, or the Protector a Man of Spirit enough, they had been in danger to have been undone: but the Protector, instead of using his Authority, sent Secretary *Petre* (who under pretence of Gravity, cover'd much Untrustiness of Heart) (d) to the Lords at *London*, with some secret Instructions sent espe-

(c) This Speech of the judicious Citizen is in *Fox*, and *Hollingshed*, but much flourish'd, augmented and enlarged by our Author according to his Custom. *J. S.*

(d) An unfair Character of a very wise and honest Man, and long exercised in publick Affairs, without any spot that ever I could find: except that he did comply with the Changes of Religion, under the Princes in whose Reigns he served. Which was a Practise of a great number more besides himself. Secretary *Petre* is not to be censured as false, for

1549. especially to persuade them, that for a publick Benefit, all either private Guards or Unkindnesses might be laid aside. But neither did he return to *Windsor*, neither was any Answer return'd from the Lords. After this he wrote two Letters, one in his own Name to the Earl of *Warwick*, the other in the Name of the Lords at *Windsor* to the Lords at *London*; in both which he so weakly complain'd, expostulated, intreated, yielded under their Hand, as it was sufficient to have breath'd Courage into any Enemy once declar'd against him.

The Lords publicly by Proclamation charge the Protector. And indeed, hereupon the Lords forthwith publish'd a Proclamation under the Hands of seventeen Persons, either for Nobility or Authority of Office well regarded: wherein the Causes of such Calamities and Losses as had lately before happen'd, not only by inward Divisions which had cost the Lives of many thousands of the King's Subjects, and threatned more, but also by the Loss of divers Pieces beyond the Seas, which had been won by great Adventure of the late King's Person and Consumption of his Treasure; they perceiv'd that the only Root from whence those Mischiefs sprung, was the evil Government of the Lord Protector, whose Pride, Covetousness and Ambition cover'd only his private Ends, and therefore he was deeply busy'd in his spacious and specious Buildings in the hottest times of War against *France* and *Scotland*, whilst the poor Soldiers and Servitors of the King were unpaid, and labour'd to make himself strong in all Countries, whilst within the Realm Laws, Justice, and good Order perverted, Provisions for the Forts beyond the Seas neglected, and the King's Subjects by most dangerous Divisions (by his means either rais'd or occasion'd) much Disquiet. That hereupon the Lords of the Council for preventing as well present Dangers to the King's Person, as the utter Subversion of the State of the Realm, concluded to have talk'd to him quietly, without Disturbance to the King, or to the People, for reducing him to live within reasonable Limits, and for putting Order for Safety of the King's Person, and Preservation of the Commonwealth of the Realm, and so to have pass'd over his most unnatural and traitorous Deservings without further Extremities. But he knowing that he was unable to answer for any part of his Demeanour, began forthwith to spread false Rumours, that certain Lords had conspir'd against the King's Person; under pretence whereof he levy'd Forces in a disorder'd Uproar, albeit the Treason rested in him and some other his Complices. Wherefore seeing he troubl'd the whole Realm for accomplishing his traitorous Ends, and us'd the King in his tender Age for an Instrument against himself, causing him to put his Hand to many of his own Devices, and to speak things tending to the Destruction of himself, they desir'd, and in the King's Name charg'd all Subjects not to obey any Precepts, Licenses or Proclamations, whereunto the Protector's Hand should be set, albeit he should abuse the King's Hand and Seal unto them, but to quit

themselves upon such Proclamation as should proceed from the Body of the Council, protesting therewith their faithful Hearts to the King, and their Loyalty toward the People.

Instantly after publishing of this Proclamation the Lords directed their Letters to *Windsor*, and address'd one to the King, another to the Protector, the third to the Household which was openly read. The Letter to the Protector was guiled over with many smooth Words, intimating fair Promises and full of Hope; but the other two did fully and folly set forth his Obstinacy, his Avarice, his Ambition, his rash Engagements into Wars, in the King's unsettl'd both Age and Estate, his Negligencies, his Deceits, and all other Insufficiencies mention'd before. Herewith Sir *Robert Wingfield* Captain of the Guard was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*, who so well persuaded the King both of the Loyal Affection of the Lords towards him, and of their moderate Desires against the Protector (who then was in Presence) that partly thereby, but chiefly in regard of the turbulent times, the Protector was remov'd from the King's Person, and a Guard set upon him until the next day, when the Lords at *London* were appointed to be there.

So the next day diverse of the Council rode from *London* to *Windsor*, but the Earl of *Warwick* rode not with them, for he was a perfect Master of his Craft: he had well learn'd to put others before him in dangerous Actions, and in Matters of Mischiefe to be seen to do least, when in very deed all mov'd from him. He had well learn'd of the Ape to take Nuts out of the Fire with the Paw of the Cat. These Lords coming before the King, did again run over their Complaints against the Protector, and also under Colour of Love and Duty, adviseth the King to beware of such as were both powerful, ambitious, mischievous and rich: Affirming that it would be better Surety unto him, if this great Authority should be committed to many, who cannot so readily knit in Will or in Action, as when the whole Manage resideth in one. In the end the Duke of *Somerset* (for hereafter he must be no otherwise call'd) was committed into their Power, and committed to Custody in *Beauchamp* Tower within the Castle.

The next day he was brought to *London*, as if he had been a Captive carry'd in Triumph. He rode thro *Holborn* between the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Huntington*, and was follow'd with Lords and Gentlemen, to the number of 300 mounted on Horseback; at *Holborn* Bridge certain Aldermen attended on Horseback, and the Citizens Householders stood with Halbeards on all sides of the Streets, thro which he pass'd. At *Soperlaine* he was receiv'd by the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, and divers Knights of especial note, who with a great Train of Officers and Attendants bearing Halbeards carry'd him forthwith to the Tower. All this was to bear in shew, both that the Duke was a dangerous Man, and that the common both Aid and Applause concur'd in his Restraint.

Forthwith the King was brought to *Hampton*

for not returning back to *Windsor*, but remaining with the Lords, since he was detained by them, which occasioned a Letter of the Lord Protector to them expostulating with them for staying him with them, when the King had sent him with such a weighty Message, and expected their Answer by him. 'Tis true, I find, that while they kept him with them, he signed a Proclamation against the Lord Protector with the rest, but that might well be out of fear of some great Danger if he had refused. J. S.

1549.
The King at
Hampton
Court.

Court, where all things being born as done well, because nothing was ill taken, seven of the Lords of the Council and four Knights were appointed by turns to attend the King's Person. The Lords were the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, the Lords Russell, St. John, and Wentworth; the Knights were these, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Thomas Darcy, and Sir Thomas Worth. As for Affairs of State, the Government of them was refer'd to the whole Body of the Council. Soon after the King rode to his House in Southwark (then call'd Suffolk Place) and there din'd: after Dinner he rode in great Estate thro' the City to Westminster, as if the People should be given to understand, that nothing was diminish'd either from the Safety or Glory of the King, by Imprisonment of the Duke.

Articles
brought to
the Pro-
tectour of
his Mis-
demeanors.

And now when the Duke had breath'd a small time in the Tower, certain Lords of the Council were sent unto him, who after a short Preface in such terms as Hate and Dissimulation could temper together, remembring how great the Amity had been between them, and of what Continuance: Then acknowledging what Offices and Services he had done for the Commonwealth, and yet interlacing some Errours and Defects, wherewith they seem'd to reproach him. Lastly they presented him certain Articles as from the Residue of the Privy Council, desiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledg them to be true, or else stand upon his Justification. The Articles objected against him were these.

1. That he took upon him the Office of Protector upon expresse Condition that he should do nothing in the King's Affairs, but by Assent of the late King's Executors, or the greatest part of them.
2. That contrary to this Condition he did hinder Justice, and subvert Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command.
3. That he caus'd divers Persons arrested and imprison'd for Treason, Murther, Manslaughter, and Felony, to be discharg'd against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.
4. That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.
5. That he commun'd with Embassadors of other Realms alone, of the weighty Matters of the Realm.
6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's most honourable Counsellors, for declaring their Advice in the King's weighty Affairs against his Opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in Council, and sometimes that he needed not to open weighty Matters to them, and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion, he would discharge them.
7. That against Law he held a Court of Requests in his House, and did inforce divers to answer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the same.
8. That being no Officer, without the Advice of the Council, or most part of them, he did dispose Offices of the King's Gift for Money, grant Leases, and Wards, and Presentations of Benefices pertaining to the King, gave Bishopricks, and made Sales of the King's Lands.
9. That he commanded Alchimy, and Multiplication to be practis'd, thereby to abase the King's Coin.
10. That divers times he openly said, that the Nobility and Gentry were the only Cause of Dearth. Whereupon the People rose to reform Matters of themselves.

11. That against the Mind of the whole Council he caus'd Proclamation to be made concerning Inclosures, whereupon the People made divers Insurrections, and destroy'd many of the King's Subjects.

12. That he sent forth a Commission with Articles annex'd concerning Inclosures, Commons, Highways, Cottages, and such like Matters; giving the Commissioners Authority to hear and determine those Causes, whereby the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were subverted, and much Rebellion rais'd.

13. That he suffer'd Rebels to assemble and lie arm'd in Camp against the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without speedy repressing of them.

14. That he did comfort and incourage divers Rebels by giving them Money, and by promising them Fees, Rewards and Services.

15. That he caus'd a Proclamation to be made against Law, and in favour of the Rebels, that none of them should be vex'd or su'd by any for their Offences in their Rebellion.

16. That in time of Rebellion he said that he lik'd well the Actions of the Rebels, and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave occasion for the People to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for Want.

17. That he said, The Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform Inclosures and other things, therefore the People had good Cause to reform them themselves.

18. That after Declaration of the Defaults of Bulloin and the Pieces there by such as did survive them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the King's Pieces of Newhaven, and Blacknefs, to be furnish'd with Men and Provision; albeit he was advertis'd of the Defaults, and advis'd thereto by the King's Council, whereby the French King was emboldned to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give Authority, nor suffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to suppress Rebels in time convenient, but wrote to them to speak the Rebels fair, and use them gently.

21. That upon the fifth of October the present year at Hampton Court, for Defence of his own private Causes, he procur'd seditious Bills to be written in Counterfeit Hands, and secretly to be dispers'd into divers parts of the Realm, beginning thus, Good People, intending thereby to raise the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.

22. That the King's Privy Council did consult at London to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing of their Assembly, declar'd by his Letters in diverse Places, that they were high Traitors to the King.

23. That he declar'd untruly as well to the King as to other young Lords attending his Person, that the Lords at London intended to destroy the King, and desir'd the King never to forget, but to revenge it; and requir'd the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, with intent to make Sedition and Discord between the King and his Nobles.

24. That at diverse times and places he said, the Lords of the Council at London intend to kill me, but if I die the King shall die, and if they famish me, they shall famish him.

25. That of his own Head he remov'd the King so suddenly from Hampton Court to Windsor, without any Provision there made, that he was thereby not only in great Fear, but cast into a dangerous Disease.

26. That by his Letters he caus'd the King's People to assemble in great Numbers in Armour after the manner of War, to his Aid and Defence.

27. That he caus'd his Servants and Friends at Hampton Court and Windsor to be apparell'd in the

1549. the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guard went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Jersey or Wales, and laid Post-horses and Men, and a Boat to that purpose. (e)

To which the Duke subscribed.

Now albeit there is little doubt but that some of these Articles were merely devis'd, others enlarg'd or wrested, or otherwise enforce'd by odious Interpretation, yet the Duke subscribed with his own Hand, that he did acknowledge his Offences contain'd in them, and humbly upon his Knees submitted himself to the King's Mercy. That in like manner he intreated the Lords to be a means to the King, that he would conceive that his Offences did proceed rather from Negligence, Rashness, or other Indiscretion, than from any malicious Thought tending to Treason; and also that he would take some gracious way with him, his Wife and Children, not according to extremity of Laws, but after his great Clemency and Mercy. Written with my own Hand Decemb. 23. Anno 3 Edw. Regis.

Loses all his great Offices, Goods and Lands.

To this I make no other Defence, but intreat the Reader not to condemn him for perishing so weakly, and for that he, who should have lost his Life to preserve his Honour, cast away both his Life and Honour together. Assuredly he was a Man of a feeble Stomach, unable to concoct any great Fortune, prosperous or adverse (f). But as the Judgment of God, and Malice of a Man concur often in one Act, altho it be easy to discern between them; so it is little to be marvelled, that he who thirsted after his Brother's Blood, should find others to thirst after his. Notwithstanding for that present his Blood was respited, but he was stripped of his great Offices of being *Protector*, *Treasurer* and *Marshal*, lost all his Goods, and near Two thousand Pound Land; in which Estate if he had continu'd, the longer he had liv'd, the more Punishment he should endure: Herewith it was scoffingly said, that he had eaten the King's Goose, and did then regorge the Feathers.

Submits himself to the Lords.

After this he sent Letters to the Lords of the Council, wherein he acknowledg'd himself much favour'd by them, in that they had brought his Cause to be finable; which altho it was to him importable, yet as he did never intend to contend with them, nor any Action to justify himself, as well for that he was none of the wisest, and might easily err, as for that it is scarce possible for any Man in great Place so to bear himself, that all his Actions in the Eye of Justice shall be blameless; so he did then submit himself wholly to the King's Mercy and their Discretions for some Moderation; desiring them to conceive that what he did amiss, was rather through rudeness, and for want of

1549. Judgment, than from any malicious Meaning; and that he was therefore ready both to do and suffer what they would appoint. Finally, He did again most humbly upon his Knees intreat Pardon and Favour, and they should ever find him so lowly to their Honours, and obedient to their Orders, as he would thereby make amends for his former Follies.

These Subjections, Objections, Dejections of the Duke, made an heavenly Harmony in his Enemies Ears. But they wrought such Compassion with the King, that forthwith he was released out of the Tower, his Fines discharged, his Goods and Lands restor'd, except such as had been given away; either the Malice of the Lords being somewhat appeased, or their Credit not of sufficient strength to resist. Within a short time after he was entertain'd and feasted by the King with great shew of Favour, and sworn again of the Privy Council; at which time, between him and the Lords, perfect Amity was made, or else a dissembling Hate. And that all might appear to be knit up in a comical Conclusion, the Duke's Daughter was afterwards joined in Marriage to the Lord *Leisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; and the Earl also was made Lord Admiral of *England*: yet many doubted whether the Earl retained not some secret Offence against the Duke, which if he did it was most cunningly suppress'd. Doubtless of all his Virtues, he made best Vice of Dissimulation. And as this Friendship was drawn together by Fear on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than was the Fear.

And thus the second Act ended of the Tragedy of the Duke, the third shall follow in the proper place.

In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick*, for what mischievous Contrivance it was not certainly known, but conceiv'd to be against the Duke, joined to him the Earl of *Arundel* late Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of *Southampton* sometimes Lord Chancellor, Men of their own Nature circumspect and slow, but at that time discountenanced and discontent; whom therefore the Earl of *Warwick* singled as fittest for his purpose. Many secret Conferences they had at their several Houses, which often held the greatest part of the Night. But they, accustomed to afford at other times, either silence, or short assent to what he did propose, did then fall off and forsake him, procuring thereby Danger to themselves without doing Good to any other. For when the Earl of *Warwick* could by no means draw them to his Desires, he found means that both of them were discharged from the Council, and commanded to their Houses.

Southampton and Arundel discharged the Council.

Against the Earl of *Arundel*, Objections were framed, that he took away Bolts and

Earl of Arundel fined.

(e) There is one Article more in *Stow's Chronicle* (whence our Author hath all this) but here omitted; and is to come in next after the 27th, viz. Item, You caused at Windsor your own Person in the Night time to be guarded in harness by many Persons, leaving the King's Majesties Person unguarded; and would not suffer his own Guard and Servants to be next the King's Person, but appointed your Servants and Friends to keep the Gates. J.S.

(f) Would a Man of a cooler Temper than our Author have presently judged the Duke so impotent and feeble, and unable to govern himself? Would he not rather have considered the Circumstances wherein he stood, and what powerful Enemies combined together against him, and thirsted for his Ruin? The Duke might have been somewhat too hasty, if Sir *John Hayward* had been his Counsellor, to have presently taken up Arms, and ventured Life and Honour together: and so might have lost both, in all probability he would, being so inferior in Strength to his Adversaries, who were in effect all the Council except one or two. The Duke undoubtedly considered this, and also the Danger the King his Nephew was and would be in, if this Broyl had proceeded further, and the Danger of the State of Religion too, to which many of the other Side had no great Favour. It was not his Feebleness therefore, but rather his Caution and Wisdom that made him submit as he did.

As for his thirsting after his Brother's Blood, as is mentioned most uncharitably afterwards, it was a groundless Calumny, as I have shewn before. J. S.

1550. Locks at *Westminster*, and gave away the King's Stuff: He was fined at 12000*l.* to be paid 1000*l.* yearly. But doubtless the Earl of *Warwick* had good reason to suspect, that they who had the honesty not to approve his Purpose, would not want the Heart to oppose against it.

Stirs moved again in Suffolk, and other places. During these Combats among the Nobility, many popular Insurrections were assayed. One *Bell* was put to death at *Tyburn* for moving a new Rebellion in *Suffolk* and in *Essex*; he was a Man nittily needy, and therefore adventurous; esteem'd but an idle Fellow, until he found opportunity to shew his Rashness. Divers like Attempts were made in other Places, but the Authors were not so readily follow'd by the People as others had done before: partly because Multitudes do not easily move, but chiefly because Misadventures of others in like Attempts had taught them to be more warily advis'd.

A Parliament. About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies, the first Motive of Rebellions; and another against unlawful Assemblies, the first apparent acting of them. But for fear of new Tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolv'd, and Gentlemen charg'd to retire to their Country Habitations, being furnish'd with such Forces and Commissions as were held sufficient to hold in Bridle, either the Malice or Rage of reasonless People: Yea so great grew the doubt of new Insurrections, that *Trinity Term* did not hold, lest Gentlemen should by that occasion be drawn out of the Country where they were esteem'd to do good Service, by keeping the Commons from Comotions. All these Movements seem'd to be pretended by moving of the Earth in divers Places of *Essex*.

Sir Tho. Cheynie sent to the Emperor. The Affairs of *England* beyond the Seas all this time, were carry'd with variable Success: *Sir Thomas Cheynie* was sent to the Emperor to treat with him, that his Forces might join with the Forces of *England* against the common Enemies of them both, according to the Articles formerly concluded. These Articles had been well observ'd for a time, especially against the *French*. But afterwards the Emperor being diverted about other Preparations, and therewith much sollicitated by the *Scots* not to be a help to ruin their Kingdom, fell by degrees from the King of *England*, filling his Embassadors with empty Hopes at the first, wherein also he daily fainted and failed in the end.

Affairs between France & England. In *France* the King placed the Rhinegrave with divers Regiments of *Almanes*, *Lancequenots*, and certain Ensigns of *French*, to the Number of four or five thousand, at the Town of *Morguison*, midway between *Bulloine* and *Calais*, to impeach all Intercourse between those two Places. Whereupon the King of *England* caused all the Strangers that had served the Year against the Rebels to the Number of 2000 to be transported to *Calais*; to them were added 3000 *English*, under the Command of *Francis* Earl of *Huntingdon*, and *Sir Edward Hastings* his Brother, to dislodge the *French*, or otherwise to annoy them. But the *French* perceiving that the Troubles in *England* were perfectly appeas'd, and that the King thereby was much strengthen'd in his Estate, for that the vicious Humors against him were either

corrected or spent; finding also that he daily grew rather into Admiration than Love, as well for that it was apparent, that he had so well improv'd that little Stock which his Father left, as he was like to prove a Thriver in the end; also weary in maintaining Wars with *Scotland*, as well in regard of the Charge, as for that his People were nothing desirous of Service in that distant Country.

Lastly, Having try'd as well the Strength as Courtesy of the *English* Nation, and doubtful of the Estates of the Empire and of *Spain*, by whom not only the Wings of his Kingdom had been clipped on every side, but the whole Body thereof dangerously attempted, he resolved to fasten Peace with *England* if he could.

Hereupon he dispatched to the *English* Court *Guidotti* an *Italian* born in *Florence*, who made many Overtures to the Lords of the Council, but all as from the Constable of *France*; and espying with a nimble Eye that Matters of Council were chiefly sway'd by the Earl of *Warwick*, by great Gifts and greater Hopes he wrought him to be appliable to his Desires. In the end it was concluded that four Embassadors should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King to treat with them; that the *English* Commissioners should come to *Guifnes*, and the *French* to *Ardes*, and that their Meeting should be chiefly at *Guifnes*: The *English* yielding to all with sincerity of Mind, the *French* accepting all, but with Intentions reserv'd to themselves. The Lords appointed by the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*, *Sir William Peter*, and *Sir John Mason* Secretary (g) of State. On the *French* side were appointed *Monsieur Rochpott*, *Monsieur Chastilion*, *Guillant de Mortier*, and *Rochetele de Daffie*. In short time after the Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Great Master, another Feather to his mounting Mind.

The day wherein the *English* Embassadors arriv'd at *Calais*, *Guidotti* resorted unto them with a Letter from *Monsieur Rochpott*, whereby he signify'd that the *French* intended not to come to *Ardes*, but desired that the *English* would go to *Bulloine*, and that the Meeting might be besides the Town. For this he alledg'd that he was so weakly disposed in Health that he could not travel far, and that he being Governor of *Picardie* and *Chastilion* of *Newhaven*, they might not depart such distance from their Charge; and further, that there must be much wast of time if the *English* should lie at *Guifnes* and the *French* at *Ardes*; and that the Equality would be more, and the Dishonour to one of the sides less, if the Interview should be upon the Frontiers, than if one part should be drawn into the Territory of the other.

Upon this rub the *English* Embassadors thought fit to demur, and so sent into *England* to receive Directions from the Lords of the Council. They again referr'd the Matter wholly to the Judgment of the Embassadors, affirming, that it was a Circumstance not much to be stood upon, in case it were not upon some fineness, but for ease and commodity of them and their Train, which indeed they might better find near *Bulloine* than at *Ardes*; in case also they could discern no deep

(g) *Sir John Mason* was not Secretary of State, but Secretary for the *French* Tongue, and Clerk of the Council. J. S. incon-

1550. inconvenience which might hinder the good Issue of the good Business in hand, which they esteem'd sufficient, if in substance it might be effected; albeit in all Points they had not so much of their Minds as they then desired, and as at another time they would expect; and so the English Commissioners went to Bulloine, and the French came to one of their Forts nearest to Bulloine.

The Condition of Bulloyn.

Not long before the Emperor had been assailed by the King of England to aid him in defence of Bulloine against the French; which he expressly refused, alledging, that he was not bound so to do by Conditions of the League; for that Bulloyn was a piece of new Conquest acquir'd by the English since the League was made. Then the King offer'd to yield the Town absolutely into his hands, in case he would maintain it against the French; which Offer also he refus'd to accept. At the arrival of the English Embassadors, the Soldiers were sharply assail'd with Wants; there was not one drop of Beer in the Town; the Bread and Bread-corn sufficed not for six days. Hereupon the Soldiers entred into proportion, and to give them Example, the Lord Clinton being Lord Deputy, limited himself to a Loaf a day.

The King was indebted in those Parts above 14000*l.* besides for the Earl of Huntingdon's Numbers, which were about 1300 Foot; besides also the Increases daily rising, for the monthly pay of English and Strangers amounted to 6000*l.* besides Allowance for Officers. Hereof the Band of Horsemen out of Germany, took little less than 800*l.* the Month; and the Almanes on Foot 4000*l.* accounting the Gulden at 3*s.* 4*d.* but accounting it more, as without a higher Valuation little Service and happily some Mischief might be expected, the monthly Pay to Strangers amounted higher. Hereby a great Error was discover'd, in that the Strangers for defence of Bulloyn, were of greater strength than were the English.

Now the English Commissioners having first procur'd some Relief both for Victuals and Pay, prepar'd a Tent without the Town for meeting with the French. But they erected a House on the further side of the Water within their own Territory, in a manner half way between their Fort and the Town. The English perswaded the French to surcease their Building, pretending (but for their Fantasy) it was not necessary, because neither their Treaty was like to continue long, neither was it by solemn Meeting that the Business in hand must be effected. But in truth they feared lest if Peace should not follow, the French might in short time, either with filling or massing the House, or else by fortifying, make such a Piece as might annoy the Haven or the Town. Notwithstanding the French not only proceeded, but refused any other place of Interview.

The French treat about restoring Bulloyn.

At their first meeting much time was spent in Ceremony of Salutation. Then the Commissioners were read: then Monsieur de Mortier in a sharp Speech declar'd, that the French King their Master had upon just Grounds entred the War for recovery of his Right, and defence of his Allies; yet was he well minded for an honourable Peace, so as the things for which the War began, might be brought to some reasonable Appointment; and hearing of the like Disposition of the King of England, he had sent them to treat of those Affairs, nothing doubting but that the English would accord to

1550. the restitution of Bulloyn, and other Pieces of their late Conquests, which so long as they should keep, so long they may be assur'd the War would continue. He further added, that Bulloyn was but a bare ruinous Town, without Territory, or any other Commodity to balance the Charge of defending it against the Power of France. Lastly, He said there should want no good Will in them to bring Matters to good Appointment, hoping to find the like Affection in the English.

After that the English Commissioners had conferred a while, the Lord Paget answered, That the Causes of the War, both with them and their Allies (whom he took to be the Scots) being just and honourable, the Town of Bulloyn, and other Pieces subdu'd, as well by their late great Master against them, as by the King their then Master against their Allies, were acquir'd by just Title of Victory: and therefore in keeping of them no Injury was offer'd, either to the French King or to the Scots. But the further declaration he left off until their next meeting, because both the Time was spent, and the Tide summon'd them to depart. Touching the good Inclination of the King their Master, he had declared it well by sending them thither, in whom they should find such good Conformity, that if good success ensued not, the Fault should be, which they expected not, in the French. Nothing else was done saving a surcease of Hostility concluded for 15 Days, which was proclaim'd in both the Frontiers.

At the next meeting the Lord Paget spent much Speech in setting forth the King of England's Title to Bulloyn, and to his Debts and Pension from the French King, with all Arrearages; together with the Justice of his War against the Scots.

The French were as earnest in maintaining the contrary, wanting no Words whatsoever their Reasons were: For between great Principles, the greatest Strength carrieth the greatest Reason. At the last Monsieur de Mortier roundly said, that to cut off all Contentions of Words, he would propose two Means for Peace; All that for old Matters of Pensions, Debts and Arrearages, the English should make white Books and never mention them more; but for Bulloyn to set the higher Value; or else, said he, let old Quarrels remain, so as your Right may be reserved to claim, and ours to defend; and let us speak frankly of some Recompence for Bulloyn. As for the Scottish Queen (for this had been also mention'd before) our King is resolv'd to keep her for his Son; and therefore we desire you to speak thereof no more, but of what other Points you please, so as we may draw shortly to an end.

The Lord Paget answer'd for the other Commissioners, that they had greatest Reason to desire a speedy End; but the Matters whereupon they stood were of greater Importance than to be determin'd upon the suddain. For, said he, you may make Doubts as you please. But if the Debt to our King be not just, being confess'd, judg'd, sworn, and by many Treaties confirm'd, we know not what may be deemed just; neither is it a Sum to be slenderly regarded, being 2000000 Crowns clear Debt, besides 12000 Crowns resting in dispute. The Justice of the Wars against Scotland he maintain'd, as well in regard of Breach of Treaties with themselves, as for that, contrary to their

The Lord Paget's Answer.

The French offer Recompence for Bulloyn.

Scottish Queen.

L. Paget insists upon the French Debt to England.

1550. their Comprehension in the last Treaty of France, they had invaded England in these Intercourses. The whole Afternoon being spent, it was agreed that both Parties should advise upon such Matters as had been propounded until the next meeting.

The French stiff. But the French either having, or supposing that they had Advantage over the English; partly by reason of their firm Intelligence in the English Court, and partly because they found the English Commissioners much yielding to their Desires, as first in coming into France, then to *Bulloign*, lastly to a House of their own erecting, began to be stiff and almost intractable, sharply pressing both for speedy Resolution, and short Times for meetings. But *Guidotti* continually travel'd to draw both Parties to conformity, the French being willing to be entreated by their Friend to their most dissimulated desires. *Guidotti* instead of the Queen of Scots, propounded that the French King's Daughter should be joyn'd in Marriage to the King of England, affirming, that if it were a dry Peace, it would hardly be durable; but hereto the English gave no inclinable ear. Then he deliver'd 17 Reasons in writing, for which he said it was necessary for the English to conclude a Peace. The English demanded how many Reasons he had for the French; he answer'd, that he had also his Reasons for them, which he intended likewise to deliver in writing.

Further Treaty between the Commissioners.

At the next meeting the French shew'd themselves, as before, peremptory and precise, standing stiffly upon their own Overtures, which they had they said no Commission to exceed: and therefore they refus'd to treat either of the Pension or the Debt demanded by the English, and declar'd themselves rather desirous than willing to break off the Treaty. The English answer'd, that before their coming *Guidotti* had declar'd from the French King, that so as *Bulloign* might be restor'd, all that was owing from him to the King of England should be paid, which *Guidotti* being present affirmed to be true. Well, said they, what our King told *Guidotti* we know not, but to us he hath given no other Commission than you have heard, which in no case we must exceed. As for the Pension whereof you speak, think you that a King of France will be tributary to any? No, no, assure you he will not; and touching the Debt, because the King of England gave occasion to the Wars, wasted the French King's Country, and thereby caus'd him to expend such Sums of Money as exceeded the Debt, he took himself to be acquitted thereof.

Hereto the English answer'd, that the French King might take Matters as he pleas'd, but in Honour, Justice, and Conscience, no Debt was more due: And the Wars being made for denial thereof, he could not be for that Cause acquitted. That the Pension was also granted upon divers Causes both weighty and just, and amongst other by reason of the King of England's uncontrollable Title to *Normandy*, *Gascogne*, and other Parts of France. Here they were interrupted by Monsieur *Rochpott*, who brake forth into warm Words, and was again as warmly answer'd; but the French would nothing move from their own Overtures, which they stood upon by way of Conclusions.

The English Commissioners send into England.

At last the English said, that they might do well to report these Differences to their Masters on both sides, and that their Pleasures

might therein be known. Hereto the French answer'd, that they knew their King's Pleasure so well, that if they should send to him again, he would and might think them of small Discretion; and herewith they offer'd to break. The English told them, that if they would break they might, but they intended to conclude nothing until they had further Instructions from England; which they would procure as soon as they could. To this the French did easily incline.

These Matters advertis'd into England, much troubled the Council, and the rather for that the Earl of *Warwick* was at that time retir'd, pretending much Infirmary in his Health. Hereupon many sinister Surmises began to spring up among some of the Council, partly probable, and part happily devised: for as they knew not whether he were more dangerous present or away; so, as the nature of all Fear is, they suspected that which happen'd to be the worst. From hence divers of the Council began in this manner to murmur against him.

What, said they, is he never sick but when Affairs of greatest Weight are in debating? Or wherefore else doth he withdraw himself from the Company of those who are not well assured of his Love? Wherefore doth he not now come forth and openly over-rule, as in other Matters he is accusom'd? Would he have us imagine by his absence that he acteth nothing? Or knowing that all moveth from him, shall we not think that he seeketh to enjoy his own Ends, without bearing blame for any Event? Go to then; let him come forth and declare himself, for it is better that he should find fault with all things whilst they are doing, than condemn all things when they are done.

With those and the like Speeches he came to Council more than ordinary before; and at last, partly by his Reasons, and partly by his Authority, Peace with France was esteem'd so necessary, that new Instructions were sent to the English Embassadors, according whereto Peace was concluded upon these Articles.

1. That all Titles and Claims on the one side, and Defences on the other, should remain to either Party as they were before.
2. That the Fault of one Man (except he were unpunish'd) should not break the Peace.
3. That Prisoners should be deliver'd on both sides.
4. That *Bulloign*, and other pieces of the new Conquests, with all the Ordnance, except such as had been brought in by the English, should be deliver'd to the French within six Months after the Peace proclaim'd.
5. That Ships of Merchandise might safely pass, and Ships of War be call'd in.
6. That the French should pay for the same 200000 Crowns of the Sum, every Crown valued at 6 s. 8 d. within three Days after the delivery of the Town, and 200000 like Crowns more upon the 5th day of August then next ensuing.
7. That the English should make no new Wars upon Scotland, unless new Occasions should be given.
8. That if the Scots razed *Lords* and *Dunghlass*, the English should raze *Roxborough* and *Aymouth*, and no Fortification to be afterward made in any of those Places.

To these Articles the French King was sworn at *Amiens*, the King of England at *London*; the Kings Commissioners being especially appointed to take

1550. take their Oaths, and for further Assurance six Hostages were deliver'd for the French at Ardes, and six for the English at Guisnes: and it was agreed that at the Delivery of Bulloine, the English Hostages should be discharg'd, and that upon the Payment of the first 200000 Crowns, three of the French Hostages should be discharg'd, and other three upon Payment of the last 200000 Crowns. In the Peace the Emperor was compriz'd, in case he would consent. And further to cut off future Contentions, Commissioners were appointed both by the English and French, to make certain the Limits between both Territories. Other Commissioners were appointed summarily to expedite and determine all matters of Piracy and Depredation between the Subjects of both Kingdoms, whereby many had not only liv'd, but thriv'd many years before.

L. Clinton delivereth up Boloyne, Apr. 25. So the Lord Clinton, Governour of Bulloine, having receiv'd his Warrant, discharg'd all his Men except 1800, and with them issued out of the Town, and deliver'd it to Monf. Chastilion, having first receiv'd of him the six English Hostages, and an Acquittance for Delivery of the Town, and safe Conduct for his Passage to Calais. These 1800 Men were afterwards plac'd upon the Frontiers between the Emperor and the English. Soon after the first Payment of Mony was made by the French to certain English Commissioners, whereupon three of their Hostages were discharg'd: The other three, namely Count de Anguien next Heir to the Crown of France after the King's Children, the Marquis de Meaux Brother to the Scottish Queen, and Montmorency the Constable's Son, who at that time chiefly guided the Affairs of France, came into England. They were honourably accompany'd, and with great State brought to London, where every of them kept house by himself.

The Monies paid for Boloyne, how disposed. Of the Monies of the first Payment 10000 l. was appointed for Calais, 8000 l. for Ireland, 10000 l. for the North, and 2000 l. for the Navy: the Residue was carefully laid up in the Tower. Likewise of the second Payment (whereupon the Hostages aforenam'd return'd into France) 8000 l. was appointed for Calais, 5000 l. for the North, 10000 l. was employ'd for increase towards outward Payments, certain Persons undertaking that the Mony should be doubled every * Month: the Residue was safely lodg'd in the Tower.

* Or haply Year. And now it remain'd that the chief Actors in this Peace (whatsoever their Aims were) must be both honour'd and enrich'd with great Rewards: and first Guidotti the first Mover of the Treaty was recompens'd with Knight-hood, 1000 Crowns reward, 1000 Crowns Pension, and 250 Crowns Pension to his Son.

Places and Honors bestow'd on certain Nobles. The Earl of Warwick was made general Warden of the North, had 1000 Marks Land granted to him, and 100 Horsemen of the King's Charge. Mr. Herbert his chief Instrument was made President of Wales, and had a Grant of 500 l. Land. And thus whether immoderate Favours breed first Unthankfulness and afterwards Hate, and therewith ambitious Desires; or whether God so punisheth immoderate Affections; it often happens that Men are prone to raise those most, who work their Ruin in the end. Also the Lord Clinton, who had been Deputy at Bulloine, was made Lord Admiral of England. The Captains and Officers were rewarded with Lands, Leases, Offices and Annuities; the ordinary Soldiers

1550. having all their Pay, and a month's Pay over, were sent into their Countries, and great charge given that they should be well observ'd, until they were quietly settled at home. The Light Horsemen and Men at Arms were put under the Marquis of Northampton Captain of the Pensioners. All the Guard of Bulloine were committed to the Lord Admiral. The chief Captains with 600 Ordinaries were sent to strengthen the Frontiers of Scotland. Lastly, Strangers were dispatch'd out of the Realm, who after some idle Expence of their Monies and Time, were likest to be forward either in beginning or in maintaining Disorders.

Presently after this Agreement of Peace, The Duke of Brunswick sent to the King of England to offer his Service in the King's Wars with 10000 Men of his Band, and to entreat a Marriage with the Lady Mary the King's eldest Sister. Answer was made touching his Offer of Aid, that the King's Wars were ended; and touching Marriage with the Lady Mary, that the King was in speech for her Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, which being determin'd without effect, he should favourably be heard. Upon this also the Emperor's Embassadors did expostulate with the King, that he had broken his League with the Emperor. To this the King answer'd, that because the Emperor fail'd in his Performances, the King was enforc'd to provide for himself. The Embassador desirous, as it seem'd, to make a Breach, demanded boldly that the Lady Mary should have the free Exercise of the Mass. This did the King not only constantly deny, but hereupon Sermons were increas'd at Court, and order taken that no Man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should preach before him. And in short time after, under pretence of preparing for Seamatters, 5000 l. were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas: And further, because the Emperor made divers strait Laws against those of the Religion, Merchants were charg'd to forbear their Trade into Flanders so much as they could. So as it appears, had some of the English Nobility been either less powerful or more faithful than they were, the King had Ears enough and Hands enough as well at home as among good Friends abroad, either to have maintain'd Wars against the French, or to have reduc'd them to a more honourable Peace.

Wars being thus at good Appointment, peaceable Business was more seriously regarded; and whereas an Embassador arriv'd from Gustavus King of Sweden to knit Amity with the King for Intercourse of Merchants, at last these Articles were concluded.

1. That if the King of Sweden sent Bullion into England, he might carry away English Commodities without Custom.
2. That he should carry Bullion to no other Prince.
3. That if he sent Ozimus, Steel, Copper, &c. he should pay Custom for English Commodities as an English Man.
4. That if he sent other Merchandize, he should have free Intercourse, paying Custom as a Stranger.

The Mint was set to work so as it gain'd 24000 l. yearly to the King, which should bear his Charges in Ireland, and bring 10000 l.

1550. to the Treasure. 400 Men were sent into Ireland, and charge given that the Laws of England should there be administer'd, and the Mutinous be severely suppress'd. Verily it may seem strange, that among all the horrible Hurries in England, Ireland was then almost quiet. But besides that the King drew much People from thence for service in his Wars, who haply would not have remain'd quiet at home; the Governors at that time were Men of such choice, that neither the Nobility disdain'd to endure their Command, nor the inferior fort were oppress'd to supply their Wants.

Base Coin made.

Further 20000*l.* weight was appointed to be made so much baser, as the King might gain thereby 160000*l.* Agreement was also made with York, Master of one of the Mints, that he should receive the Profit of all the Bullion which himself should bring, and pay the King's Debts to the value of 120000*l.* and remain accountable for the rest, paying six Shillings and eight pence (*b*) the Ounce until the Exchange were equal in Flanders, and afterwards six shillings and eight pence (*c*). And further, that he should declare his Bargain to any that should be appointed to oversee him, and leave off when the King should please. That for this the King should give him 15000*l.* in prest, and license to transport 8000*l.* beyond the Seas to abase the Exchange. Herewith the base Monies formerly coin'd were cry'd down.

Now it is certain that by reason of the long Hostility which England held against Scotland and France, Peace was not so hardly concluded as kept. But albeit Occasions of Breach were often offer'd, yet the Judgment and Moderation of both parts suffic'd either to avoid or appease them. The Bishop of Glasco coming into England without safe Conduct, was taken Prisoner. The French Ambassador made means to the King for his Discharge, but answer was made that the Scots had no such Peace with the English, that they might pass without safe Conduct. This was not deny'd by the Mr. of Erskine; whereupon the Archbishop was retain'd Prisoner, but after a short time remitted to his Liberty. After this the Queen Dowager of Scotland going from France to her Country, pass'd thro England, but the French Ambassador first obtain'd her safe Conduct. She arriv'd at Portsmouth, and was there encounter'd by divers of the English Nobility of highest Quality and Estimation, as well for doing her Honour, as for that having such Pledges she need not fear. At London she sojourn'd four days, being lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace, and defray'd at the charge of the City, in which time she was royally feasted by the King at Whitehall. At her departure she was attended out of the City with all Ceremonies pretending to State. The Sheriffs of every Shire thro which she pass'd, receiv'd her accompany'd with the chief Gentlemen of the Country; as also they convey'd her from one Shire to another (making always Provision for her Entertainment) till she came into the Borders of Scotland.

The Earl of Maxwell came with a strong

Band to the Borders (*k*) of England against certain Families of Scots who had yielded to the King of England; and the Lord Dacre brought his Forces to their Aid. In which Service his Valour and Discretion did equally appear. For albeit the Gentlemen of those Families did often skirmish with the Earl's Men, and slew many of them, yet were they never therein aided by the English, neither would they assail him upon any advantage. But when any of these Gentlemen were distress'd by the Earl, the English did then encounter him by Arms. Generally the English would not offer to offend the Scots, but only in defending their Friends.

About this time the French King sent Monsieur Lansat to request of the King of England, that the fishing of Tweede, Edrington, the debatable Ground, and the Scottish Hostages which had been sent into England in the time of King Henry VIII. might be restor'd to the Scots; and that the English Prisoners who were bound to pay their Ransoms before the Peace, should not be compris'd in the Conditions thereof. The King sent Sir William Pickering to declare to the French King, that to the last Demand he agreed without exception; and albeit he had a right to the Places requir'd, yet he was content as well for them as for other Demands, to perform whatsoever should be agreed on by Commissioners on both sides: So Commissioners were appointed, and the Matters settled in quiet Agreement.

In the mean time the King sent new Supply of Forces and other Provisions into the North Parts of the Realm; whereupon the French King sent a Navy of 160 Sail into Scotland, laden with Grain, Powder, and Ordnance: of these sixteen of the greatest perish'd upon the Coast of Ireland, two charg'd with Artillery and fourteen with Grain; the Residue so shaken and torn, that it gave a main check to their further Designs: But because many sav'd themselves in the Harbours of Ireland, the King sent thither four Ships, four Barks, four Pinnaces, and twelve Victuallers. These possess'd themselves of three Havens, two on the South side toward France, and one towards Scotland. The Lord Cobham was appointed General Lieutenant, who fortify'd those Havens, and drew down the chiefest Forces of the Country towards the South Parts thereof. And thus even in Peace either of the Kings so vigilantly observ'd every Motion of the other, as if they had liv'd upon the Alarm. The Will of Friends is best assur'd when they have no power to do hurt.

In France a difference did rise about a place call'd Fineswood, whether it pertain'd to the English or to the French. On the French part 800 Men assembled at Arms upon this Quarrel, on the English 1000. But the readiness of the English to fight, mov'd the French to abstain from blows, and to permit the English to enjoy their ground. Hereupon the King fortify'd Calais and his other Pieces in France, in such sort as they had never been in like condition of Defence. And whereas one Stryward

(b) Six Shillings and Sixpence the Ounce. K. Edward's Journ. Vid. Collect. Hist. Reform. Part 2. p. 21.

(c) Six Shillings and Twopence. K. Edw. Journ. ubi sup. J. S.

(k) These Borders were the North Borders; and these Families, or rather only one Family, was that of the Grimes, or Grabams. The Encounter of Earl Maxwell and them was on the 16th of August. The Assistance of the L. Dacre was only that he stood before Maxwell's face with a good Band of Men; and so put him from his Purpose: As this Affair is set down in K. Edward's Journal. And thence it also appears, that in the Skirmish, not many, but certain of the Earl's men were slain. J. S.

1551. a Scot was apprehended in England, and imprisoned in the Tower, for intending to poison the young Q. of Scots; the King as well to manifest his Justice as his Love and Respect towards the young Queen, deliver'd him to the French King upon the Frontiers of Calais to be justic'd by him at his pleasure.

And yet this Advice was not approv'd by many; for albeit it be both honourable and just, that they who offend against their proper Prince, should be deliver'd to him to be punish'd, yet is it grown out of common use. And for this cause the Condition is often express'd in Leagues, that the Subjects of one Prince should be deliver'd by the other in case they be requir'd; the contrary Custom may haply hold reasonable in ordinary Offences, in which case the Scripture forbiddeth to deliver a Slave to his angry Lord: but in grievous and inhuman Crimes, in such as overthrow the Foundation of the State, in such as shake the Surety of human Society, I conceive it more fit that Offenders should be remitted to their Prince to be punish'd in the place where they have offended.

But of all other the King's Amity with the Emperor was least assur'd, being as fullest both of Practice and Distrust, so in danger every hour to dissolve. Certain Ships were appointed in the Low Countreys, with Men and Furniture suitable to the Attempts, to transport the Lady Mary either by violence or by stealth, out of England to Antwerp. Divers of her Gentlemen departed thither before, and certain Shippers (as they are term'd) were discover'd to view the English Coast. Hereupon Sir John Gates was sent with Forces into Essex where the Lady then lay; and besides the Duke of Somerset was sent with 200 Men, the Lord Privy Seal with other 200, and Mr. Semlegier with 400 Men more, to several Coasts upon the Sea. Divers of the King's Ships were address'd to be in readiness for the Sea. Mr. Chamberlain, Embassador for the Queen of Hungary in the Low

Countrie, advertis'd by his Letters, that it was intended by this means to raise an outward War to join with some Sedition within doors, and that the Queen of Hungary had openly said, that the Shippers were towards, who for fear of one Gentleman durst not proceed in their Attempt. Upon these either Dangers or Fears, the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Petre were sent to the Lady Mary, who after some Conference brought her to the Lord Chancellor's House at Leez in Essex, and from thence to Hunsdon, and from thence to the King at Westminster. Here the Council declar'd unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Mass; and perceiving by her Letters how unmovable she was, he was resolv'd no longer to endure it, unless she would put him in hope of some Conformity within a short time. To this she answer'd, that her Soul was God's, and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, that the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward Profession thereof, in regard of the Danger the Example might draw. After some other like Interchange of Speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King; but Dr. Mallet her Chaplain was committed Prisoner to the Fleet. And almost herewith arriv'd an Embassador from the Emperor, with a menacing Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady Mary should not be admitted the free Exercise of the Mass. The King presently advis'd with the (1) Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the Bishops of London and Rochester, who gave their Opinion, that to give licence to Sin was Sin, but to connive at Sin might be allow'd, in case it were neither too long, nor without hope of Reformation. Then was answer given to the Embassador, that the King would send to the Emperor within a month or two, to give him what Satisfaction should be fit.

1551. March 18. She is not permitted to have Mass.

In

(1) This the Author had from the King's Pen in his Journal; where he hath not faithfully transcribed. For the Words of the King are these: 'The Bishops did consider that to give Licence to Sin was Sin: To suffer and wink at it [not at Sin, but at the Lady Mary's Mass in her Household] might be born, so all haste possible might be used. The King's Notes are short, and must be supplied: that is, all haste was to be used, to take away such an Occasion of Sin. But as Hayward sets down the Words, he would make those excellent Bishops very bad Casuists: as though to connive at Sin might be allowed, in case it were not too long, and in hope of Reformation. This sheweth again, how studious this Author was to expose Protestant Bishops.

There was indeed some Promise past by the King for the Lady Mary's hearing Mass. Which stood thus, as appeareth in one of the Council's Letters to her: That upon the Emperor's Request to the King, that she might have the Liberty to use the Mass in her House, and to be exempt from the Danger of the Statute, thus much was granted, that for his sake, and the Lady Mary's too, it should be suffered and winked at, if she had the private Mass used in her Closet for a season, until she might be better informed; whereof was some hope: having only with her a few of her own Chamber. So that for all the rest of her Household the Service of the Realm should be used. Further than this the Promise exceeded not. After this Grant in Words, the Emperor desired some Writing, as a Witness of the same; but that was ever denied.

Concerning this Saying of Mass in the Lady Mary's Family against the Law that abolished it, many notable Letters past between the King, the Protector, the Privy Council, and the said Lady: which are preserved to us in John Fox's Treasury, I mean his Martyrology. This Business was in hand a great while, in order to the inducing of the Lady Mary and her Household to conform to the late Act for Uniformity of public Prayer. For it lasted from June 1549. to August or September 1551. such a Deference was given to her Quality. But this Lady was so resolute in her Adherence to the Mass, that she had like to have embroiled the Kingdom in a War with the Emperor: whom she engaged so far, that he required by his Ambassador yet a second time, that she should enjoy her Liberty in that behalf, contrary to a Law made, which abolished the Mass, and enjoined a Book of Common Prayer instead thereof.

They proceeded with her in this matter with all due Respect; as I shall shew briefly, partly from the Letters that past between them, partly from the Council-Book, the King's Journal, or other MSS.

First, the L. Protector advis'd her in May or June 1549. to lay aside the Mass, and use the Book. Then again in June, the Protector and Council wrote their Letters to her; and that she would send the Comptroller of her House and Dr. Hopton her Chaplain to them, to receive certain Orders from them. But she in a Letter to them dated June the 22. from Kenninghal, in some Displeasure excused sending either: But yet Dr. Hopton came at length, and brought back to her from Richmond their Answer in Writing to her former Letter, answering it Article by Article. They also sent their Letters to her Comptroller, her Chaplain and Mr. Englefield, to repair immediately to them. Then she wrote again another Letter to the Protector and the Council dated June 27. full of very haughty Language, expressing great Anger that they should send for her Servants, saying, She took not her self to be subject to any of them; and that none of them would have been contented to be so serv'd at their Inferiours hands.

1551.
An Amba-
sador sent
to the Em-
peror.

In the mean time the Council considering how prejudicial it would be to the Realm if the Subjects should lose their Trade in *Flanders*, that the *Flemmings* had Cloth for a year in their hands, that the King had 500 Quintals of Poulder, and much Armour in *Flanders*, and the Merchants much Goods at the Wool Fleet, they advis'd the King to send an Ambassador Legier to the Emperor, as well to satisfy him for other Matters by him requir'd, as to

win time, thereby both to prepare a Mart in *England* and to withdraw their Goods out of *Flanders*. So Mr. *Wotton* was dispatch'd with particular Instructions to desire the Emperor to be less violent in his Requests: And to advertise him that the Lady *Mary*, as she was his Cousin, so was she the King's Sister, and which is more, his Subject; that seeing the King was a Sovereign Prince without Dependancy upon any but God, it was not reason that the Em-
peror

After all this, *Mafs* was continued in her Family, to the open Affront of the King and his Privy Council, and the Laws. Whereupon Process was awarded against two of her Chaplains, and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*. These were *Mallet* and *Berkley*. Which the Council gave her Notice of December 2. Whereat she wrote them an angry expostulating Letter; urging them with the Promise made to the Emperor the last year, that she should never be troubled or disquieted for having *Mafs* said in her House; and that the Emperor's Ambassador, that then was dead, told her so. But that nevertheless to be plain with them, however they should use her, or those that belonged to her, she would never vary from her Opinion; and as she had been minded always to have *Mafs* said to her, so she ever would be. To this Letter they wrote her again, Decemb. 25. a large Answer: Shewing her, that the Promise made to the Emperor's Ambassador was only temporary, until she were better informed, there being then daily hope of her Reformation: And that the most that was told the Ambassador was, that the King might, upon hope of her Grace's Reconciliation, suspend the Execution of his Law; so that she would use the Licence as it was at first granted: That is, that the *Mafs* were used in her own Closet only, and that for a Season.

Then Jan. 24. An. 1551. following, the King, observing by her Letters how stiffly she persisted in her own Way, wrote her a loving Letter upon the same Argument; arguing excellently well with her, pretermittin (as he said) his Estate as King, and talking with her as her Brother. To which Letter she gave Answer February 3. from *Beaulieu*: remaining still unmoveable.

Feb. 16. The Emperor's Ambassador pres'd the Council to observe their Promise made to him for Permission to the Lady *Mary* of the Exercise of her Religion, till the King should come to Age.

March 18. The King relateth in his Journal, that he sent for her to *Westminster*, and told her that he could not any longer bear her Practise. Upon the next day (according to the Journal) the Emperor's Ambassador declar'd War to the King, if he continued not to her the Liberty of her Religion. March 18. (according to the Council Book) the said Emperor's Ambassador had Access to the Council.

March 22. *Crammer*, *Ridley* and *Poynt* discoursed with the King about the Lawfulness of the Permission.

March 23. The Council decreed to send Dr. *Wotton* to the Emperor (who was not dispatched till the 10th of April) and in the mean time to punish the Offenders; first the King's Servants that heard *Mafs*, next hers.

March 24. (According to the Journal) Sir *Anthony Brown* and Serjeant *Morgan*, were sent to the Fleet for hearing *Mafs*. The Council Book placeth the Commitment of the latter March 19. and of the former at March 22. and assigns the Cause more at large, viz. for hearing *Mafs* in her Company, when by the King's Order he attended her from *Essex* to *London*.

March 23. Or rather the 18. It was resolved to punish her Servants, hearing or saying *Mafs*. The day before, the Lady *Mary's* Comptroller Mr. *Rochester*, was examined how many Chaplains she had. Who answered four, viz. *Mallet*, *Hipton*, *Barkley*, and *Richards*.

April 29. Dr. *Mallet* was brought before the Council, and being examin'd what he meant, that after he had been once forgiven, he would again willfully offend the King's Laws in saying of *Mafs*, and other like; he could not deny but he had done evil in so doing. He therefore was committed to the Tower.

Brown and *Morgan* upon their Submission were soon after discharged from their Imprisonment.

Aug. 9. It was resolved in Council at *Richmond*, 24 Lords present, to send for the chief Officers of the Lady *Mary's* House, and to give them in Charge not to permit *Mafs* to be said in her House, or to hear it, and to give the same Charge to her Chaplains, and other Servants. The same day it was resolved not to permit the Use of the *Mafs* to the Emperor's Ambassador, since he would not permit the English Ambassador, Resident in his Dominions, the Use of our Liturgy.

Aug. 11. A Warrant was signed for the Appearance of the Lady *Mary's* Officers. And an excellent Letter of the King's own to his Sister accompanied their Departure, which they seemed to be the Bringers of. Which I will here insert out of the *Cotton Library*, the rather because it is not any where published, as many others are, relating to this Matter.

King Ed-
ward's
Letter to
the Lady
Mary about
her
Mafs.
Cott. Lib.
Ortho. C. 10.

' Right dear and intirely beloved Sister, We greet you well. And where we have heretofore not only by our Speech unto you, but also by our Letters, and by the Letters of our Council, and otherwise, many times declared unto you the earnest Desire we had to have reduced you to such Conformity, and Agreeableness in Religion, as is agreed upon by the learned Men of our Realm, established by us in our Parliaments, and most, we doubt not, to the Honour of Almighty God; Perceiving that all our Travel and Sufferance taken to that End, worketh not in you the good Effect we would have wished, but that you do rather rest more wedded to your own Mind than you were at the beginning: refusing also to hear any learned Men, that might inform you more rightly in these things: like as for the natural good Will we bear towards you, we cannot but be sorry to find this manner of Proceeding in you, whom by Nature we should rather have found of all other most obedient, and readiest to give example to others, for doing of any thing that might be agreeable to our pleasure; So considering what great Inconveniences do daily grow by the Example of you and your Family, we cannot but have a more earnest Regard to the Reformation thereof; not only for the Conservation of our Laws, which we may not with our Honour endure to have thus openly broken and manifestly contemned, but also and much more, for that the Honour and Glory of Almighty God by this Sufferance is hindred.

' For which Causes we have willed certain of your Officers to be sent for: by whom it might be signify'd unto you, that our Pleasure and express Commandment is, that they shall not from henceforth suffer any *Mafs* or other Divine Service to be said or used within your House, than is set forth by the Laws of our Realm. And that if any Chaplain of yours, or any other whatsoever, shall hereafter presume to break our Laws in that behalf, that he or they so offending, shall be used according to our Laws. Of which our Pleasure declared unto your Officers by our Council, they are commanded to make report to you: to whom we pray you give Credit in that behalf.

The Contents of this Message given to her Officers aforesaid were, that the Common Prayer should be used from henceforth in her Family; and to inhibit her Chaplains to say *Mafs* before her, and her Servants to hear it. But they out of fear of disturbing her, being not well, delivered not this Message. Which the Council August 23. understanding from their own Mouths, charged them, and that upon their Allegiance, to go and do it. But they still refused it, and offered themselves willingly to endure any Punishment rather than to deliver so unwelcome a Matter. Whereupon they were commanded to attend continually upon the Council. And a little after they were committed to the Fleet, and thence to the Tower.

Aug. 26. The L. Chancellor *Rich*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Comptroller of the Household, and Sir *William Petre* Secretary, were sent by the King's Council to her, with a Message, which was in effect the same that her three Officers should have delivered her. They accordingly August 28. repaired to *Copt hall* where she now was. And August 29. they declared to the Council then at *Windor*, their Discharge of the Matter intrusted with them: and that the said Lady *Mary* received the King's Letter upon her Knees, and kist it. But as to her Compliance with the Commands given, she said, that rather than she would use any other Service than what was used at the Death of the late King her Father, she would lay her Head on a Block: but adding, that she was unworthy to suffer in so good a Quarrel. She said further, that

1551. peror should intermeddle either with ordering his Subjects, or with directing the Affairs of his Realm. (m) Thus much he offer'd, that what Favour the King's Subjects had in the Emperor's Dominions for their Religion, the same should the Emperor's Subjects receive in England. The Emperor perceiving that his Threats were little regarded, regarded little to threaten any more.

A Rebel-
lion at-
tempted in
Essex.
Discover'd
April 15.
About the time that the Lady Mary should have been transported unto Antwerp, a Rebellion was attempted in Essex where she then lay. For furtherance whereof Speeches were cast forth, that Strangers were arriv'd in England, either to rule or to spoil the natural Inhabitants. Upon this Surmise many appointed to assemble at Chelmsford, and from thence to make Pillage as their Wants or wanton Appetites should lead. But the Principal being put to death and the Residue pardon'd, all remain'd quiet.

Tumult up-
on May-day
in London.
Many Londoners also hunting after Riot and Ease, contriv'd to tumult upon May-day, pretending Grievances and Feats from Strangers; but because where many are of Counsel Counsel is hardly kept, the Enterprize was discover'd and defeated before it was ripe: herewith Lion, Gorran and Ireland, Persons of mean Condition but desperate and discontent, endeavour'd to

raise a Rebellion in Kent. They often met, and had Conferences both private and long. They seem'd highly busy'd in mind, and their Heads travelling with troubl'd thoughts, which they often dissembl'd with impertinent Speeches. This was first discover'd by one of their Servants, doubtful whether before knowing the Mischief, and until then secret or ignorant before, and then first apprehending Suspitions. So they were apprehended, and after Conviction the Danger determin'd by their *Deaths. Here-
May 14.
with Rumours were rais'd of great Discord and Practises among the Nobility: for this Cause the Lords assembl'd at London, and feasted divers Days together, giving order to apprehend the Reporters of these Surmises, albeit happily not altogether untrue. For this Cause Gentlemen were newly commanded to remain in the Country, to govern the People, easy to be dealt with whilst they stand in fear.

The King being thus uncertain of the Faith both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by Alliance to strengthen himself. To this Purpose one Bortwick was sent to the King of Denmark with private Instructions to treat of a Marriage between the Lady Elizabeth the King's Sister, and the King of Denmark's eldest

that when the King was come to such Age as he might be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shou'd find her ready to obey his Orders in Religion; but in these years of his (tho, good sweet King, he hath more Knowledge, said she, than any other of his years, yet that) it was not possible he could be judge of them. That as for her Priests, they knew what they had to do. The Pain of Imprisonment was but for a short time. And that if they refused to say Mass for fear of their Imprisonment, they might do as they would. But that none of the new Service should be used in her House: and that if any were, she would not tarry in it.

And speaking concerning the Promise given to the Emperor on her behalf, she said, That to be plain with them, his Ambassador should know how she was used at their hands: she said moreover, that she was tickly, and yet would not die willingly; but that if she chanced to die, she would protest, that they of the Council were the Cause of her Death. And that they gave her fair Words, but their Deeds were always ill towards her. Then she gave unto the Lord Chancellor a Ring upon her Knees for the King, with her very humble Recommendation to him; saying, she would die his true Subject, and suffer and obey his Commandment in all things, except in these Matters of Religion.

In fine, notwithstanding the Emperor's Ambassador's Solicitation to have the Lady Mary's Officers set at liberty, and that she might have her Mass, till the Emperor were certified of these things, he was answered as was thought convenient, and that the King's Ambassador should satisfy the Emperor. And the said Officers were not set at Liberty until April 24. the next year, viz. 1552. when they repair'd unto her Grace. J. S.

(m) This Ambassador Dr. Wotton, Dean both of Canterbury and York, was an ancient Counsellor and an Ambassador in the Reign of King Henry VIII. But it is strange to consider, what a Liberty this Author takes in relating the Instructions that were given Wotton in this Embassy, whereas there is not a word in the said Instructions, as he representeth them. Nor would it have been good Policy to treat a prosperous and powerful Emperor in such sharp and rough Terms, when the Embassy was commenced on purpose to continue a good Correspondence with him. That part of the Instructions relating to the Lady Mary's Matter are in these very Words, as they are extant in a Volume of the Cotton Library. Which I will insert, to set this part of the History right.

‘Lastly, ye shall declare, That We perceived likewise, by the Letter of our said good Brother, his Motion that our Sister the Lady Mary, his Cousin, might use her accustomed Religion for a further Time, according to an Assurance made, as by the said Letter is reported. Cott. Lib.

‘For answer whereunto ye shall say, that First, there hath never been any Assurance or Promise made for that Purpose by us, but only in this manner, at the Motion of him that was here Ambassador last before this present Man from our said Brother. We were content to bear at that time with our Sister, and to spare the execution of our Law for a time, until we might see some proof of her Amendment by Instruction and Persuasion of her. The proof whereof to be such and no other, the Ambassador that now is here present, hath evidently seen and heard by the several Testimonies of all our Council, even in particularities by all, and every such as either hath been on our behalf with our said good Brother, or for this purpose with his Ambassador here: in such sort that if he shall report what he hath heard in that Matter testified, it shall be evident in what manner the Sufferance was, and to what End. And if there shall be any one named unto you (as we conjecture the L. Paget shall be named) ye shall say, that upon this Matter now moved, both Sir Philip Hoby and also the L. Paget, have been of their Faith and Honour willing to declare that they knew. And they both most constantly deny, that ever they mentioned any Promise, or such Matter touching our Sister, either unto the Emperor or unto any.

‘And touching the L. Paget, both he and Sir Philip Hoby declare, that he the L. Paget at his last being with our said good Brother, spake not with him but in the hearing of Sir Philip Hoby: And of the Matter saith thus, that indeed our said good Brother, upon the departing of the said L. Paget, recommended the Case of our Sister and his Cousin, by Message, praying him that she might be favoured, and permitted to have her ancient manner of Religion. Whereunto the said L. Paget saith, that he, considering he had no Commission to treat of that Matter, answered with the Advice of Sir Philip Hoby to our said good Brother, that he would make Report of his Request unto us, and to our Uncle the Duke of Somerset, at that time Protector, and to the rest of our Council, not doubting but that she should have that Favour that was convenient for her, being our Sister, and Cousin to our said good Brother. Of which Request and Answer, at his coming home, he made Report accordingly. And otherwise than this he never meddled in that Matter at his being there. And if he had, yet we do assure our said good Brother, that he exceeded therein our Commission; having nothing on our part at that time to say in that Matter.

‘Wherefore for the Matter itself ye shall say, Like as We desire not any thing of him that is inconvenient or against Reason to grant, so we doubt not but, altho he doth seem to move this unto us, yet when he shall understand how much against Reason it is to be granted, he will stay further Motion. And therefore because he percase hath not heard the State of the Cause, ye shall declare unto him, that such Order and Form of Common Prayer in our Churches, and

1551. eldest Son. (n) But this Lady, albeit she was furnish'd with many excellent Endowments both of Nature and Education, yet could she never be induc'd to entertain Marriage with any.

An honour-
able Em-
bassy to
France,
May 21.

After this the Lord Marquis of Northampton was directed with a solemn Embassy to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to treat with him of other secret Affairs. With him were join'd in Commission the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hobby, Sir William Pickering, Sir John Mason Knights, and Mr. Smith Secretary of State. The Earls of Worcester, Rutland, and Ormond were appointed to accompany them, and likewise the Lords Lisle, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergavenny, and Emers, with other Knights and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of 26: and for avoiding immoderate and burthensome Train, Order was given that every Earl should have four Attendants, every Lord three, every Knight and Gentleman two; the Commissioners were not limited to any Number.

They arriv'd at Nants, and were there receiv'd by Monsieur Chastilion, and by him conducted to Chasteau Bryan where the French King then lodg'd, they were twice banqueted by the way; and the nearer they approach'd to the Castle, the more increas'd the Resort of the French Nobility to do them Honour: being come to the Court, they were forthwith brought to the King abiding then in his Bed-chamber. Here the Marquis presented unto him the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested, and thereupon gave for the Garter a Chain worth 200 l. and his Gown address'd with Aglets esteem'd worth 25 l.

The Bishop
of Ely's
Speech to
the French
King.
Jun. 20.

Then the Bishop of Ely in a short Speech declar'd how desirous the K. of England was not only to continue but to encrease Amity with the French King. That to this purpose he had sent the Order of the Garter to be both a Testimony and Tye of Love between them, to which purpose chiefly those Societies of Honour were first devis'd. He further declar'd that they had Commission to make Overture of some other Matters, which was like to make the Concord between the Kings and their Realms, not only more durable, but in all expectation perpetual; desiring the King to appoint some Persons enabled with Authority to treat with them.

To this Speech the Cardinal of Lorain answer'd, that the French King was ready to apprehend and embrace all Offers tending to increase of Amity, and the rather, for that long Hostility had made their new Friendship both more weak in it self, and more obnoxious to Jealousies and Distrusts. And therefore he promis'd on the King's Behalf, that Commissioners should be appointed to treat with them about any Matters which they had in Charge; praying to God that it might be a Means, not only to assure but to enlarge their late settled Love. So a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of Lorain and Chastilion the Constable, the D. of Guise, and certain others. At the first the English demanded, that the young Queen of Scots might be sent into England for perfection of Marriage between King Edward and her. But hereto the French answered, that they had taken too much Adventure, and spent too many Lives, upon any Conditions to let her go; and that Conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dolphine of France.

Then the English propos'd a Marriage between their King and the Lady Elizabeth the French King's eldest Daughter: to which the French did cheerfully incline.

So after Agreement that neither Party should be bound, either in Conscience or in Honour, until the Lady should accomplish twelve Years of Age, they fell to treat of the Portion which should be given with her in Marriage. The English first demanded 1500000 Crowns, and offer'd that her Dowry should be so great as King Henry the Eighth had given to any of his Wives. The offer of Dower was not disliked; but for the Portion, some of the French wondred, others smiled, that so great a Sum should be demanded. The English descended to 1400000 Crowns, and after by degrees fell so low as 800000. But the French, as they held the first Sum to be unreasonable, so all the other they esteem'd excessive. Then the English demanded what the French would give? First they offer'd 1000000 Crowns, afterwards 200000, which they said was the most, and more than ever had been given with a Daughter of France. Then follow'd a stiff Contention, both by Reasons and Precedents; but the French in no Case would rise any higher, only they agreed that the French

1551.
The Answer
of the Car-
dinal of
Lorain.

A Proposal
of Marriage
between
K. Edward
Elizabeth
of France,
June 21.

and Usage of the Communion of the Sacrament, as we use here, besides that it is in the very same Order as the Primitive Church of Christ used it; it is also established by a Law of our Realm, by the Consent of our Parliament. By the which the whole Estate of our whole Realm and Subjects be ruled, and We our selves also in all manner Causes, being such an Universal and High Court, as there is none in all our Policy to be compared to it. And therefore as it bindeth our Self and all our Subjects, so should we not but do unjustly to violate it, or in any Point to agree to the breaking of it.

Besides, that the Example of breaking that Order wittingly, were so pernicious and dangerous to all our Realm, that both the Reverence of our Estate, the Execution of our Laws, and the Authority of the same, were gone utterly and taken away.

Wherefore ye shall say in this Cause, We do but require our said good Brother, while he is in the consideration of this Matter, to turn the Case; and either remember some like Case of his own, or imagine this to be his, and make it more nearer him, if it so please him. As where she is our natural Sister, let our good Brother imagine in his own Cause, the Party were his natural Son. And that done, and considered with such Circumstances, as indeed be in this Case, of willing breaking of our Laws to be considered; We assure our selves upon the Opinion of the great Wisdom and long Experience, which We know to be in our said good Brother in the ruling of his own Realms and Dominions, he will not only cease to move this Matter further, but rather to give us contrary Counsil, for the good Love and tender Care, we trust, he beareth to us in this our Youth. And somewhat the more for the Respect that one Prince naturally ought to have to the Conservation of another's Estate and Dignity.

And yet we shall assure our said good Brother, that in all manner things wherein we may any wise shew our natural Affection to our said Sister, we will not fail, but even abundantly heap the same upon her, somewhat the more above our natural Affection, for a demonstration of an earnest Desire to gratify our said good Brother.

The other Article of these Instructions (mistaken also by this Author) was, that as the King permitted the Emperor's Ambassador to use that manner of Religion which he used in his own Country, so also it was desired that the King's Ambassador in the Low Countreys might use the same Religion that he had used here in our Country: Which the Emperor had denyed to Sir Richard Morison the King's former Ambassador. The Reasonableness of which Request was in the softest Terms shewed to the Emperor. J. S.

(n) This Embassy from Denmark is misplaced here, and belonged to the Year past, viz. 1550. his coming being placed in the Journal of K. Edward at Decemb. 19. that Year. J. S.

King,

1551. King, at his proper Charge, should send her to the King of England three Months before she should accomplish her Age for Marriage, sufficiently appointed with Jewels, Apparel, and Furniture for House; and that Bonds for the Performances should then be deliver'd at London by the King of England, and at Paris by the French King; and that in case the Lady should not consent after she should be of the said Age for Marriage, the Penalty should be 150000 Crowns. The French set down these Offers in Writing, and sent them to the King of England.

Commissioners from France sent into England. Soon after Monsieur le Mareſhall, and other Commissioners, were sent by the French King into England; where they arriv'd at such time as the Sweating Sickness was most furious; a new, strange and violent Disease, for if a Man were attack'd therewith, he dy'd or escap'd within nine Hours, or ten at the most. If he took cold he dy'd within three Hours; if he slept within six Hours (as he should be desirous to do) he dy'd raving; albeit in other burning Diseases that Distemper is commonly appeased with Sleep. It raged chiefly among Men of strongest Constitution and Years, of whom 120 perished in some one day within the Liberties of London; few aged Men, or Children, or Women, dy'd thereof.

The King goes to Hampton-Court, July 11. Two of Charles Brandon's Sons, both Dukes of Suffolk, one of the King's Gentlemen and one of his Grooms, dy'd of this Disease: For which Cause the King remov'd to Hampton-Court with very few Followers.

The French Commissioners were brought by the Lord Clinton Lord Admiral of England, from Gravesend to London. They were saluted by the way with all the Shot of more than fifty of the King's great Ships, and with a fair Peal of Artillery from the Tower; and lastly were lodg'd in Suffolk Palace † in Southwark. And albeit they had more than 400 Gentlemen in their Train, yet was not one of them, nor any other Stranger in England touch'd with the Sweating Disease; and yet the English were chafed therewith, not only in England, but in other Countries abroad, which made them like Tyrants, both feared and avoided wheresoever they came.

Delivers his Message to the King. The next day the French were remov'd to Richmond; whence every day they resorted to Hampton-Court, where the King remained. The first day after they had perform'd the Ceremonies of Court, and deliver'd to the King their Letters of Credence, they were led to a Chamber richly furnish'd for their Repose: The same day they dined with the King, and after Dinner being brought into an inner Chamber, the Marshal declar'd that they were come, not only to deliver unto him the Order of St. Michael, but therewith to manifest the entire Love which the King his Master bare him; which he desir'd him to conceive to be no less than a Father can bear to his natural Son. That albeit divers Persons, either wit-

less or malicious, raise divers vain Rumors to draw the King, as it is thought, from his Master's Friendship, yet he trusted that the King would not listen unto them. That it much concern'd the Common Quiet, that good Officers be placed upon the Frontiers; for as good may do good in moderating things amiss, so evil will do evil albeit no bad occasion be offer'd. Lastly, He desir'd in case any new Controversy should arise, it might be determin'd by Commissioners on both sides, and not by Conflicts, the Parent of War.

To this the King both suddenly and shortly answer'd, 'That he much thanked the French King for his Order, as for the large Expression of his Love, which he would be ready in all Points to requite. Touching Rumors, they are not always to be credited, nor always to be condemn'd, it being no less vain to fear all things, than dangerous to doubt of nothing. And in case at any time he listned to them, it was only to provide against the worst, and never to break into Hostility. Concerning Officers, he appointed such as he esteemed good, and yet preferred the over-doubtful before the over-credulous and secure. New Controversies he would always be ready to determine by Reason rather than by Force, so far as his Honour should not thereby be diminish'd. (o)

The French after this return to their Lodging at Richmond, and the next day resorted again to the King, invested him with Garments of the Order, and accompany'd him to the Chappel, the King going between the Marshal and de Guise; both which after the Communion kissing his Cheek. The residue of that day, and a few days following, were pass'd over with Pastimes and Feasts. At the last the Lord Marquis of Northampton, and the Residue, who had been formerly sent with Commission from the King into France, were appointed to treat with the French Commissioners touching the great Matters of their Embassy.

And because the French could be serv'd no higher than their Offer of 200000 Crowns, it was accepted; the one Moity to be paid upon the day of Marriage, and the other six months after: the Dote was agreed to be 10000 Marks of English Mony, and not to be paid in case the King should die before Marriage. This Agreement was reduc'd into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides. At the same time an Ambassador arriv'd out of Scotland, to demand an Exemplification of Articles of Peace between England and France, under the Great Seal of England; which without any difficulty they obtain'd.

The Marshal at his taking leave, declar'd to the King how kindly his Master did conceive of the King's readines to conclude this Treaty, and also commended his Master's great Inclination to the Agreement thereof. Then he presented Monsieur Boys to be Ambassador Legier for the French, and the Marquis

† Duresme Place. R. Edw. Journal.

(o) For a Youth not fourteen Years old to make such an Extemporary Harangue as this, so grave and so wise, will pass most Readers Faith to believe. But our Author has dress'd up and improv'd by his own Eloquence, what this young King said in Answer to the French Ambassador: which he set down in his own Journal; and was to this Tenor, (marvellous enough for his Years) viz. 'That he thanked him [the French King] for his Order [of St. Michael, which this Ambassador brought to him] and all his Love, &c. And he [the King] would shew the like Love in all Points. For Rumors, that they were not always to be believed. That he did sometimes provide for the worst, but never did any Harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, he said, he would rather appease these Controversies with Words, than do any thing by Force. J. S.

1551. presented Mr. *Pickering* to be Ambassador for the King of *England* in *France*. The Reward of the *Marshal* was three thousand Pounds in Gold, besides a Diamond taken from the King's Finger; esteem'd worth an hundred and fifty Pounds; Monsieur *de Guise* had 1000 *l.* Monsieur *Chenault* 1000 *l.* Monsieur *Mortuillier* 500 *l.* the Secretary 500 *l.* and the Bishop of *Perigueux* 500 *l.* The Feastings were exceeding sumptuous; and at their return they were wafted over the Seas by certain of the King's Ships, by reason of the Wars between the Emperor and the *French* King. The Lord Marquis's Reward was afterwards delivered at *Paris*, worth 500 *l.* the Bishop of *Ely* 200 *l.* Sir *Philp Hobby*'s 150 *l.* and so were the Rewards of the rest.

The King
confers
Honours,
Octob. 11.

Now the King supposing his Estate to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his Joy and his Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour. The Lord Marquis *Dorset*, a Man for his harmless simplicity, neither mislik'd nor much regarded (p), was created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earl of *Warwick* was created Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marquis of *Winchester*; Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Cardiff*, was created Earl of *Pembroke*; Sir *Thomas Darcie*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, was created Lord *Darcie*; *William Cecil* was made one of the chief Secretaries (q); Mr. *John Cheek* the King's School-master, and one of the Guides of his Industry and Hope, and with him Mr. *Henry Dudley** and Mr. *Henry Nevill* of the Privy Chamber, were made Knights. And which was the Accomplishment of Mischief, Sir *Robert Dudley* one of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, a true Heir both of his Hate against Persons of Nobility, and of his cunning to dissemble the same, was sworn one of the Six ordinary Gentlemen (r). He was afterwards, for Lust and Cruelty, a Monster of the Court, as apt to hate, so a most sure Executioner of his Hate: yet rather by practice than open dealing, as wanting rather Courage than Wit. After his entertainment into a Place of so near Service, the King enjoy'd his Health not long. (f)

Duke of
Northum-
berland's
Greatness.

The Duke of *Northumberland* being now inferior unto none of the Nobility in Title of Honour, and superior to all in Authority and Power, could not restrain his haughty Hopes from aspiring to an absolute Command. But before he would directly level at his Mark, the Duke of *Somerset* was thought fit to be taken away, whose Credit was so great with the common People, that although it sufficed not to bear out any bad Attempt of his own, yet was it of force to cross the evil Purposes of others.

False Rumours of
the Duke of
Somerset.

And now to begin the third Act of his Tragedy, Speeches were cast that he caused him-

self to be proclaimed King in divers Countries; which albeit they were known to be false, in-
1551. somuch as the Miller's Servant at *Battle-bridge* in *Southwark*, lost both his Ears upon a Pillory for so reporting; yet the very naming of him to be King, either as desir'd by himself or by others esteem'd worthy, brought with it a distastful relish, apt to apprehend Suspicion to be true.

After this he was charged to have persuaded divers of the Nobility to chuse him Protector at the next Parliament. The Duke being questioned, neither held silence as he might, nor constantly deny'd it; but entangled himself in his doubtful Tale. One *Whaley* a busy-headed Man, and desirous to be set on work, gave first light to this Appeachment, but the Earl of *Rutland* did stoutly avouch it.

Herewith Sir *Thomas Palmer*, a Man neither Sir Tho. loving the Duke of *Somerset*, nor beloved of Palmer's him, was brought by the Duke of *Northum- Informa- berland* to the King, being in his Garden. Here Somer- he declar'd, that upon *St. George's* day last be- Oct. 7. fore, the Duke of *Somerset* being upon a Journey towards the North, in case Sir *William Herbert* Master of the Horse had not assured him that he should receive no Harm, would have raised the People; and that he had sent the Lord *Gray* before to know who would be his Friends: Also that the Duke of *Northum- berland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and other Lords, should be invited to a Banquet; and if they came with a bare Company, to be set upon by the way; if strongly, their Heads should have been cut off at the place of their Feasting. He declared Oct. 11. further, that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men in a readiness; that Sir *Thomas Arundell* had assur'd the Tower, that *Seymour* and *Hamond* would wait upon him, and that all the Horse of the *Gendarmorie* should be slain. To this Mr. Secretary *Cecil* added, that the Duke had sent for him, Oct. 14. and said, that he suspected some ill Meaning against him; whereto Mr. Secretary answer'd, that if he were not in Fault, he might trust to his Innocency; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

The Duke being advertis'd of these Informa- Palmer de- tions against him, by some who had some re- mys his In- gard of Honesty, did forthwith defy the Se- formation. cretary by his Letters. Then he sent for Sir *Thomas Palmer*, to understand what he had reported of him, who denied all that he had said: but by this hot and humourous striving, he did but draw the Knots more fast.

A few days being past, the Duke either ig- The Duke norant of what was intended, or fearing if he and Conspi- seemed to perceive it, came to the Court, but rators se- somewhat later then he accustomed. And as to red, Oct. 16. Minds possess'd with Fear, all things unusual seem to menace Danger; so this late coming of the Duke was enforc'd as a Suspicion against him:

(p) A disparaging Character given of a Great Man without much, if any ground for it. This Character I can give of him, that he was a great Friend to the Reformation, and a Patron of Learned Men. I have seen Letters from *Bucer* and *Bullinger* to him. And, which is instead of all that can be said of him, he was the Father of an admirable tho unfortunate Woman, the Lady *Jane Grey*. J. S.

(q) *Cecil* was made Secretary before now, namely, upon Dr. *Wotton's* resignation of that Office, which was Sept. 6. 1550. so it is certified in the King's Journal. But at this Promotion he was made a Knight. J. S.

(r) Sir *Robert Dudley* is not well placed here among those that received Titles of Honour at this time; since he with *Barnaby Fitz Patrick* were two Months before admitted and sworn of the King's Bed-Chamber, viz. Aug. 15. J. S.

(f) Of all the ill Characters our Author gives of Men, that he bestows upon Sir *Robert Dudley* is the worst: and giveth at last a Hint, as tho he was the wicked Instrument of the King's Death. 'Tis true, this Man was none of the best, but is represented worse than he was, especially by *Parsons* in his Book intitled *Lecesters Common-wealth*. Out of which our Author takes his Character for *Dudley*: When other more wary Men would hardly set down all for Truth that they read in that malicious Book, and wrote by so invenomed an Author. Undoubtedly Sir *Rob. Dudley* was a good Souldier, a gallant Courtier, a great Statesman, an Enemy to Papists, and a favourer of Learning. J. S.

1551. And so after dinner he was apprehended. Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Thomas Arundel, Hamonde, Nudigates, John Seymour and David Seymour were also made Prisoners; the Lord Gray being newly come out of the Country was attach'd. Sir Ralph Vane being twice sent for, fled. Upon the first Message it was reported that he said, that his Lord was not stout, and that if he could get home he cared not for any: but upon pursuit he was found in his Servants Stable at Lambeth, cover'd with straw. He was a Man of a fierce Spirit, both sudden and bold, of no evil Disposition, saying that he thought Scantiness of Estate too great an Evil. All these were the same night sent to the Tower, except Palmer, Arundel, and Vane, who were kept in the Court well guarded in Chambers apart. The day following the Dutchess of Somerset was sent to the Tower, no man grieving thereat, because her Pride and Baseness of Life overballanc'd all Pity; and doubtless if any Mischief were then contriv'd, whereof many were doubtful (every one giving forth as he believ'd) it was first hammer'd in the Forge of her wicked-working Brain; for she had always wicked Instruments about her, whom the more she found applicable to her Purposes, the more Favours she bestow'd upon them, who being engag'd by her into Dangers, held it dangerous to fall from her. Also with her were committed one Crane and his Wife, and her own Chamberwoman. After these follow'd Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Banister, Vaughan, and some others. In divers of these was then neither any cause known or afterwards discover'd, but the Number rais'd the greater Terror, and doubled the Conceit of the Danger.

Their Confessions.

Sir Thomas Palmer being again examin'd, added to his former Detection, that the Gendarmory upon the Muster-day should be assaulted by 2000 Foot under Sir Ralph Vane, and by 100 Horses of the Duke of Somerset's, besides his Friends which should stand by, and besides the idle People which were thought inclinable to take his part; that this done, he would run thro the City, and proclaim Liberty, and in case his Attempt did not succeed, he would go to the Isle of Wight or to Poole.

Crane confess'd for the most part as Palmer had done, and further added, that the Lord Paget's House was the Place, where the Nobility being invited to a Banquet, should have lost their Heads, and that the Earl of Arundel was made acquainted with the Practice by Sir Michael Stanhope; and that it had been done, but that the Greatness of the Enterprize caus'd Delays, and some diversity of Advice: and further said, that the Duke of Somerset once feigning himself sick, went to London to assay what Friends he could procure. This Crane was a Man, who having consum'd his own Estate, had arm'd himself to any Mischief.

Hamonde confess'd, that the Duke of Somerset's Chamber had been strongly watch'd at Greenwich by night.

All these were sworn before the Council, and the greatest part of the Nobility of the Realm, that their Confessions were true, and as favourably set down in behalf of the Duke as with a safe Conscience they could. And forthwith upon the Information of Crane, the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were

sent to the Tower, so were Stradley and St. Albans, Servants to the Earl of Arundel. The Lord Strange voluntarily inform'd, how the Duke desir'd him to move the King to take to Wife his third Daughter the Lady Jane, and that he would be his Especial about the King, to advertise him when any of the Council spake privately with him, and to acquaint him what they said.

Hereupon to give some publick Satisfaction to the People, the Lord Chancellor who had Words at will, and Wit enough to apply them, declar'd openly in the Star-chamber all these Accusations against the Duke of Somerset: these Accusations were also publish'd to all Emperors, Kings, Embassadors, and Chief Men in any State, wherein these matters were compris'd. By other Letters the Muster of the Gendarmory was defer'd for certain months: Other Letters were directed to Sir Arthur Darcy, to take charge of the Tower, and to discharge Sir Arthur Markham, for that without acquainting any of the Lords of the Council, he suffer'd the D. of Somerset to walk abroad, and permitted Intercourses of Letters between David Seymor and Mrs. Poynes.

The Lord Chancellor in the Star-chamber declares these Accusations of the Duke, Octob. 24.

Whilst these Matters were in traverse, A Message Messengers arriv'd from Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Duke of Mecklenburge, and John Marquiss of Brandenburge, Princes of the Religion in Germany, to understand the King's mind, whether he would agree to aid them with 400000 Dollars, in case any Necessity should assail them, they consenting to do the like to him, in case he should be overcharg'd with War. The King gave them an uncertain Answer, but gentle and full of fair Hopes, that because their Message was only to know the King's Inclination, and not to conclude, he could give them no other Answer than this, that he was well inclin'd to join in Amity with them whom he knew to agree with him in Religion; but first he was desirous to know whether they could procure such Aid from other Princes, as might enable them to maintain their Wars, and to assist him if need should require. And therefore he willed them to break this matter to the Duke of Prussia and other Princes about them, and to procure the Good-will of Hamborough, Lubeck, and Breme. Then he desir'd that the matter of Religion should be plainly set down, left under pretence thereof Wars should be made for other Quarrels. Lastly, he willed that they should furnish themselves with more ample Instructions from their Lords, to commune and conclude of all Circumstances pertaining to that Business.

The King's Answer, Nov. 14.

The King's Answer was fram'd with these Uncertainties and Delays, lest if the King had assur'd his Consent at the first, it might have been taken as Breach of League with the Emperor. Afterwards they and other Princes of Germany made a League offensive and defensive with the French King against the Emperor. Into which the French King desir'd the King of England to come; but because the French King was the Chief of the League, the King did plainly perceive that the War was not for the cause of Religion. Wherefore he answer'd that he could not do it without breach of his League with the Emperor, against whom having no pretence of Hostility, he was not so desirous of Wars, as without just cause of his own to pull them upon him.

Vol. II

Tt

About

1551.
The King
Godfather
to the Fr.
King's Son,
Nov. 16.

Duke of
Somerset
brought to
his Trial,
Dec. 1.

About the same time the Lord Admiral was sent into France, as the King's Deputy, to be Godfather at the Baptism of the French King's Son: also a French Man who had committed a Murder at Diepe, and fled into England, was remitted into France, and deliver'd upon the Borders to receive Justice by the same Laws against which he had offended.

And now the Duke of Northumberland being impatient of long-working Wickedness, the fourth Act of the Duke of Somerset's Tragedy must not be delay'd, lest thereby Fear abating (as being false it could not be durable) either the King's gentle Disposition, or the Love which he had formerly born to his Uncle, might haply return to their natural working. So the Duke of Somerset, after a short abode (t) in the Tower, was brought to his Trial at Westminster. The Lord William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester and Lord Treasurer, sat as High Steward of England, under a Cloth of State, on a Bench mounted three degrees; the Peers to the number of 27 sat on a Bench one step lower. These were the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suffolk, Worcester, Pembroke, and Viscount Hereford. The Barons Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray.

First the Indictments were read, in number five: containing a Charge of raising Men in the North Parts of the Realm, and at his House of assembling Men to kill the Duke of Northumberland, of resisting his Attachment, of killing the Gendarmory, of raising London, of assaulting the Lords, and devising their Deaths. When the Prisoner had pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon Trial of his Peers, the Examinations before-mention'd were read, and by the King's learned Council press'd against him. Hereto albeit he was both unskilful and much appalled (Causes sufficient to drive him out of matters) yet after a short Intreaty, that Words either idly or angerly spoken might not be enforc'd to any high Crew, to the Points objected he answer'd.

The Duke's
Apology for
himself.

That he never intended to raise the North Parts of the Realm, but upon some Bruits he apprehended a Fear, which mov'd him to send to Sir William Herbert to remain his Friend. That he determin'd not to kill the Duke of Northumberland or any other Lord, but spake of it only, and determin'd the contrary. That it had been a mad Enterprize with his 100 Men to assail the Gendarmory consisting of 900, when in case he had prevail'd, it would nothing have avail'd the pretended Purpose. And therefore this being senseless and absurd, must needs discredit other matters, which otherwise might have

been believ'd. That at London he never projected any stir, but ever held it a good place for his Surety. That for having Men in his Chamber at Greenwich, it was manifest he meant no harm, because when he might have done it he did not. And further, against the Persons of them, whose Examinations had been read against him, he objected many things, desiring they might be brought to his face, which in regard he was a Person of Dignity and Estate, he claim'd to be reasonable: Especially against Sir Thomas Palmer he spake much Evil, and yet in opinion of many far short of the Truth. Hereto no answer was made, but that the worse they were, the fitter they were to be his Instruments. Fit Instruments indeed, said he, but rather for others than for me.

The Fact being made, the King's learned Council avouch'd the Law to be, to assemble Men with intent to kill the Duke of Northumberland, was Treason by a Statute of the 3d and 4th of King Edward then reigning, made against unlawful Assemblies; that to raise London or the North Parts of the Realm was Treason; that to mind resisting his Attachment was Felony; that to assault the Lords, and to devise their Deaths, was Felony. But under favour of their Judgment, the Statute alledg'd bears no such Sense, either for Treason or for Felony. Indeed by a Statute of K. Henry 7. it is Felony for inferior Persons to contrive the Death of a Lord of the Council, but Lords are therein expressly excepted.

The Lords went together, and first the Duke of Suffolk nobly said, that he held it not reasonable, that this being but a Contention between private Subjects, under pretension thereof any mean Action should be drawn to Intention of Treason. The Duke of Northumberland (in countenance bearing shew of Sadness, but in truth stiffly obstinate) deny'd that he would ever consent that any Practice against him should be either imputed or reputed to be Treason; yet this was not taken to proceed from Modesty, as he expected, but for that he could not with his Honour or with Reason so enforce it.

The Marquis of Northampton was cross'd and contentious with many, but never reply'd to any Answer; a manifest mark of no strong Spirit (v). Some of the rest plainly brake forth, that they held it unfit that the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke should be of the Trial, because the Prisoner was chiefly charg'd with Practices intended against them. But hereto answer was made, that a Peer of the Realm might not be challeng'd. After much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner at the Bar was acquit of Treason, but by most Voices (most favouring the Duke of Northumberland) was found guilty of Felony. Here-

The Lords
consult to-
gether of
the Duke's
Cause.

Brought in
guilty of
Felony.

(t) That is, from the 16th of October to the 1st of December.

(v) This was rather a sign of no contentious Spirit, and that delighted not in sending and proving, as we say. But if our Author means a Meanness and Lowness of Spirit, this forbearing of Replies is no such manifest sign of that; because sometimes this Sparingness of Words and Slowness of Reply proceeds from Wisdom and Discretion. But where our Author met with this Account of the Marquis, I know not; he was certainly able enough to make Replies, if he had pleas'd, being of a very gay Disposition, and addicted to Pleasure: as may be judged from this Passage, that at his Trial under Q. Mary, when he was with the Duke of Northumberland charged with High Treason, he pleaded for himself, that in the midst of those Conspiracies for the setting up the Lady Jane Gray, &c. he was intent to Hunting and other Sports. And Camden at the Year 1571. wherein this Marquis died, gives him this Character, That he was a Man very well versed in the more delightful sorts of Studies, as Music, Love-toys, and other courtly Dalliances. J. S.

1551. upon Judgment follow'd, that he should be hang'd; but this would never have gone so hard, had they not prosecuted all under pretence of Treason.

The Duke of Somerset might have crav'd his Clergy, but he suffer'd Judgment to pass, thank'd the Lords for his gentle Trial, crav'd Pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquiss of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, for his ill meaning against them, and made suit for his Life, in pity to his Wife, Children, and Servants, and in regard of Payment of his Debts. As he departed, because he was acquit of Treason, the Ax of the Tower was not openly carry'd; whereupon the People supposing that he was altogether acquit, shouted half a dozen times so loud, that they were heard beyond Charing-Cross. It is certain the People favour'd him the more, because they saw that there was much secret Hate born against him. But as this immoderate Favour of the Multitude did him no good, so will it undo so many as shall trust unto it. It was told the King, that after the Duke's Return to the Tower, he acknowledged to certain Lords, that he had hired *Bartuile* to make them away, that *Bartuile* confes'd so much, and that *Hamonde* was not ignorant thereof; which whether it were

true, or whether devis'd to make the King more estrang'd from him, of Judgment could not hold themselves assur'd.

About this time *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, a Man famous in those times for Learning and Integrity of Life, was sent to the Tower for Concealment of (I know not what) Treason, written to him I know not by whom, and not discover'd until (what shall I call) the Party did reveal it. (w) But the Lord Chancellor *Rich* having built a fair Estate, and perceiving what nimble Ears were born to listen after Treason, also for that a Parliament was towards, wherein he was doubtful what Questions might arise, made suit to the King, that in regard of the Infirmities of his Body, he might be discharge'd of his Office; giving good Example to Men, sometimes by their own Moderation to avoid Disgrace. So he deliver'd the Seal at his House in Great St. Bartholomew's to the D. of Northumberland and the E. of Pembroke, sent by the King with Commission to receive it (x). The same Seal was forthwith deliver'd to Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, a Man if haply able to discharge the Place, assuredly no more (y). It was first deliver'd unto him only during the Sicknefs of the Lord *Rich*, but in short time after he was sworn Lord Chancellor,

1551.

Tunstall Bp of Durham sent to the Tower.

L. Chancellor Rich resigns his Office.

(w) Our Author writes not like an Historian, in giving us so lame an account of the Imprisonment of this Bishop. In the King's Journal he met with his Commitment for Concealment of Treason. And because he read no more Particulars of it, he would hint as tho his Imprisonment were unjust, and would cast the Imputation of it upon the State, as a piece of Forgery and Oppression. Whereas by the Minutes of the Council-Book, and the Book of Warrants to the Seal, the Particulars of this Matter appear. It was for consenting, about July 1550. to a Conspiracy in the North, for the raising a Rebellion. One *Ninian Menvile* of *Stedwich* in the Bishopric of *Durham*, Esq; accused the said Bishop of *Durham* of this in a Writing. To which the Bishop made his Answer. And *Menvile* again replied to the same. But for want of a Letter written by the Bishop to *Menvile*, whereupon depended a great Trial of this matter, the Determination thereof was for some time staid: and the Bishop only commanded to keep his House (he lodged now in the late Monastery of *White Monks on Tower-hill*) until he should be called to further Answer. This Letter afterwards came to light, being found in a Cask of the Duke of Somerset's, after his last Apprehension. Upon this the Bishop was sent for, and December the 20th, 1551. he made his Appearance before the Lords. By whom being charg'd with this matter, and his own Letter produced against him (I repeat the Words of the Council-Book) which he could not deny but to be of his own Hand, and unable to make any further Answer thereto than he had done before by Writing, he was (for that the same seem'd not a sufficient Answer) committed by the King's Commandment to the Tower of *London*. And there was a special Commission appointed for his Trial, dated in October 1552. to Sir *Roger Cholmely*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Richard Read*, and divers others both of the Common and Civil Law, to call before them *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Durham*, and to examine him of all manner of Conventicles, Conspiracies, Contempts, Concealments, &c. And if found guilty, to deprive him of his Bishopric, and otherwise to do in the Premises according to their Wilsdoms. In fine, he was found guilty, and deprived the 14th of October, or the 11th, according to the King's Journal. And in November following a Grant was made to *Rob. Horne*, Professor of Divinity and Dean of *Durham*, of the said Bishopric: Which however he would not accept of. And *Menvile* for his Service, in making this Information, was rewarded by the King with the Gift of an 100 l.

A. Har-mar's Specimen. p. 109. Warrant-Book.

And a year before this, viz. July 8. 1551. the Dean of *Durham* (whose Name was *Whitehead*) was ordered by the Privy Council to answer in Writing unto such Matters as he was charged with at his being before the Council, and in such sort as he would stand to at his peril. And in October the Council wrote a Letter to the L. Treasurer, L. Chamberlain, Secretary *Cecil*, and Mr. *Majon*, to hear and examine the Bishop and Dean of *Durham*'s Case, and to make them Report of the same. So that this Dean seems to be involved in the same Accusation with the Bishop. But he died soon after. *J. S.*

(x) Those that were sent by the King to receive the Great Seal from the Lord *Rich*, were the Marquiss of Winchester, the L. Treasurer, the Duke of Northumberland, L. President of the Council, and the Lord *Darcy*, L. Chamberlain of the Household. These only were sent (the L. Pembroke was none of them) who brought Letters from the King, dated the 21st of December, in the Fifth of his Reign, to the said L. *Rich* for that purpose. Who accordingly delivered up the Great Seal into their hands; and it was brought to the King. Which he, not forthwith delivered to Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely* (as our Author writeth) but keeping it with him all that day and all that night, and the next morning till about ten of the clock, delivered to the said Bishop, to keep *Durante Beneplacito*.

The Occasion of the King's sending for the Seal our Author suggests to be, the L. *Rich*'s Warinefs to avoid danger of Life or Estate, Crimes being then so studiously laid to mens Charge that had to do in public Matters; and so desirous handsomly to quit that great Office, he pretended Infirmity of Body. But, according to the King's Journal, his Sicknefs is mentioned as the real Cause: and therefore the Seal was delivered at first to the Bishop of *Ely*, only during his Sicknefs. It is certain the said L. *Rich* was this year visited, at his House called *Leez* in *Essex*, with Sicknefs, and forty more of his Family, as the King writeth in his Journal. The Distemper perhaps was the Ague that raged in those times, or some other infectious Disease; the Relicks whereof might well hang upon him this *Michaelmas* Term, and in the declining of the Year, being now at his *London* House. For in October the L. Chancellor being indisposed, the Chancery Matters were dispatched by the Master of the Rolls, and some Judges and Civilians appointed by Commission. And lying now under some Displeasure at Court, for deferring presently to set the Great Seal to somewhat only upon a Letter under some few Counsellors hands, they might take this opportunity of his Indisposition to get him displaced. *J. S.*

(y) According to the common Custom of Sir *John Hayward*, here is a disparaging Character given of the Bishop of *Ely*, as to his Abilities. This Man was long accustomed to Business, from R. Henry the Eighth's time to this present. In K. Edward's Reign he was in many weighty Commissions, and a Privy Counsellor: employed in several Embassies, and particularly in the great and splendid Embassy to France, Anno 1551. with several other eminent Persons. In his Office of Chancellor he is noted by Archbishop *Parker*, in a Letter of his, for his impartial Administration of Justice. He was also a Churchman that was very instrumental in promoting of the Reformation of Religion, and purging it

1551. Chancellor, because as Keeper of the Seal he could not then execute such matters as were to be dispatch'd in Parliament.

The King diverted.

And now after Judgment against *Somerſet*, the Lords were not negligent to entertain the King with all Delights they could devise, partly to win the King's Favour, but especially to convert his Thoughts from his condemn'd Uncle. To this end they often presented him with stately Masques, brave Challenges at Tilt and at Barriers, and whatsoever Exercises or Disports they could conjecture to be best pleasing to him. Then also he first began to keep Hall, and the Christmas time was pass'd over with Banquetings, Masques, Plays, and much other variety of Mirth. Often they would call him to serious Affairs, wherein he took especial Pleasure. Sometimes they would remember him how dangerous the Duke of *Somerſet* was, who having made away his only Brother, contriv'd the Death of the Chief of the Nobility. And where (say they) would his Mischief have rested? Would it have rag'd against all, and left the King only untouch'd? Verily, having been always both cruel and false, there would have been no end of his Mischief, and all his Submissions must now be taken for counterfeit and dissembled: But his Avarice and Ambition once remov'd, the way will be laid open to Virtue and Merit.

A. 1552.

The Duke beheaded.
Jan. 22.

So about two months after his Judgment, the fifth and last Act of his Tragedy was brought upon the Stage. When being so often expos'd to Fortune's mercy before, he was plac'd by a strong Guard upon a Scaffold at Towerhill, about eight of the clock in the morning, to suffer Death: and albeit strait Charge had been given the day before to every Householder in the City, not to permit any to depart out of their Houses before ten of the clock that day, yet the People the more unruly by this Restraint, by such thick Throngs swarm'd to the place, that before seven of the clock the Hill was cover'd, and all the Chambers which open'd towards the Scaffold were taken up.

His Speech on the Scaffold.

Here the Duke first avow'd to the People, that his Intentions had been not only harmless in regard of particular Persons, but driving to the common Benefit both of the King and of the Realm. Then he exhorted them unto Obedience, assuring them that no Persons could justly avouch their Faith to God, who were not faithful to their King.

But herewith behold certain Persons of a Hamlet near, who had been warn'd by the Lieutenant of the Tower to attend that morning about seven of the clock, coming after their hour thro the Postern, and perceiving the Prisoner to be mounted upon the Scaffold, began to run, and to call to their Fellows to come away. The suddenness of their coming, the haste that they made, the Weapons they carry'd, but especially the word, *Come away*, being often doubled, mov'd many of the nearest to surmise that a Power was come to receive the Duke, whereupon many cry'd with high Voice, *Away, Away*. The Cry of those and the coming on of the other, cast amazement upon the rest, so much the more terrible, because no Man knew what he fear'd or wherefore, every Man conceiving that which his astonish'd Fancy did cast in his mind; some imagin'd that it thunder'd, others that it was an Earthquake, others that the Powder in the Armory had taken fire, others that Troops of Horsemen approach'd. In which medly of Conceits they bare down one another, and jostled many into the Tower-Ditch, and long it was before the vain Tumult could be appeas'd.

No sooner were the People settled in quiet, and the Duke beginning to finish his Speech, but upon another idle Apprehension they fell to be no less riotous in Joy than they had been in Fear. For Sir *Anthony Brown* coming on horseback upon the spur, gave occasion whereby many entertain'd hope that he brought a Pardon; whereupon a great Shout was rais'd, *A Pardon, A Pardon, God save the King*. But the Duke of *Somerſet* express'd great Constancy at both these times, often desiring the People to remain quiet, that he might quietly end his Life. For, said he, *I have often look'd Death in the face, upon great Adventures in the Field, he is now no Stranger to me; and among all the vain Mockeries of this World, I repent me of nothing more than in esteeming Life more dear than I should. I have endur'd the Hate of Great Persons; so much the more dangerous, because unjust. I have incur'd Displeasure from Inferiors, not always for any great Faults of my own (albeit I was never free) but for giving way to the Faults of others. And now being constantly resolv'd, I neither fear to die, nor desire to live; and having master'd all Grief in my self, I desire no man to sorrow for me (z).* So having testify'd his Faith to God, and his Faithfulness to the King, he yielded

from the old Superstitions, both in *K. Henry's* and *K. Edward's* Reigns; and one of the Compilers of the Book of Common Prayer. He bred up Learned Men in his Family. Dr. Cox, who was *K. Edward's* Instructor, and after succeeded in this Bishopric, was his Chaplain; and the most Learned Dr. Smith, afterwards Secretary of State, and a Knight, was his Chancellor. To Foreigners, especially Professors of the Gospel, he was a Patron and Friend; as particularly the Noble *Polonian Alasco*, and *Petrus Valentius* a French Protestant, whom he made his Chaplain and Almoner. J. S.

(z) Our Author hath a way of making Speeches for men; and taking too much Liberty therein, to make them speak more or otherwise than they did, not to say, contrary to what they themselves uttered. In the Speech of this good Duke, as here represented, are several things omitted which he spake, and other Passages added which he spake not. And therefore it may not be amiss to set down here more truly the last Words of so great a Personage. And that I will do from *John Fox*, a diligent Historian, who lived in those Times, and had his Intelligence from a noble Person, then near the Duke upon the Scaffold, and who carefully marked all things.

Acts and Mon. ad

An. 1552.

The Duke of Somerſet's last Words.

The Duke addressing to the People with the Compellation of *Dearly beloved Friends*, said, 'That he was brought thither to suffer Death, altho he never offended against the King, neither by Word nor Deed; but had always been as faithful and true unto this Realm, as any Man had been. But forasmuch as he was by a Law condemned to die, he acknowledged himself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore to testify his Obedience which he ought unto the Laws, he was come thither to suffer Death: whereunto he willingly offered himself, with most hearty Thanks unto God, that had given him this time of Repentance; who might by sudden Death have taken away his Life, that neither he should have acknowledged God, nor himself.

'That there was yet somewhat he must put them in mind of, as touching the Christian Religion; which so long as he was in Authority, he always diligently set forth and furthered to his power. And he did not repent him of his Doings, but rejoiced therein; since now the State of Religion came most near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive Church.

1552. yielded his Body into the Executioner's Hand, who with one Stroke of the Ax cut off all his confus'd Cogitations and Cares; the more pity'd by the People, for the known Hate of Northumberland against him.

His Character. Assuredly he was a Man harmless and faithful, and one who never hatch'd any Hopes prejudicial to the King, but always intended his Safety and Honour; but hard it is for Greatness to stand, when it is not sustain'd

Beloved by the People. by the proper Strength. The People, whose Property it is by excessive Favour to bring Great Men to Misery, and then to be excessive in Pity, departed away griev'd and afraid, and yet fear'd to seem to be afraid, and for this cause chiefly did never bear good mind to Northumberland afterwards, altho in shew they dissimled the contrary; for nothing is more easy than to discern when People observe Great Men from the Heart, or when they do it for fashion or for fear: and as it often happens, that Men oppress'd work revenge after their Deaths, so the Remembrance of Somerset much mov'd the People to fall from Northumberland in his greatest Attempt, and to leave him to his fatal Fall, whereat they openly rejoic'd, and presented to him Handkerchiefs dip'd in the Blood of Somerset, for whom they thought he deserv'd rather late than undeserv'd Punishment. So certain it is that the Debts both of Cruelty and Mercy go never unpaid. I omit the mean Scourges of Conscience: For assuredly a Body cannot be so torn with Stripes, as a Mind is with remembrance of wicked Actions. But of him more hereafter shall be said, and how his Greatness turn'd to be Fortune's Scorn.

The Nobility flatter and comply with him. But outwardly and for the present he gain'd a great hand over the Nobility; who soon observing that he was able to endanger the Estate of the greatest, and that the more Respect they did bear to him, the more safely they liv'd and the more easily advanc'd to Honour, they all contended to creep into his Humour, to watch his Words, his Gestures, his Looks, and to do that as of themselves, which they conceiv'd he had a desire they should do.

The King's Reflections. But the King, albeit at the first he gave no token of any ill-temper'd Passion, as taking it not agreeable to Majesty openly to

1552. declare himself, and albeit the Lords did much help to dispel any dampy Thoughts which the Remembrance of his Uncle might raise, by applying him with great variety of Exercises and Disports; yet upon speech of him afterwards, he would often sigh and let fall tears: sometimes he was of opinion that he had done nothing that deserv'd Death, or if he had, that it was very small, and proceeded rather from his Wife than from himself. And where then, said he, was the Good-Nature of a Nephew? Where was the Clemency of a Prince? Ah! how unfortunate have I been to those of my Blood? My Mother I slew at my very Birth, and since have made away two of her Brothers, and haply to make a way for the Purposes of others against my self. Was it ever known before that a King's Uncle, a Lord Protector, one whose Fortunes had much advanc'd the Honour of the Realm, did lose his Head for Felony, a Felony neither clear in Law, and in fact weakly prov'd? Alas! how falsely have I been abus'd? How weakly carry'd? How little was I Master over my own Judgment, that both his Death and the Envy thereof must be charg'd upon me? (a)

Not long after the Death of Somerset, because it was not thought fit that such a Person should be executed alone, who could hardly be thought to offend alone, Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge were hang'd on Tower-hill; Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Tho. Arundel were there also beheaded. All these took it upon their last Charge, that they never offended against the King, nor against any of his Council. God knows whether obstinately secret, or whether innocent; and in the opinion of all Men Somerset was much clear'd by the Death of those who were executed to make him appear faulty.

Sir Ralph Vane was charg'd with conspiring with Somerset; but his bold Answers, term'd rude and ruffian-like, falling into Years apt to take offence, either only caus'd, or much further'd his Condemnation. For besides his natural Fierceness inflam'd by his present Disgrace, he was the more free by reason of his great Services in the Field. The time hath been, said he, when I was of some esteem, but now we are in Peace which reputeth the Coward and Courageous alike: and so

* Church. Which thing he esteemed as a great Benefit given of God both unto them and him: and most heartily exhorted them all, that this which was most purely set forth unto them, they would with all Thankfulness accept and embrace, and set the same forth in their Living; which thing if they did not, without doubt greater Mischief and Calamity would follow.

Then the Duke stop'd a while upon certain Hurly-Burlyes occasionally happening among the People. One Cause thereof was by Sir Anthony Brown's coming, and riding towards the Scaffold; by whom the People thought a Pardon was brought: but proving no such thing, the Duke proceeded, telling them, 'That there was no such matter as they hoped or believed. That so it seemed good unto Almighty God, whose Ordinance it was meet and necessary that we all should be obedient to. Wherefore he prayed them all to be quiet, and to be contented with his Death, which he was most willing to suffer. And then prayed them to join in Prayer unto the Lord for the Preservation of the King's Majesty; unto whom hitherto he had always shewed himself a most faithful and true Subject. That he had always been most diligent about his Majesty in his Affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common Commodity of the whole Realm. [At which Words all the People cry'd out, *It was most true.*] That unto the King's Majesty he wished continual Health, with all Felicity and prosperous Success. [Whereunto all the People cry'd out again, *Amen.*] He wished moreover unto all his Counsellors the Grace and Favour of God, whereby they might rule in all things uprightly with Justice. Unto whom he exhorted them all in the Lord to shew themselves obedient, as it was their bounden Duty, under the pain of Condemnation; and also most profitable for the Preservation and Safeguard of the King's Majesty.

* That forasmuch as heretofore he had oftentimes Affairs with divers Men (and hard it was to please every Man) therefore if there were any that had been offended or injured by him, he most humbly required and asked him Forgiveness; and especially Almighty God, whom throughout all his Life he had most grievously offended. And all other, whatsoever they were, that had offended him, he did with all his whole Heart forgive them.

* Then once again he required them, that they would keep themselves quiet and still, lest thro their Tumult they might trouble him. For albeit the Spirit were willing and ready, the Flesh was frail and wavering: And that thro their Quietness he should be much more quiet himself. And he desired them all to bear him witness, that he did there in the Faith of Jesus Christ; desiring them likewise to help him with their Prayers, that he might persevere constant in the same unto his Life's end. J. S.

(a) A good Speech made for the King, but not by him. J. S.

with

1552. with an obstinate Resolution he made choice rather not to regard Death, than by any Submission to intreat for Life. Indeed it was well known that he had been famous for Service, but therewith it was well known by whose Favour he had been famous.

Sir Tho. Arundel. Sir Thomas Arundel was with some difficulty condemn'd; for his Cause was brought to Trial about seven of the clock in the morning, about noon the Jurors went together, and because they could not agree, they were shut in a House all the residue of that day, and all the night following. The next morning they found him guilty. Unhappy Man! who found the doing of any thing or of nothing dangerous alike.

Sir Miles Partridge. Sir Miles Partridge and Sir Michael Stanhope were condemn'd, as Confociates in the Conspiracy of Somerset. Both reputed indifferently dispos'd to bad or good, yet neither of them of that Temper, as to dare any dangerous Fact; either because they were so indeed, or because their Favour or Alliance with the Dutcheffs of Somerset made them to be of less esteem.

L. Paget. Garter King at Arms was sent to the Lord Paget, Prisoner in the Tower, to take from him the Garter and the George, and to discharge him of that Order. The Pretence of this Dishonour, was because he was said to be no Gentleman of Blood, neither by Father nor by Mother. The Garter and the George were forthwith bestow'd upon the Earl of Warwick, eldest Son to the Duke of Northumberland. About this time the Order was almost wholly alter'd, as by the Statutes thereof then made it appears. (b)

After these Times few Matters of high nature or observable note happen'd in England during King Edward's Life. Of these I will select such as I esteem most fit for History, both as being publick, and as containing matter of some regard, not always observing the just Order of Time, but sometime Coherence or Propinquity of Matter.

Sir Phil. Hobby sent to Flanders, April 26. Sir Philip Hobby was sent to pay 62000 pounds at Antwerp, for Payment of which Sum the King stood to divers Persons engag'd. This done, he went to the Regent then lying at Brussels, to declare unto her certain Grievances of the English Merchants

Adventurers; but he receiv'd nothing but fair Promises, which prov'd deceivable. Afterwards Monsieur de Couriers came from the Regent to the King, to understand more particularly the Complaints of the Merchants, and therewith to desire, that her Subjects Ships might safely take harbour in any of the King's Havens. For the first a Note of the Merchants Complaints was deliver'd in writing, but answer was defer'd for want of Instructions, an usual Pretence in like Affairs. Touching the second, answer was made, that the King had given order that Flemish Ships should not be molested in any of his Havens, which appear'd in that they were there always rescu'd from the Pursuit and Chase of the French; but he thought it not fit that more should enter his Havens at once, than he had power to govern. Assuredly the Merchants Adventurers have been often wrong'd and wring'd to the quick, but were never quick and lively in Thanks to those by whose Endeavours they were freed.

The same Merchants exhibited a Bill at the Council-Table against the Merchants of the Stilyard. After answer by those of the Stilyard, and reply by the Adventurers, it was conceiv'd upon view of divers Charters, that the Merchants of the Stilyard were no sufficient Corporation, and that their Number, Names, and Nation could not be known: Also that when they had forfeited their Liberties, King Edward the Fourth restor'd them, upon condition that they should cover no Strangers Goods, which they had not observ'd. And again, whereas at the beginning they ship'd not above 80 Cloths, after that 100, afterwards 1000, after that 6000, at that time 44000 Cloths were ship'd every year in their names, and not above 1100 by all Strangers besides. Wherefore albeit certain Embassadors from Hamburg and Lubeck spake much in their behalf, yet a Decree was made, that they had forfeited their Liberties, and were in the same condition with other Strangers. And albeit they made great Moans afterwards, yet could they not procure this Sentence to be revers'd. (c)

(d) A Commission was granted to 8 Bishops, 8 other Divines, 8 Civilians, and 8 common Lawyers,

The King keeps Maundy Thursday.

(b) The old Custom of the Kings of England on Maundy Thursday was observed by K. Edward this Year 1552. being now fifteen years old. I find this Order in his Warrant-Book: 'A Warrant to Sir Rafe Sadler [Keeper of the Wardrobe] to deliver to Richard Cecyl and Robert Robotham, Yeomen of the Robes, 15 Gowns of gray marble Cloth, 15 Pair of single-soled Shoes, and 45 Ells of Linen Cloth, to be given to 15 poor Men on Maundy Thursday. J.S.

(c) In this Year, viz. 1552. the King being 15 years of Age, was mightily improved, and had attained to no ordinary Degrees of Knowledge and Learning: For he understood many Languages; as, besides his Mother Tongue English, Latin and Greek, French, Italian and Spanish, and more perhaps: and some of them he spake readily, as the Latin and the French. He was skilful in the Sciences of Logic and Music, understood Natural Philosophy: and as he was a King, he carried himself with the Majesty and Gravity of a King; yet with much Sweetness and Obligingness too. The Fame of him made Hieronymus Cardanus, a learned Italian, eminent for Astrology and Philosophy, come into England this Year to see King Edward; and presented him a Book de Rerum Varietate, which he had dedicated to him. When he was brought to the King, and offered his Book, the King forthwith discoursed learnedly and promptly in Latin with him; asking him first about the Subject of his Book, and then argued with him philosophically and critically concerning Comets, according to the account he had given of them. Which made the Italian amazed: so that afterwards in a Book of his De Genituris, he gave him a very high Elogium; extolling him, from his own Knowledge, to be a Youth of such extraordinary Parts and Expectations, that he seemed to be brought up for a Miracle of Human Nature. This and much more Cardan writ of him: Which our English Historians, our Author, Dr. Heylin, Bp Burnet, in their Histories of the Reformation, and Fox in his Martyrology before them all, make use of. The two last have thought fit to transcribe the very Words of Cardan, and to translate them into English, for the Use of English Readers. One of the Characters of this Prince was, Aderant illi Gratia; which the Bishop translates shortly and more obscure, viz. All the Graces were in him: But Fox, who understood Latin singularly well, could not express it in fewer words than these, That there was in him a towardly Disposition, and Pregnancy apt to all human Literature. J.S.

What was done as to a new Body of Matter ran in this Tenour only; For the Reformation of the Canon Law; and, For the drawing and ordering of the Ecclesiastical Canon Law; and, For the Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Law. Nor did it take no Effect: For it took Effect so far, that

1552.
A Commis-
sion for
compiling
Ecclesiasti-
cal Laws.

Lawyers, in all 32. to set forth Ecclesiastical Laws, agreeable to the Nature both of the People and of the Religion then establish'd in the Church of England, but it took no effect. For neither the number of the Commissioners being many, nor the Quality of them, being Persons both in great Offices and divers far remote, could afford Meetings for so great a Business. Also the Difference both of Professions and of Ends, did of necessity raise much difference in Judgment.

Order for
the King's
six Chap-
lains.

The King had six Chaplains in Ordinary; touching whose Attendance in Court an Order was made, that two should remain with the King by turns, and four should travel in Preaching abroad. The first Year two in Wales, and two in Lincolnshire, the next Year two in the Marshes of Scotland and two in Yorkshire. The third Year two in Devonshire and two in Hampshire. The fourth Year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex, and so thro all the Shires in England; which happily did not only serve for a spiritual End, namely Instruction in Religion, but did also advance a temporal Purpose of peaceable Obedience. For as rude untrain'd Minds are not only easily drawn but inclinable of themselves to Sedition and Tumult, so by Learning and Religion Men are especially both reduc'd and retain'd in civil Quiet.

The Coun-
cil divides
into sever-
al Com-
missions,
March 3.

For better Dispatch of Business of divers Natures, the Body of the Council was divided into several Commissions. Some were appointed for hearing those Suits which were usually brought before the whole Table, to send mat-

ters of Justice to their proper Courts, to give full denial to such as they should not esteem reasonable, to certify what they thought meet to be granted, and upon Allowance thereof to dispatch the Parties. Others were appointed to consider of Penal Laws and Proclamations in force, and to quicken the Execution of the most Principal. These were directed first to consider what Principal Laws and Proclamations were most needful to be executed. Then to inquire in the Countries how they were disobey'd, and first to punish greatest Offenders, and afterwards to proceed to the rest. Lastly, that they should inquire what other Disorders were either dangerous or offensive in every Shire, and either to punish the Offenders, or else to report their Judgment therein. Others were appointed to attend Occurrences of State at large, with whom the King did sit once every Week to hear matters of greatest moment debated, because in these high Passages nothing was thought to be done truly with Majesty, nothing agreeable to the Dignity of the State, but in the Presence of the King. Generally all the Council agreed that none of them should make Suit to the King for Land or Forfeitures above 20*l.* or for Reversion of Leafes, or any other extraordinary Matter, until the State of his Revenues should be further known.

1552.

Besides these Commissions another went forth to oversee and order the King's Revenues, and to cut off superfluous Charges, to oversee all Courts, especially those of new Erection, as the Court of Augmentation, and of first-Fruits

Commission
for the K's
Revenue.

that a Book of Laws was drawn up, and compleatly finished, and wanted nothing but the King's Confirmation and Authority. But his Death and some other Causes, unhappily prevented.

But the King had it in his Mind, and in his Heart. I have seen a rough Draught of the King's last Will, drawn up by Secretary Petre, wherein he gave this Order to his Executors, 'That they should diligently travel to cause godly Ecclesiastical Laws to be made and set forth: Such as may be agreeable with the Reformation of Religion received within the Realm. And that done, shall also cause the Canon Laws to be abolished.'

But to relate this remarkable Piece of History in this Reign, from the Council Book and elsewhere. In October 1551. the Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to make out Commission to 32 Persons, viz. 8 Bishops. Canterbury, London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Bath, and Rochester: 8 Divines, Taylor of Lincoln, Cox, Parker, Latimer, Cook, Martyr, Cheek, Alasco: 8 Civilians, Petre, Cecil, Sir Thomas Smith, Taylor of Hadley, May, Traheron, Lyel, Skinner: 8 common Lawyers, Justice Hales, Justice Bromley, Goodrick, Gosnald, Stamford, Carrel, Lucas, Brook: To authorize them to assemble together, and to resolve upon the Reformation of the Canon Law. Eight of these to rough-hew the Canon Law; the rest to conclude it afterwards.

In November following a new Commission was ordered to eight Persons, for the first drawing and ordering the Canon Law: for that some of those afore appointed were then thought meet by the King to be left out. These eight were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, and Peter Martyr, Dr. May, and Dr. Taylor, and John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. But by a new Commission the Bishop of London was put in the room of the Bishop of Ely, Traheron in the room of May, and Gosnald for Goodrick. Again, February 2. next following, there was another Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, learned Men, Civilians and Lawyers of the Reform. Realm, for Establishment of the Ecclesiastical Laws, according to the Act of Parliament made the last Sessions. The granting of this Commission King Edward dateth at the 10. of February.

Hist. of the
Reform.
p. 196.
Council-
Book.

Now because here is mention made of an Act of Parliament for this Commission, I will shew what the Parliament did in this Matter. A Bill pass the Commons in January, 3 Edw. 6. 'that the King may nominate 16 Persons to peruse and make Ecclesiastical Laws. Which Bill was brought up to the House of Lords the 24 of January: And concluded in the House the 3. of the same Month: yet making the Number 22. But to this dissented the Archbishop of Canterbury and ten other Bishops. It is among the printed Acts passed this Session: where the Number is 32. 'Who should have Power and Authority to assemble themselves by his Highness Commandment for three Years to come, for the perfect Collection, Compiling and Ordering of Ecclesiastical Laws. And that such Laws so compiled, gathered and ordered by the said 32, or the more part of them, and set forth and published and declared by the King's Proclamation with the Advice of his Privy-Council, under the Great Seal, shall by virtue of this Act, be only taken, reputed, practised and put in Use, for the King's Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm.'

Lords
Journal.

Upon this Act the Commissions afore mentioned were grounded. And at last after great Pains of the Learned Men the whole Work was finished, and a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws drawn up. Which were afterwards printed An. 1571. and again 1640. under the Title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, with a large Preface set before it made by J. F. that is, (I suppose) John Fox.

By this it appears how our Author erreth, when he writeth here, that this Matter took no Effect, because of the Number of Commissioners, and divers of them far remote: and others of them having great Offices could not afford Meetings for so great a Business. And also their Difference of Professions and Ends, raising Difference in Judgment. Which is all but his own Conceit and Imagination. For, for the remedying of these supposed Inconveniences, the King issued out a Commission in October 1551. to eight Persons, leaving the Work in their Hands to finish. And the Archbishop of Canterbury being one of these eight, knowing the great Usefulness of the thing, hastened it, and in effect himself completed it, as is shewn in Archbishop Cranmer's Memorials. Yet he had the Assistance of Cheek, Haddon, and Peter Martyr. A great deal of whose Hands I have seen in a rough Copy of this Book. But indeed the true reason why this excellent Book, framed with so much Study and Care and Consultation, had not Authority given to it, to make it a Law, was because the Nation, especially the great Men of it, could not endure Ecclesiastical Discipline. And so Cox, one of the eight Commissioners, wrote about this time to Bullinger at Zurich, in the Course of their Correspondence, *We hate those bitter Institutions of Christian Discipline.* J.S.

and

1552. and Tenth, and to provide that the Revenues were answer'd every half Year. Another went forth for Debts owing to the King, and to take account of Payments since the 35th of King Henry the VIII. and in what manner the King had been deceiv'd, either by not accounting or accounting fallily. Another also for taking away needles Bulwarks, by virtue whereof divers were demolish'd upon the Sea-Coasts, in Peace chargeable and little serviceable in War. And farther, for more orderly and speedy Dispatch of Causes, the King deliver'd to his Council these Articles following.

Articles
for dispatch
of Causes.

1. That all Suits, Petitions and common Warrants deliver'd to the Privy-Council, be consider'd by them on Mondays in the Afternoon, and answer'd on Saturdays in the Afternoon; and that those Days and no other be assign'd to that Purpose.

2. That such Suits and Petitions as pertain to any Courts of Law, be refer'd to those Courts where properly they are triable, others to be determin'd with Expedition.

3. That in making Warrants for Money it be foreseen, that they be not for such matters as may be dispatch'd by Warrants dormant, lest by such means Accounts should be uncertain.

4. That upon Sundays they attend publick Affairs of the Realm, dispatch Answers to Letters for good Order of the State, and make full Dispatches of all things concluded the Week before; provided that they be present at Common Prayer.

5. That on Sunday Night the Secretaries or one of them deliver to the King a Memorial of such things as are to be debated by the Privy-Council, and he to appoint certain of them to be debated upon several Days, viz. Monday Afternoon, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday before noon.

6. That on Friday afternoon they shall make a Collection of such things as have been done the four Days before, what they have concluded, and what the time suffer'd not to peruse. Also the principal Reasons which mov'd them to conclude of such matters as seem'd doubtful.

7. That on Saturday before noon they present this Collection to the King, and inquire his Pleasure upon all things which they have concluded, and also upon all private Suits.

8. That none of the Privy-Council depart the Court for longer time than two Days, unless eight of the Council remain behind, and unless the King have notice thereof.

9. That they make no Assembly in Council unless they be to the number of four at the least.

10. That if they assemble to the number of four, and under the number of six, then they may reason or examine the Commodities or Inconveniences of Matters propos'd, and make things plain which seem diffus'd at the first opening; and if they agree, then at the next full Assembly of six, a perfect Conclusion thereof shall be made.

11. That if there be under four, and a matter ariseth requiring Expedition, they shall declare it to the King, but not give answer unless it requires extraordinary hast.

12. That if such matters arise as it shall please the King to hear the same debated, warning shall be given that the more may be present.

13. That if such matter arise as cannot be ended without long debating, the Council shall not intermeddle with other Causes until they have concluded the same.

14. That no private Suit be intermeddled with great Affairs, but shall be heard on Mondays only.

15. That when Matters for scantness of time be

only discuss'd and not brought to an end, then it shall be noted to what Point the Business is brought, and what have been the principal Reasons, that when it shall be treated again it may the sooner come to Conclusion.

16. That in tedious or difficult matters two or three or more may be appointed to prepare and report the same, that being less cumbersome and diffuse they may the more easily be dispatch'd.

17. That no Warrant for Reward above 40 l. or Business, or Affairs above 100 l. pass but under the King's Signet.

18. That if upon Advertisements or other Occasions, matters of great Importance appear which require hast, such matters shall be consider'd and determin'd notwithstanding those Articles which appoint Business for several Days, so as this Order be not generally or commonly broken.

Assuredly albeit the King declar'd both his Judgment and his Diligence and Care of Affairs of the Realm; yet is there one Rule more (and not by him neglected) for all great Officers, which if it be not sufficient in it self to hold Matters in order, yet are no Rules sufficient without it.

And this is to chuse Persons both for Ability and Integrity well reputed, albeit haply they be not always us'd. For besides that these will be a Rule to themselves, it is a great satisfaction to the People, and keepeth them both from murmuring and curious inquiring into Counsels of State, which is never good, and often dangerous, when they know, or at least suppose Matters to pass under such Mens Judgments.

In these times it was conceiv'd by many, that by erecting of a Mart in England, the Realm would be much enrich'd and made more famous and less obnoxious to other Countries. The time was then esteem'd fit by reason of the Wars between the Emperor and the French King. The Places deem'd most meet were Hull for the East-Countries, and Southampton for the South. London was thought no ill Place, but Southampton was judg'd most convenient for the first Beginning. This Matter detain'd the Lords of the Council in a Deliberation both serious and long, with great Strength and Variety of Reasons on both sides; which because they may give some light to the like Question, which in times ensuing may happily again be set on foot, I will here declare them in the same manner as they were collected by the King.

Against the Mart these Objections were made.

1. That Strangers could have no Access into England by Land, which they had at Antwerp where the Mart then was.

2. That the ill working of English Cloths made them less esteem'd abroad.

3. That the great quantity of English Cloths in Flanders would make them less desir'd from hence.

4. That the Merchants had then establish'd their dwelling Places at Antwerp.

5. That other Nations would forbear their Resort into England for a while upon Commandment of the Emperor.

6. That the denial of the Requests of the Merchants of the Stilyard would be a hindrance to the Mart, if Prevention were not us'd.

7. That the Poverty and Smallness of Southampton would be a great Impediment.

8. That the River Rhine was more commodious for Antwerp than any River was for England.

*

Hereunto

1552.
To be set-
tled at
South-
ampton.

Hereunto answer was made, that at the time when the Mart should begin at *Southampton*, the *French King* and the *Almanes* would stop Inter-courseto *Antwerp* by Land, so as nothing should pass that way but in great danger. Again, as *Southampton* wanteth the Commodity of Access of Merchandize by Land, so it hath the Commodity that there can be no Access of Enemies by Land; and if Wars should be rais'd, then the Navy of *England* is sufficient to defend them. And further that Traffick that cometh to *Antwerp* by Land is almost only from the *Venetians*, who may with greater ease, and less danger transport their Merchandises into *England* by Sea. That the ill making of Cloths was fit to be redressed by the Parliament, then sitting, and the matter was then reduc'd to some Ripeness, the Upper House having one Bill and the nether House another in good forwardness. Neither were they so ill made but that the *Flemmings* did easily desire them, offering rather to pay the Imposition of the Emperor than to be without them.

That it were necessary that the Passage of Ships should be stay'd until the Mart should advance to some ripeness, and that Cloths should be bought with the King's Mony, and convey'd to *Southampton* to be there utter'd at the Mart, which should help the Inconvenience very well. That Merchants never bind themselves to any Mansion, which either to achieve, gain, or to avoid danger they will not readily forsake, for so they remov'd from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the *English* Commodities. And therefore seeing they shall have a good Commodity by coming to *Southampton*, and be rid of great Fear of Danger both in their Lives and Goods, in forsaking *Antwerp*, there is little Fear that they will be curious in making the Change.

That the Emperor then was so nearly driven, that neither was he willing to attend the Impeachment of the Mart, neither could he at that time do it. For the *Flemmings* and the *Spaniards* under him could more hardly be without the *English*, than the *English* without them, and therefore would hardly be brought to forbear that Traffick; and besides, they liv'd then in fear of losing all.

That it were good that for the present the *Stillyard* Men were generally answer'd, and Trial made whether by any gentle Offer of some part of their Liberties again they might be brought to ship their Wares unto the Mart. The *French* also might easily be drawn over, having one Traffick at that time but with *England*. That these two might suffice to begin a Mart.

That the Merchants would make good shift for their Lodging; and it is not the Ability of the Place that maketh a Mart, but the Resort of Merchants, as *Spaniards*, *Almanes*, *Italians*, *Flemmings*, *Venetians*, *Danes*, in exchanging their Commodities one with another. With whom also would concur the Merchants of *London*, *Bristow*, and other Places of *England*. And some of the Cloths which should be carry'd thither at the first, might be taken up with the King's Mony, and there be utter'd.

That *Bruges* where the Mart was before

standeth not upon the *Rhine*, neither doth *Antwerp* where the Mart was then. *Frankford* doth and may well serve for a Fair for high *Almain*, but *Southampton* serveth better for all Countries upon the Sea, for few of these resort to *Frankford*.

Herewith diverse Reasons were alledg'd for the Mart, and namely, that the Vent of *English* Cloths would hereby be open in all times of War, that the *English* Merchants Goods would be out of Danger of Strangers, and without fear of Danger of arresting upon every light Cause. That it would much enrich the Realm, because as a Market enricheth a Town, so doth a Mart enrich a Kingdom. That upon occasion great Sums of Mony might be borrow'd of them who frequent the Mart. That the King might command a great number of Strangers Ships to serve in his Wars. That War being made, all Goods should be in the King's * Danger. That the *English* should buy all things at the first hand of Strangers: Whereas then the Strangers sold their Wares to the *Flemmings*, and the *Flemmings* to the *English*. That the Towns towards the Sea would hereby be made more Populous, Rich, Beautiful and Strong. That the Merchants instead of *Tapistry*, *Points*, *Glasses*, and other Laces, would then bring in Bullion, and other substantial Merchandizes to have the *English* Cloth, and Tin. That by this means the *English* should abate the Power of their Enemies, and not be inforc'd to borrow of Merchants but when they list, and that in no great Quantity or Sum.

The time was then esteem'd most convenient, because the Wars betwixt the *French* and the Emperor caus'd the *Italians*, *Genoese*, *Portugals*, and *Spaniards* to forbear their Trade to *Antwerp*. The *Prussians* also and other East-Countries, having fourteen Ships against the Emperor, would not be very forward to adventure thither. Again, the *French* invading *Lorain*, and menacing *Flanders*, and the *Almanes* lying on the River of *Rhine*, did stop the Course of Merchants out of *Italy*, as well to *Frankford* as to *Antwerp*. And further, the putting of Soldiers into *Antwerp* mov'd the Merchants to forbear their Traffick, and to look to their Safety. Also the Breach which a late Tempest had made, was like to make the Channel uncertain, and the Haven naught. Lastly, the stop of the Exchange to *Lions* would make many *Flemmings* Bankrupts. And because these Nations cannot live without a Vent, these things decaying the Mart of *Antwerp* and *Frankford*, they would most willingly upon erecting a free Mart resort to *England*.

And here the Town of *Southampton* was esteem'd most fit, because the *Spaniards*, *Britains*, *Gascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genoese*, *Normans*, *Italians*, the Merchants of the Eastland, the *Prussians*, *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norwegians* might indifferently resort thither, and more easy than to *Antwerp*. (e) And whereas the *Flemmings* having few Commodities, have allur'd Merchants by their Privileges to settle a Mart among them, much more easily should the *English* do it, having both Opportunity and Means, as

1552.

Arguments
for the
Mart.

* That is,
liable to be
seiz'd by
the King.

This time
most convenient
to set it
about.

(e) There were two Sea-Port Towns in *England* nominated, to fix this Mart in: One in the South Part of the Kingdom, viz. *Southampton*, for the Convenience of Merchants Strangers on that side; the other on the East, viz. *Hull*, for the Convenience of Merchants Strangers on the East and Northern Parts. This Eastern Port our Author taketh no Notice of, tho the MS. out of which he transcribeth mentioneth it expressly here; viz. That it is easier for *Spaniards*, *Britons*, *Vascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genoese*, *Normans* and *Italians*, to come to *Southampton* than to *Antwerp*: So for the Merchants of the Eastland, the *Prusses*, the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norwegians* to go [not to *Southampton* but] to *Hull*. J. S.

1552. Cloth, Tin, Seacole, Lead, Belmettal, and such other Commodities, as few Christian Countries have the like.

The Means contrived to establish this Mart. Lastly, The Means to establish this Mart were contriv'd to be these. First, That the English Merchants should forbear their resort for a Mart or two beyond the Seas, under pretence of the Impositions there charg'd upon them. Then that Proclamation should be made in divers parts of this Realm where Merchants chiefly resort, That there shall be a free Mart kept at Southampton to begin presently after Whitsonide, and to continue five Weeks, so as it should be no hindrance to St. James's Fair at Bristol, nor to Bartholomew Fair in London. The Privileges of which Mart should be expressed to be these.

That all Men should have free Liberty for Resort and Return, without arresting, except in Cases of Treason, Murder or Felony. That for the time of the Mart all Men should pay but half the Custom due in other Places of the Realm. That during the time no Shipping should be made from any Place between South-Wales and Essex, but only to Southampton. That in Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Dorsetshire, no Bargain should be made for Wares, during that time, but only at that Mart. That a Court should be erected to punish Offenders with Liberties of good Condition. That some one Commodity, as haply some one kind of Cloth, should be assign'd as proper to the Mart. That some Liberties be given to the Inhabitants of Southampton, and some Monys lent to them, if it might be spared, to begin their Traffick. That Ships should attend the Safeguard of Merchants so well as they could. And that if this Mart took good effect, another might be erected at Hull for the North-East Countries, to begin presently after Sturbridge Fair, so as they might return before the great Ices stopped their Seas. (f)

Thus it was concluded, but the Execution was for a time delay'd, because the Wool Fleet of sixty Sail was lately before departed for Antwerp, and could not possibly be call'd back. But to make the first Preparation, because a Mart could not subsist without Exchange, Liberty was granted to the English Merchants to exchange and rechange Mony for Mony. As upon this Occasion this profitable Purpose was first delay'd, so afterwards it was altogether dash'd, first by the King's Sickness, after by his Death.

The King takes up Mony at Antwerp. Now albeit the King was both deeply in Debt, and had many extraordinary Occasions,

yet in regard of the troublesome Times he did forbear to charge his Subjects with such Loans and Impositions, as usually in Peace breed Discontent, and in turbulent Times Disquiet; but he chose rather to deal with the Foulker in the Low-Countrys for Monys upon Loan at a very high Rate. And hereupon Letters were directed from the Lords of the Council to the Foulker at Antwerp, that he had received from the King 63000 Pounds Flemish in February, and 24000 Pounds (g) in April, which amounted to 87000 Pounds Flemish. A fair Sum to be paid in one Year, especially in that busy World when it was necessary for Princes not to be without Mony. Hereupon, and for that they understood that at that time he was well able to forbear Mony, they advised the King to pay to him only 5000 l. of the 45000 l. which then remain'd unpaid, and to continue the rest at the usual yearly Interest of 14 l. for every Hundred, wherewith they desir'd him to retain good patience. Hereto the Foulker answer'd, that as he had found fair Dealings before, so he would rest content to defer payment of 30000 l. so as 20000 l. (h) thereof might be well assur'd to be paid within some convenient time. All this was presently agreed, and no less faithfully perform'd afterwards. And assuredly as God is the Word, and cannot but make good his Word, so a Prince so much loseth of his Dignity as he declineth from his Word.

About this time a Garison-pay of 10000 l. was sent to the Frontiers of Scotland, and the like to Calais, and in the same Year 5000 l. in Ireland. Hereto if we add the King's great Charges in Fortification upon both the Frontiers of Scotland and France, the Particulars whereof I omit as Matters now altogether of no use, it may easily be discern'd that the Hostility with Scotland and France, and the Incivility of Ireland, were a great part of the Cause which held this frugal King thus dived in Debt.

And for another Means of raising of Mony, Commissions went forth for selling Chantry Lands, and Houses, for Payment of the King's Debt, given forth to be 251000 Pounds Sterling at the least (i). Also to enquire of all Church-Goods, either remaining in Cathedral or Parish-Churches, or embezzled away; and namely of Jewels of Gold and Silver, or Silver Crosses, Candlesticks, Censers, Chalices, ready Mony, Copes, and other Vestments: and reserving to every Church one Chalice, and Covering for the Communion-Table; the Residue to be apply'd to the Benefit of the

(f) This whole Discourse of the Mart was a Paper writ by K. Edward himself, and still remains in the Cotton Library: And is transcribed complete, and printed in Bp Burnets History of the Reformation. The Heads of which Paper are Vol. II. these. I. The Reasons and Causes, why it is now most necessary to have a Mart in England. II. The Causes why this Collect. Time is most commodious to erect a Mart in. III. How the Mart will be brought to pass. IV. The Discommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England. V. The Remedies and Answers thereunto. J. S.

(g) In the King's Journal published by the Bp of Sarum, the last Sum is 14000 l. which with the 63000 l. maketh 77000 l. together. And so it is set down in the Journal. From which the Author varieth again: and instead of 77000 l. writeth 87000 l. wilfully (as one may guess) the better to cover his former Mistake. So that here was an Error of 10000 l. J. S.

(h) Here our Author mistakes his MS. again. For this 20000 l. was not a Debt to the Foulker, but to another, viz. August. Py: Who also was willing to defer his Debt, (as the Foulker was) so that 20000 l. thereof might be paid him, as soon as might be. As it is in the King's Journal. J. S.

(i) The King's Debts Anno 1551. owing at home and abroad were in all 241179 l. 14 s. 10 d. as they are particularly set down in a Paper of Secretary Cecills: that is, for Monies taken up at Antwerp upon Interest, of the Schetz and the Fuggars, or Foulcars, great Merchants and Bankers there, and for a Diamond that cost 1000 l. the Sum amounting to 132372 l. 10 s. And for Debts within the Realm, that is, to the Household, to the Chamber, to the Wardrobe, to the Stables, to the Admiralty, to the Ordnance, to the Surveyer of the Works, to Calais, to Barwick, to the Revels, to Scilly and Alderney, to Ireland, to Portsmouth, to the Isle of Wight, to the Men of Arms, to the Lieutenant of the Tower; the Sum amounting to 108807 l. 4 s. 10 d. Now the King's Debts the next Year, viz. 1552. advanced, amounting to 251000 l. at the least, as the King noteth in his Journal, May the 10th. Which put him upon selling some of his Chantry Lands, and Tenements. And his Commissioners appointed for this purpose were, Sir John Gates, Sir Robert Bowes, the Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Richard Cotton. J. S.

King.

1552. King. By their Sales and Enquiries, the King's Wants were somewhat relieved. And many Persons, very mean both for Birth and Ability of Mind, and of no less place of Employment, found Means to advance themselves to so great Estate, as they left their Posterity ranged among the Nobility of this Realm.

Church-Purchasers. Of these Church-Purchasers, I have seen many melt to nothing, and the Residue shall be observ'd, either by Riot or by Improvidence to consume.

At the same time for more assured Strength of the Borders upon Scotland, Order was settled that no Man in those Parts should bear two Offices at once. Which not well observ'd in later Years, hath much derogated both from the Dignity and Discharge of Offices, as well in State as in some inferior Places.

Beaumont Master of the Rolls unfaithful, and punished. Another Means for raising Mony was practised no less pleasing to the People, than profitable to the Commonwealth, and that was by enquiring after Offences of Officers in great Place; who as by unjust dealing they became most odious, so by Justice in their Punishments, the Prince acquireth both Love and Applause. And so one Beaumont Master of the Rolls was convicted, that in his Office of Wards he had purchas'd Lands with the King's Mony (k); also that he had lent above 700 l. of the King's Mony, and forborn 11000 l. of the King's Debts for his own Profit. Also that being Master of the Rolls, he dealt corruptly in a Case between the Duke of Suffolk and the Lady Pomes. For he bought the Ladys Tithe, and caused an Indenture to be forged from Charles Brandon the Duke a little before deceased, purposing a Grant of the Lands in question from Duke Charles to the Lady Pomes. Also that he had conceal'd the Felony of his Servant, who having stol'n from him 200 l. he took the Mony to himself again. Hereupon he surrender'd to the King all his Offices, Lands and Goods in satisfaction, as well for the Monys due by him to the King, as of the Fines which his Offences had merited. He was a Man of a dull and heavy Spirit, and therefore the more senslessly devoted in his sensual Avarice.

And so Whaly Receiver of Yorkshire. One Whaly Receiver of Yorkshire, acknowledged how he had lent the King's Mony for Gain, how he ever paid one Year's Revenue with the Arrerages of the Year before; how he had bought the King's Land with the King's Mony; how he had made divers false Accounts;

how upon fall of Mony he borrow'd divers Sums, whereby he gain'd 500 l. at one crying down. For these Misdemeanours he surrender'd his Office, and submitted himself to pay such Fines as the King or his Council should charge upon him.

The Lord Payer Chancellor of the Dutchy, was convicted that he had sold the King's Lands and Timber Woods without Commission; that he had taken great Fines for the King's Lands, and apply'd them to his proper Use; and that he had made Leases in Reversion for more than one and twenty Years. For these Offences he surrender'd his Office, and submitted himself to be fined at the Pleasure of the King. So his Fine was guesse'd at 6000 Pounds, whereof 2000 were remitted upon condition that the other 4000 should be paid within the compass of that Year.

This he endur'd with a manly Patience, as knowing right-well that he held all the Residue of his Estate upon Courtesy of those who hated him at the Heart. It was at the first suspected, and afterwards expected by all, that among other Matters objected against the Lord Payer, the chief, or at least one should have been for contriving to Banquet the Lords at his House, and under pretence thereof to take off their Heads, which was the only Cause for which the Duke of Somerset lost his Head. But because no mention was made thereof, because about the same time the Lord Gray of Wilton, Bannister and Crane, and a little after the Earl of Arundel were freely discharg'd, having been imprisoned for this Conspiracy, the Conceit was taken that the Duke's Head was the only Aim, and that the Residue were us'd but as a Countenance of State to dazzle the People.

Letter swere sent to the Governor of Guernsey, that Divine Service should be there us'd according to the Form of the Church of England. *Divine Service to be used at Guernsey.*

A King of Arms, named Ulster, was newly instituted for Ireland; his Province was all Ireland, and he was the first 4th King of Arms, the first Herald appointed for Ireland. *Ulster K. of Arms.*

Whilst these Matters were in action, the Emperor's Ambassador in England deliver'd Letters to the King from the Regent in the Low-Countries, importing, that whereas the King was bound by a Treaty between the Emperor and the King's Father at Lutrecht (l) in the Year 1542. that if the Low-Countries should

(k) Our Author here errs again from the King's Journal: from which now all along he doth but Copy, with some little Descants of his own. For where he writeth that Beaumont lent above 700 l. of the King's Mony, in the said Journal it is 9000 l.

What this John Beaumonts Debt was to the King, and what Satisfaction and Submission he made, will appear by this Exemplification of two Original Papers.

MSS. Genes me. For Satisfaction of the Kinges Majesties Debt charged upon me in his Graces Court of Wards and Lyveries, for redy Money and Specialties, amounting to the some of twenty thousand, eight hundred seventy one pounds, eighteen shillings and eight pence, I am pleased and contented, and by this present Bill do acknowledg my self to be fully contented and agreed, that the Kynges Majestie shal have al my Manors, Lands, and Tenements whatsoever they be, assured to him and his Heirs: And also al my Goods and Cattalls, moveable or unmoveable, whatsoever they be, and in whoes Custodie soever they remayne; as shal be devysed by the Kynges lerned Councell, with the Issues and Profits of the same. Provyded alwayes, that yf in Case there be any just cause of allowance of any part of the foresaid Debt, that then I shall be therof allowed. In Wytnefs wherof I have subscribed this Byll with my Hand, and therunto set to my Seal the xxviii Day of May, Anno VI. Regis Ed. VI. *John Beaumont.*

His Submission and Surrender of his Place to the King ran in these Words.

XXVIII. May Anno 1552.

I John Beaumont do most humbly surrendre and gyff into the handes of our Sovereigne Lord the Kynges Majestie my Office of Master of the Rolls; most humbly beseeching hys Highness to be merciful unto me, and al my Mysdemeynours and Contempts, and in especyall for the Debt which I do owe unto his Grace, to have some dayes upon good Securities; and I am agreed to delyver my Patent to be concellyd unto the L. Chancellor of England, or to any other, who shall pleyse hys Highness to appoint to receive the same. *John Beaumont.*

He confessed his Offences before the King and Council, and submitted to his Fine, June the 4th. As did the L. Payer June the 6th, and Whaly the next Day. *J. S.*

(l) Dotrecht. In the Journal.

1552. he invaded, the King should aid him with 5000 Foot, or 70 (m) Crowns a Day, during four Months; and that this Aid should be perform'd within one Month after Request: For so much as the French King invaded *Luxemburg*, the Emperor requir'd Aid of the King of *England* according to the Effect of that Treaty.

The King excuses it.

Hereupon Order was given, that if the Embassador did move for Answer to this Letter, he should be told by two of the Council, that during the King's Progress his Council was dispersed, whose Advice he was desirous to hear. And further, that the King had committed the same Treaty to be perus'd by Men whose Judgments, as he did much respect, so would he expect a time until their Opinions might be heard. And in case that after this the Embassador should again require an Answer, then they should say, that the King having lately wrestled out of most dangerous Wars, wherewith his young Years were overburdened, he hop'd well, that the Emperor would not desire to thrust him into the like again. That he had sworn Amity with the French King, which he could not with his Honour break; and therefore if the Emperor should deem it so meet, he would mediate a Peace as a Friend to both, which he should best effect by forbearing to use Hostility against either. And in case the Embassador should still persevere to urge the Treaty, they were lastly directed to answer, that the King did not hold himself bound by that Treaty, as both made by his Father, and evidently prejudicial to his Realm; for albeit Agreements of Peace are perpetual, and bind the Successor, yet it is not so in Agreements of Society and Confederation. And this the Emperor did right-well understand, for when the King in his last Wars desir'd to enter a new Treaty with the Emperor, he return'd answer that it should not need, for albeit the King were discharg'd by his Father's Death, yet the Emperor was still bound. And again, the Emperor had not for his part perform'd the Treaty, as well in hindring the carriage of Horses, Armour and Munition, which the King had provided for his Wars, as also in neglecting to send Aid when the Low Country of *Calais* was foraged; and therefore he did not justly demand performance thereof from the King.

I know it hath been often in like sort answer'd, that Treaties dissolve by Death of those who made them; for so the *Fidenates* held themselves discharg'd of the League which they had made with *Romulus* after his Death. And the *Latines* did the like after the Death of *Tullus*, and likewise after the Death of *Ancus*. The *Etrurians* affirm'd the like after the Death of *Priscus*. And the *Sabines* after the Death of *Servius*. And again after that *Tarquinius* was cast out of State. I know also that the difference is great between a League of Peace, and a League of Society and Confederation, But I will not touch every String of this Question, which *Hottoman* calleth a *Noble Question*, and much tossed and debated; partly, because it consisteth of many knotty and thorny Distinctions, wherein approv'd Authors do not well agree; but chiefly because at this time it fell not to be a Difference between the Emperor and the King.

For when the Embassador first came for Answer to this Letter, Mr. *Wotton* and Mr. *Hoby* by answer'd according to the first Branch of their Instructions, wherewith he departed well satisfy'd for the present.

And before he call'd for Answer again, one *Stukely* arriv'd out of *France*, and declar'd to the Council, how the French King being persuaded that *Stukely* would never return into *England*, because he departed without leave upon apprehension of the Duke of *Somerset*, his Master bewrayed to him, that if he could procure Peace with the Emperor, he intended to besiege *Calais*, and was in hope to carry the Town by way of the *Sand-hills*, and that from thence winning the *Rice-bank*, he might both famish the Town, and beat the Market-place: how he further said, that he intended to land in some Angle of *England* about *Falmouth*, because Bulworks there might easily be won, and the People were for the most part Catholics. And further, how at the same time Monsieur *de Guise* should enter *England* by the way of *Scotland*, not only with good Leave, but with Aid and Conduct from the *Scots*.

Upon this Discovery the King assembled his Council at *Windfor*, and entred with them into deliberation, whether it were either Safe from him, or to no Disadvantage, to rely so securely, either upon the Strength or Faith of *France*, as either to refuse or neglect to afford Aid unto the Emperor, and thereby haply incur his Hostility.

Many were of Opinion that the King should condescend to aid the Emperor. First, For that if the King were desirous to hold the Emperor bound, by the Treaty made with the King's Father, he must also be oblig'd thereby; Otherwise it was a lame halting League, and could not possibly go upright. Then for that if the Emperor should not be aided, the House of *Burgundy* was like to be devour'd by the French, whereby their Greatness might grow dreadful, especially to *England*. Then for that again the French King had drawn the *Turk* into Christendom, and therefore was to be resisted as a Common Enemy. And further, in case the Emperor upon Extremity should compose Agreement with the French, the Danger to *England* would be double. First, Upon Offence taken by the Emperor, then upon the French King's old Disposition, edged by every new Displeasure, wherein the Devotion of the Bishop of *Rome* would not be wanting. And again, the English Merchants were so ill intreated in the Empire, the Realm was so much engaged in Honour and in Wealth, as some Remedy was to be sought, and none better than by giving Aid. Lastly, The French King's Proceedings were no less doubtful than fearful, not only in regard of *Stukely's* Report (not altogether to be neglected) but by reason of his breaking and firing divers English Ships, the antient Strength and Fortresses of the Realm.

Others were of Advice, that the Emperor's Demands of Aid should be deny'd. First, For that it would be too chargeable, and almost impossible for the English to perform. Then for that when the Emperor should die, the whole Weight of the War would roll upon the English. And further, the German Protestants would be offended herewith, and conceive

1552. some Doubts of their own Estates. Lastly, There was hope that the Amity with France would not long continue, but amend, and that the Embassadors then lately sent, would repair all Harms done by the French upon English Ships.

Between both these the King stroke a midling Judgment, so to aid the Emperor against the French King, as other Christian Princes should also adjoyn, and that for no other Cause but as a Common Enemy for drawing the Turks Forces upon them.

That hereby as the Cause was common, so would there be more Parties to it: And this also would moderate the Charge of aiding the Emperor according to the Treaty; and whensoever the Emperor should die or break off, it was likely that some of those Princes and Parties should remain so as the King should not stand alone. Moreover, this Friendship would much advance the King's other Affairs in Germany; and finally, it would be honourable to break with the French King upon this Common Quarrel.

Against this Advice of the King, two Objections were made; one, that the Treaty must be entertain'd with so many, that it could not be speedily or secretly concluded: the other, that in case the Purpose should be discover'd and not concluded, the French might be provoked thereby to practise the like Confederation against the English.

All these the King did knit up in this Conclusion; first, that the Treaty should be made only with the Emperor, and by the Emperor's Means with other Princes; secondly, That the Emperor's Acceptance should be well understood before any Treaty were either enter'd or entertain'd against the French.

The King will assist the Emperor against the Turk.

Hereupon Letters were dispatch'd to Mr. Morison the King's Ambassador with the Emperor, whereby he was directed to declare to the Emperor, how the King touch'd with pity at the Invasion of Christian Countrys by the Turks, would willingly joyn with him and other States of the Empire (in case the Emperor could bring it to pass) in some League against the Turks and against their Confederates. But Caution was given that he should not once mention the French King, nor answer any mention made of him, only to say that his Commission extended no further. But if the Emperor would send a Messenger into England, he should happily know more.

Letters to Pickering the King's Ambassador in France concerning Stukely.

Herewith, and because Time beateth out Truth, Letters were sent to Mr. Pickering the King's Ambassador in France, to know whether Stukely had acquainted him with any of those Matters which he had disclosed in England. And with what Familiarity the French King us'd him, or by what other Circumstances he could conceive his Report to be true. Herewith also the Lord Gray was chosen Deputy of Calais, and the Lord Wentworth remov'd, as one whose Youth, and want of Experience, was held unfit to govern that Charge in turbulent Times. On the other side, Sir Nicholas Wentworth was remov'd from being Porter of the Town, by reason of his old Age, but had an hundred Pounds yearly Pension assign'd him for his Life.

The King retrenches his Expenses.

Also by abating needles Expenses, to be the better enabled against Charge; the several Tables for young Lords, for the Masters of Requests, and for Serjeants at Arms, were laid down; and divers extraordinary Allowances were taken away. And further, because the

King was to make payment of 48000 l. beyond the Seas, and had but 14000 l. towards the Sum, Three hundred of the chief Merchants Adventurers, granted to him a Loan of 40000 l. for three Months, to be levied from the Cloths which they were then to transport, after the rate of 20 s. for every Cloth. But these Adventurers went not upon any Adventure, because at that shipping 40000 Broad-cloths were by them transported.

1552.

Whilst these Matters were in action, two Lawyers arriv'd in England, with direction from the French King, to declare what Matters had been determin'd against the English by the French King's Council, and upon what Reasons, and also what Matters were then depending, and what Care and Diligence was used in those Dispatches. They were much commended by all for their modest Behaviour, and their sweet Eloquence much delighted the King; who again in a short Speech first thanked the French King for his desire to give him Satisfaction, then commended them for well performing their Charge; but for the Substance of their Business he referred them to London, where some of his Council should commune thereof fully with them. Here Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Wotton, and Sir Thomas Smith, laid before them the Grievances of the English Merchants, whose Losses by the French exceeded the Sum of 50000 l. To this the Embassadors gave little Answer, but said, they would make Report thereof at their return into France, affirming, that they had no Commission, but only to declare the Manner and Causes of judicial Proceedings.

Two come from the Fr. King, Sept. 22.

Presently after their return, Mons. Villandry was sent again in Post to the King to declare to him, that albeit Mr. Sydney's and Mr. Winter's Matters went justly against them; yet because they were the King's Servants, and one of them in place near his Person, the French King was content freely to give Mr. Sydney his Ship, and all his Goods in her; and to Mr. Winter his Ship, and all his own Goods. But this Offer the King refused, affirming that he requir'd nothing freely, but expected Justice and Expedition. Villandry shew'd further, that the King his Master was desirous that the Ordinances and Customs of England and France touching Marine Affairs, might be reduc'd into one Form, without any difference between them. Whereto answer was made, that the English Ordinances for Marine Affairs, were no other than the Civil Laws, and certain ancient Additions of the Realm, wherein they could conceive no reason or conveniency of Change, having long continu'd without Reproof. After this Villandry brought forth two Proclamations, not long before publish'd in France, and very advantageable for the English; for the which he had a Letter of Thanks to the King his Master. Lastly, which was indeed the main of his Message, and whereto all other were but Insinuations; he desired that certain Frenchmen taken upon the Coast of England might be released. Hereto he received answer that they were Pirates, and that some of them should by Justice be punished, and some might happily by Clemency be spared. So with this dispatch he returned for France.

Another Messenger from the Fr. King, to settle maritime Affairs, Oct. 8.

Pirates.

But before it was conceiv'd he could be fully at Home, he came again to the English Court, and there declar'd to the King, how the King his Master would deliver four Ships, against which Judgment had been given; and that he would

Propositions made by the Fr. Ambassador about Shipping.

1552. would appoint Men of good fort and sufficiency to hear the *English* Merchants at *Paris*, and that he would alter his Ordinances for marine Affairs, of which Emendations he then sent a Copy to the King. The King appointed his Secretaries to consider thereof. And after some passages of time, *Villandry* had his answer; That the King intended not by receiving four Ships freely to prejudice his Right in the rest; That the appointing of an inferior Council to hear Merchants at *Paris*, after former tedious Suits in a higher Court, he thought would be but dilatory, and so to little purpose, because the inferior Council would never undo that (albeit good cause should appear) which had been judg'd by a higher Council; That the new Ordinances he liked no better than he did the old, and therefore desir'd no other than the Customs which of late times had been us'd in *France*, and then continu'd in force between *England* and the *Low Countries*. Lastly, he desir'd no more Words, but Deeds.

Letters from Pickering, Octob. 7. And now were Letters return'd from Mr. *Pickering* out of *France*; whereby he advertis'd the King, how *Stukely* never discover'd any of those Speeches to him, which since he had charg'd upon the *French* King: And further, that he never was either in credit or conversant with the *French* King or with the Constable, nor ever resorted unto them except once, when he was Interpreter between the Constable and certain *English* Pioners. Wherefore as it was very like, so did he verily believe, that as the *French* King was always close and reserv'd amongst his best known Friends, so would he not be open and uncircumspect, to impart a matter of such import to a mere Stranger, and in a most unseasonable time.

Stukely committed to the Tower. Hereupon *Stukely* was examin'd again, and then finding it dangerous alike to confess a Truth or stand to a Lye, he became more unconstant and variable than he was before: wherefore he was committed to the Tower, and notice was given to the *French* King's Embassador of all those Proceedings, to the intent that he might acquaint his Master with them. Letters were also sent to the King's Embassador in *France*, directing him to advertise the *French* King of all these matters, and that for two special Ends; one to manifest the King's Confidence in his Amity with *France*, the other to bring the *French* King into suspicion against all *English* Fugitives who resorted daily to his Court. And so because no better Person was the Author, incredible Fables were not believ'd. But hereupon some began to discourse that the Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset* were no less improbable, and upon the credit of no better Persons, and therefore might haply be no less untrue: But the difference is great between both the Persons, and the Facts of a Sovereign Prince and of a Subject.

What the Fr. K. protested to the English Embassador hereupon. And now when the *French* King understood as well the Imputation which *Stukely* had rais'd, as his Imprisonment; First, he deeply protested his Innocence in his particular, and his general sincere meaning for preserving Amity with *England*: Then he much blam'd *Stukely's* Villany, and no less thank'd the King as well for that he had not afforded a credulous ear to such mischievous Devices, wherein the tender Touch of his Estate might haply have excus'd his Error, as for his Princely manner in acquainting him therewith.

On the other side when Mr. *Morison* the King's Embassador with the Emperor, had open'd the Matters given him in charge, touching a League against the *Turk*, and against his Confederates; the Emperor much thank'd the King for his gentle Offer, and promis'd to procure the Regent to send over some Persons of credit to understand the King's further meaning. Soon after Mr. *Tho. Gresham* came from *Antwerp* into *England*, and declar'd to the Council, how *Monfieur Longie* the Emperor's Treasurer in *Flanders* was sent to him from the Regent with a Packet of Letters, which the *Burgundians* had intercepted in *Bullonois*, sent, as it was said, from the Dowager of *Scotland*; wherein she set forth how she had imprison'd *George Paris* an Irish Man, because she understood that upon Grant of his Pardon he had a meaning to come into *England*, and how she had sent *Oconner's* Son into *Ireland* to give encouragement to the Irish Lords. Also he shew'd Instructions given about four years before upon the Fall of the Admiral of *France*, to a Gentleman then coming from *England*, that if any were in *England* of the Admiral's Faction, he should do his best to excite a Trouble.

The Deputy of *Ireland* was at that time ready to transport into *England*: But upon this Advertisement Sir *Henry Knowles* was sent in post to stay him there, yet with caution that he should pretend to stay upon his own Occasions, and thereupon desir'd his Departure from week to week, lest the true reason should be discern'd. Letters of Thanks were also sent to the Regent for this gentle Over-ture. And the Messenger was directed to use pleasing Words in the Delivery of the Letter, and to wish a further Amity between the two States: And further to acquaint her with the *French* King's Practice in waging 5000 *Scottish* Footmen, and 500 Horsemen, and how he took up 100000 *l.* by Exchange at *Lubeck*; whereby the Conjecture was evident that he had some meaning against the Emperor in the Spring then next following. Doubtless the Advertisements of neighbour Princes are always much to be regarded; for that they receive Intelligence from better Authors and surer Grounds than Persons of inferior note and fort.

About this time one of the Earl of *Tyrone's* Men was committed to the Tower, for making an untrue Complaint against the Deputy and Council of *Ireland*, and for bruiting abroad how the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Earl of *Pembroke* were fallen into quarrel, and one of them against the other in the field.

In April, in the sixth Year of the Reign of the King, he fell sick of the Measles, whereof in short time he well recover'd; afterwards he sickned of the Small-pox, which breaking kindly from him, was thought would prove a means to cleanse his Body from such unhealthful Humours as commonly occasion long Sicknes or Death; and hereof he also so perfectly recover'd, that in the Summer next following he rode his Progress with greater Magnificence than ever before. For whether it were to maintain his Majesty, or to manifest the Fear which had been formerly impress'd, he carry'd with him a Band of 320 Men, which made up his whole Train above the number of 4000 Horse. But because this Multitude was burdensome to the Country thro which

1552. which he pass'd, which did afford little Meadow or Pasture, because also it seem'd to bewray Distrust, as if the King should think that he rather march'd among dangerous Rebels, than took his Pleasure among faithful and quiet dispos'd Subjects, about the midst of his Progress the greatest part was discharged. For furnishing the Charge of this Progress 500 pound weight of Gold was coin'd, with 1500 l. sterling.

Soon after the King did complain of a continual Infirmity of Body; yet rather as an Indisposition in Health, than any set Sickness.

Amos from Child born Aug. 3. And about that time certain Prodigies were seen, either as Messengers or Signs of some imminent and eminent Evil. At *Middleton*, eleven miles from *Oxford*, a Woman brought forth a Female Child, which had two Bodies from the Navel upward; so united at the Navel, as when they were laid in length, the one stretch'd directly opposite to the other; from the Navel downward it was but one; it lived weakly eighteen days, and then both Bodies died together. Upon Birth of such Monsters, the *Grecians*, and after them the *Romans*, did use divers sorts of Expiations, and to go about their principal Cities with many solemn Ceremonies and Sacrifices; supposing hereby that Wrath from Heaven was menac'd against them. At *Quinborough* three great Dolphins were taken, and a few days following at *Blackwall* six; which were brought to *London*, the least in bigness exceeding any Horse. After this three great Fishes were taken at *Gravesend*, call'd *Whirlpools*, and drawn upon the King's Bridg at *Westminster*. These Accidents the more rarely they happen, the more ominous are they commonly esteem'd; either because they are so indeed, or because they are never observ'd but when sad Events do ensue.

A. 1553. In *January*, about the beginning of the 7th Year of the King's Reign, his Sickness did more apparently shew it self, especially by the Symptom of a tough strong straining Cough. All the Medicines and Diet which could be prescrib'd, together with the helps both of his young Age, and of the rising time of the Year, were so far either from curing or abating his Grief, that it daily increas'd by dangerous degrees; and it was not only a Violence of the Cough that did infect him, but therewith a Weakness and Faintness of Spirit, which shew'd plainly that his vital Parts were most strongly and strangely assaulted. And the talk hereof among the People was so much the more, because thro an Opinion obscurely rais'd, but running as most absurd, that his Sickness grew by a slow-

working Poison. Upon this cause it happen'd, 1553. that a Parliament beginning upon the first day of *March*, was upon the last of the same Month dissolv'd. (n)

And now the Danger of the King's Sickness was much lamented, not only by his own People, but by Strangers abroad; because his Courtesy and Wisdom had begot to him such Love, that he was no less honour'd by those who heard of him, than of those who convers'd with him. For he was famous in all places by reason of his Foresight and Judgment in Affairs, and did so well temper the Greatness of his Estate both with Modesty and with Gravity, that he avoided Envy by the one, and Contempt by the other. Some compar'd him with the greatest Persons that had been, both for War and Peace, because in the like pitch of Years none of them attain'd to the like Perfections. Haply he did not appear in Soldiery so great, but that was because he was not so rash; being also drawn back from his Pursuits abroad by domestical Disorders and Divisions, both amongst the People and Nobility of his Realm, by reason whereof he scarce seem'd well settled in his Chair of Estate, and yet his Fortunes were always victorious.

It happen'd during his Sickness, that Dr. *Ridley* Bishop of *London* preach'd before him, and in his Sermon much commended Works of Charity, which as they were a Duty for all Men to perform, so most especially for Men in most especial Dignity and Place, as well in regard of their large Abilities, as for that they were much oblig'd to give Examples of Goodness to others. The same day after dinner the King sent for him privately into the Gallery at *Whitehall*, caus'd him to sit in a Chair by him, would not permit him to remain uncover'd; and then after courteous Thanks, he reported all the principal Points of his Sermon, and further added: 'I took my self to be especially touch'd by your Speech, as well in regard of the Abilities which God hath given me, as in regard of the Example which from me he will require; for as in the Kingdom I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach to him in Goodness and in Mercy. For as our Miseries stand most in need from him, so are we the greatest Debtors: Debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the greatest Accountants of our Dispensation therein. And therefore, my Lord, as you have given me (I thank you) this general Exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular Actions I may this way best discharge my Duty.'

(n) The King being now in a sickly Condition, the Lords were called together at *Whitehall*, and sat there, in the great Chamber on the King's side, and he under a Cloth of Estate with them: where Bp *Goodrich* Lord Chancellor made a Speech, shewing the Reasons of the calling of the Parliament. But first the Parliament was opened by a Sermon preach'd at *Whitehall* by *Ridley* L. Bishop of *London*. After which the King with divers Lords received the Communion. And this being ended, the King and Lords repaired to the said great Chamber. The chief Business of this Parliament was to give the King Money to pay his Debts, and maintain his State. Which was granted both by the Laity and the Clergy out of their respective Revenues. In this Parliament was an Act made for the Dissolution of the Bishopric of *Durham*; upon the consideration that the Bishopric was so large and extensive into divers Shires; and so could not be sufficiently taken care of by one Bishop: and those Parts so wild and barbarous for want of good Preaching, and good Learning; and the King being desirous to have God's Holy Word better known there. Therefore as the old Bishopric was dissolved, so by the said Act a new Bishopric of *Durham* was to be erected, and also one other Bishopric at *Newcastle*; and a Dean and Chapter also there. That of *Durham* to be endowed with 2000 Mark a year, and that of *Newcastle* with 1000 Mark a year: And Power was granted, that the King might erect the same by his Letters Patents. But there were no Bishops presented to either of these two new-erected Bishoprics, while this King lived. Only *Ridley* Bp of *London*, born in the Diocess, was nominated for *Durham*, but never removed from *London*, till he was deposed from it under Q. *Mary*. And all that was done after this Act, was that the Temporalties of the Bishopric, a County Palatine, was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But under Q. *Mary* this Act was repealed, and the Bishopric new-erected, and the old Bishop *Tunstall* (who had been deposed) restored. J. S.

1553.
The Bishop
recom-
mends the
Poor of
London.

The Bishop partly astonish'd, and partly overjoy'd with these Speeches, was struck into a sad silence for a time; at last Tears and Words breaking forth together, he declar'd to the King, that as he little expected such a Question, so was he not furnish'd with a present Answer, for this matter had a great Mixture of a Civil Government, wherein he conceiv'd that the Citizens of London had best Experience, as overburden'd with multitudes of Poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the Realm besides. And therefore as they best know both the Quality of such People, and the Inconveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what Remedies were fittest: Wherefore, if the King were pleas'd to afford his Letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time return with answer. The King forthwith caus'd his Letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart until he had firm'd them with his Hand and Signet, and enjoin'd the Bishop to be the Messenger, imposing great charge for Expedition. The Bishop hasten'd with his Letters to the Lord Mayor, who presently assembled certain Aldermen, and four and twenty Commissioners, by whose Advice the Poor were cast into three Companies and Sorts; some were Poor by Impotency of Nature, as young fatherless Children, old decrepit Persons, Idiots, Cripples, and such like; others are poor by Faculty, as wounded Soldiers, diseas'd and sick Persons, and the like; the third sort are the Poor by Idleness or Unthriftiness, as riotous Spenders, Vagabonds, Loiterers, leud Strumpets and their Companions: that the first of these were to be educated and maintain'd, the second to be cur'd and reliev'd, and the third to be chastis'd and reduc'd to good order.

The King
gives the
City the
Gray Fri-
ars Church,
St. Bartho-
lomew's,
&c. for
charitable
Uses.

When this was presented to the King, he gave to the City for Education and Maintenance of the first sort of Poor, the *Gray Friars Church* (a) near *Newgate-Market*, with all the Revenues thereto belonging; for Cure and Relief of the second sort, he gave *St. Bartholomew's* near *Smithfield*; for Correction of the third, he appointed his House at *Bridewell*, the antient Mansion of many *English* Kings, and which not long before had been repair'd and beautify'd by *Henry the Eighth*, for the Entertainment of the Great Emperor *Charles the Fifth*. For Increase of Maintenance of their Places, together with the new re-edify'd Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark*, the King gave seven hundred and fifty Marks yearly out of the Rents of the Hospital of *St. John Baptist*, or the *Savoy*, with all the Bedding and Furniture at that time belonging to that place. And when the Charter of this Gift was presented unto him with a blank Space for Lands to be afterwards receiv'd in Mortmain, to a yearly Value without further licence, the King presently with his own Hand fill'd up the void Space with these words, *four thousand Marks by year*. This done, with reverend Gesture and Speech he thank'd God for prolonging his Life to finish

And 750
Marks out
of the Re-
venues of
the Savoy.

that Business: And so he was the first Founder of those three pious Works, which by many Additions are now grown to be the most absolute and famous of that kind in Europe.

The King's Sickness daily increas'd, and so did the Duke of *Northumberland's* Diligence about him; for he was little absent from the King, and had always some well assur'd espie how the state of his Health chang'd every hour; and the more joyful he was at the heart, the more sorrowful appearance did he outwardly make. Whether any tokens of Poison did appear, Reports are various; certainly his Physicians discern'd an invincible Malignity in his Disease: and the Suspicion did the more increase, for that the Complaint being chiefly from the Lights, a Part, as of no quick Sense, so no Seat for any sharp Disease, yet his Sickness toward the end grew highly extreme. But the Duke regarded not much the muttering Multitude, knowing right well that Rumours grow stale and vanish with time; and yet somewhat either to abate or delay them for the present, he caus'd Speeches to be spread abroad, that the King was well recover'd in Health, which was readily believ'd, as most desir'd to be true.

Hereupon all Persons express'd Joy in their Countenance and Speech, which they enlarg'd by telling the News to others whom they in- countred, who haply had heard it often before; and as the Report increas'd, so there- with increas'd also the Joy. Thus whilst every Man believ'd, and no Man knew, it was made more credible by Religious Persons, who openly in Churches gave publick Thanks for the King's Recovery.

But when the Speech of his Danger was again reviv'd, and as in News it happeneth, the more stop'd, the more increas'd to the worse, then as if the second time he had been lost, the People did immoderately break forth into Passions, complaining, that for this cause his two Uncles had been taken away, for this cause the most faithful of his Nobility and of his Council were disgrac'd and remov'd from Court; this was the reason that such were plac'd next his Person, who were most assuredly dispos'd either to commit or permit any Mischief; that then it did appear, that it was not vainly conjectur'd some years before by Men of Judgment and Foresight, that after *Somerfet's* Death the King should not long enjoy his Life. To qualify these and some broader Speeches, it was thought convenient that the King sometimes should shew himself abroad, albeit little either with his Pleasure or for his Health, yet a thing which in long consuming Sicknesses, even to the last Period of Life, Men are often able to do.

Whilst the King remain'd thus grievously sick, divers notable Marriages were solemniz'd at once in *Durham Place*. The Lord *Guildford*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, marry'd Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* eldest Daughter, by *Frances* Daughter to *Mary* second Sister to King *Henry the Eighth*; also the Earl of *Pembroke's* eldest Son marry'd the Lady

Vid. Stow's
Survey of
Faringdon
Ward
within.

(a) Yet it must be remembred, that *K. Henry VIII.* also gave by Patent, *Ann. 1546.* the *Gray Friars Church* to the City for the Relief of the Poor. And in the beginning of *January* that year the Bishop of *Rochester* declared the same openly at *St. Paul's*. As also the Hospital of *St. Bartholomew's* was likewise at the same time granted to the City by the same King. Which Gifts were to the value of 500 Mark. In memory whereof the Statue of *Henry VIII.* is set up on that part of *St. Bartholomew's* Hospital over the Gate that fronteth *Smithfield*. *J. S.*

Katherine,

1553. Katherine, the Duke of Suffolk's second Daughter by the said Lady Frances, who then was living; and Martin Kayes, Gentleman Porter, marry'd Mary the third Daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, by the said Lady Frances: Lastly, the Lord Hastings, Son to the Earl of Huntington, took to Wife Katherine youngest Daughter to the Duke of Northumberland.

The People express their Hatred against the Duke of Northumberland. Hereupon the common People, upon a disposition to interpret all Northumberland's Actions to the worst, left nothing unspoken which might serve to stir their Hatred against the Duke, or Pity towards the King: But the Duke was nothing mov'd hereat; for being equally obstinate both in Purpose and Desire, and mounting his Hopes above the pitch of Reason, he resolv'd then to dissemble no longer, but began openly to play his game.

For albeit the Lady Jane, marry'd to his fourth Son, had not right to the Succession of the Crown, for that she was excluded, first, by the two Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, Daughters of King Henry the Eighth, next by the Issue of Lady Margaret marry'd into Scotland, eldest Sister to K. Henry the Eighth; lastly, by her own Mother, the Lady Frances, who then was living: yet Northumberland, sottishly mad with over-great Fortune, procur'd the King by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, to appoint the Lady Jane to succeed him in the Inheritance of the Crown. In this Contrivance he us'd the Advice of two especially, the Lord Chief Justice Mountague, who drew the Letters Patents, and

Secretary Cecil. (p) These furnish'd the Patent with divers Reasons, whereof some were of Law, and some of Policy in State. The Pretensions of Law were these, that albeit the Crown of the Realm, by an Act of the five and thirtieth of King Henry the Eighth, was in default of Issue of his Body, and of the Body of Edward his Son lawfully begotten, limited to remain to the Lady Mary his eldest Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; and in default of such Issue, the Remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth his second Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten, under such Conditions as should be limited by the said King under his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his last Will in writing, sign'd with his Hand: yet because the said Limitations were made to Persons illegitimate, both the Marriages between King Henry the Eighth and their several Mothers being undone by Sentences of Divorce, and the several Divorcements ratify'd by Authority of Parliament in the eight and thirtieth Year of King Henry the Eighth, which Act remain'd then in force, both the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth were thereby disabled to claim the Crown, or any Honours or Hereditaments, as Heirs to King Edward the Sixth or any other Person.

And again, the said two Ladies, Mary and Elizabeth, being but of the half-blood to King Edward, albeit they had been born in lawful Matrimony, yet by the antient Laws of the Realm they were not inheritable to him by

(p) Herein our Author grossly wrongeth the Memories of these two Gentlemen, Mountague and Cecil; out of what Design I know not, nor as little do I know whence he had it. For neither Stow nor Sanders mention it.

For first, as for Cecil, he was so far from assisting in this matter, either by Advice, or devising Reasons for the Patent, that he oppos'd it as much as he could (and so Camden expressly saith) tho he signed with the rest. Moreover, I have seen an Apology of Cecil's own drawing about his Concern herein. There he shew'd, 'How he refused to subscribe the Book, when none of the Council did refuse; whereby he incurred the Indignation of the Duke of Northumberland. That he refused to make a Proclamation (for the proclaiming Queen Jane) and turned the Labour to Throng-morton. That he refused the writing of a Letter to send abroad in the Realm for the shewing Queen Jane's Title. That this he refused because he would not write Queen Mary BASTARD. And the Duke wrote it himself, 'That he avoided being present at the drawing up of the Proclamation for the publishing of Queen Jane's Title, tho he were especially appointed thereunto. That he avoided answering the Queen's Letters, which she wrote from Kenninghall to the Council, requiring their Obedience. That he avoided likewise writing all public Letters to the Realm, upon Jane's Access to the Crown. Still further, that he practis'd with the L. Treasurer to win the L. Privy Seal, that he might by the L. Russell's means, cause Windsor Castle to serve the Queen; and they two to levy the West Parts for the Queen's Service. That he opened himself to the L. Arundel, whom he found thereto disposed. That he did the like to the L. Darcy. That he purpos'd to have stolen down to the Queen's Highness, and Gajnahd offer'd to lead him thither, because he knew not the way. And that he had his Hories ready at Lambeth for that purpose. That when he heard of this Purpose first secretly [viz. of making the Lady Jane Queen] he disliked it, and fearing the Event, convey'd away his Lands, his Goods, and his Leases. All these things considered, who can think it true, that he furnish'd the Patent of Settlement with Arguments taken from Law and Policy? The most he did, was to sign with the rest. Which also he did as a Witness to King Edward's Deed, and not as an Abettor or Counsellor.

This for Cecil. Then for Sir Edward Mountague, L. Chief Justice, how he stood affected, and what he did in this Affair, may be seen by an original Paper, drawn up by that Judges own hand, which his Great Grandchild Edward Lord Mountagu of Boughton communicated unto Dr. Tho. Fuller. The Sum of which was, That he and the rest of the Judges told the King, that the Bill of Articles shew'd to them, according to which they should frame a Book for the Settlement of the Crown in the Lady Jane, was directly against the Act of Succession. Which was an Act of Parliament, and would be taken away by no such Device. But when it was the King's absolute Will, that a Book should be made according to those Articles, Mountagu took them. And the next day he and the rest concluded to do nothing, but to report to the Lords, that not only the executing this Device was Treason after the King's Death, but the making of this Device was presently Treason. And so they did report to the Council. And that upon it the Duke of Northumberland was in a great fury, and called Sir Edward Traitor. And so he departed home without doing any thing more. Afterwards Mountagu received another Letter from the Council to come to the Court. He and some others of the Judges and Lawyers being come, they were brought to the King; who demanding why they had not made the Book, Mountagu told the King the reason. And moreover, that if they had, it were of no effect nor force, but utterly void, when the King should decease. And that the Statute of Succession could not be taken away, but by the same Authority that made it: and that was a Parliament. And advis'd the King that all might be referred to a Parliament. The King said, they should make it, and afterward it should be ratified by Parliament. That divers of the Lords then said, that if he and the rest refused now, they were Traitors. So that, what with the Duke's Anger the day before, and the King's and other Lords now, he was in the greatest fear that ever he was in in his Life. And so at last, being an old Man, and for safety of his Life, he told the King, that he had served his Father and his Highness during his Life, and loth he would be to disobey his Commandment; and he would for his own part obey it, so that he had his Highness's Licence and Commission under the Great Seal for the doing of it; and when done, to have a general Pardon: both which were granted him. And he and the rest made the Device, as he writ, with sorrowful Hearts and weeping Eyes. And lastly, after he had done this, to shew how little he approv'd of what he was forced to do, he sent his Son to serve and assist Q. Mary with twenty men, with other Gentlemen of Buckinghamshire. By what is afore-written, it sufficiently appears, our Author hath wronged the Memory of these two Worthy Men, and wronged Posterity also, in imposing upon their Belief Matters of Falshood. J. S.

1553. Descent, and had no Capacity in any degree to receive any Inheritance from him.

And in Policy.

The Reasons or Pretexes of Necessity to the State were these: In case the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should enjoy the Crown, they would assuredly join in Marriage with some Stranger, who would reduce this noble and free Realm into the Servitude of the Bishop of *Rome*, and thereby bring in foreign Customs and Laws, abolishing those whereupon the Rights of all native Subjects depend. And haply the whole Body of the Realm should hereby be annex'd as a Member to some other greater Kingdom, to the utter Subversion of the antient Dignity and Estate thereof. The People were not unlike to elect a King of some private Stock, a popular and seditious Man, peradventure one who to countenance his own Unworthiness and Obsequy, would little regard what Contumely he cast upon the falling Family of the Kings before him. Wherefore he held it the most provident Advice, that the King by his Authority should design not only his next Successor, but others also in Reversion, that the Crown might not be subject to rising, but remain to those whom he lov'd, and who humour'd him best.

Lady Jane's Character.

These Reasons did more easily sink into the King's Judgment, partly by means of the great Affection which he bare to the Religion that he had establish'd, of the Change whereof he was assuredly perswaded, in case the Lady *Mary* his Sister should succeed; and partly by reason of the entire Love he bare to his Cousin the Lady *Jane*, a Woman of most rare and incomparable Perfections: for besides her excellent Beauty adorn'd with all variety of Virtues, as a clear Sky with Stars, as a princely Diadem with Jewels, she was most dear to the King in regard both of her Religion and of her Education in the Knowledge of the liberal Sciences, and Skill in Languages; for in Theology, in Philosophy, in all liberal Arts, in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and in the vulgar Languages of divers near Nations, she far exceeded all of her Sex, and any of her Years, unless haply the King himself.

The Import of the King's Letters Patents for her to succeed him.

Hereupon the King consented that Letters Patents should be drawn, importing that in case the King should die without Issue of his Body lawfully begotten, then the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, with his Title to the Crown of *France*, and all things to them belonging, should remain and come to the eldest Son of the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Lady *Mary*, youngest Sister to *Henry* the Eighth, in case such Issue should be born into the World during the Life of King *Edward*, and after to the Heirs Male of the said

Issue, and in like sort from Son to Son of the said Lady *Frances* lawfully begotten, as they should be in priority of Birth, and born during the King's Life; and in default of such Sons, and of Heirs Male of every such Son lawfully begotten, that then the said Crown and all the Premises should remain and come to the Lady *Jane*, eldest Daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, and the Heirs Male of her lawfully begotten; and for default of such Issue, the said Crown to remain to the Lady *Katherine*, second Daughter to the said Lady *Frances*, with divers other Remainders, over which as they were vainly appointed, so are they needful to be repeated.

These Letters were dated the one and twentieth of *June*, in the seventh Year of King *Edward's* Reign, and by him sign'd when he was in great debility of Body, and afterwards pass'd under the Great Seal of *England*. And albeit the coarse Contrivance was almost visible; first, for that such provision was made for the Issue Male of the said Lady *Frances*, who neither at that time had any, and was commonly reputed to be past Years of Child-bearing; secondly, for that in case that beyond the ordinary Course of Nature she should conceive, the hope was desperate, that the King should live until the Birth; lastly, for that her Children born, and to be born, were so carefully and orderly remember'd, and no mention made of her self, from whom then Title must be deriv'd: Yet these Letters were subscrib'd by all the Privy Counsellors, the greatest part both of number and power of the Nobility of the Realm, the Bishops, the King's learned Counsel, and all the Judges at the Common Law, except only Sir *James Hales*, (q) one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, a Man well observ'd to be both religious and upright, who worthily refus'd to subscribe, and was unworthily requited by Queen *Mary* afterwards. (r)

It is very like that some of these were guided with respect of their particular Interest, for that they were possess'd of divers Lands which once pertain'd to Monasteries, Chantries, and other Religious Houses not long before dissolv'd. Of these they held themselves in some danger to lose, in case Religion should change to the antient Form, which by Succession of *Q. Mary* they did evidently foresee.

Others were drawn partly by Fear, and partly by Obligation to the Duke of *Northumberland*, who then was exceeding potent, and almost absolute in Government of the State, and suppos'd able to make any Title good, either by his Authority, or by his Sword.

Now whether a King may lawfully dispose by his Will, or otherwise, of a Kingdom that

(q) It was very long and with great ado, before two others would be brought to subscribe, who ought therefore to be mentioned; viz. *Cranmer* the Archbishop, and Secretary *Cecil*: The former over-perswaded by the earnest Solicitation of the King, and the latter forced by Threatning and Terror. J. S.

How Judge Hales was serv'd.

(r) The matter of this unworthy Requit of Judge *Hales* was this. Soon after the Queen's Access to the Throne, at a Quarter Sessions (not at a Circuit, as the Bp of *Sarum* mistakes in his *History of the Reformation*) he declared, as he ought to do, that the Laws of King *Edward* were as yet in force and unrepealed: and therefore admonish'd the Justices of the Peace that they should see them duly performed, and not transgressed, as many People tumultuously did. Upon this he was informed against, and first committed to the King's Bench (not the *Marshalsea*, as the said Bishop relates it) and thence toss'd to the Counter, and thence to the Fleet. In the mean time partly dealt withal to turn his Religion, being a conscientious Protestant, and partly terrified with Threatnings if he did not, he at length made a Compliance upon Bp *Day's* Communication with him. But the next day, being exceedingly disturbed in his Mind for what he had done, wounded himself with a Penknife. Upon his Submission at last he recovered his Liberty, but never recovered himself: and being at his House in *Kent*, one day took an opportunity to go forth, and drowned himself. J. S.

hath

1553.
The Au-
thor's His-
tory of the
three Nor-
man Kings.

hath been long carry'd in one Form of Suc-
cession, contrary to that antient Form, I have
largely discours'd in my History of the three
Norman Kings, about the beginning of the
Reign of King William the Second: But cer-
tain it is, that when Kingdoms have custo-
mably been carry'd by Right of Succession,
according to Proximity of Blood, the Viola-
tion of which course hath always been either ve-
ry vain or with dangerous consequence, it hath
always been like the breaking of a Band which
holdeth a Sheaf of Arrows together, like a
Rupture in Banks which bindeth a River with-
in its proper Channel, or like a casting down
of a Pale wherewith Deer or other Beasts are
inclos'd. It was never done, but either no
Effect ensu'd, or bloody Disorders, or haply
both: and the Duke, by piercing his ambitious
Purposes with his unjust Policy, did no other-
wise than often doth a foolish greedy Gamester,
who by stealing a Card to win a Stake, forfeits
the whole rest.

The King's
Disease
grows violent.

But having thus in his own opinion assur'd
his own Devices, nothing remain'd but that
the King should not longer survive, left haply
his sickly Judgment might be over-ru'd by
sounder Advice. His Disease was violent, but
his Physicians conceiv'd some hope of Reco-
very, in case he might be remov'd to change
of healthful Air, which in Infirmities of the
vital Parts, the Seat of his Sickness, is of
greatest moment for the Cure.

A Gentle-
woman un-
dertakes
the King's
Cure.

But hereto the Council would not consent:
so he continu'd without either any sensible
mending or impairing for a time. At the
last a Gentlewoman, unworthy to be named,
but accounted to be a School-mistress for the
purpose, offer'd her Service assuredly to cure
him, in case he were committed wholly to her
hand. Hereto the Physicians would in no
case afford their Advice, because as she could
give no reason either of the Nature of the
Disease or of the Part afflicted, so she would
not declare the Means whereby she intended to
work the Cure.

His Physi-
cians are
discharg'd.

After some shew of Deliberation among the
Council, it was resolv'd that the Physicians
should be discharg'd, and the Cure committed
to her alone. The apparent Defect both of
her Judgment and Experience, join'd to the
Weightiness of the Adventure, caus'd many
to marvel, and some deeply to suspect that
she was but an Instrument of Mischief. This
Surmise was strongly confirm'd within a very
short time ensuing, when the King did fall
into desperate Extremities; his vital Parts
were mortally stuff'd, which brought him to
a difficulty of Speech and of Breath; his Legs
swell'd, his Pulse fail'd, his Skin chang'd co-

lour, and many other horrid Symptoms ap-
pear'd.

Then were the Physicians call'd again, who
espying him in that fearful Estate, departed
from him with a sad silence, leaving him to
the miserable Mercy of near-approaching
Death. Some of these whisper'd among their
private Friends, that they were call'd for
faulcon only, but neither their Advice nor Ap-
pliances were any deal regarded, but the King
had been ill dealt with more than once; and
that when by the Benefit both of his Youth
and of careful Means there was fair hope of
his Recovery, he was again more strongly
overlaid.

Yet as Cruelty and Wrong never stand se-
cure, so the Duke thought one thing more ex-
pedient for alluring his Designs, and that was
to draw the Lady Mary wholly into his power.
To this purpose Letters were directed to her
in the King's Name from the Council, wil-
ling her forthwith to resort to the King, as
well to be a Comfort to him in his Sickness,
as to see all matters well order'd about him.

The Lady suspecting no lurking Mischief, ad-
dress'd her self with all speed to the Journey,
expressing great joy that either her Company
or her Service should be esteem'd needful to
the King; but as she was upon the way, and
within half a day's journey of London, her
foot ready to slip into the Snare, she receiv'd
Advice both of the King's desperate Estate,
and of the Duke's Designments against her:
whereupon she return'd in haste to her House
at *Hunsdon*, where in a short time she heard
how unprofitable her Journey would have been
to London. (f)

So the King having long wrestled with a
lingring and tormenting Sickness, at the last
his Spirits yielded to the Malice of his Dis-
ease; which as with great patience he did en-
dure, so with no less piety did he end it.
Many fervent Prayers he made, both for him-
self and for the People of his Realms, and
some when he was esteem'd almost past Sense;
and so spent his last Breath, in committing his
sweet Soul into the Almighty's hands which
had created it.

He died at *Greenwich* upon Thursday the
sixth day of July, in the Year 1553. and in
the seventeenth Year of his Age, when he had
reign'd six Years, five Months and nine Days.
Two days (t) his Death was conceal'd, to open
a strait way for the Duke's crooked Purposes.
His Body was bury'd upon the ninth of August
in the same Year, in the Chappel of St. Peter's
Church in *Westminster*, and laid near to the
Body of King Henry the Seventh, his Grand-
father. (u)

(f) The Lady Mary was at *Hunsdon* in *Hertfordshire* in the time of her Brother's Sickness: But speeded away a
little before his Death at a farther distance to *Kenninghall* near *Norfolk*. Where she seems to be at the Death of the
King; and whence three days after, viz. July the 9th, she wrote to the Council, wondering that in so long
time they had not acquainted her with the King's Departure, since she was by all Law and Right to succeed.

J. S.
(t) Two days after the King's Death, the Lords of the Privy Council being at *Greenwich*, sent for the Lord Mayor of *London*,
Sir George Barnes, thither; and to bring with him six or eight of his Brethren the Aldermen, and twelve Death's
Merchants. Who being come in the Afternoon, they acquainted them secretly that the King died two days before, made
and whom he had appointed by his Letters Patents to succeed in the Government of the Kingdom. known.

The same day the Lords sent the sad News abroad to *Sir Philip Hobby* Ambassador with the Emperor, to whom he
might take his opportunity to relate it: Assigning the Cause of his Death to be a Putrifaction of his Lungs, utterly un-
curable of this Evil; but that the Manner of his Death was such towards God, as assured them that his Soul was in place
of eternal Rest.

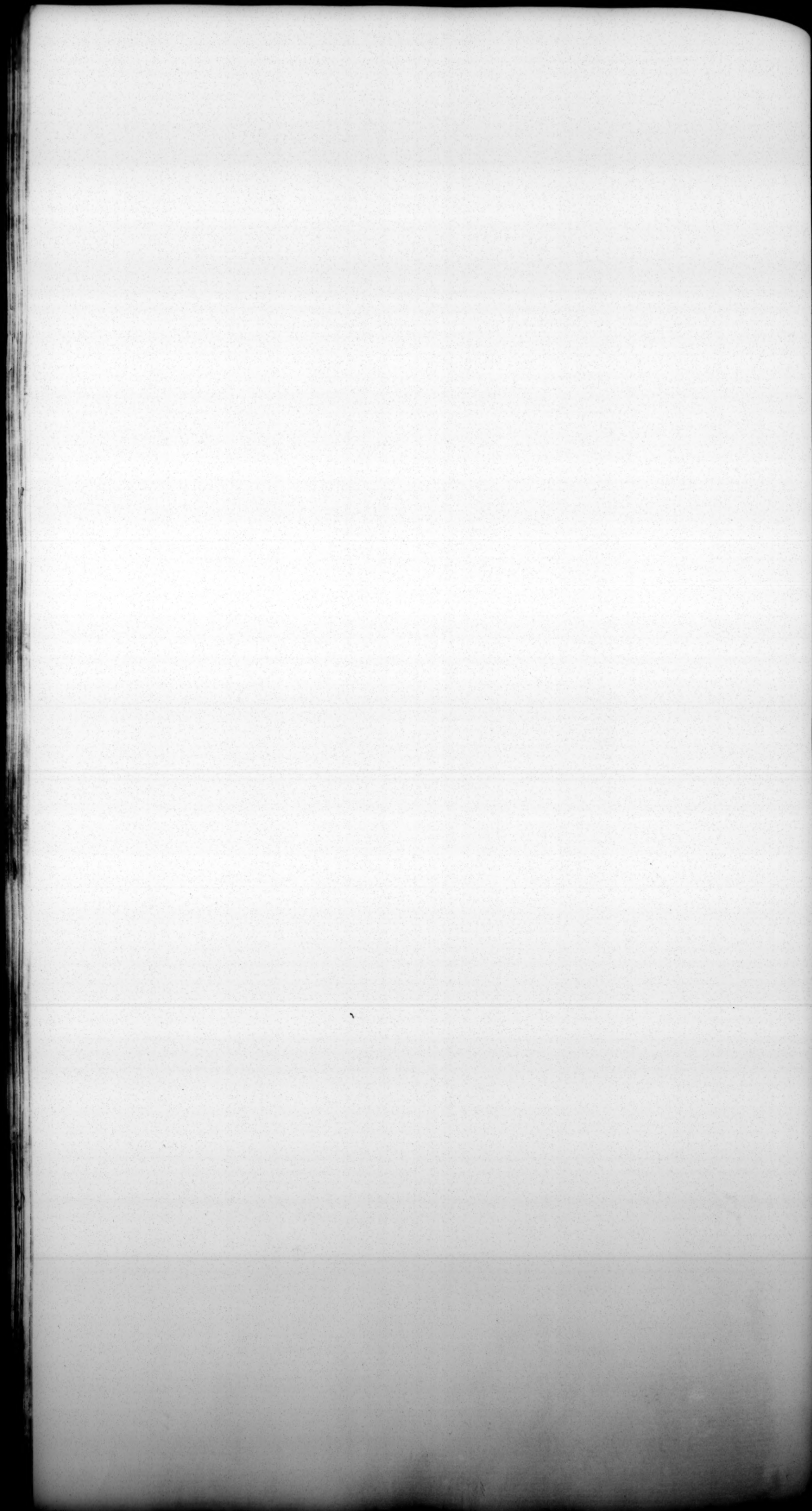
(u) His Funerals began to be celebrated the 8th of August. A Majesty was set up for him in the Chappel at *Whitehall*, The King's
and another at *Westminster* Abby. His Corps was drawn in a Chariot covered with Cloth of Gold. Whereon lay his Funerals.
Effigies

1553. Effigies with a Crown of Gold and a great Collar, his Scepter in his Hand, covered with his Robes, a Garter about his Leg, and his Coat with Embroidery of Gold. The Marquis of Winchester was chief Mourner, and next him went twelve other great Lords Mourners, that is, six Earls and six Barons, going two and two. Archbishop Cramer performed the Office of Burial according to the Reformed way: and Day, Bishop of Chichester, preached the Funeral Sermon. He was interred at the Head of his Grandfather K. Henry VII. and resteth under an Altar Monument of Brass gilt, curiously wrought, but without any Inscription, tho he well deserved it. J. S.

*This History of King EDWARD the Sixth
I have built for the Monument of his
Unperishable Fame.*

ANNALS





ANNALS

OF THE

REIGN

OF

Queen MARY.

Translated from the *Latin* of *FRANCIS GODWIN*,
 Lord Bishop of *HEREFORD*, by *J. H.*
 With *ADDITIONAL NOTES* by *J. S.*

Anno Dom. 1553. Reg. I.

1553.

WHEN the Lady *Mary* receiv'd the News of Her Brother's Death, having long before been acquainted with the Duke of *Northumberland's* secret Practices, She judg'd it unsafe to remain near *London*, where Her Enemies were in full Power; and therefore, pretending a fear of the Plague, by reason of the sudden Death of one of Her Domesticks, She withdrew from *St. Edmond's-Bury*, (Her Abode at that time) and in one Day came to *Framlingham-Castle*, in the County of *Suffolk*, about Fourscore Miles from *London*, and not far from the Sea; by which, if the Extremity of Her Affairs requir'd it, She might have an easie Passage to *France*.

Lady Mary
 lies into
 Suffolk.

As soon as She arriv'd, She took the Title of Queen; and sending Letters to Her Friends, and to the Nobility, requir'd 'em with all Expedition to attend Her. *Northumberland* in the mean time, having for two whole Days held a Consultation with his Friends, about the Measures to be taken in this important Juncture, sent to the Lord-Mayor before the King's Death was publish'd, and requir'd his Attendance at *Greenwich*, with Six Aldermen, and Twelve other principal Citizens. When they came, he inform'd 'em of His Majesty's Decease, and of Lady *Jane's* Accession to the Throne, shewing 'em the King's Will, and the Patent Sign'd for that purpose 14 Days before; then, by Promises or Threatings, he oblig'd 'em to take the Oaths to Her, and enjoyn'd 'em under a great Penalty, not to divulge what they had heard: For he had Cunning enough, to know what an Advantage 'twou'd be, if he

could gain the City into his Interest; and hop'd, that if the King's Death cou'd for a while be kept secret, Lady *Mary*, ignorant, as he suppos'd, of what had pass'd, might be oppress'd without any difficulty. But when 'twas reported that she had made her Escape into *Suffolk*, most of the Nobility, with all the Solemnities of Royal Pomp, conducted Lady *Jane* to the *Tower of London*, acknowledged her for their Queen, and caus'd her to be Proclaim'd.

Lady
Jane Pro-
 claim'd
 Queen.

This Princess was about Sixteen, not Unhandfome, Learned beyond Imagination, of a most acute Wit, and for Prudence, even at that Age, superior to her Sex; Extremely Pious, devoted to the Reformed Faith, and so far from aspiring to the Honour conferr'd on her, that she took the *Regalia* with Tears; so that it plainly appear'd she was compell'd to ascend the Throne by the Importunities of her Parents and Friends, directly contrary to her own Inclination. When she pass'd thro' the City to the *Tower*, she was not saluted with any Acclamations, tho' vast Crouds flock'd about her, drawn rather, it seems, to gratifie their Curiosity, than to express their Joy: And this was the first Omen which encourag'd Queen *Mary's* Friends to the Resolution of making some Attempt in Her behalf, when a proper Occasion should offer; for, tho' they were aw'd from any immediate Motion by the Presence of *Northumberland*, a Man of the sharpest Discernment, and deepest Politicks, they hop'd, if they cou'd by any means hereafter, get him to a distance, they might be able to effect something considerable.

The same Day that Lady *Jane* went to the *Tower*, Queen *Mary's* Letters arriv'd, and were

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read

1553. read in Council ; in which She commanded 'em to come and pay their Duty and Allegiance to Her, as rightful Heir to the Crown, and so acknowledg'd by the Major Part of the Kingdom. At the same time, News was brought that the People of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* had taken the Oaths to Her ; and indeed it plainly appear'd to the wisest Observers, that the Commonalty were almost every where alienated from Lady *Jane* : For this Reason, they resolv'd upon raising Forces with all possible speed, that they might surprize *Mary*, and bring her to *London* by force. The Duke of *Suffolk* was design'd General ; but those who privately favour'd *Mary*, influenc'd the new Queen to keep Her Father near Her, and to send *Northumberland* on this Expedition ; who, they said, might do more by the Terror of his Name, (for he had lately reduc'd the *Norfolk* Rebels) than the other by his Arms or Counsel, or any other way ; and besides, who was a more proper Guardian to the Daughter, than her own Father ? As for the City, Her Council were at hand to govern it with their usual Wisdom and Fidelity.

Mov'd with these Reasons, She prevail'd with *Northumberland*, after some difficulty, to undertake this Charge. He was in a World of Apprehension, least any Disorder should happen in his Absence ; but since he had no way to get himself excus'd, he prepar'd for the Expedition ; and on the 13th. of July, with an Army of 6000 Men, march'd out of *London*. As he was passing thro' the City, 'tis said, he turn'd to the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who was with him, and desir'd him to observe the Crouds that press'd to see their March ; Yet, says he, in all this Multitude, my Lord, you do not hear one wish us Prosperity. (a)

The Citizens were extremely Zealous in the Cause of Religion, as were likewise most of the People in *Suffolk*, and a great many in *Norfolk*, and they all knew how entirely *Mary* was the Creature of Popery. But 'tis the Manner of the *English*, to have such a constant Veneration for the lawful Sovereign, that no

Pretences or Colours, not even of Religion it self, can draw 'em from their Loyalty : Of which Truth, the unhappy Fall of Lady *Jane*, which we shall presently relate, was a memorable Example. For tho' the Foundation of her Government was laid with all possible Strength, and the Superstructure carry'd on with the utmost Art ; yet, as soon as the true and undoubted Successor appear'd, and made her Claim, the whole Fabrick fell at once, and was dissipated in a Moment, and that chiefly by the Means of those very Persons, who for the sake of Religion were expected to continue most firm to Lady *Jane*.

The Preachers whom *Northumberland* had appointed in great Numbers at *London*, to oppose Queen *Mary's* Title, prevail'd but little in the City it self : Nor was the Learned and Pious *Ridley*, who had been made Bishop of *London* after *Boner's* Deprivation, at all regarded upon this Subject. Indeed 'tis much to be wish'd that so excellent a Man had avoided the false Step he now made ; For, as to Lady *Mary*, if there had been nothing in what the Lawyers affirm, That the Offspring of a Marriage solemnly contracted, tho' it should afterwards be dissolv'd, shall be held Legitimate, yet why it was judg'd necessary to Exclude her Sister *Elizabeth* too, I can never sufficiently admire, nor do I think any probable Reason is to be assign'd by those who were dissatisfy'd with *Mary's* Birth. To say nothing of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, to whom, after King *Henry* the Eighth's Offspring, the Right of Succession undoubtedly belong'd. But whatever were the Reasons alledg'd by the Preachers, 'tis certain they had no Influence upon the Common People, who continually flock'd in great Multitudes to Queen *Mary* ; and not the common fort only, but a considerable Number of the best Interest and Quality, took the first opportunity to joyn her. Among these are reckon'd particularly the Earls of *Bath*, and of *Suffex* ; *Wharton* and *Mordant*, both Barons eldest Sons ; Sir *William Drury*, Sir *John Shelton*, Sir *Henry Benefield*, Sir *Henry Fernigam*, *Sulierd*, *Freston*, and o-

Transacti-
ons of Q.
Jane at
Home,

(a) This was done at Home by Queen *JANE* and Her Council. Some Days before, the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral, was made Constable of the Tower ; who presently planted the Tower round with Great Guns, made ready for Service : And the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties had their Commissions confirmed to them by this Temporary Queen, whose Letters, I suppose, ran in the same Tenor with that to the Marquess of *Northampton*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Surrey*, *Northampton*, *Bedford* and *Berks*, which bore Date July the 10th. wherein She shew'd him, That She had entred upon the Possession of the Kingdom, styling it Her Rightful Possession, as was evident by the Will of Her late Cousin, *K. Edward*, and several other Instructions to that Effect, Signed with His own Hand : Ordering him to defend Her right Title against the Lady *MARY*, whom the Letter stiled *BASTARD* to Her Great Uncle King *HENRY VIII*.

And A-
broad.

Now as to what was done for settling Matters Abroad with Foreign Princes. July the 8th. Letters were sent from the Council to *Hoby*, *Morison*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, Ambassadors at the Emperor's Court at *Brussels*, importing the Death of *K. Edward* ; and that they should declare it to the Emperor, and to pray Him to remember the Antient Amity between the two Crowns, and to continue it. July the 11th. *Richard Shelley* was sent Ambassador to the Emperor, to whom he carried a Letter from *JANE* Her Self : She also wrote another dated July the 12th. to the foresaid Ambassadors at that Court, setting forth Her Title to the best Advantage : As, that She was possess'd of the Crown by Her Cousin King *Edward's* Lawful Determination, and by the Assent of the Nobility and States of the Realm ; calling Her Self the Lawful Heir and Successor in the whole Blood-Royal. Sir *Philip Hoby* She appointed to reside at the Emperor's Court, as Her Ambassador there ; and both him and the two other to repair to the Emperor, and offer their Mediation, as they had before employed it by the Command of Her Predecessor *K. Edward*, for the begetting of a good Peace between Him and the French King. July the 16th. the Ambassadors had Admittance and Speech with the Emperor ; who spake to them many good Words, and Commendations of His good Brother *K. Edward*, Deceased ; and declared His ready Mind, to keep and observe the Amity and good Correspondence that He had before with this Realm, and thanked the Council for their good Will towards Him. July the 17th. the Ambassadors by Letters, signified to the Council the Contents of the Emperor's Discourse with them ; and yet to try Him further, advis'd their Lordships to offer a new League to Him, or to confirm the old, or to use some other Means.

Cott. Li-
brary. Gal-
ba B. 12.

But *Shelley* that lately came, understanding the Inclination of the People of *England* towards the Lady *Mary*, made some delay, and delivered not his Letters at all : And the others as yet moved nothing concerning the new Queen to the Emperor. *Shelley* makes hast Home : The Ambassadors hearing of Queen *Mary's* Success and Access to the Crown, and having no Letters sent to them, were in a Maze what to do ; and upon *Shelley's* Departure, signified as much by their Letters to the Council.

there ;

1553.

thers; but the principal of all was Sir Edward Hastings, (b) the Earl of Huntingdon's Brother, who having a Commission from Northumberland to raise 4000 Foot, went over with 'em to Queen Mary; for which Service She afterwards created him Baron of Loughborough. Sir John Williams too was rais'd to the same Rank of Quality, in reward for his faithful Performances at that time; and Serjeant Morgan having done his utmost among the rest, was soon after made one of the Lords Chief-Justices.

An Accident favourable to Queen Mary.

But there was an Accident that prov'd of very great Advantage to Mary's Affairs; Northumberland had order'd 6 Men of War to lie upon the Coast towards Holland, to intercept her if she shou'd Attempt her Escape; or to be ready against any extraordinary Occasion. It happen'd that they were driven by strefs of Weather into Yarmouth Harbour, at the same time that there was a Levy of Forces for Queen Mary; the Seamen and Soldiers being prevail'd upon, both by Threatnings and Promises to Revolt, deliver'd their Ships to Sir Henry Fernegam, one of Mary's Commanders, which gave such a fortunate Turn to her Affairs, that she receiv'd the News with the greatest Joy imaginable; for being now furnish'd with Men, Ammunition, and a Train of Artillery, she resolv'd to march against her Rival, not in the least fearing Northumberland's Troops.

The Lords who were with Lady Jane, as soon as they heard of this, were in very great Dread what might be the Result of it. And Mary's Friends at Court being grown bolder, began to open their Minds to each other; desiring nothing more than the Liberty of going out of the Tower, that they might confer more freely. Northumberland had now written to the Council, to desire a Reinforcement. After he began his March, besides his Four Sons, and the Marquis of

Northampton, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord Gray, and several others of the first Rank, he had 8000 Foot and 2000 Horse, when he arriv'd at Cambridge. But by that time he was come to St. Edmunds-Bury, he found great Numbers of his Men had deserted, and was vehemently afraid that most of the rest wou'd follow 'em. For this Reason he mov'd back again to Cambridge, and ply'd the Council with continual and earnest Applications for Recruits. Mary's Party taking hold of this Opportunity, came to a Resolution, That the Necessary Forces should be rais'd as soon as possible. But they said, None except themselves ought to be trusted with the Command of 'em, for fear of the same Trick that was play'd 'em a little before by Sir Edward Hastings. Thus by Suffolk's leave they got out of the Tower, where they had been in effect Prisoners, and dispers'd themselves over the City. Those of 'em that appear'd most devoted to Queen Mary's Interest, were the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer; Herbert Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Arundel, (who with Paget not long before had been kept Prisoner a whole Year by Northumberland,) and Sir Thomas Cheyny, Warden of the Cinque-Ports. By the Care and Industry of these, all of the Council that cou'd be found (except Suffolk only) and several others of the Nobility who were known not to be ill-affected to Queen Mary, were assembled at the Earl of Pembroke's House, known by the ancient Name of Bainard Castle, under Colour of treating other Matters, but in reality to concert Measures for reducing Lady Jane.

Northumberland's Soldiers desert.

In this Assembly the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost Severity. He ran over the History of the late Times, and reckoning up every Act of Mismanagement, Cruelty, and Injustice, committed in King Edward the VIth's Reign, threw the Odium of all upon him only; then he

(b) And no question this Sir Edward Hastings was excited the more to put himself forward in aiding Queen Mary in this Juncture, by the earnest and gracious Letter She had sent him; which was to this Tenor.

Lady Mary to Hastings.

MARY the Queen,

Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousin, We Grete you well: Advertising you that to Our great Grief and Heaviness of Heart, We have received woful News and Advertisement, that the King Our Dearest Brother, and late Sovereign Lord, is departed to God's Mercy, upon Thursday last at Night. By means whereof, the Right of the Crown of this Realm of England, with the Governance thereof, and the Title of France, is justly come unto Us by God's mere Providence; as appears by such Provisions as have been made by Act of Parliament, and the Testament and last Will of Our late dearest Father King HENRY VIII. for Our Preferment in this Behalf. Whereby you are now discharged of your Duty of Allegiance to Our said Brother the King, and unburthened and set at large to observe, execute, and obey any Commandment heretofore, or hereafter to be addrest unto you by Letter or otherwise, from or in the Name, or by Colour of the Authority of the same King, Our late Brother; and only to Us and our Person are, and owe to be Our true Liegeman.

Wherefore, Right Trusty and Right Welbeloved, for the special Trust and Affiance we have in you, and as you be a Nobleman, We require, command, and charge you to have an Heart and Eye vigilant and fully bent to God's Glory, Our Honour, the Surety of our Person, and the Universal Quietness of the whole Realm; especially of those Our Counties of Middlesex and Bucks, where your Habitation and Mansion is: And that ye stir not in a forcible Array at the Commandment, Call or Bidding, by Letters or otherwise, of any Person or Persons whatsoever, except of Us your Sovereign Lady: And except also, if any wilful Person, as God forbid, will dare and attempt otherwise violently and by force, that to you shall seem prejudicial unto Us, Our Right and Title aforesaid. For the prevention of which Cause, and also to the Intent you shall and may be ready to serve Us, at Our Command hereafter, to be Addrest to you, We will you shall to the best of your Power fortify and prepare your self. And this Our Letter Signed with Our Hand shall be your Warrant and Discharge in this behalf. Willing you further not to doubt, but that We shall in the Ballance of Equity, Reason, and Justice consider your Endeavour; and also employ Our own Person and Study accordingly: And so prosecute you with such Our good Favour and Grace, as shall advance God's Glory and the Commonweale, to your Comfort with the help of God, who have Us all in his blessed Keeping. Yeoven at Our Mannour of Kenningale, the ix of July, in the Year of Our Lord God, 1553.

The People of Buckinghamshire to the Number of Four thousand, being got into Arms for the Lady MARY, headed by this Gentleman, Sir Edward Hastings, JANE wrot to several Gentlemen of the best Rank of the same County immediately to levy their Servants and Tenants to quell these Rebels as She stiled them. Her Letter to Sir John Bridges, and Sir Nic. Poyntz, which She wrot July the 18. is repositied in the Appendix to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. Wherein She ordered them to forbear raising the Servants and Tenants of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, as relying on them otherwise for Her Service, tho they were at that Instant plotting and contriving Her Overthrow.

1553. made expostulating Complaints, that the Children of K. Henry the VIIIth shou'd contrary to all Right be thrust from the Succession; and profess'd himself amaz'd, to think how Northumberland had brought such Great and Noble Persons (meaning those present) to so mean Servitude, as to be made the Tools of his wicked Designs: For 'twas by their Consent and Assistance that the Crown was put upon the Daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's Daughter-in-Law; the Sovereignty in effect remaining in him, of exercising the most uncontrollable Rage and Tyranny over their Lives and Fortunes. To accomplish this Usurpation indeed, the Cause of Religion was pretended; but tho they had forgot the Apostle's Advice, not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of Fear, but for Conscience sake; yet who, he ask'd, had seen Cause to think, that in Matters of Religion Queen Mary intended any Alteration? For when She was lately Address'd about this in Suffolk, She had (which indeed was true) given a very fair Satisfactory Answer. And what a Madness is it, says he, for Men to throw themselves into certain Destruction, to avoid an uncertain Danger. I heartily wish there had been no such Transgression; but since there has, the best Remedy for a past Error, is a timely Repentance; wherefore 'tis my Advice, that we all join our utmost Endeavours, that so by our Authority, Mary, the Rightful and Undoubted Heiress of these Kingdoms, may be Proclaim'd Queen.

The Lords
resolve
for Queen
Mary.

After he had ended his Speech, the Earl of Pembroke generously profess'd aloud his Approbation of Arundel's Proposal; and clapping his hand to his Sword, added, That he was ready to dispute that Matter at the Peril of his Life with any who durst oppose it. Upon this, they all went into the same Resolution; and sending for the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, proceeded in a full Body into Cheapside, and there with Sound of Trumpet Proclaim'd Queen Mary; From thence they all went to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was sung; after which, they sent some to seize upon the Tower, and oblige Suffolk to appear before the Council. Upon the first hearing of what had pass'd, the Duke, as much dejected now as he had before been exalted, went into his Daughter's Apartment, order'd all the Ceremonies of Royalty to cease, and admonish'd Her to bear with what Patience she cou'd, her Return to a Private State. She answer'd him with a Countenance not at all Discompos'd, That this was a more welcome Summons to her, than that which forc'd her against her Will to such an Elevation. In Obedience to you, my Lord, said she, and to my Mother, I acted a Violence on my self, and have been guilty of a grievous Offence. But this present is my own Act, and I willingly resign, to correct another's Fault, if so great a Fault can be corrected by my Resignation and sincere Acknowledgment. Having said this, she retir'd to her Closet, more Solicitous for her Life, which she knew to be in danger, than concern'd for the Loss of her Crown.

Jane de-
thron'd.

Suffolk went directly to the Council, and subscrib'd their Decree; On the 19th of July it was Proclaim'd with such Rejoycing of the People, that after the Name of Mary was read, not a word more cou'd be heard for the general Acclamations. Arundel and Paget hav-

ing seen this accomplish'd according to their Minds, took Horse the same Night, and with a Party of 30 Horse more, made all possible hast to the Queen, who was transported with the News of so happy a Revolution. The Council in the mean time dispatch'd Letters to Northumberland, to certify him of what had pass'd, and requir'd him to Subscribe the Decree, and disband his Army. But before he receiv'd 'em, suspecting a Revolution, and cunningly hiding his Concern, he had Proclaim'd Queen Mary at Cambridge, and throwing up his Hat in the Croud, pretended to express his Joy. Then the Army was Disbanded, and all the Nobility going over to Queen Mary, obtain'd a Pardon, by throwing the whole Guilt on Northumberland.

The Unhappy Lady Jane, having thus as it were in a Play, acted the Part of Queen for a short space of ten Days, was seiz'd, and her Attendants remanded to their respective Homes; Northumberland too by Order of the Queen was Arrested by the Earl of Arundel, and sent Prisoner to the Tower. Some say that while he was doubtful what to do, and thinking how to make his Escape, as he was drawing on his Boots, the Guards (who under the Command of Sir John Gates follow'd him in that Expedition) seiz'd him, saying, 'Twas just he should bring 'em off from the Guilt of Treason. While he resisted, and a Contention arose between 'em, the Letters came from the Lords of the Council with the Contents above-mentioned; and a Command that every Man shou'd lay down his Arms and be gone to his own Dwelling. Upon the reading of these, the Duke was suffer'd to go free. But his Liberty lasted not long; for the very next Morning as he was preparing to take Horse, Arundel coming from the Queen seiz'd him and carry'd him away, together with several others, particularly his Eldest Son the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley, his Younger Sons, Sir Andrew Dudley his Brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir John Gates, with his Brother Henry Gates, and Doctor Edwin Sands.

On the 25 of July they were brought to London, and immediately confin'd in the Tower. Huntingdon not long after was Discharg'd, as his Son was at first. Sir John Gates, whom Northumberland accus'd as the Projector of all this Mischief, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were Executed; The Earl of Warwick dy'd in Prison; the Lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley were pardon'd, the latter of which was afterwards kill'd by a Shot at the Battel of St. Quintin; the other had the good Fortune to live to the Time of Queen Elizabeth, was created by Her Earl of Warwick, and flourish'd many Years in great Authority and Favour with Her. Sir Andrew Dudley receiv'd Sentence of Death, yet had the Queen's Pardon. Dr. Sands, who was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, by Northumberland's Order had preach'd against Queen Mary at the University, and defended the Title of Jane, but with that Prudence and Moderation, tho he had but a few hours to compose his Sermon, that the Duke was abundantly Satisfied; and yet the Offence to the other side was not so great, but that his Friends prevail'd for his Pardon. So that after almost a Year's Imprisonment he was Discharg'd, and presently fled to Germany; from thence returning after Queen Mary's Death, he was first made Bi-

1553.

Bishop of Worcester, then translated to the See of London; and lastly to the Archbishoprick of York. A Man very eminent for his Learning, Probity, and Prudence; to which I may likewise add his Birth and Family, and above all, his peculiar Happiness in an Offspring; for he left several Children, of whom Three were made Knights, and adorn'd with all the Felicities of Body and Mind.

July 26. Northampton, Ridley, and others brought to the Tower.

On the 26. of July were brought to the Tower likewise, the Marquis of Northampton, (who afterwards receiv'd Sentence of Death, but was Pardon'd.) Ridley Bishop of London, Burn'd two Years after at Oxford; and besides several others, Robert Dudley, another of Northumberland's Sons: This was the Great Earl of Leicester, afterwards under Queen Elizabeth, by whom he was rais'd to the highest Honours; but Death snatch'd him from his mighty Power, before he reach'd any considerable Age. July the 27th. the Duke of Suffolk was brought in, and four Days after, by a wonderful Instance of the Queen's Mercy, receiv'd a Pardon. Cheek, King Edward's Preceptor, and the Chief Justices Chemley and Montague, were Committed too at the same time, but on the 3d. of September were set at Liberty.

July 27. Duke of Suffolk Pardon'd.

July 30. Lady Elizabeth goes to meet her Sister.

July the 30th. the Lady Elizabeth, Queen Mary's Sister, with a great Number of Quality and Gentry of both Sexes, (some say 500, others 1000) went in State from her House thro' the City to meet her Sister, and to Congratulate Her Accession to the Throne; who

on the 3d. of August having disbanded Her Army, (which had not yet exceeded 13000 Men) was attended at Wansted by the chief Noblemen and Ladies of the Kingdom; and thus entering the City with a numerous Train, She came to the Tower. There met Her as humble Supplicants the Duke of Norfolk, who had been a Prisoner ever since his Son the Earl of Surrey was put to Death by King Henry the VIIIth. Edward Courtney, Son of the Marquis of Exeter, Executed in the Year 1538. Gardiner, depriv'd of his Bishoprick of Winchester about two Years before; and the Dutchess Dowager of Somerset, whose Lord had been Beheaded. They presented themselves on their Knees, and Gardiner in the Name of them all, made a Congratulatory Speech to the Queen, who kindly rais'd 'em one after another, saluted 'em, saying they were Her own proper Prisoners, and order'd their immediate Discharge. The next Day She restor'd Courtney to the Honour of his Family; Gardiner not only obtain'd his Bishoprick again, but on the 23d. of August following was made Lord Chancellor, tho' he formerly subscribed the Sentence of Divorce against the Queen's Mother, and had written in Defence of K. Henry's Proceedings.

1553.

The Queen comes to London.

The Lord Chancellor Gardiner.

On the 5th. of August, Bonner, formerly Bishop of London, and Tonstall sometime Bishop of Durham, were restor'd; (bb) and a little after, Day, Bishop of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, the late Incumbents being ejected without due Process of Law. (c)

Aug. 5th. Several Bishops Restor'd.

August

(bb) Bishop Bonner pretended that his Deprivation during his Appeal to King Edward from the Commissioners, was Illegal: Whereupon the Queen appointed several Judges Delegates, to examine his whole Cause. These Delegates were John Tregonwel and William Roper, Esquires; David Pool Archdeacon of Darby, Anthony Draicut Archdeacon of Huntington, and divers others, Doctors of the Civil-Law. And to countenance his Business the more, to these were joyn'd the Marquess of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Darby, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and several other Persons of Quality. To these Bonner in much Formality presented his Libel, stiled An Appellatory and Querelatory Libel against K. Edward's Commissioners; who were Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, Sir Tho. Smith, Dr. May, and others: And at length Sentence Definitive was pronounced in favour of Bonner, by the said Dr. Tregonwel; and the former Sentence was said to be rashly attempted to his prejudice, and Null in Law: And further, declared him to be restor'd as well to the Possession of his Bishoprick, as to all his Goods and Things, with their Rights and Appurtenances; and allowed him to take his Course against the said Commissioners, for his Expences, Losses, and Inconveniences of his Imprisonment. But it must be noted here, (to see the hard Measure of these Times) that upon the Appeal Bonner had made to K. Edward from the said Commissioners, that King did accordingly appoint the Lord Chancellor Rich, the Lord Treasurer, and many other Persons of great Eminency and Learning, both in the Common and Civil Law, to Examine all the Transactions with him, and whether his Appellation were to be deferred to: And in the End, they gave their resolute Determination, That the said Appellation was naught and unreasonable, and that the Sentence against him was rightly and justly pronounced.

Bonner's Restoration upon his Appeal.

Fox's Aets and Mon. P. 1210. Edit. 1610.

And as for the Deprivation of Cutbert, Bishop of Durham, the Queen set forth Her Commission to Examine also the Causes thereof: Which, (as the Act ran favourably) the Commissioners found to be upon untrue Surmises, and false Accusations of such as were inticed and provoked thereunto by ambitious Persons; whereupon the Sentence of Deprivation was repealed and reversed, and a certain Instrument was made thereof. Then the Queen did erect and establish again by Letters Patents the said Bishoprick, endowing it with all its Honours, Manours, and Possessions, which were in Her Hands by vertue of the Act that gave K. Edward the said Bishoprick and its Revenues; and She gave and disposed the said Bishoprick to the said Cutbert, and his Successors. So far the Queen went. But because, notwithstanding the Repeal of the Sentence of the Deprivation, the Bishop could not enjoy by Law all the said Honours, Manours, &c. because of the foresaid Act, therefore an Act was made in the Second Year of this Queen, to confirm Her Donation to him and his Successors.

Bishop of Durham's Sentence Reversed. Vid. the Act for the Repeal of the Act for the Dissolution of this Bishoprick, 1 Ma.

(c) These Bishops, with Bishop Gardiner aforementioned, being restor'd, were to be made use of in Commissions to depose and thrust out the other Bishops that favoured the Reformed Religion, and so stood in the way to the Courses now to be taken to overthrow it: For in the Month of March following, were Two Commissions issued out from the Queen; One dated on the 15th. and another on the 16th. Day, for the removing of them.

Commissions against King Edward's Bishops. Collect. Record. in the Hist. Ref. Vol. 2.

In the former, Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Tonstall, Bonner and Day, with the Bishops of S. Asaph and Landaff, or any two of them, were empowered to call before them, if they thought good, Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, Hoper of Worcester and Gloucester, and Hatley of Hereford; and to proceed to declare their Bishopricks void, for the making room for other meet Persons to be elected thereunto: Their pretended Bishopricks being said in the said Commission, to be given to them by Letters Patents of K. Edward, to hold the same during their good Behaviour, with the express Clause, *Quandiu se bene gesserint*; which was looked upon to be a Defect in their Title. It was urged against them further in the Commission, That they had declared themselves unworthy of the Vocation, by their Preaching and setting forth Erroneous Doctrines, and by inordinate Life and Conversation, [perhaps in respect of their Marriage] contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and the Use of the Universal Church: Whereupon their Places were said to be in Deed Void; As tho' nothing were wanting, but the declaring them Void, as the Commission gave Gardiner and the rest Authority and Warrant to do.

The other Commission dated the next Day, was directed to the same Six Bishops, to Amove, Deprive and Exclude from their Bishopricks Four more of these Bishops, viz. Holgate Archbishop of York, Farrar Bishop of St. David's, Bird of Chester, and Bujh of Bristol: And that because they had been guilty of very great and enormous

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1553.

Aug. 10.
King Ed-
ward's Fu-
neral.

August the 10th. the Funeral Rites of King Edward were perform'd : A Sermon was Preach'd on this Occasion by Day, Bishop of Chichester, who read Prayers in English, and administer'd the Sacrament to those who were present, after the Manner Ordain'd by King Edward; for no Change was yet made in Religion. (e) So that when Bourn, Canon of St. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, inveigh'd against the Reformation under King Edward, and extolling Bonner, observ'd that he was unjustly Depriv'd for a Sermon Preach'd four Years before in the same place, and had ever since been kept a close Prisoner, but was now by the Queen's Goodness restor'd, the People rais'd a Tumult, and somebody in the Croud flung a Dagger at the Preacher, which narrowly miss'd him. This Action it seems was so much with the Consent of the Standers-by, that tho' the strictest Enquiry was made, the Author of it was never discover'd; Others at the same time making a Clamour, and some endeavouring to force the Pulpit: Bradford and Rogers, two very popular Ministers, who were afterwards Burnt, sav'd Bourn from the Danger which threaten'd him, and with great difficulty convey'd him unhurt into the neighbouring School of St. Paul's.

And now on the 18th. of August, the Duke of Norfolk sitting as Lord High Steward, those concern'd in the Rebellion were Try'd at Westminster; where the Duke of Northumberland, with his eldest Son the Earl of Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton were

found Guilty of High-Treason. The Account of that Day's Proceedings, and of the Day following, I shall here transcribe from Thuanus, a Writer of great Fame; because, tho' I do not entirely approve all he has set down, I think he keeps very near to Truth, and the Reader perhaps will not be ill Enter-tain'd with the Variety of Opinions upon this Matter.

"The Duke of Northumberland, says he, alledg'd that he did nothing but by Order of the Council, yet this wou'd not excuse him; so that he was Condemn'd as a Traytor. When the Sentence was pronounc'd, he beg'd that it might be mitigated as to the Manner of his Death, and that his Children in regard to their tender Years, might find Mercy; and that he might have the Liberty of speaking with some Learned Divine, (for the settling of his Conscience.) And lastly, that Her Majesty wou'd be pleas'd to send to him Four * of Her Privy-Council, to whom he had some things to Communicate relating to the Publick. Then came on the Tryal of the Marquis of Northampton, who pretended that he had not any Hand in the Rebellion, nor was engag'd in any Party, but having no publick Post, † had spent all the time in his usual Diversion of Hunting, and other Sports. However, it appear'd that he was engag'd on Northumberland's side, and therefore he was likewise Condemn'd. Afterwards, the Earl of Warwick, Northumberland's Eldest Son, when the Plea of his Youth wou'd not

mous Crimes and Sins; [but not express'd] and among the rest, that after express Profession of Chastity, they had contracted Marriage with certain Women *de facto*, which *de jure* they ought not; and had lived with them as Wives, in contempt of God, and the manifest Scandal of all Orders, as well of Clerks as Laymen. And that they the said Commissioners, or any three of them, should send for these Bishops, or go to them, [for indeed they, or some of them were in Prison] and proceed against them *summarie & de plano*, and Depose them; and also injoin them Salutory Penance.

Here were two distinct Commissions for the Deprivation of these Seven Bishops, whereas one seem'd to have been sufficient: But the former Commission was directed against those that were *Seculars*, and had not made any Vow of Single Life; the latter against such as were *Regulars*, and so had made an express Profession of it, when they entred into the Rules of their Orders; and therefore to them were enjoyned Penances, which the others were not.

Seven Bi-
shops De-
prived.
Registr. of
Canterb.
A. Har-
Specim.

Both these Commissions were set upon and Executed in one Day, viz. the 20th. of March. When the Sentence of Deprivation was pronounced upon all Seven, viz. Upon John Taylor for the Nullity of his Consecration, (as it is set down in the Register of Canterbury) and for a Defect in his Title which he had from K. Edward the Sixth, by his Letters Patents, with this Clause, *Dum bene se gesserit*: Upon Hooper for his Marriage, and other Demerits, and a faulty Title, as before: Upon Harley for his Marriage and Heresy, and as before: Upon Farrar for the Causes aforesaid: And upon Bird for his Marriage. Bush (strictly speaking) was not at this time deprived: He it seems by some Compliances, had some favour shewn him; but about two Months after he Resigned.

As for the rest of the Bishops who were more active and eminent for the Reformation, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury was soon Imprisoned for Signing K. Edward's Will for the Succession of the Lady Jane, as a Traytor; and besides, was Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope for Notorious Heresies; and that by a solemn Sentence, mentioned in the Bull of Provision to Cardinal Pole for the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, dated December 11th. 1555. Stiling him there, *Thomas Cranmer the Child of Iniquity, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury*. His Bishoprick became void immediately upon his Attainder, and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury assumed the Administration of the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Archbishoprick: And December 16th. 1553. the said Dean and Chapter gave out Commissions to several Persons for the Exercise of the Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction in their Names, and by their Authorities; and continued in the Possession of this Jurisdiction, till the publishing of Cardinal Pole's Bulls of Provision to the Archbishoprick.

Coverdale the Bishop of Exeter was Deprived by the Restoration of Vezzy, by Patent from the Queen; because, as it was pretended, he had been induced by Fear to Resign under K. Edward.

Barlow Bishop of Bath and Wells Resigned. The Bishops that were Temporizers remained in their Bishopricks; as Sampson Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, Goodrick Bishop of Ely, who died soon after, in May 1554. Thirly Bishop of Norwich; Salcor, alias Capon, Bishop of Salisbury.

Archbishop
Cranmer
Burieth
K. Edward
by the En-
glish Office.

(e) It is very unlikely a Popish Bishop, and one that had suffered for his Opinion, should himself, and at this Time, use the Protestant Service, so much by him disliked. Day indeed Preached the Funeral Sermon; but it was Archbishop Cranmer, however now under a Cloud, that Officiated at the King's Interrment after the Reformed way appointed in the English Service-Book: To which he joyned a Communion, by him also Administred, tho' with much Opposition, as we are told. The last publick Office, I suppose, that Archbishop performed. Mass also of Dirige and Requiem was said for the King at the Tower before the Queen, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury being chief Mourners; and the Bishop of Winchester, with his Mitre on his Head, executed after the old Popish Form.

Hist. Re-
format.
Vol. II.
P. 244.

† The contrary to which was Notorious; for Northampton was one of Queen Jane's Privy-Counsellors, and Signed a Letter July the 9th. among the rest of Her Privy-Council, to the Lady Mary, (as they stiled Her) requiring Her to desist, and be quiet and obedient; besides his going along with the Duke in all his Counsels.

be

1553.

Aug. 22.
Northumber-
land be-
headed.

"be admitted in Excuse of so great a Crime,
"receiv'd his Sentence of Death with a won-
"derful Constancy; and only pray'd Her Ma-
"jesty, that out of his Estate Confiscated, his
"Debts might be discharged. These were
"presently sent back to the Tower. The
"next day, Sir Andrew Dudley, Northumber-
"land's Brother, and Sir John Gates, who was
"suppos'd the first Author of setting up Lady
"Jane, with his Brother Henry Gates, and Sir
"Thomas Palmer, were Condemn'd. The
"22d of August they were brought out to Ex-
"ecution, having two days before receiv'd
"the Sacrament in Prison. Northumberland,
"by the Persuasion of Heath (afterwards
"Archbishop of York) made a Speech to the
"People, in which he confess'd his Crime
"and Repentance, and advis'd all who were
"present to adhere to the ancient Religion of
"their Forefathers, and rejecting the new
"Opinions as the Source of all the Evils that
"had befallen 'em for 30 Years past, to drive
"the Preachers of 'em, as Trumpeters of
"Sedition, out of the Kingdom, if they
"wou'd approve themselves innocent before
"God and the Publick. He declar'd that in
"his Heart he had always been for the old
"Religion, and appeal'd for the Truth of this

"to his intimate Friend the Bishop of Worces-
"ter*, but he had temporis'd out of Ambiti-
"on, for which he now was a sincere Peni-
"tent; And lastly, that he willingly submit-
"ted to this Death which he own'd he had
"deserv'd. Having said this, he recommended
"himself to God, and desiring the Prayers of
"the Spectators, prepar'd to receive the
"Stroke; and immediately the Executioner
"perform'd his Office. Northumberland's Ex-
"hortations variously affected the Minds of
"the People, who were amaz'd to hear him
"speak against that Religion, which he had
"profess'd for above 30 * Years; and on the
"Account of which chiefly he had advis'd K.
"Edward to exclude his Sisters. Most have
"written, that being a cunning Man, and
"fond of Life, he did this in hopes of a Par-
"don; and that when he look'd round him and
"saw he was deceiv'd, he repented of it (f)
"He was charg'd (upon no trivial Conjectures)
"with having Poyson'd the late King. But
"nothing of this was mention'd at his Trial,
"because his Judges undertook not the Exa-
"mination into K. Edward's Death, but only
"the Business of the Rebellion against Queen
"Mary. Gates too and Palmer underwent the
"same Punishment". Thus far Thuanus. (g)

1553.
Heath.

* Sixteen
Years, ac-
cording
to the last
English E-
dition.

About

(f) Fox, who lived in these Times, confirms and clears this Matter: who writes, that the Duke had a Promise made him of a Pardon; yea, tho his Head were upon the Block, on condition he would recant and hear Mass. On which Promise he firmly relyed, and did what was required; and still born up with the same hope, on the Scaffold denyed in Word and outward Profession that true Religion which he had often, both in K. Henry's and K. Edward's Days, evidently declared himself to favour and further.

(g) Two things the Queen now did as public Acts of Favour, to ingratiate her self with her People, upon her late Accession to the Throne; which our Historian takes no Notice of. The One was, To redress the Wrong done to her Subjects by the passing of Monies beyond their true Values; and a Promise that she would have several sorts of Money coined of fine Sterling: This was granted, August the 20. The other was for the Remission of part of the Tax granted in K. Edward's Reign. For which she Signed Letters Patents, bearing Date the 1st. of September; and confirmed what was granted in those Letters, in the next Parliament. The purport of these she declared in Two Proclamations, drawn up in the most endearing manner.

The former was to this Tenor, That she of her great and abundant Clemency, calling to her gracious Remembrance, what great and intolerable Charges had come and chanced both to her and to her Loving Subjects, by reason of the base Monies of late made within the Realms; and also by great Quantities of the like base Monies made and counterfeit in other Realms, and issued out here and in other her Dominions: For the tender Zeal her Grace bore to her loving Subjects, could in no wise longer suffer the same Inconveniencie, but was fully resolv'd and determin'd with all convenient speed, to cause to be made and set forth certain Coins as well of Gold as of Silver, of the perfect Fineness; which would redound much to her Honour, and her Subjects great Wealth, Commodity and Profit.

That therefore she had ordered within her Mints these several Coins, as well of Silver in fineness of the Standard Sterling, as also of Gold; as ensueth:

The whole Sovereign of fine Gold, to be current for xxx Sh.

The half Sovereign of fine Gold, to be called the Royal of Gold, for xv Sh.

The Angel of fine Gold, current for X Sh.

The Half Angel of Fine Gold, for V Sh.

And of Coins of Silver:

One piece of Silver Monies, which should be called the Grote, to be Current for 4 Pence of the lawful Monies of England.

Another piece to be called the half Grote, to be Current for 2 pence.

Another piece, half of the half Grote, which should be called the Penny, to be Current for one Penny.

All which Monies aforesaid the Queen straitly charged and commanded all manner of Persons within her Realms (the Realm of Ireland only excepted; forasmuch as her Coins there had a special Standard) to Receive and Pay the said several pieces of Money, at the several Rates before rehearsed.

And her express Commandment was, That all such base Monies, as had been reduced to a lower rate, should go Current in payment, as the same was Current at that day; as was declared in a Proclamation made in the time of K. Edward VI. in that behalf, until such time as she could, with the Advice of her Council, take further Order touching the same.

The other Act of Grace of the Queen ran to this Tenor, that she graciously considering the good Wills, Forwardness, and hearty Dispositions of her true loving Subjects always heretofore exhibited, to the Aid and Succour of the Commonweal, with their proper Substance and Goods, when the Service, the Necessity and Honour of the Realm had so required; as well in the times of her Father and Brother, but specially since the time of her Vocation to the Crown, in the Defence of her Royal Person, against the malicious Force of the most arrant Traitor Sir John Dudley, late Duke of Northumberland, and his Complices: Notwithstanding it was well known to the Multitude of her said good Subjects, how by the evil Government of the Realm in those late Years, especially since the said Duke had born rule, the Treasure of the same was marvellously exhausted, and she now presently charged with Payment of notable great Sums, being the Debt of her said Brother the King, partly due to divers of her Servants and Subjects, and partly to certain Merchant Straungers and others; which for her own Honour and the Honour of the Realm, she determin'd by the help of God, truly to discharge, content, and pay, in times convenient and reasonable. That yet having a special Mind to the Weal of her Subjects, and accounting their loving Hearts and Prosperity as her own Weal, and the chiefest Treasure that she desired, next the Favour and Grace of God; and having a full Affiance in her said Subjects, that if the State, the Cause, and Honour of the Realms should so require, they would at all times hereafter exhibite their semblable Service; tho in the latter Session of the last Parliament holden in the time of the said K. Edward, towards the Payment and Discharge of the said notable Debts, were granted two Dismes, and two Fifteens, and one Subsidy of four Shil-

Nor-
thumber-
land pro-
mised a
Pardon, but
deceiv'd.

The Queens
Acts of Fa-
vour.

She restores
Monies to
their Fine-
ness.

She for-
gives a
Subsidy of
4 Sh. in the
Pound.

1553.
Bishops
Imprisoned.

About the same time, several Bishops who had appear'd with more than common Zeal in the Cause of Religion, were taken into Custody; as Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, (who were afterwards burnt); and Coverdale Bishop of Exeter, who, upon a Letter in his Favour from Christian the III. King of Denmark, obtain'd a Pardon. But all Ecclesiasticks who refus'd to put away their Wives, or enjoy'd Benefices whereof the former Incumbents had been deprived for Defence of Popery; and even those too who wou'd not promise by Oath to defend it, were forced to relinquish them without exception.

Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr was then Professor at Oxford; who, as soon as King Edward dy'd, was confin'd to his House; but afterwards, upon the Application of his Friends, he had Leave to come to London, and there he put himself under the Protection of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury. But Cranmer was already near his Fall, being in very great Displeasure with the Queen; who besides that She was entirely manag'd by Gardiner, his mortal Enemy, cou'd never forgive him the Business of the Divorce.

Archbishop Cranmer's present Condition.

— Manet altâ mente repostum

Judicium latum, spretoq; injuria matris.

For deep Imprinted in Her Breast remains
Th' opprobrious Sentence, and Her Mother's
(Stain).

Cranmer's Merits with the Queen.

'Tis said that when Henry the VIIIth. had resolv'd to Imprison His Daughter Mary, for her Contumacy in Defending the Cause of Popery, He chang'd His Resolution at the sole Mediation of Cranmer. Afterwards, when she was to be Disinherited by King Edward, the Archbishop in a long Speech strenuously oppos'd it, tho' without Success; nor cou'd he be prevail'd with to subscribe the Decree, till the Judges having unanimously affirm'd that it might Lawfully be done, the dying King Himself with continu'd Importunity gain'd him to it. But the Memory of one Injury has more force on an ungrateful Mind, than that of a thousand Obligations. At that time there was an uncertain Rumor, that Cranmer had chang'd his Religion with his Fortunes; so that to gratify the Queen, he had promis'd to Celebrate the Exequies of King Edward after the Romish Manner. Cranmer therefore, by a Writing which he publish'd about the beginning of November, vindicated himself from this, and offer'd to de-

fend the Institutions of K. Edward about Religion, as conformable to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles; in which Resolution having been confirm'd by Peter Martyr, he nam'd him for his Second in the Dispute. But the Controversy was soon decided another way; for his Death was positively resolv'd, but which way to bring it about was the Question. 'Twas determin'd therefore to proceed against him as a Traytor: So that on the 13th. of November, after he had been confin'd for some time in the Tower, to lessen the People's Veneration for him, he was Arraign'd for High-Treason, together with the Lords Ambrose and Gifford Dudley, and the Lady Jane, who so lately had sustain'd the Person of Queen: They were all Condemn'd as Accomplices in this Crime. As to Cranmer's Particular, his Enemies were so asham'd of the Part they had undertaken, that they procur'd him the Queen's Pardon for Treason; yet afterwards had him Prosecuted for Heresy. Before he had been Apprehended, his Friends advis'd him to fly into Germany, and avoid certain Ruin, as some of his Brethren had done: He answer'd 'em, that if he were in danger of being taken up for Theft, Parricide, or any other such horrid Crime, tho' he knew his Innocence, he might perhaps be prevail'd with to fly; but since the Cause now depending, says he, is my Faith in God, and the Truth of the Holy Scriptures, in opposition to the Errors of Popish Doctrines, I have determin'd to shew a Constancy worthy of a Christian Prelate, and to lose my Life rather than withdraw at such a time.

1553.

Nov. 13.

Cranmer.

Lady Jane.

and Lords.

and Gifford.

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and Gifford.

Shillings in the Pound, to be rais'd and levy'd of the Mannours, Lands and Tenements; and two Shillings Eightpence of the Goods and Cattels of her Subjects; which Graunts were now due unto her by the same Act, and would discharge one great Piece of the said Debts; Her Majesty of her mere Grace and great Clemency, for the Relief and Succour of her said good Subjects, had freely, for her, her Heirs, and Successors, pardoned and remitted to them the said Subsidy of four Shillings the Pound, and two Shillings Eightpence the Pound. Trusting her good Subjects would have loving Consideration thereof; whom she required hartly to bend themselves wholly to serve God to his Glory, with continual Prayer for the Honour and Advancement of her Grace and the Commonweal.

Honors conferred.

L. Paget: great Honor don him.

(b) These Matters following were as honourable Preliminaries to her Coronation. The Sunday Sevennight before, being the 24th of September, Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, and after Lord Abbot of Westminster, preach'd at Paul's-Cross. And some few days before the said Coronation, Honours were Confer'd upon certain Persons from the Queen: Whereof one was, (and that was most remarkable) the Restoration of the Lord Paget to the Order of the Garter, which he had once received, but was with great Indignity deprived of, by the Malice the great Duke of Northumberland bore him, for his Faithfulness, as it seems, to the Duke of Somerset, upon the pretence that he was not a Gentleman of Blood. For his honourable Restoration there was a Decree made September the 27 at St. James's, where the Queen now was, by a Chapter of the Heralds; And forthwith the Garter was Buckled on his Leg, by two of the Knights Companions present; and the Collar of the Order put about his Shoulders,

The Queen's Coronation, Oct. 1. Off. 5. 1. Paris.

1553.
A Dis-
pute in
Convoca-
tion.

Pope and the Roman Modes of Worship were repeal'd (i). In the Convocation, which was Summon'd at the same (k) time, a Dispute was held with great Contention for several days, concerning the Lord's Supper. *Weston* the Prolocutor, and many others, defended the Doctrine of Christ's bodily Presence. Among the few that maintain'd the contrary Opinion, are reckon'd as chief, *John Ailmer*, and *Richard Cheney*, (the latter of which enjoy'd the See of *Glocester*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, and the former, that of *London*;) *John Philpot*, Archdeacon of *Winchester*, who at last seal'd that Doctrine with his Blood; *James Haddon*, Dean

of *Exeter*, and *Walter Philips*, Dean of *Roche-ster*. These, after a long and sharp Controverlie, were overpower'd by Multitudes, not by Reason; and the re-establishing of Popery was concluded. So that by the Authority and Order of the Convocation on the 21st of Decem-ber, Mass began to be celebrated in all the Churches of the Realm.

At the same time the Marquis of *Northampton*, and *Henry Gates*, who had receiv'd Sentence of Death a little before, were Pardon'd and Discharg'd; and the Two *Dudleys* and Lady *Jane* not being so strictly confin'd as before, had some hopes of a Pardon too.

Anno

Shoulders, with the *George* depending thereat: And a Command given to *Garter*, that his Achievements should be publicly set up over his Stall at *Windsor*, being the same he before posselt. And the Records of the Order of the *Re- brand* his Degradation with Injustice: Asserting, that when Honour is confer'd upon the Score of Virtue or gentry, from great Endowments, the Consideration of this supplieth the Defect or Obscurity of Extraction. And the Sovereign then present declared, That he had highly deserved of the Nation by his Prudence and Counsel. And as a token how much the Queen esteem'd him, at her Coronation he was one of the Four Knights that held the Pall over her in her Traversé, when she was Anointed by the Bishop of *Winchester*.

September the 28. being Thursday, the Queen removed from *St. James's* to *Whitehal*, and took Barge to the Tower, where She lay that Night. The next day She made Fifteen Knights of the *Bath*, who were Knighted by the Earl of *Arundel*, Steward of the Queen's House, by Commission from her. The First whereof, was the Earl of *Devonshire*; the next, the Young Earl of *Surrey*; then the Lord *Burgavenny*, the Lord *Cardiff*, Lord *Barkley*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Lord *Lumley*, Sir *William Paulet*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *Hugh Rich*, [the L. Rich's Son] Sir *Henry Clinton*, Sir *Henry Paget*, Sir *Robert Rochester*, Sir *Henry Jernigam*, Sir *Edward* [or *William*] *Dormer*. The Oath then Minister'd to these Knights, was in these Words: "Right dire Brother. Greeting be thys Wydre unto you: Almighty God geve you the Wydsynge of all knyghthode. Thys is the Wydre of knyght- hode: You shall Honour God above all thyngs; You shall be true and fithful in the Feith of Holy Church, and the same mainteine and defend to your Power. You shall love the Sovereign above all earthy Creatures; and for the Sovereign and Sovereign's Right and Dynite, lyve and dye. You shall defend Wydows, Orphens, and Ophelyns in thys Right: You shall suffer no Corruption, as far forth as ye may; nor sit in place where any wrongful Judgment shall be given, to your knowledge. And as grete Honour be thys Rolle Wydre unto you, as ever it was to any of your Progenitors."

Saturday, Sept. the 30th. She passed from the Tower through the City to *Westminster* in great Triumph, sitting in an open Chariot to be seen. All this glorious Cavalcade is set down by *John Stow* in his Chronicle.

Sunday, Octob. the 1st. The Ceremonies of Her Coronation were perform'd in *St. Peter's Westminster*, by *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*. After divers Ceremonies were dispatch'd, She walked into the four parts of the Mount, shewing Her Self to all the People. Beside Her, the said Bishop of *Winchester* in his Pontificalibus stood, and declared to the People the Purpose of the present Solemnity, with demand of their Consent in these Words "Sirs, Here present is *MARY*, rightful and undoubted Inheritrix, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Crown and Royal Dignity of these Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. Whereupon you shall understand, that this Day is prefixed and appointed by all the Peers of this Land, for the Consecration, Inunction and Coronation of the said most Royal Princess *MARY*. Will ye Serve at this time, and give your Good Will and Assents to the said Consecration, Inunction, and Coronation? Whereunto the People answered all in one Voice, "Yea, Yea, Yea: God save Queen *MARY*." The Coronation-Sermon was Preached by *Dey* Bishop of *Chichester*; who had also in August before, preached at the Funeral of King *Edward*; being, it seems, a Celebrated Orator.

The next Day, being the Morrow after the Coronation, the Queen made Fourscore and Ten Knights of the *Carpet*, Dubb'd in Her Chamber of Presence at *Westminster* by the Earl of *Arundel*, who had Knighted before the Knights of the *Bath*. Some of these Knights were the Lord *Gerrard*, the Lord *Borough*, the Lord *Dudley*, *Thomas Stanley*, *Edmund Windsor*, *Henry Ratcliff*, *Tho. Hastings*, *Will. Walgrave*, *John Browne*, *Rafe Chamberlain*, *John Tirwhit*, *John Hodelston*, *Robert Peckham*, *Henry Ley*, *Christopher Allen*, *Richard Freston*, *Will. Kelloway*, *Henry Gaslon*, *John Tregonwel*, *Ambrose German*, *Leonard Chamberlain*, *Tho. Gerrard*, *David Brook*, Lord Chief Baron, *Richard Morgan*, Lord Chief Justice; and among the rest, *Tho. White*, Lord-Mayor of *London*.

(i) This first Parliament of the Queen was short, having but two Sessions, and ending the 6th. Day of Decem-ber. Sir *John Pollard* esteem'd excellently Learned in the Laws of this Realm, was chosen Speaker, by the countess of this Recommendation of Mr. Treasurer of the Queen's House, and sat in the Chair. Here something in the begin-ning of the Session happened to one of the Members elected, that deserveth a Remark: Which was, that *Alexander Nowel*, a Learned Man, and Favourer of *K. Edward's* Reformation, was called into Question; Whether he being a Prebendary of *Westminster*, might Sit in the House? And the 13th. of October, it was declared by the Commons, that he being Prebendary of *Westminster*, and hereby having Voice in the Convocation-House, [So of Com- it is in the Journal of the House of Commons] could not be a Member of this House; and that the Queen's Writ should be directed for another Burges in that Place. There was another Prebendary of *Westminster*; name- ly, *Tregonwel*, a Member of the House of Commons at this Time: And but the Day before; that is, Octob. 12. der Nowel the Bill for avoiding Treasons and *Premunire*, was brought from the Lords by several of the House of Com- mons; and *Tregonwel* among the rest, with this Clause added in the Journal, If he may be of this House. And that he remained in this House, and acted in it the second Session, appears in the said Journal; and particularly Octo- ber 27, Mr. *Tregonwel*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *Price*, &c. were appointed to Examine the Case of Mr. *Fester*, Burges of the Elect: But he was a Civilian, and a Man for the Turn.

October the 20th. Saturday the Queen came to the Lords House, and sitting in Her Royal Seat, the Lords and Commons present, She gave Her Royal Assent to Three Bills; One publick, and Two private: Viz. For Re- storing in Blood the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*; and *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*. The publick Act was, That no Act, Deed or Offence, shall be made Treason, Petty Treason, or Misprision of Treason, but what welano- is declared so in the Act of 25 E. III. And that all Offences made Felony, or limited to be within the Case of *Premunire*, since the First Day of the First Year of *K. Henry VIII.* not being Felons before, or not within the Case of *Premunire*, are repealed and made utterly void. By divers Acts and Statutes of the said *K. Henry*, the Pa- pists and such as asserted the Pope's Superiority over the King here in his own Realms and Dominions, were suf- ficiently check'd and kept in awe; but were now at their Liberty again. And there was a Sting in this seeming Act of Grace, towards all that were taken up and Imprisoned for Treason, Petty Treason, or Misprision of Treason till the last day of September, who were to be exempted out of this Statute.

1553.

Second Session.

Nine Acts Repealed as once.

In the second Session of this Parliament, which began Octob. 24. after a few Days Prorogation, some Bills were brought in for the Discouragement and Terror of such as should continue to profess the late Reformed Religion: As a Bill for such as came not to Church, or received not the Sacraments. Another Bill for divers Punishments reserved to the Ecclesiastical Power, for such as say not their Service, or come not to the Church: But these Bills passed not. Yet there was another Bill that now passed into an Act, in Favour of the old Popish Religion, and the Overthrow of the Reformation, which was instead of an Hundred: Wherein no less than Nine Acts, all for the Establishment of the true Religion, were repealed at a Clap. These were,

An Act against such as should speak Unreverently of the Sacrament, and for receiving thereof in both Kinds.

An Act for the Election of Bishops.

An Act for Uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments.

An Act to take a way positive Laws against the Marriage of Priests.

An Act for abolishing and putting away of divers Books and Images.

An Act for the Ordering of Ecclesiastical Ministers.

An Act for the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments.

An Act made for the keeping of Holy-Days and Fasting Days.

An Act made for the Declaration of a Statute made for the Marriage of Priests.

All these by this one Act of Q. Mary, were utterly repealed; and the Divine Service, and the Administration of the Sacraments, as in the last Year of K. Henry VIII. was to be used and frequented, from the 20th. of December, Anno 1553. I find by the Commons House Journal, that this great Bill was discoursed and argued the last Day of October. Arguments upon this Bill again Novemb. the 6th. and ordered to be Engrossed. It was read again the 7th. of November. Argued again the 8th. Day.

Some Account of this Convocation. The Sermon.

* This hit pat to the Duke of Northumberland, Beheaded but a little before, who set up Jane against Her. The Prolocutor's Speech.

(k) The Convocation also now began about the 16th. of October, with much Solemnity, and as great Heat and Resolution to overturn all that had been done in Religion before. It was opened with a Latin Sermon preached by Harpsfield, B. D. Bishop Boner's Chaplain, from St. Paul's Words to the Elders of Ephesus; *Attendite vobis, & universo Gregi, &c. i. e. Take heed to your selves, and the whole Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers; to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood.* He first divided his Matter he intended to discourse of, and then he proceeded to bidding the Prayers. And here he recommended the Queen to the Peoples Devotions in the first place, whom he took occasion to run out very largely in the Praise of; and particularly commended Her in the same Words that Ozias did Judith: *Viz. "Blessed art thou Daughter of the most High God, above all Women upon the Earth. Blessed be the Lord God, who hath created the Heaven and the Earth; which hath directed thee to the cutting off the Head of the chief of our Enemies; which this Day hath so magnified thy Name, that thy Praise may not depart from the Mouth of Men, who have remembered the Power of the Lord for ever: For whom thou hast not spared thy Life, by reason of the Straits and Tribulations of thy Nation, but hast prevented our Ruin before the sight of our God."* At last he put the Words of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Queen Mary's Mouth: *"That She being most gloriously Magnified in our Eyes, might sing with her, Behold! from henceforth all Generations shall call me Blessed."*

In his Sermon he fell foul upon the late Times of K. Edward, and the Preachers then; and called them Wolves that entered into the Flock: And that they did savagely butcher the Lord's Flock, and plunged numberless Souls into Hell. Afterwards he proceeded to Directions how to reform these Evils: And he told his Reverend Fathers and Brethren, that he thought it the wisest Course to recall those Ecclesiastical Laws which had been made before, and no need of great Labour to make any new Canons.

The Sermon ended, at the same Session the Bishop of London, as the Mouth of the Upper House (there being no Archbishop) had the Lower House chuse them a Referendary or Prolocutor; and so they adjourned. The next Session Dr. Hugh Weston Dean of Westminster, being chosen, was presented to the Bishops by Py Dean of Chichester, and Wimsey Archdeacon of London. Both which making their Speeches, and Weston accordingly accepted, he began his Harangue, and went on to a great Length, extolling the Bishops that underwent some Troubles in the late Reign, and aggravating their Sufferings, comparing them with John the Baptist, who was Beheaded; but that they had suffered far more bitterly: He for a short time lost his Head, but they for a long time struggled with Dolours, Terrors, Threats, Bonds, &c. And concerning the Book of Common-Prayers, he said, It was stuffed with Blasphemies, stored with Errors; which under the Name of Religion, took away Religion, &c. And that to the obtruding of this Book, they [meaning the Convocation of the Clergy] never gave their Consent; and for which they did now congratulate themselves.

Weston having done, the Bishop of London made a concluding Speech.

In this Synod great pains was taken to restore the abandoned Doctrines, and especially those of the Mass: Yet those few Learned Persons of the Reformation that were present, tightly disputed these Points with the rest, prevailing much in their Numbers. These brave and stout Men were Philpot, Haddon, Aylmer, and one or two more; whose Disputations may be read in Fox's Acts and Monuments. At last Four Points were defined by the Upper House, I. Of the Sacrament of the Altar. II. Of Transubstantiation. III. Of the Adoration of the Eucharist, and the Reservation of it. IV. Of the Substance of the Sacrifice of the Church, and of its Institution; and by whom and for whom, and to whom it is to be offered.

Out of these Doctrines were framed by this Synod Three Questions to be disputed on at Oxford by some Members of the same, and others, against Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Mr. Latymer, who were sent down thither from London on purpose. The First was, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, by virtue of the Word of God uttered by the Priest, is present under the Kinds of Bread and Wine, really the true and natural Body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin; and also his natural Blood. The Second was, That after the Consecration there remaineth not the Substance of Bread, nor any other Substance, besides the Substance of Christ, God and Man. The Third was, That in the Mass is the Lively Sacrifice of the Church, propitiatory for the Sins as well of the Dead as of the Living.

On the 13th. of December, the Queen sent Her Mandate to Boner Bishop of London, forthwith to Dissolve and break up this Convocation, and to signify to the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy this Her pleasure.

D. Matth. Parkeri, MSS.

Anno Domini, 1554. Regine 1 & 2.

1554.
The
Queen in-
clines to
Marry.

THE Queen was in Her 37th Year, and had hitherto been thought averse to Matrimony; whether by Nature, or from a Sense that Her Person was none of the most engaging; yet She began now to yield to the Necessity of Her Affairs, and to think of a Husband. She was afraid that Her Sex's Weakness might expose Her to the Contempt of Her People, while Her Throne was not yet fix'd, nor the Nation well recover'd from the late tempestuous Factions. There were Three at that time allotted by common Fame for Her Choice: Philip Prince of Spain, Son to the Emperor; Cardinal Reginald Pool, and Courtney Marquis of Exeter. The two latter had their Country and the Splendor of their Ancestors to recommend 'em; and there was hopes that under either of 'em the Liberty and Privileges of the Kingdom would be preserv'd. Affinity of Blood was respected in 'em all; Pool was much in the Queen's Affection, for his Gravity and Holy Life, joyn'd with the greatest Courtesy and Prudence; and Courtney for his Youth, good Humour, and his Courtly Address. But some Suspensions were rais'd against the latter, as if he favour'd the Reformation; and Pool being above Fifty Three Years of Age, 'twas thought too great a Chance, whether the Queen might have Children by him or not. Therefore 'twas Resolved to follow the Advice of those, who judg'd that the unfer'd State of the Kingdom requir'd some Potent Prince to compose Domestick Troubles, and to make War upon France, which was now become a very troublesome Neighbour. These Motives easily wrought upon an Ambitious Woman, and gain'd Her Consent to Marry Philip.

An Em-
bassy from
the Empe-
ror to
treat of a
Marriage
betwixt
the Qu. &
Philip of
Spain.

To treat of this Match, about the latter end of the last Year, the Emperor had sent over an Extraordinary Embassy, of which L'Amirall Count Egmont, was chief, and with him were join'd in Commission Charles Count Lataine, and John Memorancy. In the beginning of January, the Ambassadors being come to London, soon accomplish'd the Business. The Conditions of Marriage were these.

Articles
of Mar-
riage.

"That Phillip being Marry'd to Queen Mary, shall take the Title of all the Dominions belonging to his Wife, and share with Her in the Administration; but that all the Privileges and Customs of the Realm shall be preserv'd, and the free and full Power of bestowing Preferments, Rewards, and Offices, shall remain in the Queen. The Queen shall reciprocally share in all the Dominions which Philip Her Husband has now, or which shall come to Him hereafter; and if She Survive him, for a Dowry, She shall receive the Yearly Sum of Sixty Thousand

Pounds, as was formerly allow'd to Lady Margaret, Sister to King Edward the Fourth, and Dowager to Charles of Burgundy. Of this, Forty Thousand Pound shall be rais'd in Spain and Aragon, and 20 Thousand in the Low-Countries. And to prevent all future Disputes and Contention about dividing the Inheritance, 'tis covenanted, that the Children which shall Spring from this Marriage, shall succeed to all the Kingdoms and Dominions of Her Majesty; and moreover to all the Dominions of which the Emperor stands possess'd in the Low-Countries and in Burgundy. Charles, Philip's Eldest Son by his former Marriage, shall for his Share succeed to all the other Dominions in Spain and Italy, both of his Father and of his Grandfather the Emperor, but shall be oblig'd to pay the foremention'd Forty Thousand Pounds. If the Offspring of this Marriage be Daughters, the Eldest shall succeed to all the Dominions in the Low-Countries, on Condition that she choose a Husband in England, or in the Netherlands, with the Consent of her Brother Charles; but if she choose one elsewhere, without her Brother's Consent, she shall lose her Right of Succession to the Netherlands, and it shall devolve on her Brother Charles. But to her and her Sisters shall be assign'd a convenient Dowry according to the Laws and Customs of the places. If Charles, or his Successors, die without Issue, then the first-born of this Marriage, tho it be a Female, shall succeed to all the Dominions of both these Princes, as well in Spain as the Low-Countries, and to all the Principalities in Italy; and shall be oblig'd to preserve inviolate the Rights, Privileges, Immunities, and Customs of each Kingdom. That between the Emperor Philip and his Heirs, and the Queen of England, her Children and Heirs, and both their Realms and Dominions, shall be constant Friendship, Peace, and a perpetual and inviolable League. That the Leagues made at Westminster in the Year 1542. and four Years after at Utrecht, shall be renew'd and confirm'd.

When the Resolution of concluding this Match was generally known, many who were displeas'd at it took occasion to raise Calumnies, as if a Spaniard was to be set at the Head of Affairs, that he and his Creatures might govern at will, and overturning the Ancient Laws and Institutions, might enslave England like a Conquer'd Nation (1). These Murmurs were common and openly utter'd. But in private, Men's Censures were according to the Temper of those with whom they convers'd; to some they complain'd of the Changes in Religion, contrary to what the Queen had promiss'd

The Peo-
ple uneasy
at the Spa-
nish
Match.

(1) And so many Wise Men did think and believe, and assert long after; namely, That the chief intent of this Marriage of Philip with Queen Mary, on the part of England, was for the better and surer Establishment of the Papacy here: But the Spaniards secret Design, was to get the Possession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm to himself, and to make the English his Vassals for ever. And to this purpose Sir Francis Hastings (who lived in Queen Elizabeth's Reign) writeth, and had good Testimony for it; which may not be amiss to be here set down, as illustrating this Article of Queen Mary's Reign. 'This Marriage, saith he, was sought and intended also in shew, only to strengthen the hand of the Queen of England, to bring in the Romish Religion and Government

The Spani-
ards intent
in this
Marriage.
Watch-
word,
into p. 90, &c.

1554. misd to the People of *Suffolk*. To others, they commiserated and bewail'd the Misfortune of Lady *Jane*, that so illustrious a Person shou'd be precipitated from the Throne, and condemn'd to a shameful and unmerited Death. Pity mov'd many, Religion some, but most the Dread of a Foreign Yoke; And others were excited by their private Hopes, and the Affectation of Change; so that an Insurrection was ripe, and seem'd to want nothing but a Leader; This Plot therefore was undertaken by Sir *Thomas Wiat* of *Kent*, who having communicated the Design to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to Sir *Peter Carow* of *Devonshire*, and some others, declar'd that no Attempt ought to be made till *Philip's* Arrival, that so whatever they intended, it might appear to the Publick they had taken Arms for no other Cause than to defend their Liberty from the Tyrannical Administration of a Foreign Prince. The rest agreed to this, and for the present they all retir'd home to their several Counties. There they apply'd themselves privately to provide Arms, Money, and all Things necessary, and gain'd as many as they cou'd into their Conspiracy. But *Carow*, whether mov'd by his Destiny, or because he thought delays wou'd be hazardous, began to raise Men in *Cornwall*; and thus discovering the Design before 'twas

Wiat's Rebellion.

ripe, he was soon oppress'd and forc'd to fly into *France*, where he lay hid for a while, till at last being in appearance reconcil'd to the King, he was taken at *Brussels*, and brought a Prisoner into *England*. How he escap'd afterwards I do not find; but 'tis certain that he flourish'd for many Years under Queen *Elizabeth*; and at last dy'd peaceably in *Ireland*, in the Year 1577, as appears by his Monument in *Exeter Cathedral* (m).

With this Gentleman was taken at the same time, Sir *John Cheek*, Præceptor to *K. Edward*, who with Publick Licence had come from *Strasburg* to *Brussels* to visit the Queen's Agents there, as *Fox* says; or rather upon a business of Matrimony, if we may credit *Thuanus* (n). But be that as 'twill, 'tis certain he was pull'd from his Horse in the Road between *Antwerp* and *Brussels*, then bound with Cords in a Wagon, and lastly Hoodwink'd, and hurry'd on Board a Vessel, while he knew nothing whether he was a going, till he was brought into the Tower of *London*. There with Threatnings he was terrify'd to a Recantation, tho in his Heart he utterly abhorr'd Popery. His Affliction and Regret at this Action threw him afterwards into a fit of Sickness, which cost him his Life. I have been more particular in this Story, because some have related,

1554.

Sir John Cheek Seiz'd.

into this Land, and to Establish it with Continuance; with Purpose and Meaning to add Strength to all the Corners of *Christendom*, to continue Popery where it was, and to bring it in where it was not. That so the Archprelate of *Rome* might hold the Scepters and Powers of al Princes and Potentates of *Christendom* in his hand, to dispose at his Pleasure. But the Plots and Practices laid and pursued by the *Spanish* King had made a woful Proof to *England* of a further Mark shot at, (which was discovered in a Letter to some of our Nobles from a true hearted *Englishman* in *Spain*) had not God Almighty in his rich Mercy prevented their Purposes, and Defeated them in their Determinations, &c. When he made way to joyn in Marriage with Queen *Mary*, he made semblance of great Conscience to Catholic Religion, and great care to bring in the whole Land into the Obedience thereof; and seem'd to glory much, when it was brought to pass, as his Letter to his Holy Father at *Rome*, written out of *England*, doth make shew; wherein he expresseth what a worthy Work he hath don, when he had drawn the Nobles and Commons of the Land to submit themselves to his Holiness, as their Chief (those are the very Words.) Yet little did the Nobles and Commons know what was intended towards them by this Catholic Child of *Rome*. For under this colorable name of Catholic Religion, was hidden the Ambitious Humour of a most proud usurping Tyrant, whose Resolution was, upon mature deliberation and consultation with his *Machavillian* Counsellors, to seek by al the possible kind means he could, to win the Principal of our Nobles to affect him; and in their Affection to possess him of the Crown; and so to establish him in an absolute Power over *England*. And to bring this to pass, he decreed to spare neither Cost nor Kindness.

And if once he had obtained the Crown and Regal Power into his Clutches, then (as in that Letter of Discovery is laid open) the Council-Table must be filled with his Counsellors: The Haven Towns must be possessed with Governors of his appointing; Fortifications must be made by his direction; And Souldiers of his own must be placed in Garrison, at places most apt for Strength to himself, and annoyance to this Nation. Then must the Common Law of this Land be altered: By which Justice is truly taught to al sorts; the Prince to Govern, the People to Obey; the Nobles to live of their own, without wronging the Inferiors; the Inferiors to live under the Nobles, with al Love, Reverence, and Dury; the Rich to dwell among the Poor without Oppression; the Poor to dwell with the Rich without Disorder; the Offenders to be punished without partiality; and the well-disposed to be Defended without respect of Persons. This the Law of the Land doth offer unto us, to our Comfort; and from this he purpos'd to make an Exchange to his *Spanish* Laws. Which being no better than his *Spanish* Inquisition (as indeed they are not) we could not without question receive great Comfort by the Exchange, &c. Their intolerable Taxes also we must have been pestered with, being such (as the Author reporteth who knew them well) as *England* was never acquainted with. The said Author did further unfold his treacherous purpose towards this Land, by discovering upon his own knowledge and hearing, this King's Intentions to be, by little and little to root out the Nobility; to keep the Commons in Beggery; and not to suffer one to live here that was born in Twenty Years before; but either to destroy them, or to make them Slaves amongst the *Moors*. The Colour whereof was, because they were born out of the Faith of the Catholic Church of *Rome*. And lastly, the faster to settle his Crown upon his Head (if he had gotten it) he laid his Plot to destroy Queen *Elizabeth*, having decreed with himself, that neither she, nor any of that Cursed Nation (so he termed it) should Govern *England* any more, &c. While this Plot was laid, and the Practice was in hand, to set the Crown upon the *Spaniards* Head, the *Spaniards* themselves (in the Author's hearing) often cursed the time that ever their King Married Queen *Mary*, unless they might get the Crown: But if that should be brought to pass (which was meant by making the Marriage) they should do wel enough, &c. And to knit up all, this Marriage could not draw the least Spark of true Love from him to this Noble Queen, who so lovingly made choice of him to be her Husband: Nor the Honourable Acceptation of him by the Nobles, could work any sound Love in him towards them.

(m) He dyed at *Rosse* in *Leinster*, a Province of *Ireland*. His Monument was erected at the Costs of his Nephew *Peter Carew*, who was Brother to *George*, whom *K. James I.* for his many Vertues created a Baron. So in the former *English* Edition.

Sir John Cheek.

(n) Cheek was Married already; and left his Wife in *England*, when he went Abroad: And seeing little hope of his safe or comfortable Dwelling in his Native Country, resolv'd to settle himself at *Strasbourg* among other *English* Exiles, both Learned and of Quality; where he also undertook the reading of a Greek Lecture, there being an University there. And now as it seems, had sent for the Lady Cheek his Wife to come over to him: and in his way to fetch her, and to conduct her home, (not to *Mary* her) he met with his Disaster. For so we must interpret that Clause of *Sleidan*, (and *Thuanus* probably from him) *ut uxorem* (not *duceret*, but) *educeret*.

that

1554. that Carow and Cheek were both bound to the Stake together, and burnt for the sake of Religion.

But let us return to *Wiat*; When he saw his Design was laid open, and that he had nothing to rely upon besides his Courage, he made an Insurrection in *Kent*, using that Argument common to almost all the Heads of Sedition, That the Queen being influenc'd by Evil Counsellors, had already done several things, and was daily contriving more, which were pernicious to the good of the Kingdom; that therefore some Course must be taken to get those Ministers remov'd, and others put in their Places, who might discharge their Trust like faithful Counsellors, and such as were more studious of the publick Advantage than of their private Gain. But above all, he clamour'd against the *Spanish Match*, and that 'twas highly necessary to try all means to break it off; an Alliance by which he plainly foresaw *England* was doom'd to the most insupportable Slavery, and the Popish Superstition wou'd be for ever Establish'd. Therefore what he had now in Design wou'd be for her Majesty's Service, (to whom he wish'd all Happiness) and for the Universal Benefit of the Nation.

But whatever his Pretences were, when about the same time the News was spread, that *Suffolk* was raising Forces in *Warwickshire*, no body was so blind as not to perceive that the Drift of all these Efforts was to depose Queen *Mary*, and restore Lady *Jane*.

Jan. 25. On the 25th of January, News came to London of the *Kentish* Rebellion; and the same day the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to suppress it with a small Force, consisting chiefly of the Queen's Guards. The next day 500 Men were rais'd in the City, who being sent down the River to *Gravesend*, where the Duke waited for 'em; with these he resolv'd to Attack *Wiat* who lay at *Rocheſter*, and kept his Head Quarters in the old ruinous Castle of that Town. This Place is situate near the River *Medway*, where falling into the *Thames*, it is extremely violent: Over it is a Stone-Bridge, of which *Wiat's* Party had possess'd themselves, and fortify'd it with some Brass Guns, that they might oppose the Duke's Passage, whom their Scouts had inform'd 'em to be at hand. But he continu'd his March, not in the least daunted, and sent a Herald before, to proclaim a Pardon to all who wou'd lay down their Arms, and quit the Rebels Camp.

This was perform'd, but in so low a Voice, that the Proclamation was heard by very few; for one that stood by, held a Pistol to the Herald's Breast, and oblig'd him upon Pain of immediate Death, to deliver his Message softly: To which, all that were nigh enough to hear it, made Answer, That they were conscious of no Crime that needed Her Majesty's Pardon. Sir *George Harper* only, feigning Repentance, came over to the Duke of *Norfolk*, with design to try his Skill upon *Bret*, who Commanded the 500 Men we mentioned before, and persuade him to Desert. He accomplish'd this so luckily, that before they came up to the Enemy, *Bret* suddenly drew his Sword, and turning to his Men, entreated 'em to consider what they were going to do, and against whom they were Marching: Are they not, says he, our Friends and Countrymen, who have taken Arms to preserve the ancient Glory

1554. of the English Name, and to set us free at the hazard of their Lives, from Spanish Pride and Cruelty? You then, that are content to be made Slaves, may tarry a God's Name with your General there, the Duke of *Norfolk*: For my self, who had rather die a thousand times than be a Slave to the Spaniard, I'm resolv'd to seek better Fortune under the Noble *Wiat*; and I hope there are some at least among you, who will have the Wisdom and Bravery to accept of my Advice, and follow my Example. — He had scarce ended his Speech, when they all cry'd out, A *Wiat*! A *Wiat*! and began to turn their Arms upon those that follow'd 'em.

Norfolk was confounded at this sudden Revolt, and immediately fled, together with the Earl of *Arundel*, and *Ferneſham* Captain of the Guard. But *Wiat* came up that Moment with a Party of Horse, and intercepted the rest: He seiz'd 8 Brass Guns, and all *Norfolk's* Baggage; Then addressing himself to the Queen's Forces he exhorted 'em to joyn him in so just a Cause; but declared at the same time, that if any Man had a Mind to return to the Queen, he should have his Freedom: This only he said he would request of those Deserters of their Country, that at their Return they wou'd let Her Majesty and the People know, that *Wiat* call'd Heaven and Earth to witness that he did not take up Arms against his Sovereign, but only to oppose the Designs of Foreigners upon the Liberty of his Country. Then the 500 under *Bret*, with many of the Guards, and the greatest part of the rest presently joyn'd *Wiat*; who being flush'd with such a Reinforcement, resolv'd to march directly to London.

While these things pass'd in the City and in *Kent*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, who left the Town on the 25th. of January with his two Brothers, publish'd Declarations in many Places, inviting the People to take up Arms against the approaching Spaniards; but finding 'twas to no purpose, he began to think of making his Escape, when he heard that the Earl of *Huntingdon* with a Body of Horse was come from the Queen to seize him. He had then about Fifty Men with him: He knew 'twou'd be in vain to make any Resistance with so small a Party, in a Country that was not likely to assist him; therefore distributing his Money among 'em, he feign'd a Flight, and sending away his Brothers and the rest, he committed his Life to the sole Fidelity of one *Underwood*, whom he had made his Ranger at *Astley*. This Fellow promis'd to conceal him, till he shou'd have time to resolve on something for his Safety: But whether wrought upon by Fear, or by the hopes of a Reward, he deliver'd his Master to *Huntingdon*, by whom with a Guard of Three Hundred Horse he was brought to London, and Imprison'd in the Tower on the 11th. of February.

In the mean time the Queen being concern'd to keep the Londoners in their Duty, and more particularly when She heard of the Desertion of *Bret's* Men, came into the City February the 1st. attended by most of the Nobility, and in *Guild-Hall* made a Speech to the Citizens; in which vehemently inveighing against *Wiat*, She represented his Rebellion as black as possible; saying, "That he only made use of the Pretence of breaking the *Spanish Match*, to cover the most Villanous Designs. That having a little augmented his

Norfolk abandon'd by his Forces, is forc'd to fly.

The D. of *Suffolk* solicits an Insurrection in vain.

He is carry'd Prisoner to the Tower.

Feb. 5th. The Queen's Speech to the Citizens

Bret with 500 Londoners Revolt to *Wiat*.

1554. "his Forces, he had proceeded to that degree of Madnefs and Impudence, as not only to pretend in the Affair of the Marriage, but to aim at the Custody of the Queen's Person, and to give Orders what Counsellors shou'd attend Her, and who shou'd be Discharg'd and Punish'd. That in the Treaty of the Match, She had done nothing without the Advice of Her Nobles: That having liv'd a Virgin the better part of Her time, She was not now so fix'd upon Marrying, but that if the States of the Realm thought proper, She wou'd gladly continue in the same Condition. For it wou'd go to Her Heart, to think that by reason of Her Contract, England shou'd be expos'd to the Miseries of Fire and Sword, and all manner of Confusion. Therefore She exhorted 'em to keep firm to their Allegiance, and be ready to assist Her just Revenge upon Traytors. For this was their Duty, as having with one Consent receiv'd Her for their Queen, and the Rightful Successor of Her Father and Brother.

Having thus confirm'd the Minds of the Londoners, She arm'd Five Hundred Men, most of 'em Forreigners; of which a select Party were posted to defend the Bridge, and the rest dispos'd in proper Places thro' the City.

Feb. 3d.
Wiat
comes to
London.

Two Days after, on the 3d. of February, Wiat came to London with Three Thousand, or as some say Four Thousand Men: He had conceiv'd mighty hopes that he shou'd presently be admitted into the City, and accomplish his Ends without striking a Stroke; but he was deceiv'd. For advancing to the Bridge, he found it possess'd by the Queen's Forces: However he remain'd in Southwark two Days, expecting that his Friends in the City wou'd in that time contrive something for his Assistance. But when he saw he did but lose his time, he march'd to Kingston, ten Mile from London, to take the Advantage of the Bridge there: He found it cut down, and Two Hundred Men posted on the opposite Bank; but these were soon dispers'd at the sight of two Pieces of Ordnance brought up against 'em. After which, Wiat with great diligence got the Bridge repair'd, and in the Evening brought over his Army: Then thinking that every thing now depended upon the swiftness of his Motion, without allowing his Soldiers any Rest, he march'd for London, hoping to reach it before Break of Day, and surprize the Queen unprepar'd to oppose him. Perhaps too he had not been disappointed, if Providence, which seldom prospers Rebels, had not by an unexpected Event retarded their March, or rather infatuated their Minds, that for a Trifle they might lose the opportunity of effecting their Design. They were now within six Miles of the City, when it happen'd that a Carriage of one of their Great Guns broke; so that it cou'd not be brought any further. Some Hours were lost in repairing it, and Wiat wou'd not be persuaded to leave it behind him; so that by this means he was not able to come up at the Hour appointed by his London Friends. Upon which, many despairing now of Success, fled from their Colours, and left him not above half the Number of his Forces. Among the rest, Sir George Harper, who had shar'd all his Secrets, to expiate his feign'd Revolt by betraying his Companions, went directly to the

Harper
goes to
the Queen
and disco-
vers the
whole
Conspira-
cy.

Queen, and discover'd the whole Conspiracy.

Her Majesty was in great Consternation at it, and raising in all haste some Forces, gave the Command of 'em to the Earl of Pembroke. Wiat hearing of this, slacken'd his March, that he might not bring his Men fatigued against fresh Soldiers; so that by a slow Motion he reach'd the Suburbs about Noon. Then planting his Ordnance on a Hill beyond St. James's, he left there the greatest part of his small Army, and advanc'd with Five Companies towards Ludgate, while Cutbert Vaughan with two Companies more, leaving St. James's on the Left, march'd towards Westminster. This was probably intended to make a Diversion, and favour Wiat's Passage by terrifying that Part of the Town. At Charing-Cross Sir John Gage, Lord Chamberlain, with the Guards and some other Soldiers oppos'd Wiat. But whether unable to sustain the Shock, or having receiv'd new Orders from the Queen, who perhaps was fearful of Vaughan, they soon retir'd in disorder to the Court, and fill'd it with Tumult and Confusion. The Earl of Pembroke in the mean time infest'd the Enemy's Rear, who halting forward, and not facing about to receive him, lost a considerable Number. But the Rebels boldly continu'd their March, crying out, *Long live Queen Mary*; and pretended that She had graciously granted their Requests. Then coming to Ludgate, they demanded Entrance; but being answer'd with nothing but Reproaches, they determin'd to return to their Companions the same way they came, when unexpectedly they found themselves Surrounded by the Earl of Pembroke's Horse. Clarenceux King at Arms press'd Wiat to yield, and not by drawing on himself the Blood of so many Valiant Men, forfeit all Hope of the Queen's Mercy. The Soldiers seem'd resolute to try the worst of their Fortune, but Wiat in Despair surrender'd himself to Sir Maurice Barkley, who carry'd him directly to the Queen. The Rebels having lost their General, made no further Attempt; some of 'em fled, the Prisons were fill'd with the rest. Thus on the 6th. of February was this Flame of Rebellion extinguish'd.

The Punishment of the Prisoners was next taken into Consideration; the first thing resolv'd, was the Execution of Lady Jane, who had been Sentenc'd on the 13th of November, but was Repriev'd till now, not without some hopes of a Pardon. But since 'twas plain by Experience, how dangerous it wou'd be to let her Live; to remove all Cause of Sedition 'twas thought fit to hasten her Death. To prepare her for it, Dr. Fecknam Dean of St. Paul's, and afterward Abbot of Westminster, was sent to her, and had orders to endeavour her Conversion to the Roman Religion. She was so far from receiving this fatal Summons with Terror, that she devoutly Bless'd God for it, but said, she had no time to spare now for Controversies, and thought that little which was allow'd her ought rather to be spent in Prayers and Supplication. Fecknam mistaking her Design in this Answer; as though she desir'd a Reprieve, went to the Queen and obtain'd three Days. Then returning immediately, told her what he had done, and Exhorted her to hearken to his Arguments, and to learn a better Faith. She answer'd with a pleasant Countenance,

Alas!

1554.

The Earl
of Pem-
broke
breaks
against
the
Rebels

Wiat
surrender
himself

The Lady
Jane
Repriev'd

1554. Alas! Sir, I did not intend that what I said should be reported to the Queen, nor would I have you think me covetous of a Moment's longer Life, which ever since your Departure has been so burdensome to me, that I am only solicitous for a better Life in Eternity, and will gladly suffer Death, since 'tis her Majesty's Pleasure. When the Dean continu'd still to urge her Return to the Romish Church, she made such extraordinary Answers, that whoever reads that Dispute, (for it was afterwards publish'd) must be astonish'd to observe in one of her Age and Sex, such Constancy of Mind, sound Learning, and acute Wit. Her Husband, the Lord Guilford, being first to suffer, had obtain'd leave to see her, and take his last Farewell; but she would by no means consent to it, beseeching him to omit this as a fomenting of Grief, rather than a Consolation in Death, for they should shortly have an Interview in a better place, and be joyn'd in a stricter Union. Yet she had such Presence of Mind, as to look on him through the Window, when he pass'd to the Scaffold, and saw his headless Body afterwards brought back in a Cart to be interr'd in the Chappel of the Tower. There was no doubt but the Death of this innocent unhappy Lady would excite Pity and Regret. 'Twas determin'd therefore not to bring her to the usual Place of Execution. But a Scaffold was erected within the Tower, where about an hour or two after her Lord, on the 12th of February she was Beheaded. When she was brought out to suffer, the Lieutenant of the Tower desir'd her to Favour him with some Memorial of her, upon which she ask'd for a Table-book, and wrote Three short Sentences in Greek and Latin (of both which Tongues she was a wonderful Mistress) and in English, by which she asserted her Innocence; and tho she own'd she had committed a Capital Error, yet she thought that among Men her Ignorance might without Injury to the Laws, have been allow'd in Excuse of it. At last having Saluted the Crowd as she went, with an unconcern'd Countenance, and desir'd their Prayers, she came to the Scaffold, holding Doctor Fecknam by the hand, whom she kindly embrac'd, saying, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your Humanity to me, tho it gave me more uneasiness than all the Terrors of my approaching Death.* Then turning to the Spectators, she modestly related her Misfortune after this Manner.

"I am Condemn'd, not for grasping a Scepter, but for not refusing it when offer'd; and my Death will be a memorable Instruction to Posterity, that Innocence is no Excuse for great Facts which tend to the publick Detriment; for 'tis criminal enough to be made, tho ever so unwillingly, the unhappy Instrument of another's Ambition."

Having said this, she commended her self to the Divine Mercy; then with the Assistance of the Ladies her Attendants, she took off her Gown, and the Ornaments of her Head and Neck, and having cover'd her Eyes with a Handkerchief, laid her Neck on the Block, and hasten'd the Executioner when he delay'd to do his Office, which was at last perform'd, and drew Tears from the Eyes of the Spectators, even of those who from the first had espous'd Queen Mary's Party.

Such was the End of Lady Jane, a Person illustrious by Birth and Titles of her Ancestors, but much more so by her own Virtue and noble Endowments of Mind, who, says Thuanus, sway'd by the Ambition of her Father-in-Law, and of her Imperious Mother, assum'd the fatal Title of Queen; and being suddenly hurry'd from a Throne to a Scaffold, suffer'd for Guilt not her own, surmounting all these Inflexions of adverse Fortune by her Innocence and amazing Constancy.

The Death of this illustrious Lady was follow'd two days after by the much juster Execution of *Wiat's* Accomplices. Twenty Gibbets were erected in several Parts of the City, on which, upon the Fourteenth and Fifteenth of February Fifty of the Rebels were hang'd. On the 18th of the same Month, *Alexander Bret*, who carry'd over the five hundred *Londoners* from the Duke of *Norfolk*, was sent down to be Executed in *Kent*, with abundance more, many of which were Persons of Condition and Figure. On the 20th, Four hundred of *Wiat's* Party came with Halsters about their Necks, and obtain'd the Queen's Pardon. February 23. *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, Father to Lady Jane, whom the Queen had formerly pardon'd, having receiv'd Sentence of Death on the 17th of the same Month, was beheaded, as indeed he deserv'd, being the chief Cause of all the Troubles which had hitherto distracted this Reign.

On the Eleventh of April came on *Wiat's* Execution, who in hopes of a Pardon, and instigated (as 'tis suppos'd) by some malicious Instruments, among others whom he discover'd as privy to the Conspiracy, nam'd the Marquis of *Exeter*; insinuating, that in Revenge of Queen Mary's refusing him the Honour of being her Husband, he had conspir'd to Depose her, and by Marrying her Sister usurp the Throne. Upon this Accusation, the Marquis was committed to the Tower on the 12th of February, and the Lady *Elizabeth* on the 18th of March. But *Wiat* as he was going to Execution, being touch'd in Conscience, desir'd to see the Marquis, and on his Knees begg'd his Pardon for having been induc'd by hopes of Life to load him with so foul a Calumny. This was afterwards testify'd by the Sheriffs, and many others, who saw and heard it. But the Bishop of *Winchester*, Lord Chancellor, who, fearing a Change of Religion by the Lady *Elizabeth*, was observ'd to use his utmost Endeavours to take her off, declar'd openly in the Star-Chamber, and cited the Lord *Chandois* as Witness to it, That *Wiat* a little before his Death had press'd the Marquis of *Exeter* to plead Guilty, and throw himself on the Queen's Mercy. This however had not the least Face of Probability; for 'twas certain, and universally known, that *Wiat* at the place of Execution, seeing no hope of a Pardon remain, when he was preparing to dye, did in the most solemn and religious Manner declare aloud, that the Lady *Elizabeth*, and *Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*, were not all concern'd in his Treason.

April the 27th, Lord *Thomas Gray* was Beheaded for having push'd forward his Brother the Duke of *Suffolk*, and been the chief Instrument to engage him in *Wiat's* Conspiracy. On the 19th of May the Lady *Elizabeth* was remov'd from the Tower to *Woodstock*; and on the 25th, the Marquis of *Exeter*, to *Foderin-*

Lord Guilford Beheaded,

And Lady Jane, Feb. 12.

1554.

Wiat's Accomplices executed.

Feb. 14, 15.

20th. 400 Pardon'd.

23. D. of Suffolk Beheaded.

Lady Elizabeth and Marquis of Exeter Prisoners.

Lord Thomas Gray Beheaded, April 27.

1554 *gay*; but both still remain'd close Prisoners. *ADispute at Oxford.*

About the same time, *Cranmer*, yet Archbishop of Canterbury, *Ridley* lately depriv'd of the See of London; and *Hugh Latimer*, who long before resign'd his Bishoprick of Worcester, were remov'd from the Tower to Windsor, and thence to Oxford, there to Dispute publickly with the Divines of both Universities, concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They were forc'd to engage in this upon the most unequal Terms imaginable; for, having but Two Days allow'd 'em to prepare for it, they were all the while kept close Prisoners, and not suffer'd to speak with any Friend, nor allow'd the Use of their own Papers and Books. The Controversy was nothing but Clamour and Confusion; and they were attack'd by several asking the same Questions at once, without either Order or Civility. On the 14th of April, being brought from their Prisons to St. Marys, they were commanded to Subscribe to the Popish Doctrine; which when they refused, several Days were appointed 'em for Disputing. The 16th. for *Cranmer*, the 17th for *Ridley*, and the 18th for *Latimer*; at which times they were singly to Answer to all Opponents. Tho' they were confounded with Noise, and distracted with the Multitude and Variety of Questions propos'd together; tho they were abus'd with

Scoffs and Reproaches, and over-born with Numbers, yet they extorted the unwilling Admiration of their Adversaries: For *Cranmer* answer'd with the greatest Learning, and with a Gravity becoming that Dignity he had so many Years possess'd; *Ridley* with wonderful Promptitude and Acuteness; and *Latimer* with a pleasant Sharpness, and with more Strength of Reason than could be expected from a Man who was near Four-score. After this Dispute, on the 20th of the same Month, they were brought again to St. Marys, and being ask'd, whether they persisted in their Opinions; when they affirm'd that they did, they were adjudg'd Hereticks, and Condemn'd to be Burn'd. They all receiv'd the Sentence with admirable Constancy; *Latimer* even Triumphing, that God would Honour him with so glorious a Period of a long Life, which according to Nature must quickly have expir'd. What became of these excellent Persons afterwards, we shall relate in the next Year's Transactions.

In the mean time, on the 2d of April, the Parliament met (e), to whom the Queen propos'd Two Things; her Marriage, and the Restoring the Pope's Supremacy. The last of these she cou'd not yet Obtain; the other was assented to on certain Conditions, such as follow:

Account of
the Queen's
second Par-
liament.

Vol. II. p.
277.

(e) This Second Parliament began April 2. on a Monday in this first of the Queen. Then the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, declared the Parliament to be called for Two Causes; viz. For the Corroboration of true Religion; And touching the Queen's Highness Noble Marriage. The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, chose *Robert Brook* Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of London, for their Speaker: Who on Friday following made his Eloquent Speech before the Queen, the Lords and the Commons, in the waiting Chamber at Whitehall, within the Palace at Westminster. Saturday, April 7. the Second Bill that was read was, touching the Regality of any King in this Realm, that the same is as much invested in the Queen; that is, in the Females, as in the Males. The Ninth Day it was ordered to be engrosed, and the 10th it underwent this Title, That the Regality and Crown of this Realm is as much invested in the Queen's Highness, as in any of her Noble Ancestors. Being assented to, it was sent to the Lords by Mr. Speaker. The Author of the Reformation of the Church of England giveth Secret Reasons for this Bill. I am apt to think this Reason ought not to be excluded: Viz. To prevent any Disturbance that might arise from an Opinion broached by some of Q. Mary's Enemies, That it was unlawful for a Woman to Govern: To prove which, *Knox* and others published Books in English some time after.

The 10th day was the Bill first read, touching the Articles agreed on for the Marriage between the Queen and the Noble Prince *Philip of Spain*, Son and Heir to the Emperor *CHARLES* the Fifth. Which Bill was read again the 11th. And again the 12th day.

Another considerable Bill brought into this Parliament, and pass'd at last, was for the restoring and erecting the Bishoprick of *Durham*; which the Queen had done as much as She could before, by Letters-Patents. This Bill (whereby many were like to become Losers) met with much opposition; because King *Edward* had given and sold away to the Town of *Newcastle*, and to other particular Persons, some Parts of the Lands and Revenues of the said Bishoprick: First, the Burgesses of *Newcastle* exhibited a *Proviso* for the Town of *Gateside*, and the Salt Meadows to continue annexed to *Newcastle*, according to an Act made in the late Reign. Another *Proviso* was brought in upon another Reading of the Bill, for certain Lands, parcel of the Bishoprick, that had been granted to Sir *John Jobson* by King *Edward VI.* and another *Proviso* general for Sir *Francis Jobson*, for his Patent of those Lands. *Tunstall* the Bishop of *Durham* finding the Bill thus like to be clogged, came into the Lower House himself, and declared his whole Cause concerning his Bill, and his Troubles occasioned by the late Duke of *Northumberland*; and afterwards required the House to consider his Bill. The Day after, which was the 19th Day of April, there was an Argument upon the Bill; and upon the Question the House divided, and the Number that said *Yes* to the Bill was 201; and the Number against it was 120. But it was agreed by the House, that Mr. Speaker in their Names should require the said Bishop to shew favour to Sir *Francis Jobson* in this Suit. But in the Act there is neither Consideration nor *Proviso* made for the Town of *Newcastle*, or any other Persons, except *Francis Earl of Somerset*, to enjoy the Bishop's House of *Coldherber* in the Parish of *Albhallows Barking*, London, and three other Messuages or Tenements in the Parish of *Grafchurch*, London, which *K. Edward* had given him.

There were several Bills brought in and read about Religion (which was the second great Business of calling this Parliament) but pass'd not into Acts: As a Bill to revive certain Statutes touching Heresies and Lollardies. Another (to be even with that) to avoid the Statute of the Six Articles, made 31 H. 8. And another, that the Bishop of *Rome* shall not convent any Person for any Abby Lands. Which was read again; to the Bishop of *Rome* was added, or any other Spiritual Person; meaning, perhaps, Cardinal *POLE*, who was e're long to come as his Legate. Another, for extirpating Heresies, and Erroneous Opinions and Books: Another, to avoid Pensions of Married Priests: Another, for the Election of Scholars in the Universities: Perhaps that such only should be elected in such Places, as should subscribe or swear certain Matters for the surer preserving them in Papistry. Another Bill for avoiding Playing Houses. Another, for Unlawful Assemblies.

These Bills either could not, or perhaps were not thought convenient now to pass, and so were stop'd either in the Lower or Upper House; the Matters for the further Establishment of the Popish Religion, being as it seems intended to be more fully prosecuted in a longer Session than this could be; and another Parliament being likely to be better disposed to do it, after the Marriage with Catholic *PHILIP*.

Journ.
Comm.
House.

This may be noted further in this Parliament, that one Mr. *Beaumont* of the House of Commons, and his Wife, had served a *Subpœna* upon the Earl of *Huntington* in Parliament time. Whereat the Lords were offended: And April 17. sent some of the Judges to the Lower House, bringing the *Subpœna* with them; and prayed the Order of the House for that Offence. And it was ordered that Eight of the said House should declare to the Lords, That they took this Writ to be no Breach of Privilege.

May the 5th in the Afternoon, the Queen came into the Parliament Chamber, and gave her Royal Assent to 15 Acts; and then that Second Parliament was dissolved.

That

1554.

"That the Prince of Spain shou'd not Advance any to Publick Offices, but such as were Natives of England, and Subjects to the Queen. That he shou'd admit a certain Number of English in his Household, whom he shou'd treat with Respect, and not suffer 'em to be insulted by Foreigners. That he shou'd not carry the Queen out of England, unless She desir'd it, nor any of the Children which might spring from this Marriage; who shou'd be Educated in England; nor suffer'd to go out of the Realm, but upon Necessity, or some good Reason, and that with the Consent of the English. That if the Queen shou'd Die without Issue, the Prince shou'd have no Claim in the Kingdom, but shou'd leave it free to the Legal Successor; and shou'd make no Innovations in any of the Rights, either publick or private, the Immunities or Customs of the Realm, but shou'd preserve 'em entire and inviolate. That he shou'd not be permitted to Transport any Jewels or Goods belonging to the Crown, nor to Alienate any of the Royal Patrimony. That he shou'd preserve the Shipping, Artillery and Stores, and keep in good Repair the Castles and Fortify'd Places. Lastly, That this Match shou'd not at all derogate from the League lately concluded betwixt the Queen of England, and the King of France; but the Peace shou'd remain inviolate between the English and French: Yet the Prince shou'd be at Liberty to send Aids out of other Kingdoms and Dominions to his Father the Emperor, either to keep off Injuries, or to revenge those already receiv'd.

All things being thus agreed, and no Impediment remaining to obstruct the Nuptials, Philip Embark'd, and setting Sail July 26. from the Groine, arriv'd three days after at Southampton, with a Fleet consisting in all of a Hundred and Sixty Sail; among which were 20 English, and as many Flemish. From Southampton, where he rested three days, attended by a numerous Train of Spaniards and English, on the 24th. of July in a very wet day he came to the Queen at Winchester. The Festival of St. James, the tutelary Saint of the Spaniards, was the Day appointed for the Nuptials, which were celebrated at Winchester with great Magnificence. At which time Don Juan Figueroa in the Emperor's Name resign'd the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and transferr'd all Right therein to Philip. Their were their Titles publickly proclaim'd by the Heralds in Latin, French, and English. (p) About the beginning of August the Royal Pair came to Basing, and thence to Windsor, where King Philip on the 5th. of the same Month was Install'd Knight of the Garter. August the 11th. they made a splendid Entry at London, being receiv'd by the City with all manner of Expence and Solemnity.

1554.
Pr. Philip comes in- to Eng- land.

The Nup- tials.

Aug. 11th.

On the 11th. of November a Parliament met again. (q) About the beginning of this Session, Pole came into England, who had been declar'd by King Henry the Eighth an Enemy to the State, had been created Cardinal by Paul the III. and might have been chosen Pope if he had consented in time, and who (as we before observ'd) had been mark'd out by some as a proper Husband for the Queen. After he had lost the Chair, by the

A Parlia- ment, Nov. 11. Cardinal Pole's Ar- rival in England.

fault

(p) But neither the Queen, nor the Nation were likely to have any great Blessing of this Spanish PHILIP: For, (as it was Recorded of him, and experienced in his Reign very amply) in Dissimulation he surpassed all Nations, till he had obtained his Purpose; and when he could once prevail, he went beyond all in Oppression and Tyranny. Also, that he disdain'd all other Nations; and in Pride and Carnal Voluptuousness, no Nation came near him. And these were the Qualities of this Prince, whom the Queen had now against the Grain of the English, obtained for Her Husband.

Sir Fran. Hastings's Watch- word, p. 92.

(q) Queen MARY'S Third Parliament, commonly called the 1. and 2. of Philip and Mary, began the 12th. of November. The Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament to be called for Confirmation of True Religion, and other weighty Affairs. After his Oration was ended, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses came to the Commons House, and there did elect and chuse Clement Higham, Esq; one of the Privy-Council, to be their Mouth and Speaker; who was brought to the Chair by Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Comptroller. The said Mr. Speaker, Nov. 15. made an excellent Oration, comparing the Body Politick to a Body Natural: And in the End, made Three Petitions; viz. For free Speech in the House: Liberty from Arrest and Trouble for the Commons, and their Servants: And to have ready Access to the King and Queen for the Ease of the House. Which being granted, the Lord Chancellor Prorogued the Court until Saturday following; which was the 17th. Day of November.

Journ. House of Commons.

This Parliament made it self remarkable for two Things: One was for taking off the Attainder of Cardinal Pole, 31 H. 8. The other for obtaining a Reconciliation for the Realm to the Pope, all whose Power and Supremacy had for many Years been abolished. The former was done with great speed, and much Honour to the Cardinal: For on the 19th. of November, the Bill to take off his Attainder was brought from the Lords by the Master of the Rolls, and Master Solicitor: And the same day it was read once, and a second time: And the next day, being the 20th. it was read the third time, and pass'd. And the 21st. it was sent up to the Lords by Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Speaker; and Mr. Treasurer declared to the House, that the King and Queen would be the next day in the Afternoon in the Parliament-House, to give their Assents to this Bill: And accordingly about Three a Clock, in the Parliament-Chamber, the Royal Assent was given to the Bill, and so made it a perfect Act.

What was done in this Par- liament.

On the 27th. day of November, Mr. Speaker declared, it was the King and Queen's Pleasure, that the House should be to Morrow at the Court, to hear a Declaration of the Lord Cardinal concerning his Legatie. On the day after hearing the said Cardinal's Declaration, Mr. Speaker shewed that the said Legate had moved them the Commons, to come again to the Unity of the Church from the which they were fallen. And the Matter of the Rolls, and Mr. Solicitor declared from the Lords, that they had appointed the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, four Barons, to confer with a Number of the Commons House; who immediately were sent unto them. The Lords aforesaid, together with the Commons, appointed certain Persons to draw up a Supplication to the King and Queen: Which was Engrossed; and then it was agreed by the House to be presented to the King and Queen. Whereby it was implored that these Realms and Dominions might again be united to the Church of Rome, by the Means of the Lord Cardinal Pole. The next day, viz. the last of November, being Friday, in the Afternoon, the Lords and Commons being present at the Palace before the King and Queen, the Supplication was read in Latin, and then exhibited by their Majesties to the Lord Legate; who, after making an Oration of the great Joy that was for the Return of the lost Sheep, did by the Pope's Holiness's Authority, give Absolution to this whole Land, and the Dominions of the same.

The Copy of this Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queen, by the Lords and Commons of A. & Parliament, and the Absolution pronounced by the Cardinal hereupon, are both preserved by Master John Fox. Mon. The Book 10.

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Y y

1554. fault of another rather than his own, with the Leave of the new Pope *Julius*, he withdrew into the Territory of *Verona* to a Monastery of *Benedictines*, call'd *Maguzano*; of which Order he had been Patron while he continu'd at *Rome*. While he thought to live in private there the remainder of his Days, the News of King *Edward's* Death and Queen *Mary's* Succession, drew him once more to *Rome*. He knew very well how Zealous a Daughter of the *Roman* Church the Queen was, and hop'd with very good Reason that *Julius*, who much esteem'd him, having by *Pole's* Delays been chiefly assisted to obtain the Papacy, wou'd now send him with the Honour and Authority of a Legate into *England*. From this he promis'd to himself the absolute Direction of the Church at least, if not the State, by virtue of his Legantine Commission, and the Dignity of Archbishop of *Canterbury*. While he was a Child, Queen *Mary* had been Educated for some time under the Care of his Mother *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, by the Direction of Queen *Catharine*; who was suppos'd to have design'd a Match for her with

one of the Countess's Sons, to strengthen her Title to the Crown, in case King *Henry* dy'd without Male-Issue; for this Lady was Daughter to George Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the Fourth. The Cardinal, whether for this, or for any other Reason, knowing himself to be in great Esteem with the Queen, was sure, if not of the Crown by Marriage, yet of all the highest Advantages of Her Favour. Nor was he deceiv'd: For *Mary* no sooner was advanc'd to the Throne, than she invited him over with very great Promises; and the Pope knowing he wou'd be a faithful Solicitor of his Interest in *England*, at the Queen's Request, sent him immediately with ample Authority (r). But the Emperor, who seems somewhat jealous of the Cardinal's Project, and had another of his own in favour of his Son *Philip*, which he design'd by all possible means to promote, began to treat earnestly with Cardinal *Dandino*, the Pope's Legate at his Court, about concluding of a Peace between himself and the *French*. By this Stratagem he design'd to retard *Pole* in his Journey, that he might not arrive in *England* soon enough

The News of this Reconciliation King *Philip* wrote in a Letter in *Spanish* to the Pope, with wonderful Joy; and Cardinal *Pole* in *Latin*: Both dated *November* the 30th. that is, the very day wherein the Matter was done. The Translation of both are likewise preserved in *Fox's* Martyrology.

The Evil of this Submission to the Pope, and Union with the pretended Catholick Church, soon appeared, by the several Bloody Acts that pass'd this Session, and the Bloody Actions that followed in this Kingdom during the rest of the Reign. The Acts were these:

An Act to revive Three Statutes made for the Punishment of Herefy; viz. the 5. R. II. the 7. H. IV. and the 2. H. V.

An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles and Provisions, made against the See Apostolic of *Rome*, since the 20th. Year of King *Henry* VIII.

An Act for Traiterous Words, spoken or to be spoken against the Queen.

An Act whereby certain Offences are made Treason.

Besides these Bills that pass'd, other Bills were brought in that pass'd not, intended for the hampering of Ministers and People of the Protestant Religion; as,

A Bill for those that had been Married Priests, or Seditious Preachers, not to be Schoolmasters.

A Bill against Seditious Schoolmasters. This Bill was, as it seems, new-made, and intitled, A Bill against Erroneous Schoolmasters.

A Bill to avoid Leafes made by Married Priests.

Another Bill, (which perhaps was the same new-modelled) touching Leafes by Spiritual Persons, to be avoided after Resignation and Non-Residence.

January 16. in the Afternoon, the King and Queen gave their Royal Assent to One and twenty Bills; 17 whereof are printed. And thereupon this Parliament was Dissolved, having done and undone enough of Conscience.

(r) This ample Authority wherewith the Pope dispatched our Cardinal, will appear by the Bull wherein he constituted him his Legate de Latere, and by a Commission he gave him for the reconciling of the Clergy and Laity of *England* to the Church of *Rome*: Which Commission is extant in an Act of Parliament in the 1. and 2. of *Philip* and *Mary*, cap. 8. and may there be read. But the Bull being not so common, may not be unworthy to be set down in this place.

Pole's Reg. transcrib. thence in Ant. Har. Coll. F.

'JULIUS Episcopus Servus Servorum, &c. i. e. JULIUS Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to our beloved Son called REGINALD POLE, Cardinal, Deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin, Our and the Apostolic See's Legate de Latere, to our most dear Daughter in Christ, MARY Queen of England, and the whole Realm, Health and Apostolical Benediction. It began with this Preface; 'That if at any time it might be said, The Right Hand of the Lord hath done mighty Things, now certainly it might most evidently be so spoken; yea, now was the time, that most joyful Sentence might be celebrated by all Pious People with Gladness and Acclamation. For what should we say else, but that the Right Hand of the Lord hath brought to pass this so surprizing Change of Things; that the most flourishing Realm of England, after it had been seduced by Henry VIII. into a Separation and Departure from the Catholic Church, and next by the Succession of his Son Edward, strengthened and confirmed in his Father's (and so Hereditary) Error, should now on a sudden come to that State, to be (as it seems) in a very fair and ready way to be recalled into the Holy Sheep-Fold of the Catholic Church. Truly this was nothing else but a Change wrought by the Right Hand of the most High.' And so the Bull went on, shewing the wonderful manner of the Queen's Access to the Throne: Then proceeding unto Pope Julius's Part, 'That he, according to his Paternal Care of the Universal Church, committed to him by God, and according to that Charity with which he ought more especially to be endowed towards the English Nation, as a peculiar Daughter of this Holy See, over which he presided without any Merits of his own, but by the only Providence of God, being begotten by the Seed of God's Word scattered there in former Times by the procurement of his See; neither could, nor ought to be wanting to the Hope and Holy Confidence, that this said Land, having a Catholic Prince, would easily be turned into the Way of the Catholic Faith, and restored to the Communion of the Church.

'That therefore after very mature and deliberate Thoughts, he the Cardinal, was not only the first, but the only Man that occurred to his Mind, to whom above all he might commit this Care: And that consulting with his Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by their unanimous Assent and Consent, he made choice of him, as his and the Apostolic Sees Legate to the same Queen MARY, and the whole Realm of England. For whether he had regard to the Place of his Birth, or the general Love that all had towards him, which ought to be, and so was very great; or the Knowledge of the Language of that Country, and their Customs and Inclinations; or his Authority and Esteem by reason of the Royal Blood whence he was sprung, or of his singular Prudence and Eloquence in all Respects; or (which was the chief of all) his most ardent Love and Duty towards God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Catholic Church, now well known and experienced; or lastly, whether he regarded his Person, which the high Giver of all good Gifts had adorned with these and many other Vertues; He judged him most fitly qualified for this Legation. Wherefore

1554. enough to disconcert his Measures. *Dandino* therefore, to gratify the Emperor, sent Letters to *Pole* by *Francisco Commendano*, advising him not to set forward yet, for the Emperor was displeas'd with that Legacy, which was undertaken without his Approbation; besides, that the *English* for the most part, and especially the *Londoners*, had such an Aversion to the Pope, that a Legate ought not to be sent, till they were brought to a Temper to admit of it. *Pole* having receiv'd these Letters at the Monastery of *Maguzano*, thought it not proper to proceed till he had further Orders from the Pope; who being jealous of the Emperor's increase of Power, by the Accession of so many Dominions, resented *Dandino's* officiousness, and recalling him, conferr'd on *Pole* the whole Legatine Power both into *England*, and to the Emperor and the *French*, for transacting a Peace.

Pole willingly undertook this double Charge, and now began his Journey; when he came to *Trent* he dispatch'd Expresses both to the Emperor and the King of *France* to certify them of his Commission. The Emperor perceiving that he was no longer to be delay'd by Stratagems, sends *Mendoza* to him, with Letters plainly confessing his Fear, that *Pole's* further Progress wou'd obstruct some Affairs of great Moment depending; and therefore he desir'd him to stay where he was, till those Affairs were concluded, or to proceed to *Liege* and there expect his further Orders. *Pole*, upon the Receipt of these Letters, return'd to *Dilling*, not far from *Trent*, from whence he certifies the Pope of the whole Business, and writes at the same time an Expostulation to the Emperor, representing what an Indignity 'twas, that his Holiness's Legate sent to transact the Cause of Peace and of Religion, shou'd be stop'd in the midst of *Germany*, in the view of Hereticks, and that by his Imperial Majesty's own Direction, to the utmost Disgrace of the Holy Chair. *Domingo Soto*, a great Divine, and Preacher in ordinary to the Emperor, was then at *Dilling*. By him he presses the Emperor that he wou'd no longer retard him, to the great Detriment of Christianity, and especially of the *English* Nation. At last, when his Imperial Majesty had receiv'd advice, that the Marriage Articles were agreed on, *Pole* with much difficulty obtain'd leave to come to him at *Brussels*, but on Condition that he shou'd tarry there till the Nuptials of *Philip* and *Mary* were Solemniz'd. To *Brussels* therefore he came, where having pay'd his Devoirs to the Emperor who receiv'd him with a World of Civility, that his time might not be Consum'd to no purpose, he enters upon the other Part of his Commission to mediate a Peace between his Imperial Majesty and the King of *France*. He try'd the Emperor first, who seeming not averse to it upon reasonable Terms the Cardinal goes to *France* to treat the same Affair, but in short, such was the in-

1554. veterate Hatred betwixt these Princes, that he cou'd effect Nothing; yet King *Henry* had made as fair a shew as the Emperor, and Embracing *Pole* at his Departure, declar'd a wonderful Sorrow that he had not the Happiness to know him sooner; for he wou'd not have wish'd to see any other in the Pontifical Chair; if he had been truly appriz'd of his great Virtues.

A little after his return to *Brussels*, came the Lords *Paget* and *Hastings* Embassadors to the Emperor from *Philip* and *Mary*, who signify'd their earnest Desire to see the Cardinal, and desir'd his Dismission by the first Opportunity, that by the Pope's Authority he might settle the Ecclesiastical Affairs in his own Country, which by a long Schism had been miserably disorder'd. In *September* he had leave for his Departure, but was detain'd till the next Month by adverse Winds, and then embarking, soon arriv'd at *Dover*.

He was receiv'd by the King and Queen with the highest Marks of Honour, as like-
Pole's Reception in England.

wise by all the Nobility who seem'd at least to be full of Joy. And because in the year 1539 he had been attainted by the Parliament, the Act of Attainder was now repeal'd, the King and Queen coming to the House after an extraordinary manner to Sign the Repeal before his Arrival at *London*. A little after his coming, both Houses were assembl'd, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notify'd the Cardinal's grateful Arrival, *Pole* himself in his native Tongue made a long Speech, full of extraordinary Acknowledgments to their Majesties, to the Lords, and Commons, by whose favour his Banishment and Proscription being repeal'd, he was restor'd to the Rights and Privileges of his Native Country: "And the best Return, he said, which in Duty and Gratitude he cou'd make for so great an Obligation was this, that since by the late Schism they had become Exiles from the Unity of the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven, he wou'd by Authority from Christ's Vicar bring 'em back to the Fold, and so restore 'em to their heavenly Inheritance. Therefore he exhorted 'em ingenuously to acknowledge and detest the Errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of Mind to accept and retain the Benefit which God by his Vicar's Legate offer'd to 'em. For, since he was come with the Keys to open to 'em the Church Gates, nothing now remain'd than that as they had open'd a way for his Return, by abrogating the Laws which made him an Exile, so they should abrogate all those Laws too, which being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly seperated them from the Body of the Church.

His Speech to the Estates in Parliament.

After he had made a long Harangue to this Effect, and ransack'd Antiquity for Examples to shew how religiously their Forefathers were

'Wherefore by these present Letters he recommended this Office to the Cardinal's Circumspection: That he taking it upon him, according to that his Piety towards God, that Reverence towards him [the Pope] and the Holy See, with that Study and Love of his towards the Christian Commonwealth, would perform it with Faithfulness, Diligence and Dexterity; and would omit nothing to obtain, by the Assistance of God, the desired Fruit of his Legation, by comforting those that were fallen into Error, and restoring them to the Grace of God, and the Communion of the Holy Catholic Church. The hope of which he especially placed in the Mercy of God, and, next to God, as well in his Care, Prudence, and Virtue, as in the godly Piety, Wisdom and Devotion of Queen MARY. It was Dated at Rome, at S. Mark's, the Year of our Lord 1553. August the 5th, the Fourth year of his Pontificate.

1554. devoted to the See of Rome, the Gravity of his Countenance, his smooth Language, and the elegant Method of his Discourse, so sensibly affected the Devotees of Popery, that they believ'd themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of Salvation: Yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously oppos'd the submitting again to the Roman Yoke; but in fine, by the pressing Instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's Satisfaction. The Pope's former Authority in this Realm was restor'd, and the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* abrogated from the Crown; a Petition for absolving the Clergy and Laity from the Crime of Heresy was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellour, to the Legate, who pronounc'd the Absolution in English, all the Estates Kneeling. After this they went in Procession to the Chappel Royal, Singing *Te Deum*; and on the Sunday following, at Paul's-Cross the Bishop of Winchester in his Sermon related the particulars of that Day's Proceedings.

The Pope's Supremacy restor'd, and the Realm absolv'd.

An Embassy sent to Rome.

Things being thus order'd, a most honourable Embassy is appointed to the Pope, which the Queen had promis'd upon her first coming to the Crown. For as she then resolv'd to Re-establish Popery, she had privately written to Pole and inform'd him of her Designs. The Pope, upon this, had dispatch'd Giovanni Francisco Commendano, his Chamberlain, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, into England, to inspect the State of the Nation. He had some secret Conferences with the Queen, and receiv'd a Paper from her, in which under her hand she promis'd Obedience to the See of Rome, and desir'd that the Realm might be absolv'd from the Interdict; to obtain which, she oblig'd her self to send a Solemn Embassy as soon as the State shou'd be Settld. Accordingly, about the End of this Year, the Bishop of Ely, Sir Anthony Brown, and Edward Carne Doctor of Laws, are sent to Rome, in the Name of King Phillip and Queen Mary, to promise Obedience to his Holiness and the Apostolick Chair. But all this preparation was to no purpose; for before they Arriv'd the Pope was dead.

In the mean time the Queen finding all her Measures hitherto crown'd with Success and Applause, while the House was still sitting, began to try the Nobility, upon permitting

* As being a Matter without precedent, and that might perchance, to an Ambitious Prince give some Colour for Claim to the Kingdom. Last Engl. Edit.

Philip to wear, if not the Imperial Crown which the Kings of England wear at their Coronation, at least the Crown of the Queen-Consort. But finding 'em averse to this*, she forbore any further Motion of it.

Her next Endeavour was the Restitution of the Church-Lands; but because the greatest part of 'em had been many years possess'd by the Nobility, nothing cou'd be effected. Only 'twas decreed that the first Fruits and Tenths granted to the King by the Clergy, in the Year 1534. should now be remitted. Yet this Decree was soon revok'd, because the Treasury was so low, and so great the Pensions to be paid yearly to the ejected Monks, that such a Branch of the Revenue cou'd not be spared.

About this time happened an absurd (not to say a ridiculous) thing, occasion'd by the Queen's Credulity, and increas'd by the Flattery of those about her. She had a Swelling in her Belly, by a Distemper which Physicians call a Mole, or something of the like Nature. And other Symptoms seeming to concur, she gave her self up to the Tales of Midwives, and neglecting the Advice of Physicians, believ'd so certainly she was with Child, that she affirm'd she felt the Motion of the Embryo. 'Tis usual it seems in that Distemper, for the fleshy Substance which is call'd the Mole to seem sometimes to move, and that with a slow and gentle Agitation of the whole Belly. But there were other Indications, if she had taken proper Advice, which made it not difficult to know the Distemper, which is generally incurable, if not apply'd to at first. So that in process of time, her Liver being over-cool'd, she fell into a Dropsy, which is usual, as *Fuchsius* and other Physicians write. In the mean time, the Queen's Error being fomented by Sycophants, not only was fatal to her in a few years, as she afterwards own'd, but in the mean time expos'd her to the infinite Scoffs and Ridicule of her Enemies. For on the 27th of November, the Privy-Council sent some Mandates to the Bishop of London, requiring him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung, and a general Thanksgiving to be given to Almighty God for his great Mercy to this Realm, in giving her Majesty certain hopes of an Offspring, by quickning the Embryo; and that the Priests shou'd pray for the preservation of the Queen and the Infant, and for her happy Delivery. A Form of Prayer was compos'd for this Occasion, and printed Copies of it dispers'd through the whole Kingdom. Several things were enacted in Parliament relating to the future Education of the Babe; and much ado there was with all the necessary preparations of Cradle, Swadling-Clouts, and such Trumpery to no purpose, for at last in the Month of June they were undeceiv'd, and the Nation wak'd from this ridiculous Dream. (s).

This

(s) Hollingshed in his Chronicle hath exemplified the Letter of the Privy-Council to Boner Bishop of London, concerning the Queen's supposed quickening with Child: The Contents whereof were, to direct and order him that the good News of it should by him be published in all parts of his Diocese; and that he himself should give God Thanks in his own Person for this special Grace; and to give out his Commands, that Thanks be returned openly by singing of *Te Deum* in all Churches; and that all Priests and Ecclesiastical Persons in their Masses and Divine Services, continually pray to God that this Thing begun by his Omnipotent Power, might be continued and brought to good Effect. There be also the Prayers to be used on this Occasion, set down in the said Chronicle, which are Three in Number; whereof one, used, I suppose, in the Abby-Church of Westminster, is said to be made by Dr. Weston Dean of that Church.

And that which was done by Parliament upon this expected Heir of the Crown to be Born, was, That King Philip the Father, being requested by the said Parliament, that if the Queen should be taken out of the World during the young Years of the Issue or Issues of her Majesty's Body, he would take upon him the Rule, Order, and Education of the said Issue. Upon which Request, the King did promise to accept and take upon him the said Care and Charge of the Education of such Child, and that during the time of such Government of such Child, he would study and travail to advance the Weal of this Realm, according to the Trust in his said Majesty reposed: And so according to that Purport an Act was made. But happy it was, that the Heir of this Kingdom, and the Kingdom it self had no Occasion for the Government of that King of Spain and his Spaniards.

1554. This Year several Lords were Created; As
Lords created. * March 11. † April 5. * William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham; he was Father to Charles Howard, Admiral of England, and Earl of Nottingham: John Williams was made † Lord Williams of Tame; Edward North, * Baron Cherlegh; John Bruges † Lord Chandois; Gerard Fitz-Gerard, * Earl of Kildare; Anthony Brown, .: Vicount Montague. And in September dy'd Thomas Duke of Norfolk.
1554. April 7. April 8. May 14. Sept. 2.

Anno Dom. 1555. Reginae Mariae, 2. & 3. Philippi 1. & 2.

Prisoners Discharg'd, Jan. 18. ON the 18th. of January, the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor, with six others of the Privy-Council, coming to the Tower, discharg'd several Noble Prisoners; viz. The Archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Croft, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gavin Carew, and Sir Andrew Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland's Brother; and besides these, William Gibs, Cutbert Vaughan, Harington, Tremain, and others. The Archbishop for having Marry'd was Depriv'd, and his See fill'd with Nicholas Heath, formerly Bishop of Worcester, remov'd by King Edward, and lately restor'd by Queen Mary; Hooper (the former Bishop) being ejected and condemn'd to be Burn'd. Rogers and Crofts were afterwards of the Privy-Council to Queen Elizabeth, and flourish'd many Years in great Authority with Her. Throgmorton, a very subtle Man, was thought to have been the Contriver of Wiat's Rebellion; his Life therefore was principally aim'd at: But when he was Arraign'd, by his most ingenious Answers he so eluded the Accusation of his Adversaries, that after Ten Hours spent in his Trial, the Jury brought him in not Guilty; for which they were afterwards severely Fin'd.

The Marquis of Exeter discharg'd. About the beginning of April the Marquis of Exeter was sent for; and a little after, the Lady Elizabeth, who were brought from the Tower to Court. The Marquis was soon discharg'd: But it was long debated, what shou'd be done with Lady Elizabeth; for the Papists were resolv'd to take away her Life by the first opportunity, if they cou'd have found the least Colour for it. The Bishop of Winchester, upon any Discourse concerning punishing Hereticks, is reported to have said, *We may shake off the Leaves, and lop the Branches, but if we do not destroy the Root, the Hope of Hereticks, (meaning Lady Elizabeth) we do nothing.* But after the strictest Scrutiny, no probable Ground of Accusation appearing, tho' 'twas suggested by some that her Liberty wou'd indanger the Queen, yet at the Intercession of Philip, who affected the Reputation of Clemency, about the latter end of April she obtain'd her Freedom: But 'twas with this Condition; That she shou'd be oblig'd to keep in her Family Thomas Pope, one of the Privy-Council, Gage, and some others, who were to be constant Spies upon her Actions.

And Lady Elizabeth. This small Spark of Clemency was obscur'd by very great Flames of Cruelty which broke

out this Year, to the destroying of great Numbers of Pious Men on the sole account of Religion. On the 4th. of February, John Rogers was burn'd, the Proto-Martyr of those Times. He was the Companion of Tindal, who first Translated the Bible into English; after whose Death, fearing Persecution, he declin'd returning into his own Country, but (being newly Marry'd) went with his Wife to Wittenberg: There having attain'd a competent Knowledge of the German Tongue, he became Pastor of a Church; which Trust he faithfully administer'd, till in King Edward's Reign he was recall'd from Banishment, and made a Prebend and Lecturer of St. Paul's by Ridley Bishop of London. When Mary was fix'd in the Throne, the Papists endeavour'd to terrify him with Threatnings, that he might fly to a voluntary Exile, forbidding him to stir from his House. Thus he liv'd for almost a Year; till at last, since he refus'd the Occasion given him for Flight, they threw him into Prison, and condemn'd him to the Flames; which cruel Death, tho' he had a Wife and Ten Children, he endur'd with an interpid and amazing Constancy.

The same Death on the 9th. of February suffer'd John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester first, and afterwards by King Edward made Bishop of Worcester too. He had been very diligent in procuring Boner's Deprivation, which probably now prov'd his Ruin: For no sooner had Mary got the Crown, than he was sent for to London, imprison'd in the Tower, and finally condemn'd as a Heretick. In K. Henry's Reign he pass'd much time in Germany, where he Marry'd a Burguignon; and among several Learned and Pious Men with whom he convers'd, had peculiar intimacy with Bullinger, to whom he was extremely indear'd by his Knowledge, and the agreeable sweetness as well as sanctity of his Manners. After his Condemnation, he was sent to Gloucester, that he might suffer in that Place where he was thought to have done most harm by sowing the Seeds of Heresy; while he himself was not a little joyful that he had an opportunity of Sealing with his Blood the Truth of his Doctrine, before the Eyes of those to whom he had so often preach'd it.

The same Course was taken with Ferrar, Ferrar, who was brought from London to his own Diocess of St. David's, to be judg'd there by the new Bishop Morgan; by whom being Condemn'd, he was Burn'd on the 3d. of March in the Market-Place at Carmarthen. He was a Man of a rigid Temper, and rough Beha-

In fine, concerning this Spanish Match and this mistaken Presumption of an Heir, it was the grave Observation of a Wife and Reverend Man of that time; viz. 'If open Contempt of true Matrimony were not thoroughly Punished and Plagued in some certain Mariages, which then were so gloriously begun, so gorgeously set out and advanced, so greatly rejoyced at, and such wonderful Fruit certainly looked for; and in Conclusion, how it succeeded, how it ended; what it brought forth, &c. Here I cease, and leave it untouched.

viour;

1555. viour; which drew on him much Trouble even in King Edward's Days, and was now perhaps his Destruction: For having been prefer'd to that Dignity by the Duke of Somerset, after his Death this good and Learned Man by the unhappy Moroseness of his Manners, which even border'd upon Arrogance, rais'd against himself Accusers. Two of these, who were Bishops afterwards under Q. Elizabeth, easily prevail'd with the Faction against Somerset, to get Ferrar imprison'd. Thus being in Custody at Queen Mary's Accession to the Throne, he was brought before the Bishop of Winchester; and 'tis very probable, that by a little Temper in his Answers, and a discreet Regard to the Times, he might have sav'd himself (without wrong to his Integrity) from the Hands of bloody Men, as several had done, who were not engag'd in the Cause of Lady Jane, nor had any other way notoriously affronted the Patrons of Popery; whose Flight was therefore conniv'd at; or if they were taken, they were soon discharg'd again at the Intercession of their Friends. But Ferrar, sway'd by his natural Severity and ungovern'd Passion, gave such bold and provoking Answers to the Bishops, that 'tis not to be admir'd it went so hard with him.

Besides these, Laurence Saunders an excellent Preacher was Burn'd at Coventry; Doctor Roland Taylor at Hadley; John Cardmaker Chancellor of Wells, at London; as likewise that eminently good and Learned Man, John Bradford: And not to enumerate all Particulars, a great Number of both Sexes were Sufferers this Year, for their Faith in God; the greatest part of which were destroy'd by Boner's Butchery.

But I must not pass by in silence Ridley and Latimer, who being Sentenc'd the last Year, were now brought out on the 16th. of October, and bound to a Stake in the Town-Ditch over against Baliol College in Oxford, where, in the sight of the Students they were Burn'd. 'Tis said that Cranmer, from the Top of the House where he was a Prisoner, beheld that mournful Spectacle; and falling on his Knees, begg'd Constancy of Hope and Faith for his Companions, to support 'em in their Torments; as likewise for himself, who was not ignorant that he must shortly follow 'em. But his Execution was deferr'd for the present, by the means (as 'tis reported) of the Bishop of Winchester; and that not out of Pity, but Ambition, and a Regard to his own Profit. (r)

On

Matters of
this Par-
liament.

(r) The Queen's Fourth Parliament began at Westminster, Monday, Octob. 22. called 2. and 3. of Philip and Mary. In the House of Lords sat the Queen, and next in place the Lord Cardinal Pole, now Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor declared this Parliament was called for necessary Aid to be made to Her Majesty. The Commons House by entire Voice, chose John Pollard, Esq; profoundly Learned in the Laws of this Realm, their Speaker. One of the main things done this Parliament, (besides the Subsidy) was the restoring of the First Fruits and Tenths, and Improprations in the Queen's Possession, to the Church. The Bill for which, how it was carried, shall be shewed by and by.

On Wednesday the said Speaker made his Speech. Then a Bull was read from the Pope's Holiness, confirming the Declaration of the Lord Cardinal, touching the Assurance of Abby-Lands to the present Possessors. After which, the Speaker, with the Commons, departed to their House.

I shall specify some Things of more special Remark, done in this Parliament. When they had given the Queen a Subsidy, and two Fifteens; the Speaker declared, the Queen gave them Thanks for the two Fifteens, but was contented to refuse them.

First-
Fruits and
Tenths, and
Impropria-
tions given
back.

November the 16th. The Speaker declared the Queen's Pleasure to be, that he with a convenient Number of the House, should be before Her Highness that Day in the Afternoon. Whereupon Fifty were nominated. The next Day Bourn Secretary of State, and Mr. Speaker, declared the Queen's Pleasure spoken to them the Day before; viz. That She was minded to part with the First-Fruits and Tenths, and all the Improprations of Benefices in Her Hands: And how the Lord Cardinal at the same time spake, that these were Spiritual, and so to be applied to the Church, and Spiritual Uses. The Bill brought in for this Purpose, ran in these Words; That the King and Queen did Surrender, and give into the Hands of the Pope's Holiness the First-Fruits and Tenths, &c. from the 8th. Day of August last. The next Week it was read again twice; viz. on Thursday, and Saturday. Then, (as it is in the Lords Journal) it was thus worded, Read the Third time the Bill for the Extinguishment of the First-Fruits, and touching Order and Disposition of Rectories and Parsonages Improprate; and touching Tenths of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Promotions, remaining in the Queen's Majesty's Hands. Which was concluded, the Viscount Hereford, and Lord Cobham dissenting; and committed to James Dyer Serjeant at Law, and the King and Queen's Attorney, [Sollicitor, as the Journal of the Commons House] to be carried to the Commons. The Day when it was brought, (being November 23.) it was read, and committed to Cecil and others to be Articled. The 16th. of November it was read the Third time; and the 27th. long Arguments were in the House upon it. The last time I meet with it was December 3. and then I suppose it pass'd, tho' with difficulty; and was sent up to the House of Lords, with a Schedule annexed to it, requiring certain things to be added to the Bill; whereunto the Lords upon Debate assented.

A barba-
rous Mur-
der Exam-
ined in
Parlia-
ment.

The barbarous Murder of one Giles Rufford of Edlesburgh, in the County of Bucks, Esq; procured by one Benediſt Smith of the same Place, gave occasion to a special Act of Parliament, to prevent his escaping Death, that he had so justly deserved, by the favour of the Law of the Clergy. This Smith, upon an old Grudge against the said Rufford, had hired two Russians, named Coniers and Spencer, with the Promise of 40 l. to kill the said Gentleman; and gave them two Javelyns and a Dagge to commit the same Murder. After divers Attempts to do it, Coniers did at last execute the Bloody Fact in Huntingdonshire, September 10. last; for which the said Smith sent him a Gold-Ring, and 20 s. in part of Payment. This Murder being (as it is in the Act expressed) one of the most detestable and heinous ones, all the Circumstances considered, that had been done or committed within the Realm in any Man's Remembrance; they enacted, that if the said Benediſt Smith were hereof lawfully Endicted, or appealed as Accessary to the said Murder, for procuring the same, and were thereupon found Guilty, he should not be admitted to the Privilege and Benefit of his Clergy, but put from the same. The Fact was so notorious, that the House was resolved to examine all the Parties concerned in it: So on the 18. Novemb. the House ordered two of their Members that were of the Queen's Council, to move Her, that Smith, who was in the Tower, and his Accusers might be brought personally to the House, to be transmitted before them to examine the Crime. The 22d. of Novemb. Spencer was brought in by a Serjeant; who declared at length, that Smith promised Coniers 8 l. to kill Rufford; and also the manner how he was killed by Coniers beyond Huntingdon. Coniers next brought in, confessed the same; and that he himself killed him, and not Spencer; but that he was with him then. When Smith was brought in, he utterly denied the Fact, and all the Circumstances. Godfrey, Servant to Smith, declared that he carried a Letter, a Ring, and 30 l. in Money by his Master's Command to Spencer, after the Murder was done; and justified to Smith's Face the same. Rowland a Taylor confessed before Smith, that he sent him to Coniers and Spencer, to go out of the Realm for Flanders: For which Message Smith gave Rowland 10 s. Coniers and Spencer avowed to Smith's Face all his procurement to the Murder; which he still denied. Whereupon all, save Smith, were had out of the House; and then Smith confessed that he consented to the Murder, and promised to give Coniers 20 l. for doing it. The same Day the Bill against Smith for the Murder of Rufford was assented to, after a Third Reading.

The

1555. On the 24th. of March Dy'd Pope Julius III. Marcello Cervino was elected to succeed him; a Man of extraordinary Learning and Sanctity, and particularly remarkable for his Saying, — *That he did not see how 'twas possible for a Pope to be sav'd.* From his distinguishing Character 'twas reasonable to hope for a Reformation of the Church; but he fill'd the Chair but Two and twenty Days, and then dy'd. His Successor Cardinal *Cassia*, who took the Name of *Paul* the Fourth, had engag'd formerly in sharp Contentions with Cardinal *Pole*, of which the Bishop of *Winchester* was not ignorant, and therefore deals privately with the new Pope to make him a Cardinal, and transfer to him *Pole's* Legatine Authority. The Pope by his Hatred to *Pole* was easily inclin'd to grant this Request, designing moreover to cite his old Enemy to *Rome*, there to accuse him of Heresy, and treat him as he afterwards did Cardinal *Morono*.

Pole's most intimate Friend, whom he kept in Prison as long as he himself liv'd. By this means, *Gardiner* well hop'd he shou'd get into the See of *Canterbury*, which *Pole* yet held in Sequestration, nor wou'd enter upon it any otherwise so long as *Cranmer* liv'd; 'Twas with this cunning Prospect, that *Gardiner* is believ'd to have protracted *Cranmer's* Execution, that *Pole* might not settle in the Archbishoprick. But while his whole Thoughts were thus engag'd, he was seiz'd with a Dropsey, which swelling from his Feet and Legs up to his Belly put a Period to his Life on the 12th of *November*. He was buried with great Pomp in his Cathedral at *Winchester* (u).

This Year, on the 25th of *October*, the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, having determined to resign his Dominions, at *Brussels* in a Convention of the Estates, transferr'd his Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son *Philip*, whom he had before made King of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

1555.

His death Nov. 12.

The Emp. Charles V. Resignation.

Amo 10

The 7th. of *December*, Saturday, Mr. Comptroller declared the Queen's pleasure to dissolve this Parliament on Monday. So on Monday, *December* the 9th. about One of the Clock, the Lords with Mr. Speaker and the Commons, came before Her Highness at the Palace at *White-Hall*; and after the Royal Assent given to 24 Bills, the Parliament was Dissolved by the Marquis of *Winchester*, upon the Queen's Commandment, the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellor, being now Deceased.

Many other Bills were read in this House, which proceeded not to Acts: Some whereof were these. A Bill touching the Absence of Knights and Burgesses in Parliament time: Afterward the Bill was Worded, For Bills not their Appearance in Parliament. A Bill that went through all this Queen's Parliaments, and in the Reign of the King before her, but never perfected; though it were engrossed 26th of *October*; And a new Bill to the same purpose brought in under this Title; For Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, to be attendant at Parliament. Passed.

A Bill touching Leases made by Spiritual Persons, [to the damage and prejudice, I suppose, of their Successors.]

A Bill, that no Mens Servants, wearing their Cloths [or Liveries] should be Justices of Peace, but the Kings and Queens. To prevent as it seems, the Inconvenience and Prejudice that might happen to the Queen's Subjects from the Dependents of Noblemen, [or other great men, who might distribute Justice partially in favour of their Lords and Masters.]

A Bill, that certain Persons might peruse the Penal Laws, for Reformation; for the Continuation of certain Statutes. This passed the next Parliament.

A Bill, that Out-Lawries should be declared once in the Parish Church where the Defendent is dwelling.

A Bill, that the late House of *Black-Fryers* may be within the Liberty of *London*.

A Bill for Silk Weavers and Silk Woven, and for wrought Silk from beyond the Seas. Another Bill for Silk-Workers of *London*. [Perhaps the same new modelled.]

A Bill for the Town and River of *Stamford*.

A Bill for a more grievous punishment of Murther. [Occasioned perhaps from the Murther of Mr. *Rufford*.] As also another Bill, viz.]

To punish procurers of Murthers and Felonies, not to have the Benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. That such should not have the Benefit of Clergy, was made an Act the next Parliament.

A Bill to review the Act for killing of Crows.

A Bill for the Dutcheffs of *Suffolk*, and other Persons gone over the Seas, without the Queen's Licence, and contemptuously remaining there, notwithstanding the King's and Queen's Letters Patents to them, or Proclamations openly made for their calling home. [This was to be a Check upon the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Learned Men, and other Exiles, that were fled abroad for the Liberty of their Religion and Consciences.]

A Bill to avoid Licences made by the Queen, her Father, or Brother. [These Licences therefore were not Licences from *Rome*, as the Author of the History of the Reformation writes; but Licences, (too common in those times) that dispensed with some Ecclesiastical or other Laws of the Land: As Licences to great Persons to eat Flesh in *Lent* and other fasting days, for themselves, and as many as should come to their Tables: Again, Licences to some, to give Licences to any of their Servants, to shoot in Crossbows or Handguns at any Fowl; or with Licence of the Owner, at any manner of Deer, Red or Fallow. Licences for Merchants to bring into the Realm Merchandizes forbidden. Many such kind of Licences and Warrants may be met withal in these times. This Bill against Licences was read the 16th of *November*; the 20th following, the Speaker with others of the House waiting upon the Queen, and making no mention of these Licences to Her; *Story*, one of the Members, kneeled down to her, and complained, that Mr. Speaker did not open to her, that Licences might be restrained, as had been spoken in the House. This Act of *Story's*, the Speaker reported to the House, and prayed their Advice therein. To which it was answered, That it seemed to the House that *Story* spake of good Zeal; and therefore his Fault towards the Speaker and the House was to be remitted, he confessing the same. The next day he confessed his Fault, saying, That he would hereafter use more Discretion; and required Mr. Speaker and the House to remit it. And thus much of this Parliament.

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Story a Member, his irregular Forwardness.

(u) Where his Effigies upon his Monument is yet to be seen, but broken and defaced. No Inscription appears on his Tomb. He died after the Queen had by his Means, Pains, and Policy above the rest, brought back the Church of *England* to downright Popery, and unravelled al that King *Henry* and King *Edward* for many years had been doing, for casting off the Yoke of a Foreign Power, and promoting a Reformation of corrupt Religion. He came to the Parliament the first day of its Sitting, which was *October* 21. Monday; and was there again the Wednesday following, when the Queen was present, and the L. Cardinal, and a splendid appearance of Both Houses: Absent ever after; and from the 13th of *November* and so downward, his Name is left out of the Journal Book of the Lords House. So that it seems he fel Sick, *October* the 23, or 24. and so continued till the day, or the day before his Name is wanting in the said Journal. This Character must be left of him to Posterity, That he was a most bitter and cruel Persecutor to death of those that conscientiously adhered to King *Edward's* Reformation. And one that lived in his time, and succeeded in his Bishoprick in King *Edward's* time, gave this Description of him; That he was of a Swarthy Colour, hanging Look, frowning Browes, Eyes an inch within his Head, hooked Nose, wide Nostrils, ever snuffing into the Wind, a Sparrow Mouth, great Hands, and long Talons rather than Nails upon his Toes; which made him go very uneasily; but a notable natural Wit, improved by Study and Experience.

Bishop Gardiner's description,

And Character. Ponet his Treat. of Politic. Power.

1556. Anno Dom. 1556. Regina Mariae 3 & 4. Philippi 2 & 3.

Jan. 1st.
Heath
Archbish.
of York
made L.
Chancel-
lour.
March.

A Coun-
terfeit Ed-
ward VI.

ON the first day of the New Year, Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, receiv'd the Seal, and was made Lord Chancellor.

In March a Comet appear'd for Twelvedays, (viz. from the Fifth to the Seventeenth) in the 20th Degree of *Libra*.

On the 13th of the same Month one William Fetherstone, a Counterfeit King Edward was Executed. This Fellow was a Miller's Son; and being somewhat like the King in Stature and Features, and about the same Age, he acted this Imposture, for which he had been whip'd through the City the last Year. But not being reclaim'd, he continu'd his Boasts, and caus'd Letters to be dispers'd that King Edward was yet alive, for which he was at last deservedly hang'd.

Cranmer
examin'd
at Oxford.

And now we come to give an Account of the memorable Martyrdom of Archbishop Cranmer. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, being Dead, Pole, who was yet the Pope's Legate, appointed James Brook, Bishop of Gloucester, for Cranmer's Trial, because 'twas thought unlawful to punish an Archbishop without Leave from his Holiness. With him were joyn'd John Story and Thomas Martin, Doctors of Laws, and Commissioners from the Queen, who accompany'd the Bishop to Oxford for this Purpose. They had lofty Seats prepar'd for 'em in St. Mary's; Brook took his place under the Consecrated Host, which hung in a Pix after the Roman manner: On each side a little lower were seated Martin and Story; then Cranmer was brought before 'em, not habited like a Bishop, but only as a Doctor of Divinity; and being inform'd that besides her Majesty's Representatives, there was present too, the Representative of their most holy Father the Pope, he saluted the former with the greatest Reverence, but wou'd not so much as turn his Eyes on the Bishop of Gloucester; and that, as he afterwards confess'd, not out of Contempt of his Person, but lest he might appear to pay any Deference to the Pope's Authority, which he said, he had oblig'd himself by Oath to King Henry never to acknowledge, at least in England, where, he said, the Pope cou'd have no Pretension of Right. Upon this, each of 'em with many Persuasions urg'd him to change his Opinion, and return to the Unity of the Catholick Church. When he refus'd to comply with this Advice, they cited him to appear within Fourscore days before his Holiness, which, with her Majesty's Leave; he undertook to do. But the Pope, not expecting his coming, in less than Twenty days by Letters to the King and Queen, commanded that he should receive Condemnation, and be deliver'd to the Secular Arm. A little afterwards therefore, new Powers were granted by the Pope to Thielby, Bishop of Ely, and Boner, Bishop of London, to degrade Cranmer from his Orders Presbyteral as well as Archiepiscopal, and give him up to the Civil Magistrate to be

Cor-
de nn'd by
Order of
the Pope.
Feb. 14.

Burn'd; which on the 14th of February was accordingly perform'd.

While Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer liv'd together, these holy Men by frequent Letters mutually animated one another with unshaken Courage, to suffer Death it self for the Truth of the Christian Faith. But this intercourse being put to an end, by the taking away the two latter, the Desire of Life began to sieze upon Cranmer, and his Constancy was weaken'd by the subtilty and restless Importunity of a Spanish Fryar. So that, seduc'd with the hopes of a Pardon, he retract'd in writing the Doctrines he had formerly taught; which Retraction was afterwards printed and publish'd: But this avail'd him little; for whether it were that Pole wou'd no longer endure to be kept out of the Archbishoprick, or (which is more probable) that the Queen's deadly Hatred of him, and thirst of Revenge for her Mother's Divorce, wou'd be satiated by nothing but his Blood; after he had been deluded into the firmest Confidence of Life, he was barbarously hurry'd to Death, and burn'd with the most savage Cruelty in the same place, where Five Months before, his Friends Ridley and Latimer had been crown'd with Martyrdom. The day being fix'd for his Execution, one Cole, by the appointment of Cardinal Pole, preach'd a Sermon on the Occasion at St. Mary's. Cranmer was brought thither and plac'd over against the Pulpit, and exhort'd by the Preacher to *persist in the Faith of which he had lately publish'd a Confession, and that to Death it self; which, he told him, 'twas the Will of the Magistrate to inflict on him this day. That the Divine Vengeance for the Death of Moor and Fisher under King Henry cou'd not otherwise be satisfy'd. But before his Execution 'twou'd be most acceptable to God and all good Men, if he wou'd make publick Declaration, that his Conversion to the Unity of the Catholick Church was Real and Sincere.*

'Tis no wonder that Cranmer was in the utmost Consternation at such an unexpected Denunciation; yet recollecting himself, he rose from his Seat, and without the least Discovery of Fear, made an excellent Speech to the People, in which having promis'd many things concerning Reformation of Life and Morals, he repeated the principal Heads of his Doctrine, and briefly explain'd his Faith, affirming, that in the power of the Pope was contain'd and establish'd the Kingdom of Anti-Christ; and finally, represented how heinously he had offended God by renouncing the Truth. He declar'd therefore his Resolution, *That his Right Hand which had so impiously sinn'd, in subscribing the Doctrines propos'd by the Enemies of Truth, should be the first to suffer Punishment.* He wou'd have proceeded, but was hinder'd by the Clamours and Reviling of the Romanists, whose Hopes he had so fairly eluded, and hurry'd immediately to the Place of Torment. There he stood, expos'd, the most

'ence." In his younger Years bred under Cardinal Woolsey, and so brought up to State Business: Upon Woolsey's Disgrace, he was taken by King Henry into his Service, and became his Secretary of State; and was sent Ambassador to the Pope. He was very Obsequious to that King, and forwarded all his Inclinations; and especially was very instrumental in his Divorce from Queen Katherine; under whose Daughter nevertheless, this present Queen, he obtained so much Favour and Honour.

piercing

1556. piercing Spectacle in the World, sufficient (one wou'd think) not only to extort Compassion from his Enemies, but to melt inanimate Things into Tears: The Primate of England, that lately Flourish'd in the highest Honour and Authority with Princes, most venerable for his great Sanctity of Life, for his Age, Person, Learning, Gravity, and innumerable Excellencies of Mind, now by the Malice of the Romanists, dress'd in a ridiculous old Habit, baited with Scurrility and contemptuous Revilings, and drag'd to a most inhuman and tormenting Death. When he was bound to the Stake, as soon as the Fire was kindl'd, he rais'd his Left Hand to Heaven, and thrusting out the other, held it in the Flames, not removing it, except once to stroak his Beard, till it was quite consum'd. At last, as the Flame encreas'd, lifting up his Eyes, he cry'd out, *Lord, receive my Spirit!* and continuing as motionless as the Stake to which he was ty'd, endur'd the violence of the Torture till he expir'd. Tho' his Body was consum'd to Ashes, his Heart was found intire and untouch'd: Which remarkable Accident, if it had happen'd to one of the other Party, must certainly have Canoniz'd him. And here let not the Reader be offended, if I make a little bold with the Rules of History, and insert these Verses written in Latin by our Countryman Skinner, on the Martyrdom of so extraordinary a Man.

Succubuit sanctus Præsul CRANMERUS, iniqua Pontificum Rabie, fraude doloq; perit. Quod Verbi invicto dejecerat Ense Papatum, Quod docuit pura quærere mente Deum; Quodq; Antichristi subverterat impia Regna, Regna piis Anglis, heu! tolerata diu: Hinc pius & clemens crudeli addicitur igni, Dantur & innocui Membra cremanda Viri. Huc ubi jam ventum est, dextram projecit in ignem, Projectamq; tenens, talia dicta dedit: Primum peccasti, primum & sentire dolorem Debes, ob Christo dextra inimica meo! Immotamque tenet, dum deflagraverat omnis, In cineres totam dum cecidisse videt. Cætera cum pereant flamma (mirabile dictu) Cor manet illæsum post ubi flamma perit. Ecce invicta fides! Cor inviolabile servat, Nec mediis flammis Corda perire finit.

To bloody Priests, inflam'd with savage Zeal,
A guiltless Victim martyr'd CRANMER fell;
Because he dar'd the conqu'ring Sword employ,
Of Sacred Writ their Empire to destroy.
Restor'd old exil'd Truth, and made Religion shine
With native Charms sincere, and Purity Divine.
Rescu'd his Country from the Tyrant Chain,
Too long endur'd, and crush'd the Papal Reign.
For this the Heav'nly Prelate must expire,
Doom'd by hot Bigots to consuming Fire.

Yet dauntless at the Stake the Hero stood,
And stretch'd his Right Hand to the kindl'd Wood;
Foe to my God, this Rebel Hand, he said,
Be tortur'd first, that first my Faith betray'd!
He held it thus, while his own Eyes survey
The ravenous Element devour its Prey.
And when his Body too fulfill'd this Fate,
To Ashes turn'd; —prodigious to relate!
From its fierce Task, the Recreant Fire withdrew,
And left his Heart unsing'd, and whole to View!
Heav'n gave this Witness to his pious Fame,
And 'twas his Victor-Faith preserv'd it in the Flame.

Besides Crammer, many other Professors of the Reformed Faith were this Year Sacrific'd in Flames to Popish Cruelty, to the Number of no less than Eighty four of both Sexes. Nor was the Rage of these Times exercis'd only on the living: The Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, who had been long bury'd, were dug up, formally arraign'd for Heresy, and with much savage Ceremony publicly burn'd in the Market-Place at Cambridge. *Peter Martyr's* Wife, who dy'd at Oxford, was likewise rak'd out of her Grave, and basely bury'd in a Dunghill. The Memory and just Honours of *Bucer* and *Phagius* were afterwards restor'd by Queen *Elizabeth*, with great Solemnity; and the Bones of *Martyr's* Wife being once more remov'd from so vile a Repository into the Church, to prevent the like Mockery for the future, were mingl'd with the Remains of *Frideswid*, a Female Saint held by the Romanists in the highest Veneration.

On the same Day that Crammer ended his Life, as we have related, *Pole* took Sacred Orders at Greenwich; and the next day, *Naboth* being dead, he possess'd himself of his Vineyard, being Consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Three days afterwards, on the Feast of Annunciation, attended by many of the Nobility to *Bow-Church*, he receiv'd the Pall with great Pomp and Ceremony.

About the same time was discover'd a Plot to Rob the Exchequer, which was now well fill'd with Spanish Money, to the Value of Fifty Thousand Pounds: The Names of the Conspirators were *Udall*, *Throgmorton*, *Peccam*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, besides others that made their Escape, and *White* who discover'd 'em. Being taken, they were all Executed. *Sir Anthony Kingston*, who was Apprehended on suspicion of being concern'd in this Design, before he cou'd be brought to London, dy'd on the Road; And this is all I find concerning this Plot.

In the Month of July new Tumults and Seeds of Sedition began to spring up in Norfolk, but were timely suppress'd, by the Apprehending and Punishing the Authors, who were one *Cleber*, and three Brothers nam'd *Lincoln*. (x)

Novem-

(x) This Plot extended its self as far as Suffolk and Essex. The Conspirators were certain English that lurked in France; who, by dispersing Letters and Proclamations, did all they could to blow up into Heats and Insurrections the People in those Three Counties; many whereof were Well-wishers to K. Edward's Reformation, and had been hardly used by the Queen, from whom they had deserved very well: But they of themselves without any Commandment, apprehended the Practisers, as many of them as they could find. These, for the better furthering of their Design, had sent over a bold Man, one Condemned, called (not Cleber, as this Author calleth him from

1556.
Nov. 21.
Monks
begin to
flourish
again.

November 21. Fecknam Dean of St. Paul's, was Install'd Abbot of Westminster, which Henry VIII. had erected into an Episcopal See. And there being no Monks then in En-

gland, Fourteen were found who were content with Fecknam to take the Habit of Benedictines. 1566.

Anno Dom. 1557. Regina Mariae, 4. & 5. Philippi 3. & 4.

1557.

* About the beginning of this Year arriv'd in England, Osep Napea, Embassador from Basilowitz, Czar of Moscovy, to treat a perpetual League and Friendship between the two States. On the Coast of Scotland he suffer'd Shipwreck, and lost, besides abundance of rich Goods,

* After four or five years we found the Effect of our Northern Navigation, set on Foot by Cabota: So the former English Translation begins this Relation.

An Embassy from Moscovy.

all the Presents sent from his Master to our Court. But this Loss was a Trifle, compar'd to that of Richard Chancellor, worthy of Immortal Memory, a most skilful Pilot, that first discover'd the Passage to those Northern Parts, and now more solicitous for the Embassador's Safety than for his own, was swallow'd up in the Sea.

England never perhaps receiv'd any Embassador with more Magnificence. On the 25th. of March, King Philip having about a Week before return'd from Flanders, he was admitted to Audience; and having declar'd the Subject of his Embassy, stay'd at London till the 3d. of May, and then honour'd with rich Presents, return'd to his own Country.

Lord Stourton Hang'd, March 6.

On the 6th. of March, Charles Lord Stourton, for having in his own House cruelly Murder'd one Hargil and his Son, with whom he had been long at variance, was deservedly Hang'd at Salisbury, together with four of his Servants who assisted him in the Murder. After he had knock'd 'em down, and cut their Throats, he bury'd their Carcasses in a Pit Fifteen Foot deep, in hopes that the Villany wou'd be conceal'd, or if it were discover'd, that he shou'd have the Queen's Pardon; because he had always shewn himself a most Zealous Partisan of Popery. But Providence wou'd not permit so horrid a Villany to lye hid; and the Queen, who had the strictest regard to Justice, except in Matters wherein She was blinded by Her Religion, was averse to all mention of a Pardon: So that this Nobleman suffer'd the Punishment due to his Crime, and had no favour above common Murtherers, except that he was hang'd in a Silken Halter.

On the 24th. of April, Thomas Stafford landing on the Northern Coast with a small Force of Exiles, and some Foreigners, took by Surprise Scarborough, which in time of Peace was but slightly Guarded; and dispersing thro' the neighbouring Countries Declarations, importing, That Queen Mary, who had not the fairest Title to the Crown, had betray'd it to

the Spaniards, invited the People to Arms. By the Care and Diligence of Nicholas Wootton Dean of Canterbury, the English Resident at Paris, his Designs were discover'd to the Council before his Arrival in England. And six Days after, the Earl of Westmorland got him seiz'd, and brought to London, where he was Executed on the 28th. of May; and the next Day three of his Accomplices, Streckley, Proctor and Bradford, were Hang'd at Tyburn.

The Queen engaging in Her Husband's Quarrel with France, which the Emperor had bequeath'd to him, together with the Inheritance of his Crown, publish'd a Proclamation on the 7th. of June, in which She complain'd of "many Injuries done to Her by the French King, in supporting and encouraging the Duke of Northumberland and Wiat in all their Rebellious Conspiracies against Her: That Dudley and Ashton had form'd their Plot at the House of his Embassador, and that his Kingdom was afterwards a Receptacle for 'em, where he yet Entertain'd, and gave 'em Countenance. And finally, that he had lately furnish'd Stafford with Ships, Men, Money, and Ammunition, to enable him, if possible, to Dispossess Her of Her Crown. For these Reasons She forbade all Her Subjects to send any Merchandise into France, or Traffick with a Nation, whose Prince She accounted Her Enemy, and against whom She determin'd to declare immediate War.

Tho' the Matter of these Complaints was true, yet She wou'd have forbore the denouncing of War, if the five Years Truce concluded a little before between Philip and the French King, had not been broke by the Pope's Instigation; so that War being now commenc'd between 'em, She wou'd not separate Her Husband's Cause from Her own. For the Pope, who had an old Grudge against the Emperor, when he knew that he had resign'd his Kingdoms and Principalities to his Son Philip, and was retir'd into Spain, by the Cardinal of Lorrain, gave no Rest to Henry of France, to whom he had promis'd the Investiture of the Kingdom of Naples, till he had engag'd him in a War against the Spaniards.

For this Reason the Pope highly resent'd Queen Mary's arming in the Quarrel of Her Husband: Therefore, not knowing how to be reveng'd of Her, (who was the sole Cause of England's Breach with France) he resolv'd

Stow's History, but) Cleyberye, or Clayberd; who gave himself out to be the Earl of Devon. That Earl was now, by Leave granted, in his Travails abroad in Flanders or Italy, where at Padua he soon after dyed. They also made use of the Lady Elizabeth's Name; and the Queen her Sister first told her of it: Whereupon she wrote a very earnest Letter to the Queen, in detestation of them and their Practices. This Cleyberd was afterward taken in High-Suffolk, and Executed at Bury.

1557. to discharge his Resentment upon Pole, whom (as we observ'd before) he sufficiently hated : And this the rather, because Pole, tho' he knew the Pope was the Author of this War, yet press'd him, and that with much earnestness, tho' with equal Reverence, by Letters and Embassadors, to mediate a Peace. Upon this Account, he took from Pole the Legantine Power, and recalling him to Rome, appointed in his stead Peter Peyto, a Franciscan Fryar, whom he created Cardinal and Legate, and design'd him afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. When the Queen had Information of this, She took care in the first place to keep it conceal'd from Pole, prohibiting not only the new Cardinal to enter the Kingdom, but all others too whom She expected to bring any Mandate from the Pope about this Affair ; and carefully intercepting the Letters, gave Orders to her Embassador at Rome, to represent to his Holiness how much he wou'd endanger the unsettl'd Catholick Religion in England, if he put any Disgrace upon so great a Man, whose Authority had born a mighty sway in Converting the Nation. But Pole in the mean time, having some way or other got Intelligence of this, laid by the Silver-Cross, the Ensign of his Office, nor wou'd afterwards exercise the Legantine Authority, till by the Intercession of Ormaneto the Pope's Dattary in England, he was restor'd to his former Dignity.

July 7. By this time the War was grown very hot ; and Philip, who for the managing of it had left England on the Seventh of July, was now Besieging St. Quintin in Picardy with an Army of Thirty five thousand Foot, and Twelve thousand Horse, which was afterwards augmented by a thousand Horse, Four thousand Foot, and Two thousand Pioneers from England. On the Tenth of August, the French endeavouring to throw Succours into the Town, were miserably Defeated ; and tho not above 2500 were Slain, yet many of these were Men of Rank, and many more taken Prisoners. Among the latter was Morancy the Constable of France, and his Son, the Dukes of Montpensier and Longeville, Ludovico Gonzaga, Brother to the Duke of Man-

tua, the Marshal of St. Andrew, the Ringrave, Roch-dumaine, the Count Rochfoucault, the Baron of Curton and many others. The chief of the Slain were John of Bourbon Duke of Anguien, the Viscount of Turen, the Son of Roch-dumain, the Lords of Chandenier, Pont-dormy, and almost all the Captains of Foot. King Philip's Loss amounted not to above 50 Men.

On the Eighth Day after this Victory the Town was taken by Storm, and all that were in it put to the Sword, or made Prisoners of War. The Admiral Coligny, with his Brother D' Andelot who shortly after made his escape, Jarnac, St. Remy, Humes, and many other Noblemen were taken. The Son of the Lord Fayette, Salevert, Ogier, Vicques, La Barre, Easting, and Gourdes were kill'd. Of the English, among a few others, fell Henry Dudley, Northumberland's Youngest Son, struck by a Canon Ball, and Sir Edward Windsor, who were the first that enter'd the Town.

This Year was remarkable for a great Scarcity of Corn in England before Harvest, and for as great a Plenty afterwards *.

Wheat was Sold at Four Marks the Quarter : Within the current of a Month it fell to the low rate of Five Shillings. Wherein I rather admire the insuing Cheapness than the Dearth, having my self in the Year 1595. [that is near 40 Years after] paid double the former dear Price. Former English Edit.

But what I shall next relate, I shou'd think much more remarkable, if I had not lately happen'd to see the like. On the 7th of Septem. near Two Hours after Sun-set, a Rainbow was seen in the West, when the Moon had been risen about an Hour ; 'twas my Chance (that I may compare Similar Accidents, though at different times) to see the like appearance on the 24th of November, 1604. When about the same space of two Hours after Sun-set, as I was upon the Road fourteen Mile Westward of London, a white Cloud appear'd, form'd into the Arch of a Circle, which did in all respects resemble a common Rainbow, except only that it was but of one Colour, and instead of the Sun, had the Moon for its Opposite.

Anno Dom. 1558. Reg. Ultimo.

1558. (x) THE King of France, to repair his Loss at St. Quintin, resolves to attempt upon Calais ; which Senarpout, Governor of Bouloigne, persuaded him was not so

strong as 'twas believ'd, but might easily be taken. Strossy too having in a Disguise view'd the Place join'd in this Assurance. King Philip who was not ignorant of this, or had some Pre-

(x) The Queen's last Parliament began Thursday January the 20th, the 4 and 5 of Philip and Mary. Where the Archbishop of York, now Lord Chancellor, declared this Parliament called for Aid to be given to her Majesty. Remark That day the Commons House by entire Consent chose for their Speaker William Cordell, Esq; one of the Queen's Privy Council, learned in the Laws of the Realm, and Master of the Rolls. On Saturday he made an eloquent of Parliament. Oration to the Queen ; and immediately after she made him Knight.

Now for some Matters of Remark happening this Session. January the 24th. Serjeant Brown and Mr. Read came from the Lords, and required Mr. Speaker and 10 or 12 of the House to speak immediately with certain Lords appointed. After the Meeting the Speaker shewed from the Lords, that it was convenient to seek for the sure Defence of the Realm, and a Relief for the same. And in order to enter into that Consultation, that the Lords had appointed Three Earls, Three Bishops, and Three Barons. Unto these were Nominated One and Thirty of the Lower House. This shews the Nation was at this time under great Fears and Apprehensions ; as they might well be, Calais being taken, and a French Army so near ; and at open Wars with France and Scotland.

On the 4th of February the Bill was read for a Subsidy, and Two Fifteens, and Tenths. And the 10th day Mr. Speaker declared, that he had opened to the Queen his Commission touching the Grant of the Subsidy. Which the Queen, he said, took thankfully, and gave them presently hearty Thanks, and al the Realm.

The Nation was at this time inveterately offended with the French ; as appeared by several Bills read in the House against them : As (1.) A Bill to make void Letters-Patents made to Frenchmen to be Denizens. Another Bill to

1558. Prefage of the French Counsels, had forewarn'd the Queen to take more Precaution of this City, and had offer'd his Assistance for its Security. But because it lay commodious for his adjoyning Netherlands, in suspicion of Spanish Craft disguis'd under this fair Proposal, we declin'd the accepting of it, though the Event confirm'd Philip's Augury: For the Duke of Guise * march'd suddenly thither with a great Army, and sat down before it on New-years-day, over-against that part which is call'd Sandgate. Then dividing his Army into two Bodies; with one he attacks the Ref-bank, and with the other, Newnambridge at the same time, that by taking these he might cut off all Succour from England by Sea, or by Land from Holland. The Garrison being surpriz'd, and sensible of their own weakness, presently surrender'd both Places. Then the Besiegers begun to batter the Town between the Watergate and the Prison to make a diversion, for they design'd the Attack in another Place. When they had continued this for some time, and the English had no apprehension of the Castle, the Enemy on a sudden rais'd a Battery of 15 Pieces of Canon, and fir'd on it with such Violence, that the Noise was heard all that day to Antwerp, distant above a hundred English Miles. Towards Night they had made a considerable Breach, yet there was no approaching the Walls because of a

* Having by the King been declared Lieutenant General in all his Dominions, levying a great Army. Former Engl. Edit.

deep Ditch full of Water, in which the besieg'd plac'd their greatest Security. The Enemy therefore with extraordinary Diligence dug a Trench from thence to the Sea, by which when the Tide went out they drain'd it, so that they march'd through without Opposition, the Water reaching but Navel high; they found the Castle almost Defenceless, and possess'd themselves of it immediately, and had taken the Town too, if Sir Anthony Ager * with a small Force had not stop'd their Progress, in which Conflict that Valiant Knight was kill'd. The Lord Wentworth, Governour of the City, seeing 'twas impossible to maintain it, Capitulated, and after many Contentions surrender'd upon these Articles. That the Garrison and Inhabitants shou'd depart without carrying anything away; but the Lord Wentworth and Fifty others, whom the Duke of Guise shou'd choose, shou'd remain Prisoners. Thus was this important Place taken which had remain'd in the possession of the English above Two hundred Years *.

* Marshal of the Town. Former Engl. Edit.

And Surrender'd

* Neither was the Siege

long, the Enemy sitting down before it on New-years-day, and having it yielded up on Twelfth-day. Former Engl. Edit.

Seven days after the Duke of Guise march'd to Guisnes, and took it without any difficulty; but the Castle being defended by the Lord Gray, was not carry'd so easily. However, that was taken at last, as likewise Hames Ca-

Guisnes. Former Engl. Edit.

expulse the French Denizons, and other French Persons out of the Realm; Another, for an Imposition to be gather'd of Frenchmen inhabiting this Realm; Another Bill for them to pay a yearly Contribution to Melcomb Regis, and for the Fortifications of divers other Places: Yet another Bill to expel French and Gaissen Wines. But none of these Bills pass'd into Acts: Yet the Bill for the Expulsion of all French Denizons as well as others, was very near passing, there being 106 with the Bill, and 111 against it. But the Bill that pass'd, and was made an Act, was severe enough; viz. to Expel all Frenchmen and other Persons born under the French Obeisance, not being Denizons, and not to return again during the Wars between the French King and the Queen: And that upon the Misdemeanour of any Denizon, committed contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the Queen might repeal all their Letters-Patents for their Denizonship, or as many of them as her Highness shall think good, made since 32 H. VIII. The Reason urg'd in the said Act, was, That these French did daily from time to time discover the Counsil, State and Privities of this Realm, and compass, imagine and procure sundry Mischiefs and Damages to be done by that Nation.

Bill about Sanctuaries.

An Act was made this Parliament, which was read two or three times the last Parliament, That Accessories in Murder and divers Felonies, should not have their Clergy. To which was added in the Bill at first, That they should not have Sanctuary too. But because that Addition might hinder this useful Bill to pass, the Churchmen being very fond of that Privilege of their Churches, it was thought convenient to leave it out. And a distinct Bill was brought in concerning Sanctuaries; that is, as it seems for the putting them down.

But Fecknam, Abbot of Westminster, for the sake of his Church to which that Ancient Privilege belonged, oppos'd it. There was now a new Bill put into the House more favourable to Sanctuaries; viz. what Churches should be made Sanctuaries: which was for the restraining the Number and Commonness of them. The Abbot claim'd this Privilege for his Church. And it was order'd, that he should come to the House with his Counsil the next day, to declare what he could say for the Privilege of Sanctuary at Westminster. So on Saturday February 12th the Abbot came, and brought divers Patents of old Kings for granting of this Sanctuary; and then desired the House to consider for the Continuance of the same. And a day was given him to be at the House again with his Learned Counsil: Who then accordingly appear'd, with Mr. Plowden a common Lawyer, and Dr. Story a Civilian; Alledging his old Grants of Kings of this Realm, and also the present Queen's Grant.

The Queen was devoutly addic'ted to the Observation of the Rules of Holy Church; and the first day of Lent now at hand, she thought fit, February the 22d. to signify her Pleasure to the House by Mr. Speaker, that they should not Sit on Ash-Wednesday.

March the 5th, the Speaker told the House, that it was her Majesty's Pleasure, that as for the Bill for answering the Queen's Revenue, for that it extended to Accomptants, and that they had already accounted, they should not procede further therein.

When the House was upon the Bill for the Confirmation of Patents granted by the Queen, or to be granted during Seven Years to come; of Honours, Castles, Manors, Lordships, Lands, Reversions, &c. one Mr. Copley, a Member of the House, stood up, and said boldly, That he feared the Queen might thereby give away the Crown from the right Inheritor. It seems as though he had in his Mind King Philip's getting the Crown after the Queen, or some unfair dealing with the Lady Elizabeth; which indeed was a great Jealousy that possess'd the English Nation since that Spanish Match. But this Speech the House could not but take Notice of, and called them irreverend Words concerning the Queen's Majesty: And by Mr. Speaker the House commanded, that Copley should absent himself till Consultation were had thereon. After Consultation taken, and it was agreed to have been a grievous Fault, he was called in, and shew'd the Sense of the House. But he required them to consider his Youth; and pray'd that if it were an Offence, it might be imputed to his Young Years. Upon this, it was order'd, that the whole House by Mr. Speaker might declare this Offence to the Queen, and to request her Majesty to extend her Highness's Mercy towards him. And in the mean time Copley is committed to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. Two days after, viz. March the 7th, the Speaker acquainted the House that he had declared to the Queen the Matter touching Copley; and that her Pleasure was, That he should be examined, whence such Matter as he spake of did Spring. And that nevertheless her Majesty would consider the Request of the House to her for him. No question it sprung from the Fears of King Philip's Access to the English Monarchy.

The same day about Four in the Afternoon, the Speaker with the rest of the Commons came before the Queen to her Royal Seat, (the Lords also there present) and made his Oration, exhibiting the Books for the Subsidy of the Clergy; and that she would give her Royal Assent unto such Bills pass'd by the Houses, as might stand with her Majesty's Pleasure. Then her Highness gave her Consent unto Sixteen Acts; and the Lord Chancellor Prorogued the Parliament unto the 5th of November next.

file.

1558. fle. And since that time neither in France, which our Kings once possess'd almost entire, and of which our Henry VI. had been Crown'd King at Paris in the year 1431: Nor in Normandy or Aquitaine, the ancient Patrimony of the Kings of England do our Princes retain any thing, except the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey, which have continu'd firm to us ever since the Conquest.

While the French thus advanc'd in Picardy, Queen Mary to prevent their Designs had prepar'd a Fleet to send Succours, but they were so long detain'd by contrary Winds, that they were render'd ineffectual.

And perhaps it does no where appear in History, that upon any occasion Providence hath by more manifest Signs declar'd how highly it disapproves, that the publick Tranquility shou'd be disturb'd by Wars begun for the sake of Ambition only, or private Advantage.

King Philip (to begin with him) against whom the King of France and the Pope unjustly conspir'd, enlarg'd his Possessions by a double Victory, each very great and memorable. Cardinal Caraffa, and the Duke of Palatine, who for their own Ends had perswaded the old doting Pope to kindle this Flame between these Princes, suffer'd Death for it afterwards under his Successor Pius the Fourth. Pope Paul himself, after the French were defeated at St. Quintin, by their being necessitated to withdraw their Forces out of Italy, was left expos'd without defence.

To the Mercy of Mary was punish'd for the rash Violation of her League with France by the Loss of Calais, which went so near her Heart, that 'tis believ'd to have occasion'd her Death the Year ensuing. As for the French King, who at the Pope's Infligation broke his Five Years Truce; what his Fortune was at the Battel of St. Quintin we have already shewn; and that it may not be thought his Loss was compensated by the taking of Calais, another Overthrow which follow'd in a few Months will be found to turn the Balance.

The Battel of Graveling. In June, de Termes, Governour of Calais (who succeeded Strossly Slain) made an incursion into the Netherlands, with an Army of about Eleven thousand Men. And leaving Graveling and Burburg behind him, took Berges, Dunkirk, and several other Towns, ravaging all that Coast as far as Newport. When King Philip heard of this, he was alarm'd, left the Duke of Guise shou'd follow too with his Forces, and so he shou'd be Surrounded. But observing that he spent all his time about Arlon and Vireton, he took an opportunity to fall upon the French before they were Reinforc'd. He gave the Command of this Enterprize to Count Egmont, his Lieutenant-General in the Netherlands, who having drawn a sufficient Force out of the neighbouring Garisons, to the Number of about Fifteen thousand, puts himself between Dunkirk and Calais, to cut off the Enemies Retreat.

|| For they feared not the French there; and the Towns which the Spaniards held throughout the Tract, were ill furnished, lying open to their Mercy, they Ranfack'd it most miserably. Form. Engl. Edit.

* Of Be-tune, St. Omer, Arras, Bur-burg, and others. Form Engl. Edit. † And overthrew some Squadrons of Horse. Form Engl. Edit.

De Termes, who hitherto expected the Duke of Guise, began now to think of drawing off, but too late; for he found himself inclos'd on all sides, and no possibility of Escape, unless he cou'd hew a Way thro' the Enemy with his Sword. He therefore made an Attack, † and a bloody

Fight commenc'd; in which Despair on one side, and the Remembrance of late Injuries, with a Thirst of Revenge on the other, animated both Parties to do Wonders.

While the Victory was in suspense, during the Heat of the Battel, which was upon the Shore, * Ten English Men of War by good Fortune sailing by, and observing the Engagement, fir'd on the French so furiously, and made so great a Slaughter, that they began to give ground, and at last were entirely broken and defeated.

The Spanish Troops renew the Fight. Form. Engl. Edit. For De Termes had for his Security betaken him to the Shore, hoping that way with much less hazard to have gained Passage. Form. Engl. Edit.

The French lost in this Action Five thousand Men, part in the Battel, part in Flight, and great Numbers push'd into the Ocean. Their chief Officers were almost all taken; among whom was the Marshal himself, with Senarpont, Villebon the Governor of Picardy, Annebalt Son of Claud the late Admiral, the Earl of Chaune, Morvilliers, and many others. Two hundred fled to our Ships, and tho they might easily have been Drown'd, obtain'd Quarter, and were carry'd Prisoners to England.

This Battel was fought on the 13th. of July; and about the same time the English being desirous of wiping out the Ignominy of the Loss of Calais by some extraordinary Exploit, sent out a Fleet of 140 Sail, of which Thirty were Flemings, with Orders to make an Attempt upon Brest: But the Lord Clinton Lord High-Admiral, finding no opportunity to effect this, sail'd to Conquet; and making a Descent, took, plunder'd, and burn'd the Town, together with the Monastery of Saint Matthew, and the adjacent Villages; after which he return'd to his Ships. But the Flemings greedy of Plunder, made a further Incursion into the Country; and not suffering themselves to be recall'd in time, were attack'd by the Lord Kersimon, who cut off Five hundred of 'em.

The French beaten by Count Egmont.

July 13.

Conquet taken and Burn'd by the English.

This was about the latter End of July. At the same time King Philip was near Amiens with a great Army, and King Henry with a much greater narrowly observ'd his Motions. At last they fix'd their Camps; the first on the South-side of the River Anthy, and the latter on the North of the Somme; so near each other, that 'twas thought every thing seem'd to threaten an Engagement. But they had far other Designs: For King Philip, being inferior in Strength, thought it not safe to venture a Battel; and Henry had receiv'd too great a Shock before, and knowing the hazard of Attacking a Victorious Enemy with Troops dishearten'd by a double Defeat, wou'd not run the Chance of being ruin'd. For these Reasons they fortify'd their Camps with such care and diligence, as if each expected an Attack. In the mean time some Motions were made of a Peace: They consider'd that the Strength of both their Armies consisted in Foreigners, who wou'd share the Fruits of a Victory, but the Calamity of a Defeat wou'd fall heaviest on themselves, and their Subjects; and therefore they inclin'd to a Treaty. To manage this, the Commissioners on King Philip's side were the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Orange, Ruyz Gomez de Silva, Granvel Bishop of Arras, and others; and for King Henry, the Constable, the Marshal of St. Andrew, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Morvilliers

A Treaty.

1558. *williers* Bishop of Orleans, and Ambespine Secretary of State. They differ'd upon the Article of restoring *Calais*, which disturb'd the whole Negociation: For the *French* wou'd by no means agree to it; and King *Philip* thought, that to end the War on any other Terms, wou'd be to abandon the Cause of his Queen, which in Honour he cou'd never do. But

Queen *Mary's* Death, which happen'd on the 17th. of *November*, ended this Controversy. The Emperor *Charles* Vth. dy'd too not long before; and thus the Treaty broke off.

Here I must not omit what the Connexion of Affairs wou'd not suffer me to mention before: That on the 28th. of *April*, the Nuptials of *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*, and *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, were celebrated at *Paris* with extraordinary Magnificence. But this Alliance lasted not long; for two Years after, *Francis* dy'd, (having first succeeded to

* Who was Nephew, [or Grand-Child] by his Mother, to *James* V. by *Margaret*, eldest Daughter to that wife King, *Henry* VII. who, the Issue of *Henry* VIII. being extinct, as the undoubted Heir, most happily united the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. First Engl. Edit.

the Crown by the Death of his Father) and left his Bed to a more happy Possessor, *Henry*, the eldest Son to the Earl *Lenox*; from which Parents sprung our K. *James* the First. * (z)

This Year had a very sickly Autumn, and was remarkable for Fevers, which swept away great Numbers, and particularly of the Clergy. Of the Episcopal Rank alone, Thirteen are reckon'd to have dy'd a little before, or after the Queen. Cardinal *Pole* scarce out-liv'd her a Day: He had held out against his Distemper for some Weeks, till being reduc'd to extreme weakness, as if the News of the Queen's Death had stab'd him to the Heart, he dy'd at Three a Clock the next Morning. His Body in a Coffin of Lead was Interr'd at his Cathedral of *Canterbury*, with no other Epitaph than this short Inscription:

Depositum Cardinalis Poli.
The Remains of Cardinal *Pole*.

He was a Man of extraordinary Learning, Modesty, and of a most engaging Temper, prudent, and very dextrous in Affairs: In short, nothing had been wanting to his consummate Excellencies, if the *Roman* Religion had not unhappily debauch'd him from his natural Clemency, into Severity against the Professors of the Reform'd Religion.

The Queen dy'd at *St. James's* November the 17th. a few Hours before Break of Day. She was without doubt Pious, Merciful by Nature, of unblemish'd Manners, and excepting her Religion, every way worthy of praise. But as this prompted her to the Effusion of so much Innocent Blood, 'twas just that the Sentence of the Prophet should be fulfill'd on her; *The Blood-thirsty shall not finish half their Days*. For she was cut off in the Two and fortieth Year of her Age, having Reign'd but Five Years, Four Months, and Eleven Days: Whereas her Sister who succeeded Her, Reign'd with Mildness and in great Prosperity Nine times as long, and reach'd almost twice her Age.

There are various Opinions concerning the Cause of Queen *Mary's* Death. To relate what I find in Authors of good Credit; 'Tis said, that in the beginning of her Sickness, her Friends supposing that King *Philip's* Absence afflicted her, endeavour'd by all means to divert her Melancholy: But all prov'd in vain; and the Queen abandoning her self to Despair, told 'em, *She should dye, tho they were yet Strangers to the Cause of her Death; but if they wou'd know it hereafter, they must dissect her, and they should find Calais at her Heart*: Intimating, that the Loss of that Place was her Death's Wound. The Death of her Father-in-Law * *Charles* the Fifth in *Spain*, was likewise thought to have considerably augmented her Sorrow. Her Liver had been over-cool'd, as we formerly observ'd, by another Distemper; so that these Things probably hasten'd her End, and threw her by degrees into a Drop-

Things transacted this Session.

Journ of Parliament.

(z) The Second Session of the Parliament of 5. and 6. of *Philip* and *Mary*, began November the 5th. During this Session the Queen dyed; and so nothing of the Debates of the House came to perfection. Yet to give some Account what was now doing; It was now a very sickly time for burning Agues and Feavers, which were very mortal both this and the last Year, and carried off abundance of People, as our Histories shew us; the Distemper being also infectious: Which occasioned this Parliament to order one *James Thacker*, Burgess for *Darby*, to be absent by Licence of the House, he having reported that the Town was fore infected whence he came. And within a few days after, it was ordered, That each Burgess that was Sick, should not take Damage by his Absence during his Sicknes, for not being in the House: And that where Suit was made, that some Burgesses being Sick might be removed, and Writs sent out for others in their Places, the House did resolve they should not be moved, notwithstanding their Sicknes.

There were a few Bills read: As, a Bill to avoid *French* Wares. A Bill for the Attendance of Knights and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. A Bill for Payment of Tithes out of the late Religious Lands. A Bill for the Corporation of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*.

November 14. Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor declared to the House, that divers of the Lords would come to confer with the House about weighty Affairs of the Realm; and therefore required the House to tarry their coming. The Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Earl of *Salop*, Earl of *Pembroke*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Carlisle*, Viscount *Mountague*, Lord Admiral, and the Lord *William Howard*, came into the House, sitting where the King's Privy-Council used to sit. Then the Lord Chancellor by his Oration declared, that of Necessity for the Safeguard of this Realm from the *French* and *Scots*, a Subsidy must be had. Mr. Speaker and the Privy-Council then sat from them on the lowest Benches. After this Declaration made, the Lords departed.

November the 17th. Mr. Read and Mr. Solicitor came from the Upper-House, and said, That the Lords required Mr. Speaker and the House to come unto them, where they should hear certain Matters, that the Lords had to communicate to the House. Whereupon, immediately he with the rest of the House went up. And the Lord Chancellor told them, that God had taken the Queen to his Mercy; but had furnished us with another Sovereign Lady, my Lady *ELIZABETH* her Grace: And then willed the Knights and Burgesses to resort to the Palace, where the Lords would come, and cause her Grace to be Proclaimed Queen of *England*, &c. And immediately after, the said Proclamation was there made.

sey,

1558. fey, which the Physicians at first mistook, believing her with Child. So that proper Remedies not being applied, and the Queen not observing a Regular Course of Diet, she fell at last into a Fever, which gradually increasing, put an End to her Life.

She was Bury'd at Westminster, in the

midst of the Chappel on the North side of the Monument of Her Grandfather King Henry the Seventh. Where her Sister Elizabeth was afterwards buried with Her: And over Both, the Pious Munificence of King James erected a Noble Mausoleum, befitting the Majesty of such Mighty Sovereigns (aa).

1558.

(aa) It is said by Sanders, that when Q. Mary saw that she must dye, she sent some Noble Persons to the Lady Elizabeth, who was to Succeed her, to desire certain things of her; but especially these Two, viz. That she would take care to repay what Sums she, the Queen, had taken up of her Subjects for the Publick Service; in truth, for the unadvised War she had entred into, the better to please her Husband Philip. The other, That she would not permit the Catholic Religion then Constituted and Established in England to be overturned again. Both which, that partial and passionate Author saith she promised, but performed neither.

This Queen Mary borrowed indeed a great deal of Money, both this Year, and the former; viz. Anno 1557. Then she borrowed of the City of London, and most rich Men in all parts of the Realm. For sending abroad great Numbers of Privy Seals, she required an 100 L. apiece of all such as were judged Wealthy, whether Gentlemen or other. Which caused great Murmurings among the People; and that because there had been lately great Payments made by Act of Parliament. But yet notwithstanding, this last year of the Queen, she again required Loans of Money throughout all Parts. And now she fell from borrowing by 100 Pounds to borrowing of 50 L. 40, 20, nay 10 L. according to her Peoples Abilities. This made greater Murmurings than before. And this it seems troubled the Queen as much. Whence she made it one of her last Requests to her Successor to see these Loans satisfied, since she could not live long enough to get another Aid granted her by Parliament.

In short, the Queen dyed with little Lamentation, condemned almost of all for her Severity and Shedding so much innocent Blood upon the only pretence of Religion; and for the waste of the Treasure of the Realm, the irreparable Loss of Calais, Hamme, and Guisnes, and all the Dominions Lands and Treasure there; and making Strangers too much acquainted with the State of England, and secret Affairs of the same. So that it was God's Compassion upon this Realm to take away this Queen, and in her Place to set up her Sister the Lady Elizabeth, whom God by special Miracle had preserved in her Innocence from the Malice and unwearied Attempts of the Enemies of true Religion, to bring her to her End: And in these Endeavours joyned her Sister also.

Her Funerals were Celebrated the 13th and 14th of December, with a Pomp suitable to her Quality, by special Order of the Queen her Sister to the Marquis of Winchester L. Treasurer. Her Body was brought from St. James's where she dyed, in a Splendid Charet with Attendants and Ceremony usual on such Occasions; and so by Charing-Cross to Westminster Abby: Met at the Church door with Four Bishops, and the Lord Abbot Mitred. Her Body being brought into the Church, lay all Night under the Hearse with Watch. On the next day December 14. was the Queen's Mass, and White, Bishop of Winchester made her Funeral Sermon; wherein he so extolled her, and by many Expressions so much depreciated the former Kings and the present Queen, that by reason of the Offence taken at his Sermon, he was commanded to keep his House; and afterwards in the Month of January appearing before the Privy Council, and receiving a Reprimand from them he was set at Liberty.

And now to look back upon the State of this Reign, and so to take a farewell of it, a very Reverend Man that lived in the midst of these times shall be our Informer. 'Surely, saith he, the brief Remembrance of things chaunced [that is, under this Queen] may appear lamentable to be considered. As what immoderate Raynes and Tempests raged in one Year. What intollerable Heats and Drowghts in another Year: What Penury and Scarcity of Corn and Victual; what Hunger and Famine thereof followed; what Sicknes, what Agues, what strange Mortalities reigned and raged, wherewith the eldest and Gravest Personages of all Degrees and Conditions, were in great numbers wasted and consumed; What Misfortunes commonly fell to Women with Child in their Delivery; what Fiers chaunced, far above the wont of other Years of Princes Reigns; in many places wasting whole Villages, Towns and Churches: Again, what Cruelty was seen executed by firing Old Men and Women, Young Men and Maids, without choise whether the Women were with Child, or free from Children: What proscriptions and Banishments of Learned Men out of the Realm; and such as taried within the Realm, how they were driven to Corners, spoiled and impoverished; and such as could be gotten shamed openly by vile Penances and shameful Recantations: And furthermore, what Rapes and Vilanies committed, above the common practiced Disorder, by Strangers and Foreigners; What Impunities won and purchased to the unchaste Generation, to recourse again to their old Trade of leud Living, after they had confounded the Priestshafte Matrimonies, so established and Authorized by the high Laws of the Realm: Then at last, what Dishonour and Loss the Realm suffered by losing that notable Borderer CALTSE, aforesometimes so valiantly won and gotten by King EDWARD the Third; and to these unfortunate Days (of refusing the great Adversary of all Christian Realms the Pope of Rome again) politiquely and chargeably Maintained and Defended in good and sure Possession, to the Comfort of the whole Realm, to the terror of all our Foreign Enemies: I say, to consider all these Particularities, as they might deserve to be set out at length, what English Heart could forbear Tears, and not inwardly Sigh and Lament the Misery? Which heavy Infelicities the English Children yet unborn shall weep at, and wail, to consider the same.

De Schismat. Anglican.

Message from the Queen to Lady Elizabeth. Cooper's Chron.

The Queen dies little Lamented.

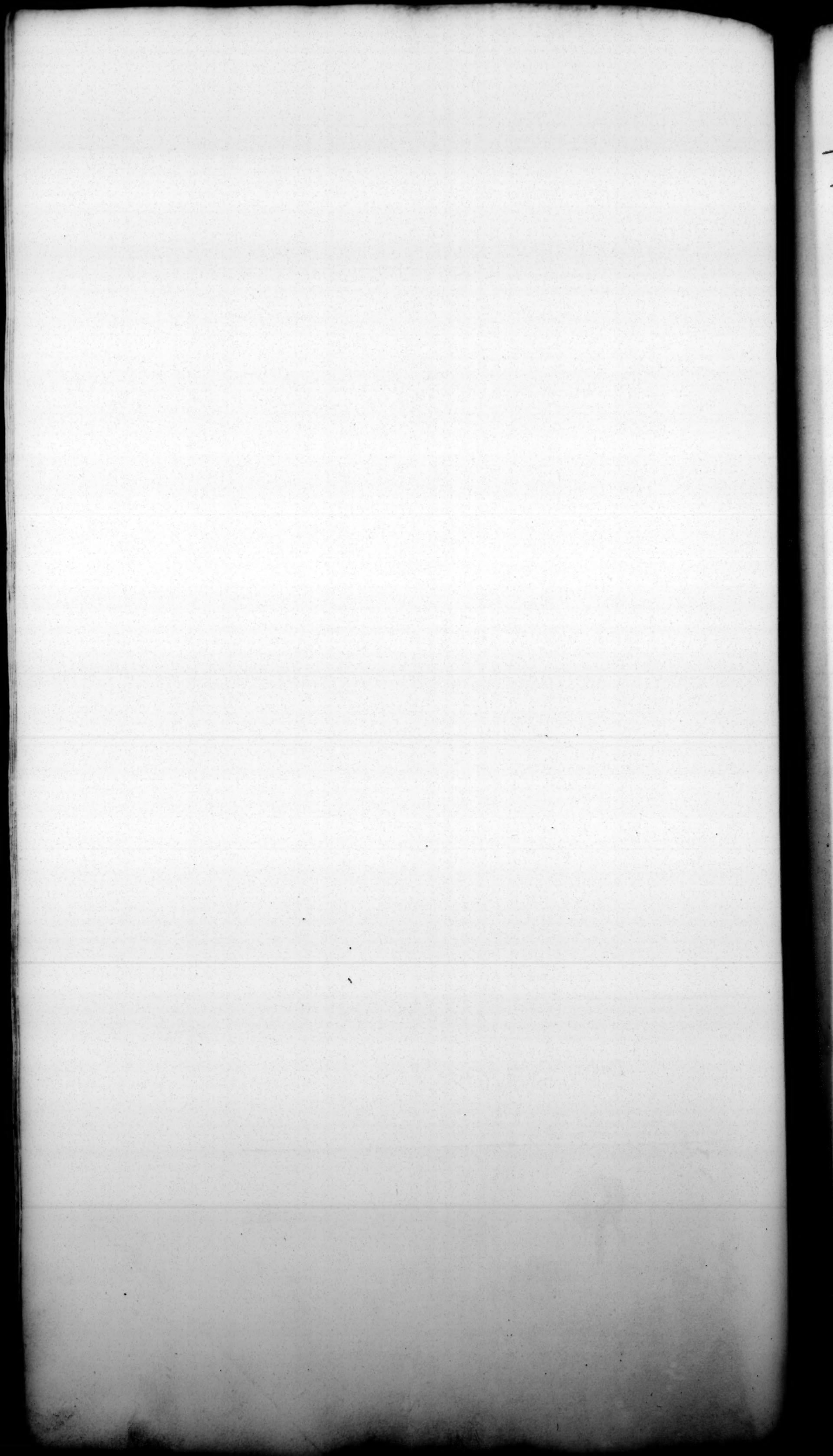
Her Funerals.

The condition of the Kingdom under this Reign. Mat. Parker Pref. to Def. of Priests Marr.

J. S.

End of Queen Mary's Reign.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OR
ANNALS
OF
ENGLAND,
DURING
The whole Life and Reign of ELIZABETH
late Queen thereof.

Written by WILLIAM CAMDEN, Clarenceux King at Arms.

The AUTHOR's Preface to the first Edition.

EIGHTEEN Years and more are now past, since *William Cecil* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, imparting to me, who then thought nothing of any such matter, first his own Collection, and then Her Majesty's, of Papers, Letters, Memorials, &c. order'd me from thence to compile an Historical Account of the first Beginnings of the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH: with what Intent I know not, unless, while he had a Desire to eternize the Memory of that Renowned Queen, he would first see an Introduction thereinto by my Pains in this kind. I obey'd him, and not unwillingly, lest I might seem either to neglect the Memory of that most Excellent Princess, or to fail his Expectation and (which I priz'd as dear as them both) the Truth itself. For in these Papers, if any where, I had confident Hopes to find the real Truth of Things lodg'd, as it were, in so many Repositories.

But at my very first Entrance upon the Task, an intricate Difficulty did very much discourage me. For I lighted upon great Piles and Heaps of Papers and Writings of all sorts, reasonably well digested indeed in respect of the Times, but in regard of the Variety of the Arguments, very much confused. In searching and turning over whereof, whilst I labour'd hard, cover'd with Dust, to gather fit Matter together, (which I diligently sought for, but more rarely found than I expected) that Noble Lord died, and my Industry began to flag and wax cold in the Business. Not long after, that Incomparable Princess also render'd her Celestial Soul to God: when I stood in expectation for some time, full of Hope that some other Person, haply some one of that

great number of Learned Men, who through her Favour and Bounty did abound both with Wealth and Leisure, would render her this due and deserved piece of Gratitude. But when I certainly found, that some, who were best able, could not, for their more weighty Employments; and others (I know not for what Causes) fairly desir'd to be excus'd; I buckl'd afresh to my intermitted Study, and ply'd it harder than before. I procur'd all the Helps I possibly could for writing it: Charters and Grants of Kings and great Personages, Letters, Consultations in the Council-Chamber, Ambassadors Instructions and Epistles, I carefully turn'd over; the Parliamentary Diaries, Acts and Statutes, I thoroughly perus'd, and read over every Edict or Proclamation. For the greatest part of all which, as I am beholden to that most Excellent Gentleman Sir *Robert Cotton*, Knight and Baronet, who has, with great Cost and successful Industry, furnish'd himself with the choicest things relating to History and Antiquity; (for he readily and willingly gave me Light and Direction in my Business from his own Knowledge of things:) so, Reader, if I shall in any thing profit or delight thee in this Undertaking, thou art deservedly obliged to give him Thanks for the same.

Mine own Cabinets and Writings I also search'd into: because tho' I have been a studious Regarder and Admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether careless of later and more modern Occurrences; but have my self seen and observ'd many things, and receiv'd others from credible Persons that have been before me, Men who have been present at the transacting of Matters, and such

as have been addicted to the Parties on both Sides, in this Contrariety of Religion. All which I have weigh'd and examin'd in the Balance of my own Judgment, (such as it is) lest I should at any time thro' an unwary Credulity incline to that which is false. For, the Love of Truth, as it has been the only Incitement to me to undertake this Work; so has it also been my only Scope and Aim in the Performance of it. And indeed, to write History without a resolute Adherence to Truth, is, as it were, to pluck out the Eyes of the finest Creature in the World; and, instead of wholesome Liquor, to present a Draught of Poison to the Readers Minds.

All such things therefore as are wont to obscure and prejudice the Light of Truth, I resolv'd to remove. *Ignorance*, and (which spring from thence) doubtful *Uncertainty* and flat *Falsity*, I have to the utmost of my Power dispell'd by the bright Lustre of untainted Fidelity lodg'd in those Monuments and Records, which are beyond all Exception: and perhaps, I have thereby attain'd to an equal Knowledge of those Affairs, with some who have been long and deeply vers'd in State-matters. *Prejudice* I have shun'd, by reason it takes away a Man's Judgment, and so hoodwinks the Minds of Men in Matters both of Religion and State, that like dim Eyes they can behold nothing clearly. As for *Danger*, I fear'd none, even from those who think the Memory of succeeding Ages may be extinguish'd by present Power. And let such remember, that never any were severe and cruel towards Writers, for keeping to the Truth, but they have heap'd Dishonour upon themselves, and Glory upon the other. The *Hope* of any *Gain* has not drawn me aside. To set the Dignity of History to Sale, to me (who have always contented my self with a mean Estate) has ever seem'd base and servile. Suspicion either of *Affection* or *Disaffection* can here have no place. For of all those that I am to mention, I know scarce one by whom I have receiv'd any Benefit or Advantage, nor one from whom I have received any Injury: so that none can reckon me among such as are either obnoxious or malicious. As for the living, I have said but little either in their Praise or Dispraise. By inveighing against the Enemies of my Country, to aim at the Reputation of a good Commonwealths-man, and at the same time to get the Character of a bad Historian, was look'd upon by me as a thing very ridiculous. This I have been careful of, that, following *Polybius's* Directions, I might have an Eye to the Truth only. Nor do I think that any one will find me wanting in a Freedom of Speech, join'd with Modesty, becoming an Historian; but the Licentiousness, Malignity and Backbiting, now-a-days cloak'd under the counterfeit Shew of Freedom, and every-where entertain'd with a plausible Acceptance, I for my part utterly detest. Things manifest and evident I have not conceal'd; Things doubtful I have interpreted favourably; Things secret and abstruse I have not pry'd into. *The hidden Meanings of Princes* (says that great Master of History) *and what they secretly design, to search out, it is*

unlawful, it is doubtful and dangerous: pursue not therefore the Search thereof. And, like *Halicanassæus*, I am angry with those curious inquisitive people, who will needs seek to know more than by the Laws is permitted them.

As for other matters; tho' I am not ignorant that Affairs of War and Policy are the things proper to History; yet Ecclesiastical Matters I neither could, nor indeed ought I to omit. (For Religion and the Weal-publick can never be separated.) But forasmuch as the Writer of the Ecclesiastical History may justly challenge those things as belonging to himself; I for my part have not touch'd 'em but with a light and chary Hand. And whereas it stands with the Rules and Dignity of History, to handle Busineses of greatest Weight and Importance, and not to enquire after small matters; I have not insisted upon small things: yet some such there are, which if they please not one, another may be glad to know. Circumstances I have not in the least omitted, that not only the Events of Affairs, but also the Reasons and Causes thereof, might be understood. That of *Polybius* pleases me mightily. *Take away from History Why, How, and To what end, things have been done, and Whether the thing done has succeeded according to Reason; and all that remains will rather be an idle Sport and Foolery, than a profitable Instruction: and tho' for the present it may delight, for the future it cannot profit.* I have not given my own Judgment either out of Prejudice or Affection, but writing with an undistemper'd and even Mind, I have rather sifted out the Sense and Opinion of others; and scarce interposed my own any where, tho' by the by, since 'tis a Question whether an Historian may lawfully do it. I leave every one to judge according to his Fancy. Speeches and Orations, unless they be the very same *verbatim*, or abbreviated, I have not meddled withal, much less coin'd 'em of my own Head. Short Sentences I have seldom interlaced, nor adorn'd my Discourse with those nice Observations which the *Greeks* aptly term *ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ*, whilst my sole Business has been to inform the Mind. Digressions I have avoided: Words of form I have used: Matters relating to Topography and Genealogy I have not neglected; and in Chronology I have follow'd the Series and Order of Time as near as might be, beginning the Year, as our former Chroniclers have usually done, from the first of *January*.

My Work I have entitl'd by the Name of *ANNALS*, in regard I have dispos'd every thing in its proper Year: for I have learn'd of *Tacitus*, that weighty and remarkable Occurrences are to be digested by way of *Annals*; and that the principal Business of *Annals* is, to preserve virtuous Actions from being bury'd in Oblivion, and to deter Men from either speaking or doing what is amiss, for fear of future Shame. Besides, a coarser and shorter Style (such as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to things written by way of *Annals*.

Upon these Foundations I set my self to writing, with this Intention and Design I went forward, and in composing, polishing and perfecting my Undertakings I resolv'd to spend my whole Pains at spare times, and to bequeath

em by my last Testament to that honorable Gentleman *Jacobus Augustus Thuanus*, who has with singular Commendations of his Fidelity and Moderation, begun an History of his own Time. And this I did, lest one so much respected by me (as indeed all Strangers are) should, as one unacquainted in a foreign State, be at a Loss in the Affairs of our Country.

But in this my purpose I was (I know not by what Fate) prevented, and a great part of these *Annals* were sent over to him some Years before, when they lay yet shadow'd in their first Lineaments, and were scarce well begun, disfigur'd with Blurs and Dashes, and Chasms and Patches here and there cobb'd together, as they slip from my hasty Pen, and worse mangl'd by the Transcriber. Out of these, by taking away some things, changing and adding others, he has inserted some few Passages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Tomes of his History, but indeed by his grave and solid Judgment much rectify'd and refin'd. But whereas he, according to the Proportion of his Work, (for he undertakes an Universal History of his Time) has only cull'd a few Passages concerning *England* and *Ireland*, and omitted a great many things that may please, and perhaps behove those of our Country to be acquainted with; and having myself heard that the Knowledge of our Affairs is earnestly desir'd by Foreigners, and that not without some Check and Reproach of our Remissness in communicating them; I again settl'd myself to the Work I had for some time discontinued; I read it all over and consider'd of it again, added some things, and in some measure polish'd the Style of it, tho' without any affected Flights of Eloquence, or quaint Ways of Expression. For, I think it sufficient, if, like a Picture drawn in weak and faint Co-

lours, it is placed in a good and advantageous Light.

Yet after all, whether I should publish it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, those Censures and Prejudices, that Hatred and Calumny, which, I foresee, advance their Ensigns, and sound the Charge against me, have not so much discourag'd me, as my Love of Truth, my Affection to my Country, and the Memory of that Princess (which among *Englishmen* ought to be held for ever sacred) have born me up against those men, who having shaken off their Allegiance to their Prince and Country, endeavour to eclipse the Reputation of one, and the Glory of t'other, by spitting forth their Venom and inveterate Malice, in their scandalous Libels publish'd in foreign parts; and at this very instant (as they stick not to own) are ready to leave to Posterity, in a large Volume, a Monument of their Lewdness and Dishonesty. For my part, I desire nothing more than that I may be like myself, and they like themselves. *Posterity will give every one the Honor due to him.*

What the Loftiness of the Argument requires, I confess, and am sorry, I have not come up with; yet what Pains I was able, I have willingly bestow'd. My self I have not in the least satisfy'd, either in this or my other Writings; yet shall I think my self well rewarded for my Labor, if by my ready Willingness to preserve the Memory of Things, to relate the Truth, and to train up the minds of men to Honesty and Wisdom, I may thereby find a place amongst the petty Writers of great Matters. Whatever it be,

*To God, my Country and Posterity,
at the Altar of Truth, I dedicate
and consecrate it.*

INTRODUCTION.

Queen Elizabeth's
Lineage
by the
Father.

By the
Mother.

THE Lineage and Descent of ELIZABETH, Queen of England, was by her Father's side truly Royal: for she was Daughter to King Henry VIII. Grand-daughter to Henry VII. and Great-grand-daughter to Edward IV. By the Mother's side her Descent was not so high; yet Noble it was, and branch'd out by many and great Alliances both thro' England and Ireland. Her Great-grand-father's Father was Jeffery Bolen, a Man of a good Family in Norfolk, Lord-Mayor of the City of London, in the Year 1457. and at the same time honour'd with the Dignity of Knighthood. A sincere honest Man he was, of such Estimation, that Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings, Knight of the Order of S. George, gave him his Daughter and one of his Heiresses to Wife; and of so large Means, that he match'd his Daughters into the Noble Houses of the Cheyneys, Heydons and Fortescues, left his Son a fair Estate, and bequeath'd 1000 l. Sterling to the Poor in the City of London, and 200 l. to the like in Norfolk. This Man's Son, William Bolen, was one of the eighteen Knights of the Bath, made at the Coronation of King Richard III. to whom Thomas Earl of Ormond (who was in such Favour with the Kings of England, that he alone of all the Noblemen of Ireland, had his Place and Vote in the

English Parliament, and that also above the Barons of England) gave his Daughter and one of his Heiresses in Marriage. By her (besides Daughters marry'd to Shelton, Calthrop, Clere and Sackvill, wealthy Men, and of great Families, and other Children) he had Thomas Bolen; whom, being a young Man, Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, (a Man much renown'd for his worthy Services and Achievements in the Wars) made choice of to be his Son-in-law, giving him his Daughter Elizabeth in Marriage: and Henry VIII. after he had perform'd one or two very honorable Embassies, made him first Treasurer of his Household, Knight of the Order of S. George, and Viscount Rochford; and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal. This Thomas, among other Children by his said Wife, had Anne Bolen; who in her tender Years was sent into France, and there waited first on Mary of England, Wife to Lewis XII. and then on Claudia of Bretagne, Wife to Francis I. and after her Death on Margaret of Alencon, a prime Favourer of the Protestant Religion then springing up in France. Being return'd into England, and admitted one of the Queen's Maids of Honor, and being now twenty two years of Age, King Henry, in the thirty eighth Year of his Age,

Ann Bolen
born 1507.

Vol. II

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the King,
being
minded to
put away
his Wife.

The cause
of the di-
vorce.

The mat-
ter relat'
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Pope.

The Popes
Resolution

The Kings
Marriage
canvass'd
in the U-
niversities.

Judge'd
void.

The Pope
delays the
business.

did for her Modesty, mix'd with a French Grace and Pleasantness, fell deeply in love with her; and when he could not overcome her Chastity, he sought to make her his Wife, in hopes of Issue-Male by her.

He (to fetch the matter a little higher) began now, after seventeen Years Marriage, to grow weary of Queen Katharine his Wife, a Lady of very Religious Behaviour, and Spanish Gravity; howbeit many times miscarrying in the Fruit of her Womb, and having but one only Daughter living, namely the Lady Mary. And this he did thro' the cunning Artifice of Tho. Wolsey, Cardinal, who being now in the Height of Power with the King, had in a manner no Command over himself. For, bearing a Grudge to the Emperor Charles V. Queen Katharine's Sister's Son, for denying him the Archbishoprick of Toledo, and because he had not favour'd him in his aspiring to the Popedom, and being now (out of Malice to Charles) so devoted to the French King, that he design'd King Henry a Wife out of France; he caus'd a Scruple to be put into the King's Head, who was already prone enough to his own Desires, that his present Marriage with Queen Katharine, who before had been his Brother Arthur's Wife, was forbidden by the Law of God, notwithstanding Pope Julius II. had dispens'd therewith. Afterwards he himself press'd it often upon him, how heinously he had offended God in marrying Queen Katharine, and in what a great Sin he continued to live, by retaining her; that he had incur'd the Sentence of Excommunication, and that God had already evidenc'd his Anger against this so unlawful a Marriage, who would not suffer any Issue-Male, tho' once or twice conceiv'd, to live; and that nothing else could be expected, but that those bloody Wars so lately laid asleep would again break out with fresh Slaughters, unless a lawful Heir to the Crown were once certainly known. To the end therefore that all Scruple might be remov'd out of the King's Mind, and his Soul, which had for so many Years been polluted with Incest, unburden'd, and withal the Safety and Security of the Realm by the undoubted Succession of a lawful Issue provided for, she was to be divorced from him.

Hereupon the King petition'd Pope Clement VII. that he would depute Commissioners to hear and examine the Cause; and that either the Dispensation of Pope Julius might be confirm'd by the Authority of Holy Scripture, or he might be absolv'd from the Sentence of Excommunication, and it might be decreed that the present Marriage was no Marriage, but null and of no force, and that he might be at liberty to contract Marriage with any other Woman whatsoever, any Canon to the contrary notwithstanding. The Pope made Wolsey and Cardinal Campeius his Deputies: to which Campeius he also privately deliver'd a Bull, wherein, favourably inclining to the King's Desire, as far as with a good Conscience before God he lawfully might, he granted all things, in case it should prove that the Marriage contracted with Queen Katharine were declared to have been, and to be void and null. But this Bull he appointed to be conceal'd or publish'd, according as the Emperor's Affairs in Italy succeeded. Now were Questions every where started, whether it were justifiable by the Law of God for the Brother to take his Brother's Widow to Wife: and if this was forbidden by God's Law, whether it might not be made lawful by the Pope's Dispensation. But when several Universities in Christendom, and many very learned Men, had by their joint Suffrages declared such a Marriage to be repugnant to the sacred Laws of both Testaments, notwithstanding the Bishop of Rome's Dispensation; the King began to be violently in love with Ann Bolen; and withal, the Cardinal repenting too late of what he had done, and being put forward with Anger, so wrought under-hand with the Pope, that he refus'd to confirm by his Papal Authority the Judgments of the Universities, and the Cause was prolong'd and delay'd from day to day both at Rome and in England: for the Cardinal stood in fear of Ann Bolen, who, being addicted to the Protestant Doctrine, hated his unreasonable Pomp and Pride. The Pope also stood in doubt of the Emperor, who was now very strong in Italy, and most stiffly defended the Cause of his Aunt Queen

Katharine. Neither yet would the Pope incense King Henry, who had not long before, when he was taken Prisoner by the Imperialists, by his Arms and Money, procur'd his Liberty.

King Henry, tho' he were herewith much displeas'd, yet did he smother it at present; and first himself by his Embassadors and Letters, and then the Prelates and Nobility of England, by a Supplication sign'd and subscrib'd with their Hands and Seals, with humble Intreaties casting themselves at the Pope's Feet, besought him, that what the two Universities of England, the University of Paris, and several other Universities, with divers learned and grave Men, both at home and abroad, had affirm'd to be true, and were ready to defend and maintain for Truth, as well by Word as Writing, might (to use their own words) be confirm'd by his Apostolical Authority. And an extraordinary infelicity it would be, (say they) if this could not be obtain'd of the See Apostolick, by that Prince, whose only Help had upholden and supported the Authority of the See Apostolick; who, when it was laid at by many, oppos'd them several times, partly by his Pen, and partly by his Word and Authority; and yet he alone could not enjoy the Assistance of her Authority. But that he might enjoy it, they besought him again and again, lest Civil Wars should break forth anew about the Title to the Succession.

The Prelates also, fearing lest the Pope should interdict the Realm, or excommunicate the King, did by their own particular Letters put him in mind of the woful Diffension formerly between Pope Alexander III. and Henry II. King of England; and among other weighty Reasons, they with humble Prayers advis'd him in those very words, in a manner, which Gilbert Bishop of London at that time used. Your ardent Zeal we most humbly beseech you for a time to restrain within the Bounds of Moderation and Sobriety, lest by pronouncing either the Sentence of Interdict, or that final Declaration of Excision or Excommunication, you suffer innumerable Churches to be miserably subverted, and (which God forbid) irrevocably turn away from your Obedience as well the King himself, as infinite numbers of People with him. Better it is that a Member be join'd to the Head, tho' it be maim'd, than quite cut off, and cast from the Body. Maim'd Members may be heal'd again, but being once cut off, they never unite to the Body more. Cutting off brings Despair, whereas the Chirurgeon's wary Hand many times heals the Wound. Better it is therefore, if it so please, that at the present you do your best to heal the Wound, (if any there be) than by cutting off so noble a Part from God's Church, you bring Matters (which are already in a high Confusion) into greater Disorder than can be express'd. Then at length, does the Spirit of Kings know how to be overcome, when it has overcome; and is not ashamed to yield, when it has vanquish'd. With Mildness it is to be dealt withal, and to be overcome with Admonitions and Patience. For, what if Patience either already shew'd, or to be shew'd a little longer, do bring some Loss of temporal Concernments? ought there not to be a slackening of Severity, when the Ruin of the People is threatn'd? Are not many things to be thrown overboard, when the hideous Confusion of Sea and Waves menaces Destruction?

But when the Pope and his Cardinals gave no Ear to these things, but neglected them for the space of five Years or thereabouts, taking it in Disdain that the Pope's Power in Dispensing should be called in question, and thought fit that the King should be cited to appear at Rome, they constrain'd the King (being a Prince full of Spirit, and already exasperated with the Perverseness of some Church-men at home, and who thought, that in regard of the Equity of his Cause, he was most unjustly dealt withal, in consideration of his Royal Dignity, most unworthily; and in respect of his Deserts, from the Church of Rome most ungratefully) that at

one and the same time in a manner he both put away Queen Katharine, depriv'd Cardinal Wolsey of his Goods and Possessions, laid a great Fine upon the Bishops, for owning and submitting to his Legatine Power in prejudice of the King's Prerogative, abolish'd the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, took upon him the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England next under Christ, which was given him by a Synod and the Universities of England, advanc'd Ann Bolen, (clad in her Robes of Honour, with her Golden Coronet on her Head) to the Dignity of Marchioness of Pembroke, with the Consent of the Peers of the Realm, for the Nobility of her Birth, and the great Merit of her Vertues, (so the Words run) took her to Wife, and commanded her to be inaugurated Queen; whilst Pope Clement VII. chafed in vain at it, decreed the former Marriage to be valid and Canonical, and pronounc'd the King to have incur'd the Pains and Penalties of the greater Excommunication.

By this Marriage was born the Lady ELIZABETH at Greenwich upon the Thames, September 7. 1533. And shortly after, the former Marriage contracted with Queen Katharine, was, by the Authority of Parliament declared to be void and incestuous, and this with Queen Ann to be just and consonant to the Law of God: the Lady Elizabeth, if the King should fail of Issue-Male, was declared Heir apparent to the Crown; and an Oath of Allegiance taken by all the Subjects, to the King and his Heirs by Queen Ann. And when Paul III. purpos'd to pronounce Sentence afresh at Rome against this Marriage, and at home an holy Maid or Nun in Kent, (being suborn'd and set on by some Religious persons) as if she were mov'd with a divine and prophetick Fury, utter'd many things against the same, and against the King; the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, with all manner of Authority to reform Errors, Heresies and Abuses in the same, was given to the King by the Estates of the Realm, and the said Oath of Allegiance to the King's Heirs by Queen Ann confirm'd. Nevertheless, scarce were three Years fully expired, when, falling into new Loves, Jealousies, Rage, and meditating Blood and Slaughter, that he might make way for the new Fancy he had to Jane Seimour, he call'd

Queen Ann to her Trial, accusing her, upon a light Suspicion, of Adultery, after she had miscarri'd of a Male-child she went withal. Queen Ann clear'd herself so far of the matters objected against her, that the Multitude that stood by judg'd her to be innocent, and merely circumvented. Nevertheless, her Peers condemn'd her. Being condemn'd, she very handsomely and pleasantly by a Messenger sent her singular Thanks to the King, for the Favours he had heap'd upon her, viz. that, altho' she were descended of no very honorable Lineage, he had advanced her to the noble Dignity of a Marchioness, to the Honor to be his Bedfellow, and to the high Condition of a Queen, and (beyond all the rest) that when he could exalt her no higher upon Earth, he would now raise her up to Heaven, where she should enjoy eternal Glory amongst holy and innocent persons. Her Death she underwent quietly and christianly, wishing all Happiness to the King, and forgiving her Enemies.

The King the very next day after marry'd Jane Seimour; and declar'd, by Authority of Parliament, the Marriage with Queen Ann, as well as that with Queen Katharine, to be flatly unlawful and void, and their Daughters, the two Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, to be therefore illegitimate, and to be excluded from the Succession to the Crown. Queen Jane fell in labour of Prince Edward, and presently dy'd, the said Prince being fain to be cut out of her Womb, and succeeding his Father after in the Kingdom. The King, being but little troubl'd for his Queen's Death, presently applied himself to find another Wife, both in Italy and France, to strengthen himself with new Alliances. Nevertheless, being doubtful and unresolv'd in Mind, and timorous of every thing, whilst he stood in fear of the

Papists for Rebellions formerly rais'd; and the Nobility should attempt new Commotions at home, or join with forein Enemies, some of them for slight Causes, and some without any Hearing, he cut shorter by the Heads. Many of the Religions, for their Obstinacy in maintaining the Pope's Power, he put to death as Traitors; and out of Avarice, as before he had done the lesser, so now he pluck'd down the greater Abbies, Places of venerable Antiquity and Majesty, and seiz'd upon their Wealth, which had been so many Years heaping together, taking Advantage from the Miscarriages of humane Frailty, and their dissolute manner of Life. And withal he burn'd the Protestants as Hereticks, by a Law which they call'd The Six Articles, made against those who oppos'd the Doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning Transubstantiation, one Kind in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the unmarried Life of Priests, Vows, Private Masses, and Auricular Confession. Inasmuch as at one and the same time and place, he rag'd against the Papists by hanging, drawing and quartering, and against the Protestants by burning them alive. Whereby he grew so terrible at home, and was taken for such a Tyrant abroad, that he was rejected first by Mary of Lorraine, the Duke of Guise his Daughter, whom he woo'd, being Rival therein to James King of Scots, his Nephew; and then by Christiana of Denmark, Duchess of Milan, Niece to Charles V. At length with much ado he obtain'd Ann of Cleve to Wife, thereby endeavouring to secure the Friendship of the Protestants in Germany: whom as soon as he had marry'd he cast off, loathing her, as not beautiful enough for a Prince, giving himself over as well to Arrogance as Lust; pretending the Cause to be, because she had been formerly betroth'd to the Duke of Lorraine's Son, and charging her with I know not what womanish Impotency: and all to bring over her Head Katharine Howard, Daughter of Edmund Howard, and Niece to Thomas Duke of Norfolk; whom the next Year after he beheaded, as guilty of Incontinence before the Marriage, and took to Wife Katharine Parr, of a Knightly Family, whom he left the second time a Widow.

Perceiving now his Body to be much decay'd thro' the Intemperance of his Youth, and being enraged against the French King, because he had assisted the Scots against the English, but more favourably inclined toward the Emperor Charles, (who forgetting the Divorce of his Aunt Q. Katharine, had secretly given him sure Hopes of Reconciliation to the Church of Rome, in which business the French King had formerly deluded him) he enter'd into a Treaty with Charles against the French. Then designing to invade France, the more to engage the Emperor to him, and to quiet his exulcerated and gall'd Conscience, he propos'd to the Estates in Parliament, that if he should die, and his Son Edward also without Issue, first the Lady Mary, and, if she should fail of Issue, then the Lady Elizabeth, should succeed in the Kingdom. But if all they should die issueless, then the Crown to be devolv'd upon such Persons to whom he should either by Letters Patents, or by his last Will and Testament, assign the same. Which was with the ready and cheerful Consent of all men enacted and establish'd, upon pain of High-Treason to the Opposers thereof. After his Return out of France, where he had taken Bologne, with a vast Expence of Money, whilst he lamented the Distraction of England through new Opinions daily springing up in it, (and England herself sate sighing and groaning to see her Wealth exhausted, her Money embas'd and mingl'd with Copper, her Abbies demolish'd which were the Monuments of antient Piety, the Blood of her Nobility, Prelates, Papists and Protestants, promiscuously spilt, and the Land embroil'd in a War with Scotland) being swell'd up with Fat, he breath'd out his last, of a virulent Inflammation call'd S. Anthony's Fire in his Thigh, in the beginning of the Year 1547. A magnanimous Prince he was, in whose great Mind were confus'dly mix'd many eminent Vertues with no less notorious Vices.

King rages against Papists, Monasteries and Protestants.

Law of the six Articles.

He married Ann of Cleve, and puts her away again.

Marries Katharine Howard, beheads her. He married Katharine Parr.

He is reconcil'd to Charles V.

He settles the Succession in his Children.

He wins Bologne.

He dies.

Prince

Edward VI. succeeds him.

The doctrine of the Gospel brought in.

The unhappiness of the Kingdom under an Infant-King.

The Protector beheaded.

The death of K. Edward VI.

Lady Elizabeth's great grace with her Brother. Her Character.

Prince Edward his Son, being yet scarce ten years old, succeeded him; his Uncle Edward Seimour, Duke of Somerset, being made Protector: under whose auspicious Government, a notable Victory was obtain'd over the Scots at Musselburg, whilst the English by Force of Arms, demanded the Performance of a Contract concerning Mary Queen of Scots espousing to King Edward. Also the cruel and bloody Law of the Six Articles, and other Laws made by King Henry VIII. against the Protestants, were repeal'd; those for abolishing the Popes Authority confirm'd; the Mass wholly abrogated; Images remov'd out of Churches; the Books of both Testaments printed in the Vulgar Tongue; Divine Service celebrated in the same; and both Kinds administred in the Eucharist. But sacrilegious Avarice ravenously invaded Church-livings, Colleges, Chauntries, Hospitals and Places dedicated to the Poor; as things superstitious: Ambition and Emulation among the Nobility, Presumption and Disobedience among the Common-people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seem'd to be as it were in a downright Phrensie, miserably languishing at the very Heart, by reason of Rebellions, Tumults, Factions, embasing of her Money, and all the Mischiefs and Miscarriages that usually happen under an Infant-King. Hereupon also follow'd Damages abroad: the Strong-holds of the English in Scotland and France were lost: Bologne, which cost so dear, with all the Forts rais'd by the English in the Country about it, as also the Ordnance and Munition, were betray'd to the French for Money, to the incredible Dishonor of the English Nation: whilst England, now rent with civil Seditions, was not able to defend the same; and Charles the Emperor, being sud to for his Assistance, according to the late Confederacy, deny'd to relieve it, (as being won by the English after the Confederacy was made) and even refus'd to take it into his own Hands, when it was offer'd him gratis. And, to increase the Infelicity of these Times, the Protector, not aware of the cunning Practices of Dudley Duke of Northumberland, was condemn'd of Felony, by a Law newly made, for attempting to kill the King's Counsellors, (namely Northumberland and others) and beheaded; his Son was by a private Law dispossess'd of the greatest part of his Inheritance and his Father's Honours; and the King himself, now destitute of the Assistance of his Friends, and exposed to the Cruelty of ambitious Persons, was taken away by an untimely Death, (whether thro' any natural Disease, or by Poison, is uncertain) leaving behind him an incredible Mist of himself among the People, for his singular and rare Vertues above his Years.

In this doleful Time, when Dudley had by his subtil Contrivances dissolv'd the Knot of brotherly Love between the Protector and Thomas Seimour his Brother, taking Occasion from a womanish Emulation betwixt the Queen Dowager, now Thomas his Wife, and the Dutches of Somerset the Protector's Wife, among other things to convict Thomas of High Treason, it was objected, that he intended to seize the King's Person, and to take the Lady Elizabeth, the King's Sister, to Wife. All this she was utterly ignorant of, and far from any Suspicion, growing up daily to Riper Years, and continuing in great Grace and Favour with King Edward her Brother, (who call'd her by no other Name than his sweet Sister Temperance) as likewise in singular Esteem with the Nobility and People. For she was of admirable Beauty, and well deserving a Crown, of a modest Gravity, excellent Wit, Royal Soul, happy Memory, and indefatigably given to the Study of Learning; insomuch as before she was Seventeen Years of Age, she understood well the Latin, French, and Italian Tongues, and had an indifferent Knowledge of the Greek. Neither did she neglect Musick, so far as it became a Princess, being able to sing sweetly, and play handsomly on the Lute. With Roger Ascham, who was her Tutor, she read over Melanchthon's Common-Places, all Tully, a great part of the Histories of Titus Livius,

certain select Orations of Isocrates, (whereof two she turn'd into Latin) Sophocles's Tragedies, and the New Testament in Greek: by which means she both fram'd her Tongue to a pure and elegant way of speaking, and inform'd her Mind with apt Documents and Instructions; daily applying herself to the Study of good Letters, not for Pomp and Ostentation, but in order to Use in her Life, and the Practice of Vertue; insomuch as she was a kind of Miracle and Admiration for her Learning among the Princes of her Time.

But these her liberal Studies were interrupted by the Death of her Brother King Edward; whose Breath was scarce out of his Body, when certain Messengers were sent from Dudley Duke of Northumberland, (who affect'd the Crown for Jane Grey, to whom he had betroth'd his Son) to move her to resign her Title to the Crown for a Sum of Money, and certain Lands to be settl'd on her. She modestly answer'd, that her elder Sister the Lady Mary was first to be agreed withal: for as long as the said Lady Mary liv'd, she for her part could challenge no Right at all. Shortly after, the Lady Jane Grey, Grand-daughter to the second Sister of King Henry VIII. was publickly proclaim'd Queen of England. To colour which, it was pretended, that the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth were by Act of Parliament judg'd illegitimate, which Act was never duly repeal'd; (notwithstanding that the King their Father had by the same Law declared, that they should succeed in order after Edward VI. in case he should fail of Issue: and that the said Sisters could not by the Law of England hereditarily succeed King Edward, because they were not Germans, that is, of the whole Blood by Father and Mother, but (as our Lawyers term it) of the half Blood. It was also alledg'd, that Henry VIII. by his last Will and Testament convey'd the Title of the Crown to the said Lady Jane Grey. And withal it was objected, how dangerous it might be, if either the Lady Mary or the Lady Elizabeth should marry a foreign Prince, who might restore the Bishop of Rome's Authority, at present thrown out of England, and subject the English to a foreign Yoke. And to the same purpose also they produced Letters Patents of Edward VI. made a little before his Death, and sign'd with the Hands of many Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, and others.

Nevertheless, the strong Inclination and Affection of the Nobility and Commons, towards King Henry VIII's Daughters, within twenty days dispers'd this Storm, to the fatal Ruin of the Duke and the Lady Jane; and the Lady Mary was proclaim'd Queen over England: who coming to London with an Army, the Lady Elizabeth went to meet her with five hundred Horse, lest she should be wanting to her Sister's and her own Cause, which was then so much concern'd.

In the first Parliament which Queen Mary held, whatsoever had been decreed against the Marriage between Queen Katharine, her Mother, and K. Henry VIII. was repeal'd, and the said Marriage adjudg'd to be consonant to the Law of God, and valid to all Intents and Purposes, for these Reasons: Because it had been contracted and celebrated with the Consent of their Parents, wise and prudent Princes, by Advice of the gravest Men, as well in England as Spain, and upon mature Deliberation with the most learned Men of all Christendom, and completed and perfected by the Procreation of Children betwixt them. The same Form also of Religion and Service of God, and Administration of the Sacraments, which was in use at the Death of Henry VIII. was restor'd; howbeit without any Acknowledgment or Mention at all of the Pope's Authority: which very much troubl'd both the Queen and Cardinal Pool, who both of them were of opinion, that in the matter of the Marriage the Consent of the Parents and Judgment of the wise and learned Men depended merely and solely upon the Dispensation of Pope Julius II. and were highly offended that the Use of the Sacraments was, without the Pope's Authority, permitted to such as were not yet solemnly receiv'd

Jane Grey in vain proclaim'd Queen.

Lady Mary proclaim'd Queen. A Parliament.

receiv'd into the Church. But the Estates of the Realm (as Queen Mary found) were afraid to admit and acknowledge again the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, which they had now shaken off. Neither would they endure that the Queen should lay down the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, which most of the Bishops, Nobility and Commons had confirm'd by Oath to Henry VIII. his Heirs and Successors; besides, many of them had increas'd their Estates by the Revenues of the Church. But she was heartily desirous to lay it down, as being persuaded that her whole Title to the Crown was upheld and strengthned by no other means but by the Power of the Bishop of Rome, who had given Sentence in her behalf, after her Father had procur'd her to be declar'd illegitimate. And indeed at that time many bore such an Hatred against the Pope's Power, and the Thoughts of a foreign Yoke, that Sir Thomas Wyatt and some Kentish-men, within ten days after the Marriage betwixt Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, broke forth into open Rebellion, being persuaded that it was made up to no other end, but, by the Power of the Spaniards, to hamper the English-men's Necks more straitly under the Yoke of the Bishop of Rome, and to make away the Lady Elizabeth, the next Heir to the Crown of England. And the Emperor Charles V. well knowing the Temper of Men in England, laid such Ruks and Delays in Cardinal Pool's Way, (who was coming into England, in quality of a Legate from the Pope) and that not without the Queen's Privy, lest he should give occasion of Offence, while Matters were yet unsettl'd, that he came not into England till after fifteen Months, when the Queen's third Parliament was now holden, and the Marriage betwixt Queen Mary and King Philip celebrated, by Dispensation of Pope Julius III. because they were within the second and third Degree of Consanguinity, and the said Charles the Emperor had formerly contracted Marriage de futuro with the Lady Mary, then a very Infant. Pool at last dismiss'd by the Emperor, came into England, and being restored in Blood, proposed to the Estates, with Prayers and great Intreaties, that the Laws against Hereticks might be reviv'd and reinforc'd, that all the Laws enacted against the See of Rome, since the Twentieth Year of Henry VIII. might be repeal'd, and that the whole Body of the Realm might be reconcil'd to the Church of Rome. All which with much ado he at last obtain'd, but not till such time as by the same Statute the Revenues taken by King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. from Abbies, Colleges, Bishopricks, &c. were confirm'd to the Queen and the present Possessors, lest the Peace of the Kingdom should be disturb'd. Hereupon he presently absolv'd the Clergy and Laity from the Guilt of Schism; a solemn Mass was celebrated at Rome by Pope Julius III. himself for Joy, Processions were decreed, a Jubilee appointed, and plenary Indulgences granted to every one who should give God Thanks for the Re-uniting of the Kingdom of England. To Rome were sent Anthony Viscount Montacute, Thurlbey Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, to give Thanks for Pardon of the Schism, and to tender in the name of the King, Queen and Realm, due Submission and Obedience to the Pope and See Apostolick. To whom in the Apostolick Palace and Court of Kings, was granted by Paul IV. (for Julius was now dead) a publick Consistory or Audience, their Obedience accepted, the Pardon and Absolution given by Cardinal Pool, approv'd and confirm'd. And the more to oblige Queen Mary and King Philip, the Pope, out of his plenary Apostolical Power, erected Ireland into a Kingdom for ever, and honor'd and adorn'd it with Regal Title, Dignity, and Preeminences, &c. All which notwithstanding the Estates of Ireland had by their own Authority before amply confer'd on Henry VIII. and the Queen herself already used and enjoy'd. But these things are not proper to this place.

Now the Romish Religion seem'd to be fully established in England. Nevertheless, the Ecclesiasticks of the Realm, seeing small Hope of Issue by the Queen, who was now forty Years old, barren and sickly, still

stood in Fear of the Lady Elizabeth: for they knew she was bred up in the Protestant Religion, and perceiv'd all Mens Hearts and Eyes to incline towards her, as towards the Rising Sun. Seriously therefore they consulted from the first beginning of Queen Mary's Reign, that the Religion now restored might receive no Detriment by her means. To make away a Princess of the Blood, by Sword or Poison, seem'd to the soberer part, and to Queen Mary herself, (naturally a mild and loving Princess, tho' she did not bear her much Goodwill, by reason of the Grudges and Displeasures betwixt their Mothers) a heinous Sin. But some other ill-disposed Persons thought the contrary, who were of opinion, that for the establishing of the Catholick Religion, any thing was to be attempted, any thing committed, tho' in itself never so unjust. And it fell out very opportunely for 'em, that Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Peter Carew, Sir James à Croftes, and other Protestants, had seditiously rais'd Tumults and Commotions, and endeavour'd to make up a Marriage between the Lady Elizabeth and Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire. Hereupon she, as privy to the Design, was committed to Prison: and first flying Reports were given out, that she was accessory to the Rebellion; then some were try'd for their Lives, and others put to the Rack. Croftes openly affirm'd with solemn Protestations, that she was not accessory to, or had any Hand in the Sedition. And Wyatt (who they said had secretly accus'd her) publicly declared the same, just before his Execution. Nevertheless she was hurry'd to and fro, had Keepers set over her, her Servants and Waiting-women clapt up in Prison, and herself us'd with more Severity, than is generally exercised towards Personages of her Rank and Dignity.

Mean time, Henry II. King of France chears her up by private Letters full of Love and Affection; and promising her great matters, invites her into France: whether out of real Love I cannot say, or whether it were with design to render her more suspicious, and make way for the Queen of Scots (who was design'd for his Daughter-in-law) to the Crown of England after Queen Mary. Christian III. King of Denmark (who had lately profess'd the Protestant Religion) makes her likewise many kind Offers, and withal addresses her privately on behalf of his Son Frederick: which was no sooner perceiv'd by the Papists in England, but they again threaten her with new Mischiefs, and suspecting their future Security, affirm, That the Romish Religion, the Queen and Realm, can never be safe, while she's alive. Needs must she then be cut off, either as a Trairess, or as an Heretick. At the same time, whilst great Cruelty was us'd against the Protestants of lesser note, John Story, Doctor of Law, and other mercilless Men declar'd in their Meetings, that the Root of Heresie (meaning her) was rather to be pluck'd up, than the smaller Branches to be leapt off. The Lady Elizabeth now guiding herself as a Ship in blustering Weather, both heard Divine Service after the Romish manner, and was frequently confess'd; and, at the pressing Instances and Menaces of Cardinal Pool, profess'd herself, for fear of Death, a Roman-Catholick: yet did not Queen Mary believe her, as remembring that she herself, in the like Fear, had, by Letters written with her own Hand to her Father (which I myself have seen) not only for ever renounced the Pope's Authority in England, but also acknowledg'd her Father to be Supreme Head of the Church of England under Christ, and her Mother's Marriage with King Henry her Father to have been incestuous and unlawful. Neither could the Cardinal himself and the rest of the Bishops be persuaded she was real, who for securing the Romish Religion, wish'd she were made away. But this very much grated the Ears of King Philip, Queen Mary's Husband, and the Spaniards, who were more favourable to the Lady Elizabeth; not so much pitying the Condition of the afflicted Maiden-Princess, as providently regarding their own particular Interests. For, they foresaw, that if once the Lady Elizabeth were made away, the Kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland, might, by Mary Queen of Scots,

Papists
fear of
the Lady
Elizabeth.

They
trouble
her.

French R.
and K. of
Denmark
comfort
her.

New Plots
against
her.

She thro'
fear pro-
fesses the
Romish
Religion.

Why the
Spaniard
spared the
Lady Eli-
zabeth's
Life.

next

next Heir to the Crown of England, and already espous'd to the Dauphin of France, be united to the French Scepter; than which nothing could be more dreadful to the Spaniard's Grandeur, who had then continual Wars with the French.

A design
to send
her out of
the Land,
and ex-
clude her
from the
Succession

Since therefore they could not without Impiety make away the Lady Elizabeth, some thought best to remove her at a Distance out of England, and to match her with Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy. Neither did this please the Spaniard, who had before design'd her for his Son Charles. And Sir Thomas Cornwallis, one of the Queen's Council, dissuaded it, alleging that the People of England would take it very ill, nay, would not at all endure, that the next Heir to the Crown should be convey'd out of the Land. At the same time Queen Mary, out of her inveterate Hatred to the Lady Elizabeth, and because the said Lady was averse to a Marriage with a Savoyard, was so transported with Anger, that she loaded her with Checks and Taunts, and stuck not ever and anon to affirm, that Mary Queen of Scots was the certain and undoubted Heir to the Crown of England, next after herself. These Consultations against the Lady Elizabeth were diverted by a War declared by Queen Mary against the French, in Favour of her Husband: which tho' it were the chief and principal Cause of the War, yet other Reasons also concurr'd, and those very real and plausible, viz. That the French, contrary to the Articles of the former League, had, by his Ministers, encourag'd and supported the Rebellions of the Duke of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the Designs of Dudley and Ashton against her: That he had commission'd Pirates against the English Merchants, furnish'd Stafford with Arms and Shipping to seize upon Scarborough-Castle, attempting Calais by sinister means, suffer'd the English Money to be embas'd in France, and invaded the Netherlands, which the English were bound by Agreement to protect. During

War de-
clared a-
gainst Fr.

the Heat of this War, and while the Scots, whom the French had excited, infested the Marches of England, Calais, the Castles of Risbank, Newnambrug, Calais and
Mere, Oye, Hammes, Sandgate, and the Castle Other Pla-
ces lost.
and Town of Guines, are lost; and, together with the
Death of many Bishops, (which by a sad Presage
seem'd to have denounc'd the Wrath of God against the
Land) Queen Mary also, being neglected of her Hus-
band, and languishing with Grief for the Loss of Ca-
lais, (which had for the space of two hundred Years
been in the Hands of the English) departed this Life, The death
November 17. 1558. of a six months Fever and a of Queen
Tympany, when she had reign'd five Years and four Mary
Months. A Princess never sufficiently to be commended
of all men, for her pious and religious Demeanor, her
Commiseration towards the Poor, and her Munificence
and Liberality towards the Nobility and Church men.
Howbeit her Reign is ill spoken of, by reason of the bar-
barous Cruelty of the Bishops, who (which was a sad
spectacle to behold) polluted England in all Parts
thereof, by burning the Protestants alive. For they de-
stroy'd more of all Ranks and Qualities, Bishops, Mi-
nisters of God's Word, and of the Common-people, by
this horrible kind of Death, within the space of five
Years, than (as some have observ'd) King Henry
VIII. did in full seven and thirty Years; or than En-
gland ever saw so serv'd ever since the time that, in
the Reign of King John, Christians first began a-
mongst us to tyrannize one over another with Fire
and Faggot,

The same day that Queen Mary died, died also And of
within few hours after, Cardinal Pool, Archbishop of Cardinal
Canterbury, after he had for some time struggl'd with Pool.
a Quartan Ague. A Man much more renown'd for his
Piety, Learning and Integrity, than for the Glory of
his Royal Descent, tho' he was Son to the Daughter of
George Duke of Clarence, Brother to Edward IV.
King of England.



ELIZABETH,

Anno 1558.

Queen of ENGLAND.

AFTER the Death of Queen Mary had been, for some time, kept private; the first News thereof was brought to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal then in Parliament; (the Two Houses having sat for some little time before.) They were seiz'd at first with a mighty Grief and Surprize, but soon wore off those Impressions, and with an handsome Mixture of Joy and Sorrow, upon the Loss of a deceased, and the Prospect of a succeeding Princess, they betook themselves to Publick Business, and with one Consent agreed, that the Lady ELIZABETH should be declar'd the true and lawful Heir of the Kingdom, according to the Act of Succession, made 35 Henry VIII. Upon this, the Members of the Lower House were call'd up, and Heath Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England, acquaints 'em, (not without a deep and visible Concern) "That the Church and State had lost a most pious and excellent Queen; a Loss which every private Subject would have Reason to judge insupportable, had it not pleas'd God (in Mercy to the English Nation) to preserve still the Lady ELIZABETH, the other and surviving Daughter of King Henry; of whose Right of Succession, since no Doubt could or ought to be made, the House of Peers only wanted their Consent, to proclaim her Queen, out of hand. No sooner had he said this, but there pass'd (as it were) a solemn and general Vote of a Long Life and Happy Reign to Queen ELIZABETH; and when the Session was ended, she was, with Sound of Trumpet, and the loudest Acclamations of the People, first proclaim'd in Westminster, and after at the Royal-Exchange, Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Thus happy and glorious was the Beginning of her Reign, and (to say Truth) she possess'd through the whole Progress of it, as firm and large an Interest in the Hearts of her People, and was caref'd upon all occasions of a Publick Appearance, with as chearful Marks of Honor and Respect, as any Prince before her.

She was now about the Age of Twenty Five, and had been so well disciplin'd in the excellent School of Adversity, as to become Mistress of a Prudence above her Years; and of this she gave an early Proof in the Choice of her Ministers: For she made of her Privy-Council, Nich. Heath Archbishop of York, a Person, as I hinted before, of singular Prudence, and a well-temper'd Judgment; as likewise, William Pawlet Marquess of Winchester, Lord High-Treasurer, Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundel, Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, Edward Stanley Earl of Derby, William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, Edward Lord Clinton, Lord High-Admiral, and William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir William

Peter, Sir John Mason, Sir Richard Sackvill, Kts. and Nicolas Wotton Dean of Canterbury. All these had been of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, as well as of her Religion, but then the better to conform herself to the present Posture of Affairs, she joins with them these Servants of her own, William Parr Marquess of Northampton, Francis Russel Earl of Bedford, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knolles, and William Cecil, who had been Secretary to King Edward VI. and a Person of rare and uncommon Abilities; and not long after she admitted Nicolas Bacon, and made him Keeper of the Privy-Seal. These were every Man of 'em Protestants, and had held no Places nor Employments under Queen Mary. On those, as well as on all others which she afterwards admitted into the Ministry, she bestow'd her Favours with so much Caution, and so little Distinction, as to prevent either Party from gaining the Ascendant over her, whereby she remain'd Mistress of her own self, and preserv'd both their Affections, and her own Power and Authority entire.

Her first and great Concern, after her happy Settlement on the Throne, was to restore the Reform'd Religion; and tho' she made but very few privy to the Design, yet so well was she persuaded of its Purity and Orthodoxy, and had built upon the Principles of Reason and Education such an high Opinion of its Primitive Truth and Simplicity, that she was fully resolv'd to countenance and support it. Then she advises with her Council, about securing the Ports, and entrusting the Lieutenantcy of the Tower to some person of approv'd Fidelity: That a new Commission should be dispatch'd to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who had kept that Country (of itself mutinous enough) quiet and in good order, with but 320 Horse, and 860 Foot in Garrison: That the Judges Patents should be renew'd, that (it being then Term-Time) the Course of the Law might not be stop'd; with this Clause inserted, that they should not dispose of any Offices: That new Justices and Sheriffs should be appointed in every County: That no Bills of Exchange should be sent abroad; and that Preachers should decline all Controversial Points of Religion. Then for foreign Affairs, it was advis'd, That Ambassadors should be dispatch'd to the Courts of Christian Princes, to notify the Death of Queen Mary. Accordingly Sir Thomas Challoner was sent as Envoy to Ferdinand Emperor of Germany, with a Packet under the Queen's own Hand, wherein she advises him, "That her Sister was dead, and that thro' the Goodness of God, and in virtue of her own Hereditary Right, and the Peoples Consent, she was now invested in the Succession; and that she desired nothing more, than the Pre-

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1558.
Ann. 1.
The death
of Queen
Mary
made
known.

Q. Elizabeth
proclaim'd.

She makes
Choice of
her Coun-
cil.

1558.

Ann. 1.

Queen's
Care for
the Estab-
lishment
of Reli-
gion.

Disposes
her affairs
at home,

And con-
siders forein
matters.

1558. " fervation and Improvement of that antient
Ann. 1. " Friendship which had been so long kept up
" between the Crown of England, and the House
" of Austria. The Lord Cobham was afterwards
sent to the Spanish Netherlands, with Instructions
to the same purpose, as likewise with a Patent to
impower the Earl of Arundel, Thurlby Bishop of
Ely, and Dr. Wotton, who had been some time be-
fore employ'd by Queen Mary, to negotiate a
Peace at Cambray, to act afresh in the Queen's
Name; and with them to join in Commission
the Lord Howard of Effingham. About the same
time was Sir Henry Killegrew privately employ'd to
feel the Pulse of the German Princes, and to at-
tempt the composing their Differences, by the
Study of a Religion which was both pure and
peaceable. D. B. was sent over to the King of
Denmark, and Armigille Waad to the Duke of Hol-
stein.

King Philip, upon the News of Queen Mary his
Consort's Death, apprehending the utter Loss of
his new Title, and Power with the English,
(things of the weightiest Importance to him) as
also that the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and
Ireland, would, in favour of the Queen of Scots,
unite with France; thought it now time to press
in good earnest a Match with Q. Elizabeth, which
he did by the Mediation of the Count of Feria;
promising withal, to procure from the Pope a
special Dispensation in favour of his Pretensions.
This Motion could not but produce in the Queen
very uneasy Resentments, when she reflected,
that to reject the Suit of one of the first Prin-
ces of Europe, and one who had greatly obliged
her, must carry with it an Appearance of In-
discretion, mix'd with Ingratitude. Nor could
the King of France sit ealie or unapprehensive
under the Prospect of this new Alliance, which
his Spanish Enemy was like to contract with En-
gland; wherefore he is busie at Rome, by his En-
gine the Bishop of Angoulême, in hindering the
Grant of this Dispensation, forasmuch as Queen
Elizabeth was not only suspected as a Favourer
of the Reformation, but was accounted illegitimate
beside: But all this was done in the dark, that
he might give no Umbrage to the English, un-
der the present Fluctuation of Affairs. The
Count of Feria, to accomplish the Match, pos-
sesses the Roman-Catholicks then in England, " That
" this was the only sure way to preserve their
" antient Religion, and the Dignity of it, which
" should they not take hold of, he could not
" but pity the State of the English Nation, as a
" Country drain'd of its Treasures, without Sol-
" diers, defenceless, and expos'd for want of
" proper Forts and Ammunition; and, in a
" word, as a Kingdom that wanted wise Men of
" its Council. And, in truth, the Face of En-
gland look'd at this time dismally forlorn, being
not only imbarqu'd in a War with Scotland and
France, but overcharg'd with a vast Debt, contra-
cted by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. beside the
Consumption of the Treasury, the scandalous
and expensive Loss of Calais and the Country
of Oye, the Religious Heats and Dissensions of
the People: To which might be added, the
Queen's being stripp'd of her most powerful
Friends, and unsupported by the Alliance of so-
rein Princes.

She de-
clines the
Proposal.

After a serious Debate with herself, concern-
ing the Proposals of the Marriage on foot, the
Queen soon resolv'd, that the Marriage of a Wo-
man with one who had been her Sister's Hus-
band, was, by a Parity of Reason, equally for-
bidden, and therefore equally unlawful, as one
contracted by any Person with his Brother's Re-
lict, and by necessary Consequence, no Bull or
Decree of the Pope could make it otherwise. And

she saw moreover, that the Espousing a Match
upon these dispensing Terms, would be little less
than a tacit Confession of her own Illegitimacy, since
her Father King Henry begot her upon Ka-
tharine of Spain, whom he had put away, as be-
ing his Brother's Widow. And when most of
the Universities of Christendom, and the Convo-
cation of Divines at London, had confirm'd and
justify'd this latter Match; whereas that with
Queen Katharine was adjudg'd null and unlawful;
being therefore at length determin'd, she dismisses
her Royal Suitor, with a modest and respectful
Answer, such as became the Reserv'dness of a
bashful Virgin, but which proceeded in truth
from the Scruples of a Religious Queen. But
whilst he was urging the Queen to a Compliance
by frequent Letters and repeated Instances, and
she in the mean while receiv'd his Addresses,
and treated his Character suitably to the ad-
vantageous Thoughts she had of so accomplish'd
a Prince; there was not wanting a Set of Cour-
tiers, who made it their business to exclaim a-
gainst the Spaniards, as a stiff and haughty sort
of People; and among these were some of the
Privy-Council, who did not fail to infuse this
Notion into the Queen, (being jealous, without
doubt, that a Mind in suspense might at last
pitch on the wrong side) " That herself and
" her Friends would be undone, and all England
" into the bargain, should she allow the Pope's
" Dispensing Power in this or any other matter
" whatever. That two Popes had successively
" declared her Mother's Marriage with Henry
" VIII. to be void and unlawful; and that un-
" der the Shelter of their Verdicts, the Queen
" of Scots immediately laid Claim to the Crown
" of England: That the Pope would never be
" brought to revoke that Sentence, and that she
" could not expect any Justice on the side of
" Rome, which had already treated her Mother
" and herself with so much Baseness. And be-
" side all this, that the French King used all pos-
" sible Efforts at Rome, to get Mary Queen of
" Scots declared lawful Queen of England.

The Queen's Inclinations being now quite
drawn off from so dangerous an Alliance, and
bent solely upon the Interest of the Protestant
Religion, she thought she could not do God bet-
ter Service, nor put a more effectual Stop to
Philip's Application, than to begin some Altera-
tions in the Church. For, when she had made
a Change in Religion, she did not in the least
doubt, but there would follow a proportionable
one in his Affections: She therefore order'd that
a Committee of her best Counsellors should forth-
with sit, to concert proper measures for the sup-
pressing the Romish, and re-settling the Protestant
Faith; To examine what the dangerous Conse-
quences might be of such an Establishment, and
to find out fit Expedients to prevent 'em. These
they readily foresaw were of two sorts; Such
as threatned 'em from abroad, or else such as
were like to spring up at home. The Dangers
they most apprehended from abroad were either
the Thunder from the Pope's Bulls, (the Sentence
of Excommunication, which was a Surrendering
the Kingdom to the Insults of forein Invaders)
or else the Resentment of his Christian Majesty,
who might possibly snatch at a Pretence by this
means to retard the Motions of the Peace be-
gun at Cambray, if not to advance the Queen of
Scots Quarrel into a War with the English, as be-
ing now profess'd Hereticks, as well as avow'd E-
nemies: At least 'twas fear'd he might raise Com-
motions in Scotland, which was but too much de-
voted to his Interest. Nor did things look bet-
ter on the side of Ireland, which was a Nation
bigotted to Popery, and prone enough to Rebel-
lion.

1558. *Ann. 1.* lion. And besides all this, the Spaniard bore too great a Sway in the Netherlands, to be look'd on as a good Neighbour at this Juncture. At length they came to this Conclusion, that as for the Popes Censure, it signify'd not a Rush; but that 'twas necessary not only to embrace the Offer of a Peace, if tender'd, but rather than fail, to sue for it at the French King's Hands; in as much as Scotland would be concluded with in the same League. It was likewise judg'd necessary, that the Protestants of that Kingdom and France be protected, and Berwick, and the Frontiers of England towards Scotland and Ireland, secur'd and fortify'd with abler Garrisons: And no less adviseable, to cultivate in the first place a good Agreement with the Spaniard, at any Rate; and to ratifie the ancient League with the House of Burgundy. But now on the other side, the Mischiefs impending nearer home, were most dreaded from those Peers who were remov'd from the Council-Table, from the Degradation of the Bishops and others of the Clergy, from the Influence of the several Judges, and the Justices of Peace in every County, and in a word from the Common-People, who made themselves considerable in Queen Mary's Reign, for embracing the same Persuasion she was of: Since these were all to be remov'd from their Places, and to be made subject to stricter Penalties (a Course which Queen Mary took before with the Protestants) and none but those of the Reform'd Religion were to bear any Office in the Government, or take upon 'em the Headship of any College in either of the Two Universities; and beside, all Popish Masters and Presidents were to be remov'd from the Universities, and all the School-Masters, that were so affected, were to quit the Charges of Eton and Winchester, and all other Schools: And as for such of the Reformation, as were for setting up new Schemes and Models of Church-Discipline, they were to be suppress'd betimes, and but one Religion to be countenanced and establish'd; because a Diversity of Persuasions among Englishmen (who were known to be a warm and warlike People) would be likely to foment perpetual Broils and Quarrels between 'em. The Care of purging the Liturgy, which was publish'd in English in Edward VI's Time, was committed to Parker, Pilkington, Bill, May, Cox, Grindall, Whitehead, Divines of noted Learning and Moderation, and to the very ingenious Sir Thomas Smith, Kt. The Management of which Affair was left solely in the Hands of the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, and Cecil.

The Liturgy is order'd to be corrected.

She allows the publick Service in English.

In the mean while, some Ecclesiasticks there were, of a Temper too impatient to wait for the slower Remedies which the Laws might provide, who began to preach the Reform'd Doctrine with too unwary a Freedom, first in private Houses, and then more publickly in several Churches, and other form'd Assemblies: By which means, they drew after them a numerous Confluence of such Hearers, whose chief Property 'tis to have itching Ears; and at length proceeded so far as to bandy controversial Topics among themselves, and to wrangle about 'em with those of the Romish Communion. In somuch that, to cut off any farther Occasions of such Religious Heats, the Queen put out a very strict Proclamation, forbidding any such Disputes for the future. Notwithstanding she freely consented, that the Epistles, the Gospels, and the Ten Commandments should be read in English to the People, but without any Comment or Paraphrase; as also that the Lords-

Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Litany should be repeated in the Vulgar-Tongue; That in other things the Romish Ritual should be kept in use, till the Parliament should fix the Method of Religious Worship. Mean while the Queen took care to perform her Sifters Funeral-Rites, with great State and Magnificence, in Westminster-Abby; and not long after she paid the like Tribute to the Memory of Charles V. who in less than Two Years (by an Example not very common among Princes, but far more honorable than the most glorious Triumphs) laid down his Empire, and bid adieu to the World, in order to enjoy the blessed Leisure of serving God, and saving his Soul.

1558. *Ann. 1.*

And solemnizes the Funerals of Q. Mary, & Charles V.

The Second Year of her Reign.

1559.

In the Beginning of the New Year, the Q. creates William Parr, who had forfeited his Peerage for Treason in Queen Mary's Reign, once more Marquess of Northampton, and makes Edward Seimour, Baron Beauchamp, and Earl of Hertford, who had by an Act clandestinely obtain'd, and back'd by the Malice of his Enemies, been dispossest of the Title, and a great Part of the Estate left by his Ancestors; Thomas Howard Second Son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, was honour'd with the Character of Viscount Howard of Bindon, Henry Cary of Hunsdon, her Cousin-German by Mary Bolen, and Oliver St. John of Bleinesho, were created Barons, who were all adverse to the Romish Superstition. Now came on the Queen's Coronation, who advanced in a well-form'd Cavalcade, from the Tower of London to Westminster, and receiv'd the most grateful Acclamations of her Subjects in her Passage through the City; a Tribute they were the more encouraged to pay, by the gracious Looks and Expressions the Queen us'd upon this Occasion.

She restores some Noblemen, and creates others.

Is crown'd

The next day she was crown'd and anointed with the usual Ceremonies, by Oglethorpe Bishop of Carlisle, the Archbishop of York and some others refusing to assist at the Solemnity, out of a scrupulous Regard and Tendernefs to the Romish Religion, which it seems they grew the more solicitous for, by reason that the Q. had not only been season'd and brought up in that of the Protestants, but had lately forbid the Bishop in saying of Mass, to elevate or lift up the Host, and had allow'd the Use of the Litany, Epistles and Gospels (meer Abominations with Men of their Temper) in the Vulgar-Tongue. Tho' no Objection could be made to her Piety and Devotion, who not only paid her private and daily Addresses to God, the first thing after she rose, but attended the publick Service at her own Chappel, at the appointed Times, and always on Sundays and Holidays; where she behaved herself with a Reverence and Devotion suitable to her Greatnefs. She us'd to frequent the Lent-Sermons dress'd in Mourning, as the gravell and most primitive Habit; tho' she would often mention what she had read of her Predecessor Henry III. "That he had much rather put up an humble devout Petition to God himself, than hear the finest Harangues about him, from the Lips of others. As for the Doctrines relating to the Cross, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints, she had very honourable Sentiments of them; and as she treated them with Regard herself, so would she never endure to hear them slighted or vilify'd by others. Some few days after this, the Parliament met, in the which it was in the first place Resolv'd, *Nemine contradicente*, "That Queen Elizabeth was, "and (to use the Words of the Act) ought to "be, as well by the Law of God, as the Common and Statute-Laws of the Realm, the

And calls a Parliament.

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Ann. 2. "lawful, undoubted, and true Heir to the Crown, lawfully descended from the Blood-Royal, according to the Order of Succession settled in Parliament 35. Henry VIII.

Nevertheless that Act of her Father's, which related to the Exclusion of her and her Sister from the Succession, remain'd still unrepeal'd: And this was look'd on, in some Mens Opinion, as a great Flaw in Bacon's Politicks, (whom the Queen rely'd on as the very Oracle of the Law, in Cases of this Nature) and the rather, because Northumberland had us'd it as an Argument both against the Queen and Mary; for which Reason Queen Mary had got it repeal'd, so far as herself was concern'd. And besides this, some factious Spirits might plot some Mischief against her, as a pretended Usurper, tho' it be a standing Maxim of the Laws of England, "That the Crown takes away all Defects. Another sort of Men there was, who thought this a very wise Part in Bacon, who considering the Perplexity and Uncertainty of Parliamentary Laws and Statutes, and that the very same things that seem'd to favour the Interest of Queen Elizabeth, laid a Stain upon the Cause and Credit of her Sister, was therefore very shy of rubbing an old Sore, which Time had now pretty well heal'd; and chose rather to refer to that Act of the 35. of Henry VIII. which seem'd to bear an equal and fair Regard to the Reputation of both.

In this Session, after other Debates, an Act pass'd for Restoring to the Crown its ancient Jurisdiction in Matters Ecclesiastical; which was done by renewing the Laws of Henry VIII. repeal'd by Queen Mary, against the See of Rome; and those of Edward VI. in favour of the Reformation: And likewise by Enacting, "That what-

A Proposal is made for some Alterations in Religion.

ever Rights, Privileges, or Spiritual Preeminences, had been formerly in Use, and establish'd by any Ecclesiastical Authority whatever, for visiting the Clergy, and correcting all kinds of Error, Heresie and Schism, with other Abuses and Disorders; should be for ever annex'd to the Imperial Crown of England: That the Queen and her Successors might be empower'd to give their Letters Patents to some particular Persons, for the due Exercise of that Authority; on this Condition however, that they should not determine any thing to be Heresie, but what had been so defined time out of mind, either from Canonical Scripture, the four first Oecumenical Councils, or some other, according to the genuine Sense of Holy Writ; or should hereafter be so defined by Authority of Parliament, with the Consent of the Clergy of England, in Convocation: That all Ecclesiastical Persons, and Magistrates, who receiv'd Pensions from the Exchequer; such as should take any Degree in the Universities; Wards that were to sue their Liveries, and be invested in their Livings; and such as were to be admitted into the Queen's Service, &c. should take an Oath to acknowledge the Queen to be the Supreme Governor of her Kingdoms, (for the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England did not at all relish) in all Causes, as well Spiritual as Civil; all foreign Princes and Potentates being excluded the Privilege of taking Cognizance of any Causes within her Dominions.

This Act was vigorously oppos'd in the House of Lords, by Nine Bishops, (who were all that of the Fourteen yet living were then present) viz. the Archbishop of York, Heath; the Bishop of London, Bonner; of Winchester, White; of Worcester, Pate; of Landaff, Anthony; of Coventry, Bayne; of Exeter, Turbeville; of Chester, Scot; of

Carlisle, Ogletborpe; and by the Abbot of Westminster, Feckenham. Of the Temporal Lords not one oppos'd it, but the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Anthony Brown Viscount Mountague, whom in Queen Mary's Reign the Parliament had sent to Rome with Thurlby Bishop of Ely, to procure that England might be restored to the Unity of the Church of Rome, and Obedience to the Apostolick See. He, out of a Sentiment of Zeal and Honor, press'd it very home, "That it would be a very disgraceful Reflexion for England, which was so lately, and so well reconciled to the Apostolick See, to make so sudden a Revolt from it: And moreover, that the Hazard would be as great as the Scandal, should the Pope thunder out his Excommunication, and expose the Nation, by that means, to the Resentment of its neighbouring Enemies, upon the Score of this Defection: That he, for his part, had by Authority of Parliament, and in the name of the whole Body of England, tender'd Obedience to the Pope; the Performance of which he could by no means dispense with. He was therefore more and more importunate with them, that they would not withdraw themselves from the See of Rome, to which they were beholden for the first Propagation of the Christian Faith, and the constant Defence of it ever since. But when this Matter came to be canvass'd in the Lower House, it was carry'd by a considerable Majority of Votes; the Papists in the mean while being much disgusted, and pretending that Protestants were chosen Knights of the Shires, and Burgeesses for Cities and Corporations, on this very Design; and that the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Arundel, Men of the biggest Interest among the Nobility, had, to serve their own Turns, or Hopes at least, beg'd Voices; and that Cecil underhand play'd the same Game.

Whilst these Differences held as to Points of Religion, it was order'd by Proclamation, that no Man should speak irreverently of the Sacrament of the Altar, and that the Communion should be administer'd in both kinds. A Conference was also appointed at Westminster, to be held between the Romanists and Protestants, before the Two Houses, against the last of March. The Disputants chosen for those of the Reformation, were Richard Cox, Whitehead, Edmund Grindall, Robert Horne, Edwin Sands, Edmund Guest, John Elmer, and John Jewel; Those on the Papists side, were John White Bishop of Winchester, Ralph Bayne Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Thomas Watson Bp. of Lincoln, Dr. Cole Dean of S. Pauls, Dr. Langdall Archdeacon of Lewis, Dr. Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Chadsey Archdeacon of Middlesex. The Questions propounded were, 1. Concerning the Reading Divine Service in the Vulgar-Tongue. 2. Of the Authority of the Church in appointing or abolishing Ceremonies, for Edification-sake. And 3. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

But all this came to nothing: For, after they had exchanged a few Words about penning down the Arguments on both sides, because, it seems, they could not agree upon a Method for managing the Dispute; those of the Protestant side began to triumph, as if they had the Advantage, whereas the Romanists complain'd of foul Play, inasmuch as they had not above a day or two's Notice of the Questions to be debated; and that Bacon the Keeper of the Great Seal (a very indifferent Divine, and a profess'd Enemy to the Papists) sat as Judge of the Conference. But the naked Truth of the Matter was, That they durst not, upon cool and better Thoughts, call into Question Points of such high Consequence, and which their own Church had never submitted

A Conference held between the Papists and Protestants;

1559. *Ann. 2.* mitted to a Debate, without the Pope's Leave and Approbation; whereupon the great Cry among them was, "When shall Men be satisfy'd about their Creed, if they were suffer'd at all Turns to call it into Question? That Disputes about Religion always ended on the Court-side; and a great deal more to the same purpose. Nay, so warm were the Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, as to declare it their Opinion, "That the Queen, and all those that were the Abettors of this Separation from the Church of Rome, deserv'd to be excommunicated for their Pains: and for this they were imprison'd. But such as had better heads among the Party, thought it proper to refer this Censure to the Pope, lest, as they were Subjects themselves, they should be taken for Men of rebellious Principles, or so many Ringleaders or Trumpeters of Sedition. Neither was the Bishop of Rome ignorant of these Transactions, who in a great Petition commanded Sir Edw. Carne, a Welsh Knight and a Lawyer, who had managed Three successive Embassies at Rome, for Henry VIII. for Queen Mary, and now for Queen Elizabeth, to lay down the Character of Envoy, and to use the very Words of the Mandate) "by Virtue of the verbal Command, and oracular Sentence of the most Holy Lord the Pope, in Respect to the Holy Obedience due to him, and under pain of the greater Excommunication, and the Loss of all his Goods, not to depart the City, but to take upon him the Charge of the English Hospital. The Meaning of which was, to prevent his giving Intelligence at home, of any secret Attempts the French were practising against the Queen; a thing which the Love he bore his Country, had hitherto made him very carefully do; tho' some are of Opinion, that this crafty Gentleman made his Absence from home his own Choice, out of the bigotted Zeal he bore to the Religion of the Place where he was.

St. Edw. Carne lays down the Character of Envoy.

A dispute arises about Calais.

In the mean while, (not to insist, at present, upon Parliamentary or Ecclesiastical Matters, in Prejudice to the Order of Time, which is to be observ'd in the first place) the Commissioners of England and Spain (who managed the Negotiation of a Peace at Cambray) stickled hard with the French for the Restitution of Calais, but could by no means gain their Point; tho' they offer'd to discount above Three Millions of Crowns due from the French, upon a fair and legal Contract: The Spaniard, by Reason it was lost upon his Account, and foreseeing likewise that it would be for the Interest of the Netherlands, to have it under the Jurisdiction of the English, did really and generously side with England; whereas he would otherwise have rejected all Overtures of Peace: The French objected, on the other hand, That Calais alone was no competent Satisfaction for what Damages the English had done the French, since by their Assistance it was, that many Towns had been taken by the Spaniard, a great many Villages of Little Britain had been burnt and pillaged by the English Fleet, Trade (the very Sinews of a Common-Wealth) was stop'd and interrupted, and vast Sums expended, in preventing any Descent the English might make upon them.

And besides this, Calais was the antient Inheritance of the Crown of France, that had been lost and recover'd by several Wars, and was therefore by no means to be restored at this time of day; nay, that the Parliament of France had made an Order to this purpose; for, that the Restitution of it would be in effect, to put the Weapon once more into the Enemy's Hand, and to alienate for ever the Affections of the

People from their Prince; and that the Demands of the English were, for that Reason, not only unjust, but irrational. The English pleaded, on the other hand, the Reason and Equity of their Claim, forasmuch as Calais had been for some hundred Years, reckon'd as a Branch of the Crown of England, was obtain'd by a Right both of Conquest and Inheritance, and given in lieu for some other Places, which the Kings of England had resign'd: That as for the Damages they pretended, they ought to lie at the Spaniards Door, who drew the English into this War against their Wills; from whence, considering the Loss of their Forts and Men, they receiv'd a very considerable Damage, without one Advantage to balance it: Again, that all the Decrees of France, however well contrived for its own Interest, were never the more square and equitable on that account; and that Calais could not be refused under any Colour of Justice, when all the Places which had been taken in the last War, were already restored by Compact to the other Princes. The French rejoind, That all this was done, on the score of some Matches that were then on foot, between the other Princes: They made therefore this Motion, That a Marriage should be agreed to between the eldest Daughter of the Queen of Scots, and the eldest Son of Queen Elizabeth; That this Daughter should have Calais for her Dowry, and that the Queen of Scots should renounce all the Right she claim'd in England: Or else, that Queen Elizabeth's eldest Daughter should marry the eldest Son of the Queen of Scots, and the English at the same Time relinquish their Title to the Kingdom of France: That all the Debts owing from France to England, should be remitted, and Calais remain still in the Hands of the French. To these Proposals the English gave little heed, looking on them as so many Amusements, or things in Prospect only, contrived on purpose to spin out the time. Matters were come to this pass, when the Spaniard had Intelligence, that Queen Elizabeth did not only refuse the Offer of a Match from that side, but had made great Alterations in Religion.

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King of Spain dis-oblige by the Q.

So that from this time he began to slacken his Endeavours for the restoring of Calais, which before had been very zealous and hearty; and the Spanish Commissioners, not being able to brook these Delays, at a Time when the French and they seem'd well agreed in all other Points, pretended they would not engage themselves any farther in a War for Calais, unless the English would furnish them with larger Supplies both of Men and Money, to carry it on for six Years. Hereupon the Cardinal of Lorain takes heart, and boldly assures the Spanish Delegates, "That the Queen of Scots, his Niece, was the true and undoubted Queen of England, and that the King of Spain, if he had any Regard to Justice, ought to use his utmost Endeavours to get Calais deliver'd into the Hands of his Niece, who was the rightful Qu. of England. This was no good Musick in the Ears of the Spaniard, who was rather jealous of the growing Power of France, and endeavour'd therefore to steal out of England the Lady Katharine Grey, Grand-daughter to Henry VIII's Sister, that they might have one to set up against the Queen of Scots and the French, should things go otherwise than well with Queen Elizabeth; and so to prevent the Accession of England and Ireland to the Crown of France. And they made likewise very pressing Instances for advancing a Truce between England and France, till Matters came to a full Accommodation; and that Calais, in the mean

He attempts to steal the Lady Katharine Grey out of England.

mean time, should be deliver'd into the Hands of the Spaniard, as an indifferent Umpire or Guarantee: But this the French, as well as the English, refused to comply with.

Queen Elizabeth was aware of this before, and she was very sensible there was no Good to be expected from Spain, after the Refusal of the Kings Addressees, and the Reformation she had made in Religion: She knew likewise well enough, that the Treaty of Cambray was set on foot with no other design, than to suppress the Protestant Religion; and in Truth, as she was a Woman, and her Exchequer in no very good Condition, she seem'd more disposed to a Peace, than to engage in a War, tho' never so just, it having been an usual Maxim with her, "That there was more Honour in settling a prudent and advantageous Peace, than to determine Matters by the longest Sword, and the most powerful Armies."

And she was of opinion besides, that it would not redound to the Honour of England, or herself, to be reduced to the Necessity of supporting her Interests by a Dependence on Spain: That it was therefore more convenient to make a separate Peace, and to concert Measures with the King of France, about the Business of Calais, being solicited thereto by several Letters not from him only, but from Montmorency High-Constable of France, and Francis of Vendome, and by as many Messages from the Duke of Guise, convey'd by the Lord Grey, who having been taken Prisoner at Guisnes, was for that purpose discharged by him. The Care and Management of this Affair was committed to Guido Carvalcanti, a Nobleman of Florence, but brought up in England, with whom the French King having held a private Conference, judg'd it much the safer way, that these Matters should be canvass'd in some obscure Corner of England or France, by Commissioners privately appointed, and without the Spaniards Knowledge: But on the contrary, Q. Elizabeth being, tho' a Maid, yet Mistress of a truly Masculine Spirit, roundly declared, that she was a Princess absolutely free to manage her own Affairs, by herself, or such Ministers as she should think fit to make use of: "That altho', during her Sisters Reign, there was nothing done without the Spaniards Advice and Consent, she for her own part would have this Part acted, not in the dark, but at the Castle of Cambray, (which lay very near the Town) between her own Deputies and those of France, and the Spaniard be no way consulted in the Matter. By this means she fell into as ill Terms with Spain, as she had done before upon her Refusal of the Match, and the Alterations she had made in Religion. Nevertheless, the French King used all possible Precaution; and the better to sift her Inclinations as to Spain and the Marriage, desired, in the first place, to be resolv'd in Two Scruples: One was, "That should he yield up Calais, before he knew what Choice the Queen would make of an Husband, Calais might very easily fall into the Hands of the Spaniard, who would be ready to purchase it at any rate; and that Wives would deny nothing to Husbands they lov'd: The other was, Whether or no (as the Spaniards bragg'd) the English had made such a sort of League with the Spaniards, as obliged them to wage War with any they should think fit to oppose? To this the Reply was, "That the Queen had so tender a Concern for her Kingdom, and was so true a Mother of her People, that she would never give up Calais in compliment to an Husband, and were she inclined to do so, the People of England would

never suffer it: That there was no such League with Spain, but only a bare amicable Correspondence; and that she was entirely at liberty to enter into such Articles with any other Prince, as might best serve to promote the Interest of England: That for this Reason it was thought adviseable, that the Commissioners for both Parties should treat about making up the Differences, and concluding a Peace at the Castle. Those appointed on the Queen's side, were Thurlby Bishop of Ely, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High-Chamberlain to the Queen, and Nicolas Wotton Dean of the Metropolitan Churches of Canterbury and York: For the French King, Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, Archbp. and Duke of Rheims, first Peer of France, Annas Duke of Montmorency, Peer, Constable and great Master of France, Jaques Albon Seigneur of St. Andrew, Marquess of Fronsac, and Marshal of France, Merweiler Bishop of Orleanse, and Claud Aubespine, Secretary to the Privy-Council. Between these was there a Peace concluded, in Terms to this effect:

I. That neither Prince should invade the other, or assist any that should.

II. That if the Subjects of either should attempt any thing against this Peace, they should be punish'd, but the Peace not broken.

III. That there should be a Free Trade.

IV. That Ships of War, before they put to Sea, should give Security, not to commit any Act of Piracy upon the other's Subjects.

V. That the Fort of Aymouth in Scotland should be razed.

VI. That the French King should, for the Term of eight Years, peaceably enjoy the Town of Calais, with all Appurtenances, and sixteen great Pieces of Ordnance.

VII. That when this Term was expired, he should restore the same and the Town to Q. Elizabeth.

VIII. That eight foreign Merchants not subjects to the French King, should engage for the Payment of Five hundred thousand Crowns, as a Penal Fine for not restoring Calais.

IX. That notwithstanding, the Queen's Title to the said Town should hold good.

X. That five Hostages should be deliver'd, till such Time as the Merchants should sign the Bond.

XI. That if any thing, during the said Term, should be attempted to be alter'd directly or indirectly, by Force of Arms, either by the Queen herself, or any of her Subjects, by her Command or Authority, against the most Christian King, or the Queen of Scots, that then they should be free and disengaged from all Promises or Contracts whatever, and the Hostages and Merchants be instantly discharged.

XII. That if any thing should be attempted to be alter'd on the side of the most Christian King, the Q. of Scots, or the Dauphin, against the Queen of England, they should be obliged, from that Instant, to quit the Possession of Calais.

In the very same Place, at the same Time, and by the same Ministers, was the Peace concluded between the Queen of England, and Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland; in which were certain Articles equally respecting both Parties, concerning the Granting of Safe-Conduct to Murderers, Robbers, Plunderers, and Vagabonds. Which being sign'd and ratify'd at Upsalington, by Thomas Earl of Northumberland, Cutberd Tonstall Bishop of Durham, William Lord Dacres of Gillestland, James Croft Captain of the Town and Castle of Berwick, Managers for England; and the Earl of Morton, the Baron of Humes and S. Clere, Dean of Glasgow, Commissioners for Scotland; Peace was proclaim'd thro' the whole Kingdom, between the Queen of England, the King of France, the Dauphin, and the Queen of Scots: Which proved ungrateful News

The Q. makes a separate Peace with France, without including Spain.

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Peace concluded Articles thereof.

Peace with Scotland.

1559. Ann. 2. News to the People, who esteem'd it a great Disgrace to the English, that Calais which they had lost, might not be restored them. The Blame hereof was, by the Protestants, laid on the Papists and Bishops; and they again return'd it upon the Governor, the Lord Wentworth, who was a Protestant. On this Pretence was this Gentleman call'd in question, in Queen Mary's Reign, without being heard, or so much as present to plead for himself; but being again call'd to his Trial, upon the Turn of Affairs, he was both heard, and acquitted by his Peers. But Ralph Chamberlayne the Governor of Calais-Fort, and John Harleston, who had the Charge of the Tower at Rife-Bank, were afterwards condemn'd as Traitors for quitting their Posts, tho' the Sentence was not executed.

The Parliament being now just ready to be dissolv'd, 'twas the general Opinion, that the Commons should address the Queen to marry as soon as might be; but the Peers refused to second this Motion, for fear they should be suspected of a Design to serve their own Ends by it. Wherefore Thomas Gargrave Speaker of the House of Commons, with some of the House, accosts the Queen, (having first obtain'd leave) and then making his Apology, from the Consideration of his Place and Office, the Queen's Candor, and the Importance of the Matter, he craved Audience, and then made a Speech in the following Terms:

The Speaker's Address to the Queen

"There is nothing that we more earnestly desire of God in our daily Prayers, than that the Happiness we have hitherto enjoy'd, in the Equity and Justice of Your Majesty's Government, may be continued to this Nation, down to the latest Posterity. But how to effect this, amidst all the Variety of our Aims and Endeavours, we must profess our selves at a loss, unless either your Majesty were to reign for ever (a Blessing which 'twere in vain to hope for) or would vouchsafe to accept some Match capable of supplying Heirs to your Royal Virtues and Dominions, which God grant, since it is the hearty and united Wish of all your Subjects. It ought to be the main Concern of Persons of all Ranks and Degrees whatever, (of Princes especially) that, since they are mortal themselves, they may secure the Kingdom from that Fate. Now it is in your Majesty's Power to confer this kind of Immortality upon your Kingdom of England, by accepting an Husband, who may prove a Support and Comfort to you, in all Changes of Fortune; besides that your Majesty's Temper and Age, Person and Fortune seem to plead hard for such a Change of State. For it cannot be doubted, but the single Zeal and Affiduity of such a Relation will dispatch more Business, and to better purpose, than the joint Endeavours of a great many, who are less concern'd: Nor indeed can any thing have a worse Influence upon the Publick, than that a Princess whose Marriage must needs produce the Twin-Blessings of Peace and Safety to a Kingdom, should, like a Nun profess, condemn herself to a single State. Since your Majesty has receiv'd the Kingdom by way of Inheritance, from your Royal Ancestors, you ought to continue it down to such, as may prove the Glory and the Security thereof. Besides, the Kings of England have ever shewn a more than ordinary Concern, that the Royal Family might not be extinct for want of Issue: Hence was it, that your Royal Grand-father Henry VII. did (within our freshest Memory) provide suitable Matches for his Sons Arthur and Henry,

tho' they were both very young. And for the same Reason, your Royal Father courted Mary Queen of Scots, for his Son Prince Edward, who was then but eight Years old. And it is not very long since your Sister Queen Mary, though pretty well advanced in Years, was married to Philip of Spain. Now, if the Loss of Barrenness, whether it fell to the Share of Princes or Peasants, was always looked on as the most grievous Misfortune, what a weighty Guilt must that Princess contract, who shall make this Punishment her Option; from whence innumerable Evils must arise to the Common-wealth, and such Misfortunes as are not even to be thought of without Dread and Horror. That Matters may never come to this sad Pass, not only the small Number of us that are here present, but all England in general, and every one of your Subjects in particular, cast themselves at your Majesties Feet, and with the deepest Concern tender this humble but pressing and earnest Address. So far the Speaker; to whom the Queen made this Reply.

Gentlemen,

"The Respect and Kindness which yourselves and the rest of my Subjects express for me, is too great and visible, though the Occasion is ungrateful, not to leave very grateful Impressions on me; because I am persuaded they flow from Hearts well affected both to me and my Government. As for the Match you seem so pressing to insist on, it has been my settled Judgment a long time, that I was born into this World, to promote and advance the Glory of God in the first place, to the utmost of my Power. And to this end, I have made choice of such a State, as is free from the Incumbrance of Secular Pursuits, and gives me the most Leisure for the Service of God: And could the Applications of the most potent Princes, or the very Hazard of my Life, have diverted me from this Purpose, I had long ago worn the Honours of a Bride. These were my Sentiments, when I was but a private Person; but now that the Care and Weight of a Kingdom lies upon my Shoulders, to add to these the Incumbrance of the married State, would be no point of Discretion in me: But, that I may give you the best Satisfaction I can, I have long since made choice of a Husband, the Kingdom of England. And here, continues she, is the Pledge and Emblem of my Marriage-Contract, which I wonder you should so soon have forgot. (With that she shew'd them her Finger, with the same Gold-Ring upon it, with which she had solemnly and formally betroth'd herself to the Kingdom, at her Inauguration) After she had paus'd a little, I beseech you, said she, Gentlemen, charge me not with the Want of Children, forasmuch as every one of you, and every English-man besides, are my Children and Relations; of which if the Providence of God (which Heaven forbid) deprive me not, I cannot fairly be esteem'd childless. I cannot but in the mean time applaud your Generosity, for not imposing a Husband upon me, for that indeed would neither become you, who are born my Subjects, nor me, consider'd as an absolute Princess. Nevertheless, should it so please God, that I should at any time alter my Condition, I here promise to do nothing contrary to the Advantage of the Nation; but to make such a Choice, to the best of my Power, as that the Kingdom may enjoy a Nursing-Father as well as Mother: But should it

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Queen's Answer.

be

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Other Acts pass'd this Session.

During this Meeting were several Acts pass'd, besides those already mention'd, relating to the Offering Violence to the Queen's Person; concerning the Restitution of Tithes and First-Fruits to the Crown, the Uniformity of the Publick Service of the Church, viz. the Liturgy and the Sacraments, which in Edward VI's time, were to be used and administred in all Churches, with very little Variation, under a certain Penalty to such as should presume to corrupt them, or resort to any other. There pass'd likewise another for frequenting the Publick Service upon *Sundays* and *Holidays*, on pain of Twelve-pence Forfeiture, to all such as should absent themselves, to be employ'd for the Use of the Poor. Another there was, to suppress factious Reports against the Queen; and several more about Merchandize, Shipping, the Cloth and Iron-Trade, and unlawful and riotous Meetings. One more there was, (not to name the Rest) concerning the Archbishops and Bishops Demesns, viz. That they should not give, grant or lease out the Livings of the Church, but for one and twenty Years, or three Lives, to any other than to the Queen and her Successors, reserving the old Rents. But this Law was never printed. Howbeit that Exception (to the Queen) however prejudicial to the Church, turn'd to the Account of such Courtiers as abused the Queen's Favour, and of those Bishops who were of a narrow and covetous Spirit; till at last 'twas quite expunged, to the great Benefit of the Church, in the Beginning of King James's Reign.

In this Parliament there was not a Man attainted, a thing that had been very usual in the first Session of that Court in other Princes Reigns; Gregory Fines Lord Daeres, and Thomas, his Brother, were restored to their Title and Estates, forfeited by their Father's Attainder, who suffer'd in Henry VIII's Reign; Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, and his three Sisters, the Children of Henry Howard, Earl of Surry, who was beheaded upon very slight Pretences, by Henry VIII. just before his Death; John Grey of Pyrgo, Brother to the Marquess of Dorset, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Gates, convicted of Treason in Queen Mary's Reign; and several others.

Liturgy to be read in English.

Upon the Rising of the Parliament, the Liturgy is (by the Authority of the same) introduc'd into the Churches in the vulgar Tongue; Images are taken down with as little Disturbance as might be, and the Popish Bishops and others of the Clergy have the Oath of Supremacy tender'd them, the very same which most of them took in the Reign of Henry VIII. Such as refus'd the Oath were depriv'd of their Livings, Bishopricks, and other Ecclesiastical Preferments. The number of whom all the Kingdom over, according to their own Accounts, (and we may reckon in England above 9400 Ecclesiastical Preferments) amounted to no more than 80 Parish Rectors, 50

Prebendaries, 15 Heads of Colleges, 12 Arch-deacons, and as many Deans, 6 Abbats and Abbesses, and 14 Bishops, being all that then sat, (except only Antony Bishop of Landaff, who was the Scourge of his Diocese). The Bishops were, 1. Richard Heath Archbishop of York, who had some time since quitted the Office of Lord Chancellor, and had lived many Years in an happy and religious Privacy at his Mannor of Cobham in Surry, being in so good Favour with the Queen, that she made him many obliging Visits.

2. Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, who had been Ambassador to the Emperor, His Holiness, and the French King; but had always mix'd such a natural Roughness with his Commission, as to deserve to be generally construed as a cruel and barbarous Man, and on that account had been a Prisoner a great part of his Life.

3. Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham, a most exquisite Master of Critical Learning; one that had run through many Stages of Honour at Home, and discharg'd many Embassies abroad with much Reputation; and who in his Youthful Days had stiffly oppos'd the Popes Supremacy in a long Letter to Cardinal Pool; and died at Lambeth in a considerable old Age.

4. Thomas Thurlby Bishop of Ely, did likewise Reside here, after he had very commendably acquitted himself in a certain Embassy relating to the tendering of Obedience to the See of Rome, as well as in the management of the Treaty at Cambray.

5. Gilbert Bourn Bishop of Bath and Wells; a Person who had deserv'd very well of that See.

6. John Christopherson Bishop of Chester, an excellent Grecian, who had faithfully Translated many things out of *Ensebius* and *Philo*, for the benefit of the Christian Church.

7. John White Bishop of Winchester; a Man moderately Learned, and a tolerable Poet for those Times.

8. Thomas Watson Bishop of Lincoln; a Person vers'd in the more knotty Points of Divinity; but of a stiffness in his Humour next to fullen or morose.

9. Ralph Payne Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, a second Restorer of the Hebrew Tongue, and who had been *Regius Professor* thereof at Paris when Learning was encourag'd under Francis the First.

10. Owen Ogletborp Bishop of Carlisle.

11. James Turbervill Bishop of Exeter. And

12. David Poole Bishop of Peterborough.

Afterwards Fekenham Abbot of the *Benedictines* at Westminster was depriv'd, a learned and good Man, who liv'd to a great Age, and by many Publick Largesses to the Poor got the good Will and Esteem even of his Enemies.

These Persons were first sent to Prison; but most of them were soon after committed to the Custody of their Friends, or the Bishops, those two refractory Persons excepted, viz. Lincoln and Winchester, who threatned to Excommunicate the Queen. But three, viz. Cuthbert Scot of Exeter, Richard Pate of Worcester, and Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph, and many Nuns, left the Kingdom of their own accord. And several Noblemen did afterwards follow their Example. The chief of which were Henry Lord Morley, Sir Francis Inglefield, Sir Robert Peckham, (both of them Privy-Counsellors to Queen Mary) Sir Thomas Shelly, and Sir John Gages.

The most Learned that could be found among the Protestant Divines were recommended to the vacant Sees of such Bishops as were deceas'd, or had quitted the Kingdom.

Matthew

1559. Ann. 2. Matthew Parker, a Person of great Learning and Piety, and of a Modesty equal to both, and who had been Chaplain to Henry VIII. and Dean of the Collegiate-Church of Stoke-Clare, was Elected to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, and Consecrated at Lambeth, after the usual Solemnities of a Sermon, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Administration of the Sacrament, together with the Imposition of Hands by three formerly depriv'd Bishops, viz. William Barlow Bishop of Bath, John Scory Bishop of Chichester, Miles Coverdale Bishop of Exeter, and John Suf-fragan of Bedford. He afterwards Consecrated Edmund Grindall, a most excellent Divine, Bishop of London; Richard Cox, Tutor to Edward VI. Bishop of Ely; Edwin Sands, a fluent and elo-quent Preacher, Bishop of Worcester; Rowland Merick, Bishop of Bangor; Thomas Young, an ex-quisite Common Lawyer and Civilian, Bishop of St. Davids; Nicholas Bullingham, Doctor of Laws, Bishop of Lincoln; John Jewell, a Person of uni-versal Learning, Bishop of Salisbury; Richard Da-vis, Bishop of St. Asaph; Edward Guest, Bishop of Rochester; Gilbert Barkley, Bishop of Bath; Thomas Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; William Alley, an eloquent Commentator, Bishop of Exeter; John Parkhurst, a perfect Master of human Learning, Bishop of Norwich; Robert Home, a Man of a strong and pregnant Wit, Bi-shop of Winchester; Richard Chiney, a strict Luthe-ran, Bishop of Gloucester; and Edmund Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough; besides William Barlow, whom he settled in the See of Chichester, after he had been, in the Reign of Henry VIII. successively Bishop of St. Davids and Wells; and John Scory he Confirm'd Bishop of Hereford, a Person of Sense and Learning, and who had been Bishop of Chichester before. In like manner Young, being translated from St. Davids to the See of York, did in that Province consecrate James Pilkington, a Man of singular Parts and Probity, Bishop of Duresm; John Best, Bishop of Carlisle; and Wil-liam Downham, Bishop of Chester. The Chara-cter of these Men, and the Sufferings they un-derwent during their Banishment in Q. Mary's Reign, or their Concealment in England, I leave to the Pen of Church-Historians.

Now there being a very great Dearth of lear-ned Men, several Mechanics, Men of the same level for Sense and Learning with the Romish Priests, made a shift to work themselves into Ec-clesiastical Promotions, and to compass good Prebends and fat Benefices. Nevertheless the greater part of the Popish Priests themselves thought it would turn to better account, in re-spect of their Religion and Themselves, to re-nounce the Pope's Authority, and swear Alle-giance to the Queen, were it for no other End than the Exclusion of the Protestants out of their Churches, and the Relief of such of their own Party who had been displac'd. This they judg'd a piece of Discretion highly meritorious, and upon that score hop'd the Pope would be so good as to dispense with their Oath upon such an Oc-casion.

Such were the Alterations of Religion made in England, to the astonishment indeed of the whole Christian World, that they made so little noise and bustle. However, sudden they were not, (for such Changes are seldom suffer'd) but sober and gradual: For (to repeat the substance of what I said before in very few Words) Popery kept the same footing in England for an entire Month and more, which it had at the death of Queen Mary. 'Twas the 27th of December before the Epistles, Gospels, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Litany were suffer'd to be us'd in English; and it was not till the

22d of March that the Parliament agreed to re-peal the Act of Edward VI. in favour of admi-nistring the Lord's Supper in both Kinds. On the 24th of June it was, that in virtue of an Act for the Uniformity of Publick Worshipp, and the Celebration of the Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass was put down, and the Liturgy ap-pointed to be us'd in the Vulgar Tongue. In July the Oath of Supremacy was tender'd to the Bishops and others; and in August the Images were pull'd down, broken and burnt. But for-asmuch as some scurrilous Wits defam'd her Ma-jesty for having assum'd the Title of Supreme Head of the Church, and the Office of the Priesthood into the bargain, she was pleas'd to signify by an exprefs and publick Writing, "That she pretended to no more than what had "of a long time justly belong'd to the Crown; "i. e. to claim, under God, the Supreme Right "and Government over all the Estates of the "Realm, whether Ecclesiastical or Temporal; "and, That no Foreign Power had or ought "to have any Authority or Jurisdiction over "them.

'Twas this new Scene of Religion which, ac-cording to the Remark of Politicians, made Eng-land the freest Nation in Christendom: For, besides that 'twas now fairly rid of the Pope's foreign Yoke, twas a much Wealthier Kingdom than for some Ages it had been; for a vast Sum of Mony was now kept at Home, which, to the great impoverishing of the Nation, had been continually Exported to Rome for First Fruits, Indulgences, Appeals, Dispensations, Palls, and such Trumpery.

The Reform'd Religion being now Establish'd by Parliament, the Queen's chief Care and Con-cern was how to guard and protect it from the several Attacks and Practises of such as were its profess'd Enemies on that score: And as she would admit of no Innovations herein, so she studied how to square her own Life and Actions by so even a balance, as to preserve the Chara-cter of one not given to change. On which ac-count it was that she chose for her Motto, *Semper Eadem*, i. e. *Always the same*. And as for all her other Counsels or Deliberations, they seem'd to center in this Point, The Security of her King-doms. For 'twas a common saying with her, *That she studied the Peoples Welfare so heartily, that it was a prejudice to her own*. If she had any other aims, they were levell'd chiefly at these Marks, The gaining the Affections of her Subjects, the Dread of her Enemies, and the Esteem of all the World: For she was not to learn, that those things have a very sure and stable Foundation which are begun with Deliberation, and carry'd on with Industry and Care. How much she ex-ceeded even herself and her Sex in the strength and vigour of her Counsels and Endeavours, and the Sagacity she us'd in preventing, oppo-sing, or diverting any Mischiefs that threaten'd her Government, the present and succeeding Times may learn from those authentick Records which are to deliver down to Posterity the Hi-story and Affairs of this Kingdom.

About this time the Emperor and the Catho-lick Princes interpos'd, by several Letters, in favour of the depriv'd Bishops, and that the Ro-manists might enjoy the Liberty of separate As-semblies in some Towns and Cities of the King-dom. To whom the Queen's Answer was, "That altho' those Popish Bishops had openly "and insolently brav'd the Laws and disturb'd "the Peace of the Kingdom, and did still ob-stinately reject that Doctrine which many of "themselves, when they enjoy'd Places of Ho-nour and Trust under Henry VIII. and Ed-

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The great advantage accruing from this Change of Religion.

The Queen's care of Religion and the Govern-ment.

Her Motto.

The Queen's Answer to the Re-quests of Foreign Princes in favour of the Pa-pists.

ward VI. had recommended to others both by their Pens and from their Pulpits; That she design'd nevertheless to treat them very favourably, in regard to the Character and Intercession of so Great Princes, tho' she should disoblige her better Subjects by it: But as for having any private Chappels for their use, That she could not grant, either in Honour or Conscience, nor indeed with any Safety to her Government.

Nor had she any reason to make such a Grant, since 'twas plain that *England* had not embrac'd any strange or new-fangled Faith, but the very same which Christ commanded, the Primitive Catholick Church received, and the Oldest of the Fathers jointly approved of. And more than this, That to allow of Churches, in which different Modes of Worship were used, besides that 'twould be a plain and gross violation of the Legal and Parliamentary Authority, it would amount to the same thing, as the Engrafting one Religion on the Stock of another, and by that means distracting Peoples Minds, nourishing a Spirit of Mutiny and Faction, and putting all things into disorder. And this would be not only bad enough in itself, but a dangerous Precedent and of ill Consequence to Protestants and Themselves too; nor indeed would there be any Advantage or Safety at all in it. That she had therefore resolved, of her natural Clemency, and especially at the instance of those Great Persons, to try if she could cure the haughty Spirit of some by a seasonable Convivance; but not so neither, as to indulge and cherish the peevish Humour in them.

Ferdinand.
the Emp.
effers one
of his sons
a Suitor
to the Q.

The King of *Spain* having cast off all Pretensions to *Elizabeth*, and being upon his Marriage with the *French* King's Daughter, is not however a little perplexed about *England*, which he had no mind to see united to the Crown of *France*: And the better to retain the Honour of so considerable a Kingdom in his own Family, he persuaded the Emperor *Ferdinand*, his Uncle, to offer one of his Sons in Marriage to Queen *Elizabeth*; which he did, by Letters full of Respect; and pressed the Affair very closely by *Gaspar Preinor*, Free-Baron in *Stribing*; and the King of *Spain* himself offers her Majesty his best and heartiest Offices, to bring it about; whilst she in return has both her Ships and Ports at his Service, to facilitate his intended Voyage into *Spain*, and pays him other Services and Compliments by the Hands of *Sir Thomas Chaloner*.

The Fr.
King at-
tempts to
make the
Queen of
Scots Q.
of Engl.

The *French* King, on the other hand, in favour of the King, his Son, the *Dauphin*, and of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, (but, we may suppose, with a glance upon *England*) forbore to draw his *French* Forces out of *Scotland*, according to his Agreement; but, instead of that, he sent over privately *French* Supplies, and dealt more vigorously with the *Pope* to get Queen *Elizabeth* declared an Heretick and Illegitimate, and *Mary* confirmed Lawful Queen of *England*. But these Policies the King of *Spain* and the Emperor did privately Countermine by their Agents at *Rome*. Nevertheless the *Guises* had sooth'd the Vanity and Ambition of the *French* King into so sanguine an hope, that the Queen of *Scots*, their Niece, would prove the Instrument of uniting *England* to the Crown of *France*, that he makes an open Claim of *England* for his Son and Daughter-in-law; and gave orders, when he found he could do nothing at *Rome*, that this Title should be used in all publick Instruments, *Francis and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Scot-*

land, *England* and *Ireland*: And every where appointed the Arms of *England* to be Quartered with those of *Scotland*, whether in the common Household-Stuff upon the Walls, or in the Herald's Coats; whilst, in the mean time, the *English* Ambassador complained in vain, that this was an high Affront to his Royal Mistress Queen *Elizabeth*, with whom he had lately entred into a Friendly Alliance; whereas he had done no such thing in the Life-time of Queen *Mary*, who had proclaimed War against him. Besides, he had in Pay several Regiments of Horse and Foot in readiness both in *France* and *Germany*, to be transported into those Parts of *Scotland* which bordered upon *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* could not but be jealous of the *French* King's Designs, who seemed to intend nothing less than the absolute Ruin of the Protestants. But it seems all his Attempts were defeated by his sudden Death at a Tilt which was held at the Solemnity of his Daughter's Marriage with the King of *Spain*, and his Sisters, with the Duke of *Survoy*: And very seasonably for the Queen, whose Title he had prepared himself to oppose with all his Might, both in *Scotland* and *France*. However this did not hinder her from paying all due Honours to his Ashes, and performing those Funeral Rites in *St. Paul's* which belonged to a Crowned Head and an Allie; and she sent besides a Compliment of Condolance to his Successor, *Francis*, by *Charles*, Son to the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, at this time Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*; who was likewise to Congratulate him upon his Succession, and to desire a continuance of that Friendship which so lately commenced between the two Crowns.

But *Francis* and the Queen of *Scots*, his Consort, (by the Advice of the *Guises*, who now Ruled all in *France*) began to act publicly as King and Queen of *England*, and were so far from disclaiming the borrowed Arms of *England*, that they made the greater shew and boast of them: And when *Sir Nicholas Throckmorton*, the Queen's Ambassador in Ordinary, a Wife and Brave Man, demanded the reason of this Proceeding, he received for answer, That the Queen of *Scots* might very lawfully bear them, with some small note of distinction, were it but to shew her nearness of Relation to the Blood-Royal of *England*. But *Throckmorton* flatly denied it to be any way consistent with the Law of Arms, for any one to usurp the Arms of another Family, who was not an Heir-Apparent of the same. But they afterwards remonstrated, That she claimed the Arms of *England* for no other reason than to oblige the Queen of *England* to disclaim the Arms of *France*. To this he replied, by putting them in mind of what *Dr. Wotton* had urged before at the Treaty of *Cambray*, viz. "That twelve of the Kings of *England* had carried the Arms of *France*, and that by so unquestionable a Right, that in all the Treaties which had passed between the *English* and the *French*, not one single Exception was used against it. At last this point was gain'd at the Instance of *Montmorency*, a Rival of the *Guises*, that the Title and Arms of *England* and *Ireland* should never be Quartered with theirs for the future; for he could not apprehend it for the Honour of the King of *France*, that any other Title or Arms should be used or engraven in the King's Seal than those of the King of *France*: That this one Title was as good as a great many; and that the former Kings of *France* assumed no other Character when they put in their claim to *Naples* and *Milan*, &c.

But

1559. But, in good earnest, from these very Arms and Titular Pretences, which Henry of France bestowed on the young Queen of Scots, by the Counsell of the Guises, have flow'd, as from their proper Fountain, all those Disasters in which she was afterwards involv'd. For this very thing it was that occasion'd the Queen's profess'd Breach with the Guises, and fomented a private Grudge in her against the Queen of Scots, which was blown up into a mighty Flame, by the Malice of some Rival Parties on both sides; to the increase of which likewise several Accidents concurred to raise it to such an height as not to be extinguish'd but by her Blood. So true is it, that the Crown admits no Competitor, and that Princes have a very nice sense of Injuries.

The ground of the Quarrels between England and Scotland. Some time after this three Hostages only were sent over for Calais, whereas, according to the Treaties, there should have been four. The English Merchants are ill used in France, and a Servant belonging to Throckmorton the Ambassador, is in the open Streets forced into the Gallies by Francis, Grand-Prior of France, and Brother to the D. of Guise. The Ambassador himself had like to have been Pistoll'd in his own House, and was abusively serv'd in Plate which bore the Arms of England and France together. At the same time Monsieur de Brossy is sent with a form'd Body of Men into Scotland, and Gallies are hasten'd into the British-Seas from Marseilles, and the Mediterranean.

The Fr. break the Treaty with the English. And send Soldiers into Scotland. The Scots refuse to obey the Queen-Regent. About this time the Protestants in Scotland, that stil'd themselves Congregationers, being overpersuaded by some clamorous Churchmen, and Knox especially, that furious Zealot against Kingly Government, that 'twas properly the Peer's business to authorize the Suppressing of Idolatry, and to compel Princes to keep within the Bounds of the Laws; they did thereupon refuse to pay Obedience to the then Regent, the Queen's Mother, a Lady of great Virtue, and fell to making Alterations in the Church, Burning and Plundering all Places devoted to Religion in a most outrageous manner, having drawn to their Party, Hamilton Duke of Chastel Herault, (a Person of the first Interest in the Kingdom, and one who had been exasperated by the French) and decoy'd several others of the Chief Nobility in hope of sharing between them the Revenues of the Church: Insomuch, that they gave occasion to the Regent and the French Forces in Scotland to suspect, that Religion was the least thing in their Thoughts, and that their real Design was a Revolt: And James Prior of St. Andrews, the Queen's base Brother, (afterwards E. of Murray) who was Ringleader of the Party, was accus'd of an Attempt to get the Crown from his Sister's Head.

He, in the mean time, disowns the Charge, and solemnly protests that he had no other aim than the Glory of God, and the Liberty of his Country, which he could not choose but bewail now he saw it oppress'd by the Regent and the French.

They crave Aid of Queen Elizabeth. The Heads of the Congregation began now to inform Queen Elizabeth of their Grievances, in a patherick Address deliver'd by William Maitland of Lidington, Lord-Secretary. The purport of which was, "That from the time the Queen of Scots was marry'd to the Dauphin, the Face of the Government was changed, that foreign Soldiers pillaged all that came to their Hands, and that the best Places of the Kingdom were bestowed on Frenchmen; that the Castles and Forts were delivered up to their Custody, the Sterling Coin of the Kingdom was mixt and adulterated to enrich them; and that the French, by these and such like Arts, were

"forming a Project to seize on the Government "should things happen amiss with the Queen. Cecil (whose excellent Advices and Assistance the Queen always made use of upon Emergencies of this kind) employ'd Henry Percy, afterward Earl of Northumberland, to lift the Intentions of the Heads of the Congregation, and the Measures they designed to take for compassing their Ends; and on Condition that Succour should be sent them, upon what Terms a good Correspondence must be set on foot between the two Kingdoms.

They answered, with their Eyes lift up to Heaven, "That they had no other Design in the World than the promotion of God's Glory, the sincere Preaching of his Word, the Extirpation of Idolatry, the shunning the Rage of their Persecutors, and the preservation of their ancient Liberty; that, for their parts, they were at a loss how to bring all this about, but hoped that God's Providence would happily finish what it had begun, to the Confusion of their Enemies; and for an Union between the two Kingdoms, that was the very top of of their Wishes; and to cultivate and improve it they would contribute all the Money, Credit and Resolution they were Masters of.

The Debates concerning these Matters went but slowly on in England, by reason the Scots were but slenderly provided with Men and Money, and could not well trust one another. They are advis'd only not to put things at all Adventures, to the hazard of a War. But as soon as it appeared that the Marquis of Albeuf, the Queen of Scots Uncle, levied Forces in Germany, by the Rhinegrave's assistance, to carry on the Scottish War, that Pieces of Ordnance were convey'd to the Sea-Ports, and greater Preparations made than were necessary to quell a few unarmed Scots, (for that was the Pretence) and that the French, the better to win the Danes into a Confederacy with them, had promised, that the Duke of Lorain should quit his Claim to the Kingdom of Denmark, and that they did more strenuously endeavour to procure the Bishop of Rome's Censure against the Queen, and his Declaratory Sentence for the Queen of Scots Right to the Crown of England, Sir Ralph Sadler, a Person of great Discretion, was dispatched to the Borders of Scotland to advise with the Earl of Northumberland, Warden of the Middle-March, and with Sir James Crofts, Governor of Berwick. For the Politicians in England were at a loss where these things might end, unless it were in the Invasion of the Kingdom, and the attaining by force that which their Arms and Titles did already pretend to.

This Point was every seriously Canvass'd at Home; on one side since it would look like a very ill Precedent for a Prince to assist the Sedition of his Neighbour's Subjects; on the other, 'twas an act of Impiety to leave those in the Lurch who embraced the same Religion. And 'twould be but an odd piece of Politicks to let the French, the sworn Enemies of England, and the Pretenders to the Crown of it, when they enjoy'd a settled Peace all round them, to remain in Arms in Scotland, a Neighbouring Nation, and so conveniently situated for Invading England on that side where both the Nobles and Commons of the Kingdom were most affected to Popery. This would be much the same in effect as to betray the Quiet and Safety of the whole Nation to its Enemies. That slower Counsels were now therefore to be laid aside, and Arms to be speedily provided, forasmuch as true English Wisdom had always chose to prevent their Enemies

1559. Ann. 2.

These Matters are Debated in England.

'Tis Resolv'd that the Fr. be forc'd out of Scotland.

1559. *Ann. 2.* mies Approaches, rather than to wait for them : And that 'twas always lawful both to prevent and keep Dangers at a distance, and that by the same Arts and Stratagems used by the Enemy to promote or bring them forward. That as for England, it could never be safe, but when powerfully Armed ; and never safer than when there was nothing to be apprehended from Scotland. To prevent any fear of this kind, that Succours were to be sent to the suffering Protestants, and the French to be drove out of Scotland, for that they were to be wrought on by Force, not Advice ; through the fatal neglect of which, not long since, Calais was lost, to the great Shame and Detriment of the Nation. And a very little before, upon a mighty fair pretence of Peace on their side, Ambleteul and the Forts about Boulogne, were surpriz'd and taken, whereby Boulogne it self of Necessity surrender'd to them.

Nor could it be otherwise expected than that Berwick and the Frontier-Towns must run the same Risque, unless they took up Arms on the first Occasion, and were so wise not to trust the smooth Disguises used by the French in Scotland, as to their Inclinations for Peace, since 'tis plain that the French are cunning Politicians in contriving their ambitious Designs, and are Masters of a vast Revenue to put them in execution : In-
somuch, that it has grown into an English Proverb, *That France could neither be Poor nor Peaceable for three Years together.* And Queen Elizabeth used very frequently that Expression of Valentinian, the Emperor, *Choose the French for your Friends, but not for your Neighbours.* This was therefore the result of the whole Matter, That it was Just, Honest, and even Necessary and Convenient, to drive the French, as soon as possible, out of Scotland.

English Soldiers are sent by Sea and Land into Scotland.

Accordingly William Winter, Master of the Naval-Stores, is sent with a Fleet into Bodotria, (now Edinburgh-Frith) who, to the great Consternation of the French, falls furiously on their Men of War lying by the Shore, and also on the French Forces in the Isle of Inchkeith. The Duke of Norfolk was made Lord-Lieutenant of the North-Parts towards Scotland ; William Lord Grey, an excellent Soldier (who had made a brave but unsuccessful Defence of Guisnes against the French) was made Warden of the Middle and East Marches ; and Thomas Earl of Sussex, who had been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in Queen Mary's Reign, was sent back in the same Quality, with Instructions to be very particularly careful that the Irish (who were a People Rude and Wild enough, and so by consequence the more Superstitious) were not Inveigled by the French into a Rebellion, on pretence of Religion. That he should Fortify Ophale with strong Garrisons, and should bestow large Parcels of Lands on the oldest and best-deserving Soldiers, to be possess'd by them and the Heirs-Male of their Body for ever. That he should restore Surley-Boy, a Scotch Irishman, to those Possessions he claim'd by Inheritance in Ulster, to hold in Fee for Duties to be by him perform'd. That he should make a moderate Advance of the Queen's Revenues, and model her Exchequer there by that of England.

Francis Earl of Shrewsbury dies.

At this time Francis Talbot, one of the Lords of the Privy-Council, died. He was the fifth Earl of Shrewsbury of his Family, and left his only Son George to succeed him, whom he had by Mary, Daughter of Thomas Lord Dacres of Gillefland.

The Third Year of her Reign.

As soon as the Duke of Norfolk arriv'd at Berwick, he was join'd by James, the Bastard, Prior of St. Andrews ; the Lord Retbuen, and others ; who, on the behalf of the Duke of Castle-Herault and other Allies, enters into a League with him in the name of the Queen of England, to this effect. *Whereas the French endeavour against all Right and Reason to subdue Scotland, and unite it to the Crown of France, the Queen of England shall oblige herself to take into her protection the Duke of Castle-Herault, Heir-Apparent to the Crown of Scotland, together with the Nobles and Commons, as long as the King of France holds Mary Queen of Scots in marriage, and one Year after. She shall furnish an Army at Land, and equip a Fleet at Sea with all necessary Supplies, in order to drive the French out of Scotland : That she shall not make Peace with the French, but on condition that Scotland have and enjoy its ancient Liberties. That the Forts which the English help'd to recover to the French shall be raised out of hand, and deliver'd to the Duke of Norfolk, to do with them as he shall think fit. The English shall fortify no places in Scotland but by the consent of the Duke of Castle-Herault and the Peers of the Land. That they shall lend the English what Assistance they can. That they shall treat all the Enemies of England as their own ; and shall not establish an Union between the Crowns of France and Scotland on any other Terms, than those already fix'd by right of Marriage. That if England should happen to be Invaded by the French on this side the River Tine, the Scotch should be obliged to send 2000 Horse and a 1000 Foot under the Queen of England's Pay : But if the Invasion were beyond the Tine, they should assist the English with what possible Forces they could, and maintain them for 30 Days, as they used to do for the Defence of Scotland. The Earl of Argile, Lord-Chief-Justice of Scotland, shall do his best to reduce the North of Ireland to better Orders, upon such Terms as could be agreed on between him and the Lieutenant of Ireland. Lastly : They agreed on the Measures to be taken on both sides in case Mac-Conel or any of his Party from the Western Isles should attempt any thing in Scotland or Ireland. For the better performance of this Treaty, Hostages should be sent into England before the English Army enter'd Scotland ; which Hostages might be changed every four or five Months at the pleasure of the Scots, during the Marriage between the French King and the Queen of Scots, and a Year after. The Duke of Castle-Herault, and the Earls and Barons of Parliament concern'd in the League, shall sign these Articles with their Hands and Seals within 20 Days. And withal, in regard that the Queen takes these Measures purely in respect to a good Neighbourhood and Correspondence with the Scots, as well as the Rescue of them from a Yoke of Slavery, they shall openly declare, That they will pay Allegiance to the Queen of Scots and her Husband in all things that do or shall not interfere with their ancient Liberty.*

And now was there a Discovery made, as well by several Dispatches from foreign Princes, as private Letters that were intercepted, That the French were resolv'd to invade England ; and Sebastian Martigues, a young Nobleman of the House of Luxemburg, arrived in Scotland, with 1000 Foot, all disciplin'd Men, and one or two Cornets of Horse. D'oifely, a French-man, and one of the Queen Regent's Council, made an insolent Proposal to the Scotch Nobility at Ayrmouth near Berwick, of investing by Force the King and Queen of Scotland, in the Possession of England. But they, being well enough acquainted with the Difficulty of the Undertaking, and to avoid the Suspicion of being inclined to break the Peace they so lately agreed to, rejected

1560.

The Treaty at Berwick.

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1560. *Ann. 3.* And the Motion. Nevertheless, the best Advice the Queen-Regent could give *Martignes*, could hardly give Check to that railing Ambition, which prompted him at any rate to invade England. But his Mettle was soon cool'd, when the Marquess of *Albeuf*, who set sail for Scotland with a bigger Force, after the Escape of a violent Tempest on the Coast of *Holland*, was, with the Loss of some Ships and a great many Men, driven back to *Diep*, from whence he had set sail.

Albeuf driven off by foul Weather.

Spaniards stop the *English* Provisions

French labour the Recalling of the *English* from Scotland.

They protest against the Queen, and are answer'd.

About this time arrived from *Spain* one *Philip Starvelly* of *Glaion*, a Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, and Master of the Ordnance, to remonstrate the Complaints of the *French*, against the Queen, in relation to *Scotland*, and to mediate a Peace, in the Name of the King, his Master; but withal, he privately advised the Queen to carry on her Designs in *Scotland*, with her utmost Vigour and Resolution; tho' the King of *Spain*, on the other hand, openly refused the Transportation of her Naval Provisions to *England*, which she had made at *Antwerp*; insomuch that she was forced to get fresh Supplies from *Germany*. Nor was *Starvelly's* Proposal without some very suspicious Circumstances, viz. That some *Spanish* Troops should be sent to *Scotland*, in Conjunction with some *French* Regiments, to quash the Rebellion there, and to be at the same time a Check upon the *French*, should they attempt any thing upon *England*. All this while *Michael Scurry* the *French* King's Ambassador in ordinary, urged the Queen several times to call home her Fleet and Army out of *Scotland*: Nor did she seem averse to it, provided the *French* might be call'd home too. But both Parties using Pretences for Delay, the Matter was shifted off from time to time, till *J. Monluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, a Person no way ill inclined to the Protestant Interest, came out of *France*; who, upon his Arrival, declared, that he had receiv'd no Orders relating to this Affair: However, being a Man of Sense and Address, he used all possible Persuasions for calling home the Land and Sea-Forces out of *Scotland*; and roundly maintain'd, that the bearing the Arms of *England*, was no Injury to the Queen, but a Credit rather to the Blood-Royal of *England*. But when neither the one nor the other Project would go down, the first being thought absurd, and the other dangerous, *Scurry* intreated *Starvelly*, and the Bishop of *Aquila*, Ambassador in ordinary from the King of *Spain*, that they would be present as Witnesses to his Protestation against the Queen, for her Breach of the Treaty of Peace; which they refused, as having no Warrant for such a Procedure. He made, nevertheless, his Protest, in a very long Speech: To which there was a printed Answer, in which her Majesty protested to the whole World, That the Breach of the Treaties, and all the Grounds of the War, had proceeded purely from the *French*; and that nothing could have been more grievous or distastful to her, than this War; and more of this kind, as may be easily collected from what has been said already, and by a former Manifesto, wherein she declared, That tho she had receiv'd the basest Injuries and Affronts, in that her Arms and Title had been usurped, yet could she never be induced to believe, that this was done by the Consent of the King or Queen of *France*, or the Princes of the Blood; but by the ill Practices of the *Guises*, who had abused the Wealth of the King and Kingdom of *France*, in order the better to wound *England*, through the Sides of the *Scots*: Wherefore, for her part, she could not be regardless of her own and her Peoples Safety. And without all question, the *Guises*, out of their Affection to their Niece the Queen of *Scots*, and their Enmity of *Elizabeth*, on the score of Religion, and out of an Ambition to

deserve well of *France*, by the Addition of new Kingdoms to it, left no Stone unturn'd to compass the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*; depending on the Promises of some of her Subjects, that were no Favourers of the Reformation. But the Feuds and Discontents which sprung up in *France*, about transferring the Government from the Princes of the Blood, to the *Guises*, diverted 'em from their Purpose. And she herself used so watchful a Precaution against their base Machinations, that she became, from this Moment, the Wonder of her Friends, and the Terror of her Enemies.

The same day that *Grey* came with his Forces into *Scotland*, *Scurry* and *Monluc* made very pressing Instances, to have the Army call'd home again; and fed the Queen with Hopes, that *Calais* would be restored, as soon as she commanded it back. She answer'd plainly, That she very little valued *Calais*, a poor Fishing-Town, in comparison of the Safety and Security of all *Britain*. And the very same day, she dispatch'd into *Spain*, *Anthony Browne*, Viscount *Montacute*, a Person who had the Reputation of a wise Man, but a rigid Catholic withal, and one who was like to be more welcome, on that score; who with *Sir Thomas Chamberlaine*, her Majesties Resident there, should acquaint the King of *Spain*, among other Matters, upon what just and warrantable Grounds she had sent an Army into *Scotland*, viz. the same already mention'd. And should shew him moreover, That the Queen of *Scots*, an infirm young Woman, was marry'd in *France*, to a crazy King, without hope of Issue: That by the Practices of the *Guises*, a Plot was laid to ensnare *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastel-Herault*, who was by Authority of Parliament declared Heir-Apparent to the Crown of *Scotland*; together with his Son, who was travelling in *France*: That their Designs tended to an Union of the two Crowns of *France* and *Scotland*, and not to secure the latter for the Queen; which how dangerous Consequence it might be of to his Provinces in the Netherlands, as well as to *Spain*, he might please to take into his serious Consideration. On the other hand, That the Confederate Nobility of *Scotland* were not to be branded for Rebels, when they had no other Ends than to preserve the Kingdom (as they were in Duty bound) to the Queen and her lawful Successors; which they could rates, not, without a palpable Injury to themselves and theirs, suffer to be undermined by the Stratagems of the *Guises*, or made over to the *French*.

1560.

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Calais offer'd by the *French*

And rejected.

He excuses the *Scotch* Confederates.

Leith besieged.

In the Beginning of *April*, the *English* Army, consisting of 1200 Horse, and 6000 Foot, came before *Leith*. This Town is situated on *Edinburgh-Frith*, the greatest In-let of all *Britain*, where the River *Leith* discharges itself into the Sea; and yields a very convenient Harbour for Shipping, scarce Two Miles from *Edinburgh*, the Metropolis of *Scotland*: And by reason of so commodious a Situation, the *French* had fortify'd it as a Place of Reserve for their Auxiliary-Troops. *Martignes* draws out his Companies of Foot, and attacks the *English* in the Van to keep them from a Hill, where he thought they would intrench themselves: But after a Skirmish of about four Hours, he was beaten back to the Town, with the Loss of some on both sides: Then they began to cast up Trenches, and raise Batteries, from whence they annoy'd the Town, as much as from their Ships. The *French* made some Sallies, but with more Courage than Success, and gave many Proofs of their Bravery: They won the Trench (among other Advantages) on the 15th. of *April*, nail'd three great Pieces, and took *Sir Maurice Berkly* Prisoner. But *Sir James Crofts* and *Cuthbert Vaughan* soon drove them from their Post, and beat them into the Town,

1560. Ann. 3. Arthur Grey wounded. Crofts accus'd. The French K. offers Terms of Peace. The Queen-Regent dies.

Town, with a considerable Slaughter. At the same time *Arthur Grey*, Son to the Lord Grey, who commanded in chief, was shot in the Shoulder. After this, the Camp was remov'd nearer to the Town, because the great Shot fell short of it, by reason of their too great Distance. And not long after, a Part of the Town, and some Granaries, by chance took fire, to the great Terror of the Inhabitants. This the English endeavour'd to increase, by directing thither their great Guns, and in the mean time they enter'd the Ditches, and took the Height of the Walls. On the 6th. of May (according to an Agreement between the English and Scots) they attempt to scale the Walls, and take the Town; but by reason their Ladders were too short, and the Mote deep, upon their stopping the Sluice, they were repuls'd, and put in Confusion by a Shower of small Shot from the Hills, which kill'd some, and wounded more. The Blame of this Disgrace lay at *Crofts's* door, for that he, not approving the Design, (whether out of his real Opinion, or Favour to the French, or Malice to Grey, I will not take upon me to determine) had staid at his Post, like an idle Spectator, without offering to support the distressed Party. Most certain it is, that *Norfolk* and Grey impeach'd him by private Letters to the Queen, not only on this Account, but also for holding a private Correspondence with the Queen-Regent of Scotland, and opposing this Expedition: Whereupon being afterwards examin'd in the Council-Chamber, he was remov'd from his Government of *Berwick*, and Grey placed in his Room. Nevertheless, he was not quite out of the Queen's Favour, who afterwards made him (and that for good Reasons) Comptroller of her Household. The English and Scotch being a little balk'd by this ill Fortune, *Norfolk* encourages 'em forthwith, by sending fresh Supplies: After this they had some little Skirmishes, till the French King, being advertised that his Men were so block'd up at *Leith*, that no Supplies could reach them, either by Sea or Land, by reason of the great Distance, and that new Tumults sprung up every day at home; granted Authority to the Bishop of *Valence*, and *Charles Rochefaucalt Randon*, to compound Matters with Q. Elizabeth's Commissioners, who immediately dispatch'd into Scotland *William Cecil* and *Nicolas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. For the King and Queen of France and Scotland, thought it too mean a Condescension for Princes to debate Things on a Level with their own Subjects; and *Murray* made such Proposals, as, in *Cecil's* Opinion, were neither fit for Princes to grant, nor Subjects to ask. During this Parley, *Mary of Lorain*, the Queen's Mother, and the Regent of Scotland, departed this Life; a pious and wise Princess, who had suffer'd the most bitter Reproaches, from some virulent and furious Preachers (as may be seen in their own Church-History, call'd in by Queen Elizabeth, when 'twas just going to the Press) as likewise from the Hands of the Congregation, who, as native Counsellors of the Kingdom, had, in the Name of the Q. of Scots and her Husband, by their own Authority, excluded her from the Regency, as one that oppos'd the Glory of God, and the Liberty of the Scots. The Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners, three Months after the Siege was laid, were as follow.

The Treaty at Edinburgh and the Articles thereof.

The Treaty of Peace in the Castle of Cambray, between Queen Elizabeth and Henry II. of France, shall be renewed and confirmed.

The Treaty made at the same place between England and Scotland shall be likewise ratify'd.

Preparations for War shall be at an end on both sides.

The Fort at Aimouth in Scotland shall be raised.

The King of France and Queen Mary shall quit the Arms and Title of England and Ireland.

The Debate concerning Reparations to be made to Queen Elizabeth; and about Caution for the fifth Article is refer'd to another Meeting to be held at London; and if it cannot then be adjusted, the Catholick King to decide the Matter.

The King and Queen shall be fully reconcil'd to the Peers of Scotland, their Subjects.

The Confederates, his Catholick Majesty more especially, shall be comprehended.

This Treaty shall be Sign'd within sixty Days, and an Oath taken on both sides for Confirmation thereof.

This Peace was Proclaim'd thro' the Camp and Town to the general Satisfaction; for all Sides began to be weary of the War: The English, for the miserable Waste of the Country all about; the French for want of Victuals, and the Scots for want of Pay: And 'twas a Peace without doubt which all Britain found its Advantages, as it tended to secure the ancient Liberties of Scotland, and to preserve the Honour and Safety of England, which had now nothing to fear on the side of Scotland; so that the English were ready to acknowledge, with all possible Cheerfulness, that Queen Elizabeth was the Author of their Safety, as on the other side the Scots with equal Satisfaction own'd her the Defender of their Liberties.

She, all this while, like a true Mother of her Country, was so mightily Intent upon the Publick Welfare, that she seem'd to have no room in her Thoughts for the Addresses of the most Potent Princes. For she was at one and the same time Courted for *Charles Duke of Austria*, a younger Son of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, by the Count of *Elphenstein*; and the Protestants of Scotland recommended to her *James Earl of Arran*, as the likeliest Method for uniting the divided Kingdoms of England and Scotland. But this Motion was presently rejected, tho' without any Disparagement to the Character of the Person. Next appear'd *Errick King of Sweedland*, by the means of his Brother the Duke of *Finland*, whom *Gu-stavus* (their Father) had some time before his death sent into England upon this Errand; and with the more hopes of Success, because he profess'd the Queen's Religion: Nay, he was so credulously bent on the business, that he had Thoughts of coming into England himself; tho' the Dane resolv'd, out of a Grudge to him, to intercept his Passage, as thinking it no way for his Interest for England and Sweedland (which has Denmark just between them) to be united by this Match.

The great Affection and Respect which this Prince express'd to the Queen, She most gratefully acknowledg'd, and assur'd him, 'That he should be very welcome to England, but that she could not as yet prevail on herself to change a single Life, in which she had found so much satisfaction for the other State. She desir'd him therefore to ask any other Instance of her Friendship, and whether he succeeded or not, she would endeavour to let him see he had not thrown away his good Inclinations. She advis'd him likewise to use no Delays in the choice of a Wife, and wish'd he might gain one answerable to his Worth and Merit. With this Answer *John Duke of Finland* return'd Home about six Months after, having left no Method unattempted for advancing the Match, by Court-

1560. *Ann. 3.* ing the Queen every Day, giving rich Presents to the Courtiers, and drawing the Love and Respect of the Meanest, among whom he would often scatter some pieces of Silver, assuring them withal, that when his Brother came, he would be as free of his Gold. Notwithstanding he was ill used by his Brother at his return, who, it seems, was jealous, that he had manag'd the Courtship rather for his own self than him. He therefore still continu'd his Suit for two Years together, and sent fresh Proposals by *Nicholas Guldenstein*. And so lightly Amorous was he withal, as the same time to make Love to *Philip* the Landgrave of *Hesse's* Daughter; and when that would not do neither, he took up with a Young Woman of very mean Extraction.

The Queen's Answer to Archduke Charles. But *Charles* of *Austria* could not but hope, that the House of *Austria*, which had the good Luck to make the most Honourable Alliances, would grow yet more Considerable by the addition of *England*; and that he should be the happy Instrument of getting a Toleration at least, if not an Establishment for the old Religion. Neither did the Queen dash all his Pretensions at once; for she declar'd before *Elphenstein*, and by Letters to the Emperor, 'That among the many Honourable Offers she had made her, there was not any more so than the Proposal of *Charles* of *Austria*; but that however she was not capable of being frighted by pass'd Dangers, nor footh'd by any prospect of Honour, out of her Resolution of living Single, which yet was not so confirm'd as to make her abjure a marry'd State; and she had a very good assurance, that the God, upon whose Goodness she relied in all things else, would direct all her Thoughts in this and other matters, to her own and her People's Welfare.

Adolph D. of Holstein arrives in England. About this time *Adolph Duke of Holstein, Uncle to Frederick II. King of Denmark*, at the instigation of the *Dane*, came into *England*, in order to break off the Match with the *Sweed*, and not without some hopes of a more Honourable one for himself, occasion'd by a Letter, wherein the Queen, it seems, had wish'd, *That he were as nearly Allied to the English as he had been in times past to the Spaniard*; and moreover promis'd him great Civilities. To whom, besides an honourable Reception, she gave the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension; and engag'd him to her Interests by so respectful a Treatment. He was a Prince that had acquir'd a mighty Reputation in the Wars, upon his late Conquests of the *Dith-Marsians* in *Furland*.

Sir Will. Pickering. Nor were there wanting at Home some Persons who fed themselves (as Lovers use to do) with Golden Dreams of marrying their Sovereign. *Sir William Pickering*, (for instance) a Gentleman well Born, of a narrow Estate, but much esteem'd for his Learning, his handsome way of Living, and the Management of some Embassies into *France* and *Germany*. Next to him was *Henry Earl of Arundel*, a Person of an ancient and noble Family, and very Rich, but withal declining in Years. Not to forget *Robert Dudley*, the Duke of *Northumberland's* younger Son, restor'd by Queen *Mary* to his Honour and Estate, a Person of Youth and Vigour, and of a fine Shape and Proportion, whose Father and Grandfather were not so much hated by the People, but he was as high in the favour of *Q. Elizabeth*, who out of her Royal and Princely Clemency, heap'd Honours upon him, and sav'd his Life whose Father would have destroy'd her's. Whether this was from any real Virtues in him, whereof he gave some appearances; or in regard of the common lot of their Imprisonment in Queen *Mary's* Days; or that there was something in his

1560. *Ann. 3.* Birth or the Planets that rul'd it, which occasion'd this Sympathy of Thoughts, I cannot determine: But most certain it is, that the favour or disfavour of Princes to several Persons is govern'd by a secret kind of Fatality. For the Queen having made him Master of the Horse, as the first token of her Friendship and Esteem, she made him Knight of the Garter (to the amazement of all) in the first Year of her Reign; and prefer'd to the same most Honourable Order the *D. of Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and Earl of *Rutland*.

In the interim the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, Ambassador in *Spain*, shews the King the necessity of the *Scottish* War; and acquits the *Scots*, to the best of his power, from the charge of Rebellion. He did it, but after a very cool manner, and like one that was a firm Bigot to the Romish Religion, says that no other Faith was brought into *England*, but what was consonant to the Scriptures, and the four first Oecumenical Councils; and insists upon the renewing the Treaty of *Burgundy*, that had been formerly made between the Predecessors of the King of *England* and *Spain*; but receives for answer, that

The restoring of this Treaty was needless. (Tho' it must be confess'd, that the renewing of Treaties is not only very customary among Princes, but highly reasonable, as being indeed the very life of all Covenants, and an evidence to the World of their mutual good Understanding, and he himself and his Father *Charles*, in the Treaty of Marriage with Queen *Mary* of *England*, in the Year 1553, had oblig'd themselves to confirm the same Compact). He then proceeds to lament the Changes of Religion in *England*, as likewise the sending of an Army into *Scotland*, and relieving the Rebels, and complains that he had no Intelligence of these Matters till it was too late. Nevertheless he did indefatigably oppose the Practices of the *French*, who endeavoured to Excommunicate the Queen, and laboured by his Agents at *Rome*, that no such Censure might pass without his consent. He likewise gave secret Intimations (for his own advantage) tho' they happen'd to be too late to have it inserted in the Articles with the *French*, *That the English might be allowed to drive the French out of Scotland if they should offer to return again; and that a Caution should be put in for the restoring of Calais*. The Viscount however easily saw that the King was disoblig'd, and the Queen discover'd it likewise, not barely by the Marks I have mention'd, but by his return of the Garter into the Viscount's Hands, which seem'd to be a direct breach of all future good Correspondence with the *English*. But he was much more nettled at a repulse he receiv'd afterward, when by the Solicitations of the Count of *Feria*, (who had married the Daughter of *William Dormer* by *Mary Sidney*) he sent an Ambassador into *England* to interceed on behalf of *Jane Dormer*, the Daughter of *Thomas Newdigate*, Widow of *Sir Robert Dormer* Kt. and Grandmother to the Countess of *Feria*, as likewise of *Clarentia*, an old Lady that had been much in the Favour and Secrets of Queen *Mary*, and her chief Almoner to some poor Women; and of *Richard Shelly*, afterwards call'd the Prior of the Order of *St. John* in *England*, and *Thomas Harvey*, great Favourers both of the Romish Religion, and in good Esteem with the King of *Spain*; that they might have leave to Reside in the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, whither they had withdrawn themselves, without Licence obtain'd, on the account of their Religion, for 'twas a Proviso in the ancient Laws of *England*, That under Pain of the Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels, none but Peers of the first Rank,

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1560. Ann. 3. Rank, and Merchants should (without the King's special Licence) leave the Kingdom, or reside in foreign Countries beyond such a fix'd Time; and that too, either for the recovery of their Health in a warmer Climate, or for the improvement of their Minds in the Universities, or the instructing themselves in the Art of War: And (as she wrote in answer to the King of Spain) 'Twas beyond all Precedent, that such a Licence should be granted to Women, as to permit them to live always out of their own Country; and tho' the thing was not in itself of any great Concernment, yet since they were not like to receive any advantage by such an absence which might prove equal to the bad influence which such Examples might have upon the Commonwealth; She therefore thought it a Liberty no way fit to be granted.

The Count of Feria incenseth the Pope against the Queen.

The Count of *Feria* taking this for an Injury done to himself, that he might not pass it by unreveng'd, forc'd a Servant of *Chamberlain's*, the *English* Ambassador in Ordinary for *Spain*, into the Inquisition, on pretence of Heresie: And being enrag'd at the Queen and the *English*, he blew up the King's Resentments into a greater flame, his Wife not being able to draw him from these measures. Nay, there goes a Report, that he temper'd with *Pius IV.* the Bishop of *Rome* Elect, to get her Excommunicated: But he (on what pretence I cannot say) sent unto her *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbat of *St. Saviour*, with private Instructions and flattering Letters, which I shall here give you entire, tho' it may perhaps submit me to the Censure of having transgress'd the exact Laws of History.

To Our Dearest Daughter in Christ, ELIZABETH, Queen of England.

The Popes Letter to the Q.

" Our most beloved Daughter in Christ, Greeting and Apostolical Benediction, How earnestly we desire (as by our Pastoral Duty bound) to take effectual care of your Salvation, and to provide for your Honour and the Establishment of your Kingdom, both God, the Searcher of Hearts, knows, and you may learn yourself, from the Instructions we have given to our beloved Son *Vincentio Parpalia*, Abbat of *St. Saviour*, a Person not unknown to you, and well approv'd of us, to be communicated to you. We do therefore (most dear Daughter) exhort and persuade your Highness again and again, that you would lay by those ill Counsellors who love themselves better than your Interest; and that you would proceed in the fear of God, and acknowledge the time of your Visitation, and yield Obedience to our paternal and wholsom Admonitions: By doing which you may promise yourself every thing at our Hands that you can desire, not only towards the Happiness of your Soul, but the Establishment also of your Royal Dignity, according to the Authority, Place and Function intrusted to us by God; who, if you return into the Bosom of the Church, (as we hope and wish you may) are ready to receive you with the same Affection, Joy and Honour, wherewith the Parent in the Gospel received the Prodigal upon his return. Tho' our satisfaction will be so much higher than his, as he rejoic'd for the sake of one Child's Salvation only, whereas you, as virtually containing all the People of *England*, will give us occasion to Congratulate the happy Conversion of yourself and the whole Nation; and the same will you minister to all our Brethren in general, (whom, God willing, you will in a little time under-

stand to be Conven'd in an Oecumenical and General Council, for the Extirpation of Heresies) as well as to the whole Church: Nay, you will fill Heaven itself with joyful Acclamations; and by so memorable an Action, perpetuate the Glory of your Name, and purchase a much richer Diadem than what you now wear. But of this the abovemention'd *Vincentio* has Directions to transact with you more at large; and will declare unto you our Fatherly Affection; whom we pray your Highness to treat with all possible Candour, to hear him cheerfully, and repose as entire a Faith in what he says, as you would in ourself.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, &c. 15 of May 1560, in Our First Year.

What was the Substance of *Parpalia's* Instructions I have never learnt; for I do not think they were given in Writing, and to guess at random, I shall forbear as the Trick of common Historians. That Queen *Elizabeth* still consisted with her Motto, *Semper Eadem*; and that the Pope lost his aim, is a thing known to all. 'Tis said that the Pope plighted his Faith, 'That he would Disannul the Protest against her Mother's Marriage as unjust, settle the *English* Liturgy by his Authority, and grant the use of the Sacraments to the *English* under both Kinds, in case she would reconcile herself to the *Romish* Communion, and Bow to the Supremacy of his Chair; and more than this, that several Thousand Crowns were promis'd to those that should effect this.

The time was now come for confirming the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; which after the Queen had Ratify'd by a solemn Oath, and sent it over to the King and Queen of *France*, to be Sign'd by them, according to Agreement, *Throckmorton*, the Queen's Residentiary in *France*, could by no means persuade them to sign; no more could Sir *Peter Mewtas* Kt. who was sent into *France* on that Errand, altho' in that very Commission, which empower'd the Bishop of *Valence* to draw up the said Treaty, they had most expressly engag'd themselves to continue the same, *bona Fide*, and on the Word of a King. They alledged these Reasons for their refusal: That the *Scots* had entered into the League of *Berwick* with the *English*, not by the King's Authority, but of their own Head, which they ought not to have done, for that it was entred upon by Rebels, and confirm'd by counterfeiting the Hands and Seals of their faithful Subjects; and besides, That they had not paid the Obedience consented to and promis'd in the said Agreement.

During these Debates, *Francis II.* King of *France* departed this Life, before he was quite 18 Years of Age, in the Second Year of his Reign, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, whether to the greater Grief of the Popish, or Joy of the Protestant Party, all *Britain* over, is not easily said.

Q. Elizabeth being now a little more secure, to the end the Church might remain without any corrupt Mixtures, and gain surer Footing, and that the Nation might advance in Glory and Wealth, put out two very seasonable Proclamations. The one was to command the *Anabaptists*, and others of the same Heretical Principles, which had flocked to the Sea-Coast-Towns from Beyond-Sea, under pretence of escaping Persecution, and had infected the Kingdom with the Venom of their Doctrines, to depart the Realm within twenty Days, whether they were Natives or Foreigners, on Pain of Imprisonment and Loss of Goods and Chattels. The other was against

1560. *Ann. 3.* *And Sa-
cilegiou
Person* against all Sacrilegious Persons, who under colour of abolishing Superstition, began to pull down ancient Monuments, to deface the Epitaphs and Escutcheons of the noblest Families, and other venerable Remains of Antiquity, which even the mad Zeal of some profane Persons in King Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s time left standing, and likewise to rob the Steeples of their Bells, and to unroof the Churches for the sake of the Lead.

*Westmin-
ster-Abby
made a
Collegiate
Church.* She likewise converted *Westminster-Abby*, a Place remarkable for the Coronation and Interment of the Kings of England, and the keeping of the Royal Standards, into a Collegiate-Church; where, to the Glory of God, and Improvement of Learning, she placed a Dean, Twelve Prebendaries, a Schoolmaster, an Usher, Forty Scholars, (call'd Queen-Scholars, whereof six or more to be yearly sent to the Universities) besides Chaplains, Singing-men, Twelve Pensioners, &c. Which Royal Bounty has not fail'd of producing a plentiful stock of learned Men, for the benefit of both Church and State.

*Coin is re-
duc'd to
the intrin-
sic value.* And then, to the great advancement of her Glory, she began by degrees to call in all the Brass Money, and restore Coin to its Current and Sterling Purity, and to repair the Honour of the Kingdom, by preventing the Cheats of those who adulterated the Coin both at home and abroad, exchange'd the best Manufactures of the Nation for the worst Money, and exported the Current Cash into Foreign Parts. She took care also, that the Prices of such Wares as were kept at too high a Price (to the great damage of the Publick) should be proportionably abated, especially where Soldiers, Pensioners, Servants and Day-Labourers, were like to be the Sufferers. And this she happily effected, without the least Disturbance, in a very few Months. First, by prohibiting the melting down of any Money, whether Brass or Sterling: Then by reducing Brass Money to its just Value; the Brass Penny to an Half-penny Sterling; the Two-penny Piece to Three-half-pence; the Sixpenny to a Groat, and another Teston to Twopence-farthing, which was as much as the Silver in them amounted to. And, in the last place, by purchasing the same from the Owners with good Money, (to her own loss) provided it were brought into the Mint within such a time. We may therefore own ourselves indebted to Queen Elizabeth, that we have had better and purer Money in England than had been seen in two hundred Years before, or indeed than what had pass'd in any Part of Europe besides. Within a while after, she coin'd a pure sort of Money (which we call Sterling) for the Kingdom of Ireland, the same Piece to pass for a Shilling in Ireland, and for Ninepence at Home. And a most glorious and memorable Action it was, and such an one as King Edward VI. could not, and Queen Mary durst not undertake. After K. Henry VIII. had made the first Experiment of any of the Kings of England, in mixing Brass with the Coin, to the great Disparagement of the Nation, and the Damage of his People and Posterity, besides the scandalous Example he left the World of his Riot and Excess, considering that his Father had left him more Wealth than any other Prince before him had left his Successor. A great stock he had amass'd by Taxes and other Collections, (tho' not so great as we are inform'd by Cardinal Poole, who tells us that he demanded more than all the Kings before him since the Norman Conquest). And a mighty Treasure he had raised, besides, when by an Act of Parliament, he seized on all the Lands in Ireland, which the

English held in their absence, all the First-Fruits and Tenth of Ecclesiastical Preferments in England and Ireland; and all the Rents, Revenues and Moveables, of Abbies and Monasteries. Before the end of this Year died Francis Hastings Earl of Huntington, the second Earl of that Line, who had by Katharine Pool, Daughter of Henry Lord Montacute, Brother to Reginald Pool the Cardinal, Henry his Heir and Successor, and many other Children, who agreed better in Temper and Affection, than in Persuasion and Principle.

In Ireland Shan-Oneal, a Nobleman of great Power and Interest in Ulster, the true and lawful Son of Con-Oneal, surnam'd Bacco, or the Lame, (created by Henry VIII. Earl of Tir-oen) for fear the Laws should call him to account for the Murder of Matthew Lord Dunganun, his Base-Brother (falsely suppos'd to be Legitimate) for depriving his Father, who soon after broke his Heart, of his Government, and taking upon himself the Title of Oneal, by no other Election than a wild cast of his Shoe over his Head, thought it his best way to break out into an open Rebellion. Whereupon 500 Foot were sent out of England, and some Regiments of Horse rais'd in Ireland. But after some slight Skirmishes, when he found himself unable to cope with the English, and that he was grown Odious to his Party, and was likewise oppos'd by Surly-Boy, James Macconell, and O-donel, he threw down his Arms at the entreaty of his Kinsman the Earl of Kildare, and promis'd to come to England and crave the Queen's Mercy; which he did, as shall be made appear in its proper place.

The Fourth Year of the Queen's Reign.

1561.

In the beginning of the Year, Francis Earl of Bedford was sent into France to Condole the Death of Francis, and to Congratulate his Successor Charles IX. upon his Accession to the Throne. He, by himself, and with Throckmorton, made repeated Instances to the Queen of Scots to confirm the Treaty at Edinburgh; but all to no purpose: For all the answer she gave, was, 'That she must maturely Pause upon so grave a matter; and that she neither could nor would sign it without the Advice of the Scottish Nobility. Notwithstanding, Throckmorton was still very pressing upon this Head, both with her, the Cardinal of Lorain, the rest of the Guises, her Uncles, and her Base Brother, who was lately come into France. But when the matter was shifted off from day to day, and sham Excuses made use of, Queen Elizabeth suspecting some dangerous Plot was hatching against England, resolved to prevent it. She dispatches therefore Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to cultivate a good Agreement amongst the Nobility, which when founded in the unity of Religion, is like to last longest; and to give them also to understand, that the Princes of Germany had entred into a Combination against the Bishop of Rome, and that the Queen, his Mistress, heartily wish'd that the English and Scots were included in the same. That now was the fittest Opportunity (whilst the Queen of Scots was a Widow) to compose all Differences between the English and Scots, (who had maintain'd so long a Variance, at so vast an Expence of Blood on both sides) either by their making a perpetual Truce with England, or by breaking off all those ancient Leagues and Engagements with France, which had been made the occasions of so much Variance between the English and Scots. And lastly, to give private Intimations to the Scots, not to permit the Queen-Dowager to marry

1560. *Ann. 3.* *The death
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*Shan-
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bels in
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*The Q. of
Scots de-
lays the
signing of
the Treaty.*

*Sir Tho.
Randolph
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bility, &c.*

1561. again with any foreign Prince, and so make use of his power in revenging herself on them, who very lately oppos'd the French, and thereby possibly endanger their Liberty a second time.

The Q. of Scots is denied safe Passage from France to Scotland. Mean while the Queen of Scots, designing a Journey to Scotland, (having sent d'Oisely, a Frenchman, away before) requested Queen Elizabeth to grant her safe Conduct for crossing into Scotland, and that d'Oisely might pass by the way of England. But the Queen in the presence of several, denied both Requests, alledging as the cause of this Denial, That she had not yet ratify'd the Treaty at Edinborough, according to her promise; which if she would sign, she assures her of all possible Civilities she could expect from a Queen, a Relation, or a Neighbour, whether she pleas'd to go by Sea, or through England. The Queen of Scots being nettled at this Repulse, sent for Throckmorton, and held him in a long Discourse upon this matter, which I shall briefly hint out of his own Letters, (tho' I shall have occasion to touch on some things already mention'd) on purpose to give a clearer Account of the Rise and Progress of those Heats and Divisions which have been between two the most Potent and Wise Princesses of the Age. This then was what she spoke to Throckmorton, when she had clear'd the Presence of all her Attendants, and others.

The Q. of Scots Expostulates the case with Throckmorton. 'How Weak I may prove, or how far a Woman's Frailty may transport me, I cannot tell; however I have no mind to have so many Witnesses of my Infirmary, as your Mistress had at her Audience of my Ambassador d'Oisely. There is nothing disturbs me so much, as the having ask'd with so much Importunity, things I could well enough have been without. I can (by God's leave) return to my own Country without hers, as I came hither in spite of the Teeth and Opposition of her Brother, King Edward; neither do I want Friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither: But I was willing rather to make an Experiment of her Friendship than of any others. I have often heard you say, that a good Correspondence between her and myself is very convenient for the sake of both our Kingdoms, yet were this her opinion, she had hardly deny'd me so small a Request. But perhaps she bears a better Inclination to the Scots my Rebellious Subjects, than to me their Sovereign, her Equal in Royal Dignity, her near Relation, and the undoubted Heir of her Kingdoms. Do you imagine it possible there can ever be that real Fidelity and Affection between her and my Rebel-People, that may be entertain'd between her and me? Sure I am, she has reduc'd me to such Straits, that I have been forc'd to ask Aid and Assistance where I had the least inclination to do it; and it has been a matter of great astonishment to them, what should make her of late assist my own Subjects against me, and prevent my return, now I'm a Widow, into my own Country. Besides her Friendship I ask nothing at her hands; I neither trouble her, nor meddle with the Affairs of her Government: Not that I am ignorant, that there are now in England a great many Male-Contents, that are no Friends to the present Establishment. She is pleas'd to upbraid me as a Person little Experienc'd in the World. I freely own it: But Age will cure that Misfortune. However, I am old enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my Friends and Relations, and to encourage no Reports of her which would misbecome a Queen and her Kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a Queen as well as she,

and not altogether Friendless; and perhaps I have as great a Soul too; so that methinks we should be upon the level, as to our Treatment of one another. But I shall make no Comparisons, for they are odious, and but one remove from Strife and Envy. As for the Treaty of Edinborough, it was made in the King my Husband's Life-time, whom I was oblig'd in Duty to submit to in all things; and if he delay'd the signing of it, 'tis he ought to bear the blame, not I. After his death, the Parliament of France left me to my own Council and Measures. And as for my Uncles, they refus'd to concern themselves in Scottish Affairs, for fear of giving Offence either to Queen Elizabeth or the Scots. The Scots now here with me are private Persons, and not fit to Advise with on such Critical Occasions: As soon as I have consulted the States of the Kingdom, I shall be ready to give a reasonable Answer; and I am the more intent on my Journey, that I may be able to make the quicker dispatch. But she, it seems, designs to stop my Journey; so that either she will not let me give her Satisfaction, or else is resolv'd not to be satisfy'd, perhaps on purpose to keep up the Disagreement between us. She has often reproach'd me with my being Young; and I must be very Young indeed, and as ill Advis'd, to Treat of Matters of such great Concern and Importance, without the Advice of my Parliament. The Wife, as I have been inform'd, is neither oblig'd in Honour nor Conscience, by what her Husband does. But that Point I don't dispute. But thus much I can say with truth, that I have done nothing to my dear Sister, but what I would be very willing should be done to myself. I have not been wanting in any friendly Offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish I were as near to her Heart as I am to her Blood, for that would be a most valuable Alliance. God forgive them (if any such there are) that do ill Offices between us. But pray tell me, Sir, you that are her Ambassador, why is she so very angry with me, who never disoblig'd her by Word or Deed?

To this Throckmorton answer'd: I have no other Commission than to bear your Majesty's Answer relating to the Confirmation of the Treaty at Edinborough: But if you please to bear the Grounds of her Majesty's Resentment, I shall give a brief Account of it, and lay aside the Ambassador till I have so done. As soon as the Queen was Crowned, your Majesty thought fit to assume the Arms and Title of the Kingdom of England, which you had not done in Queen Mary's Reign; I leave your Majesty to judge, whether a grosser Indignity could be well offer'd to a Prince; private Persons could, in my opinion, very ill digest such an Affront, much less Princes.

But (reply'd she) My Husband and his Father would have it so, and it was by their orders. Since their death, and the date of my Freedom and Disengagement, I have quite forborn those Arms and Title; and yet I cannot be satisfy'd that 'tis any Injury to the Queen, if I, who am a Queen too, and Grand-daughter to King Henry VIII's eldest Sister, should bear these Arms, since others, more remotely Allied, have done so. And most certain it is, that Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, and the Duchesse of Suffolk, Niece to Henry VIII. by his younger Sister, did by special Grant bear the Arms of England, with Limbs or Borders for a difference.

Seeing that these things did not at all satisfy Queen Elizabeth, who was fully convinc'd, that the Queen of Scots used these Delays to cherish some fine Prospect or new Hopes she had conceiv'd,

1561.
Ann. 4.
She endeavours to satisfy.
Q. Eliz.

ceiv'd, because she had mention'd nothing to the States of Scotland relating to the Treaty, altho' they had several times met since the death of her Husband. The Queen being now on her Journey, sends again for Throckmorton to Abbeville, where she mildly demanded of him, by what Methods she might satisfy his Royal Mistress? By Confirming (returns he) the Treaty of Edinborough, as I have more than once told your Majesty. To which she reply'd, I desire you to hear me, and then judge whether they be not very cogent Reasons which the Queen takes for vain Excuses and Delays. The first Article in that Treaty, for confirming the Truce at Cambray, does not in the least concern me. The second, which relates to signing the Treaty, there made between the English and Scots, was ratify'd by my Husband and myself, and cannot be repeated, unless in my name only, whereas my Husband is expressly nam'd therein. The third, fourth and fifth Articles are already answer'd and fulfill'd; for there are no farther Warlike Preparations: The French Garrisons are remanded from Scotland; the Fort at Aimouth is raised to the very Ground; I have, since my Husband's death, quitted the Arms and Title of England. To raise and strike them out of all the Moveables, Buildings and Charters in France, is a thing no way in my power; and 'tis more than I can do to send back the Bishops of Valence and Randon, who are no Subjects of mine, into England, to appear at a Conference about the sixth Article. As for the last Article, I hope my Rebel-Subjects will not complain of any great Severity toward them. But she, I perceive, designs to prevent any Proofs I might shew of a merciful Disposition towards them, by resolving to hinder my return. What is there now behind in this Treaty that can any way prejudice the Affairs of your Mistress? Nevertheless, to give her the fullest Satisfaction I can, I design to write to her about these Matters with my own Hand, tho' she should not vouchsafe me an answer but by her Secretary. But I would advise you, who are an Ambassador, to act suitably to that Character; I mean, rather to qualify and compose Matters, than to aggravate and make them worse.

But neither had those Letters their desir'd effect on the Queen, who could not so easily forget the Usurpation of her Arms and Title. And she began to be something uneasy lest she should assume them a second time, were she not bound by a solemn Oath and signing of the Treaty to forbear the Encroachment.

The Q. of Scots returns to Scotland.
Her gentle Government.

In the interim, the Queen of Scots finding a convenient Opportunity, set sail from Calais, and arriv'd in Scotland, having escap'd the English Ships in a Fog. These, some thought, were a Squadron in respect appointed for her Convoy: Others judg'd they were out for the suppression of Pirates: And some believ'd they were sent to intercept her Passage; for James the Bastard return'd very lately thro' England, and gave private Advices to intercept her, both for the Safety of the Queen, and the Interest of Religion. And Lidington was likewise of the same mind, (being pleas'd at d'Oisely's stay in England) lest (as his Letters intimate) her return should raise mighty Storms, put a stop to all Intercourse with England, whether by Posts or Expresses, weaken the Party best affected to the English, and, in a word, treat the Protestants of Scotland with extreme Rigour and Cruelty, not as Traytors, but Hereticks, as Queen Mary of England had done before her. But, to say truth, she used all possible Clemency to her Subjects upon her return, made no Changes in Religion, (tho' tumultuously set up) but began to Govern the Kingdom by wise and excellent Laws. And she sent to Queen Elizabeth, by Lidington, Letters from herself and the Nobility, wherein she expressed an hearty desire to make and maintain a

good Correspondence; and requested her to think of some Measures for the settling a firm and lasting Peace between the two Kingdoms. But she conceiv'd there was no better or surer Method to effect this, than for Queen Elizabeth to declare her, by Authority of Parliament, Heir-apparent to the Crown of England, in case herself should have no Issue.

This was a great surprize to Queen Elizabeth, who had long expected the Ratification of the Treaty at Edinborough, which she had promis'd both in Writing and by Word of Mouth. Nevertheless she gave this Answer; "That as for the Succession, she hoped the Queen of Scots would not rob her of the Scepter, or her Children, should she have any. She promis'd not to diminish any part of her Title to the Crown of England, tho' she had, through the Instigations of some ambitious Spirits, assum'd the Arms of it, for which she ought in Justice to make Reparation. To declare her the Successor of her Kingdoms, she conceiv'd was the way rather to dissolve than settle a good Understanding; because Successors are always suspected Persons to those who sit at the Helm. The People, out of a natural Levity, are apt to court the rising, and leave the setting Sun, were it only that they are weary of the present: And those that are Successors declar'd, would find it impossible to contain their own Ambition, and the Hopes of others, within the bounds of Sobriety and Reason. So that, should she consent to settle upon her the Crown in Reversion, she should destroy her best Security with her own Hands; and not only prepare her Winding-Sheet, but dig her own Grave even in her Life-time."

Having given this Answer, she dispatches Letters, by Sir Peter Mewtas, to urge once more the Confirmation of the Treaty. Nor did the Queen of Scots give a direct Refusal, yet signify'd, that it could not well be done till the Affairs of Scotland were in a more settled Posture. Mean while, Queen Elizabeth gave a most Splendid and Courteous Reception to her Uncles in their return through England, namely Aumarle the Grand-Prior, and Albeuf, with other French Persons of Quality, who had conducted her into Scotland. However the English Merchants were, by the Duke of Guise's means, ill treated upon the Coast of Bretain, their Ships being seiz'd and made Prizes. And there were Engines secretly at work at Rome to procure an Excommunication against the Queen. But Pius IV. the then Pope, thought a gentle Treatment would do best. For he press'd her, as I observ'd in the Passages of the last Year, by very soft and endearing Letters. And now, there being a Day appointed for the Council of Trent, (which was open'd before, and shut up again by reason of frequent Wars) for taking away all Differences in Religion, and all the Princes, whether Catholics or Downright Enemies to Popery, having receiv'd a kind Invitation. The Pope sent the Abbat of Montinego with very obliging and affectionate Letters. But the Abbat staid in the Netherlands till he had first sued for a fair Reception in England: For there was an ancient Act, which provided, That the Pope's Nuncio's should not set a Foot in England without leave obtain'd, and an Oath taken, that they would attempt nothing there which might be any ways prejudicial to the King or the Liberties of the People. And the Council of the Nation judg'd it not very safe to admit him, in regard that so many in all Parts of the Kingdom were such Implicite Slaves to Popery, and used all possible Endeavours both at home and abroad to embroil the Quiet of the Nation. After the refusal of the

1561.
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Her Demand to be declared Heir of the Crown.

Q. Elizabeth's Answer.

She urges the signing of the Treaty.

The English Merchants abused.

The Pope courts the English to the Council of Trent.

1561. Ann. 4. Abbats admission, the Bishop of Viterbo, the Pope's Nuncio in France, dealt earnestly with Throckmorton, to prevail on his Mistress to send her Ambassadors to the Council; and many Princes of Christendom, the Kings of France, Spain and Portugal, Henry Cardinal of Portugal, and above all, the Duke of Alva (who yet had a profound Respect for the Queen) persuaded her by Letters rather to acquiesce in the Council of Trent's Determination in cases of Religion, which was the only Pillar and Support of Christianity and good Government, than in the private Opinions of a few, however Learned and Considerable. The Queen answer'd, *That she desir'd, with all her Heart, an Oecumenical Council, but a Popish one she would never honour with an Ambassador: That she had no business with the Bishop of Rome, whose Authority was abrogated in England by Act of Parliament: Nor was it his but the Emperor's Prerogative to call Councils: Nor had he any Sovereign Power above other Bishops, as far as she could find.*

The Queen's Answer.

The death of Sir Henry Carne.

The same time the Abbat (who was the last of the Pope's Nuncio's into England) was denied access hither, died at Rome Sir Henry Carne, whom we have mention'd before, a prudent Man, and a good Civilian, who was Knighted by the Emperor Charles V. and was the last Ambassador from the Crown of England to the See of Rome.

When Chamberlayne, the English Ambassador in Spain, found that this Answer had still worse Effects on the Mind of that Prince and Nation, as implying in it an Affront to the Pope, (for the death of the French King had now remov'd all Apprehensions of the falling of England, Scotland and Ireland under the French Government; so that the English were now less consider'd) he had his Audience of Leave to return home. And in his room was appointed Sir Thomas Chaloner, who no sooner arriv'd in Spain, but, being a Man that could not bear a Slight, and having been several times Ambassador in Germany, where he met with nothing but Complaisance, earnestly press'd to be call'd home again, because his Trunks and Portmantua's had been examin'd, according to the Custom of the Country. But Queen Elizabeth gave him to understand, That an Ambassador had no Affronts to resent, but the direct Violation of his Prince's Honour.

Q. Eliz. prepares for War.

And now this Wise and Careful Princess, (having pretty well settled Church-Affairs) in order to prevent any Hostile Attempts, and secure herself and her Subjects in the fruition of a settled Peace, tho' her Treasure ran low, yet began to stock her Armory with all necessary Ammunition, expending a vast Sum for Arms in Germany, because those she bought up at Antwerp were stop't by the Spaniard. She caused a great number of Iron and Brass Pieces to be cast. And GOD, who seem'd to befriend all her Undertakings, discover'd a most rich Vein of pure Brass, which till now had lain unthought of, near *Reſwick* in *Cumberland*, which not only supplied the Necessities of the Kingdom, but yielded Brass enough for other Countries too. About this time, the Stone call'd *Lapis Calaminaris*, so necessary for Brass Works, was by the same good Providence found in *England*, in great abundance. She likewise caus'd the first making of Gunpowder in this Nation, that she might not be oblig'd to beg or purchase it of her Neighbours. She increased also the Garrison of *Berwick*, which consisted before of 500 Men. She likewise advanced their Pay, that so it might be worth the while of gallant Men and brave Soldiers to serve. And the Town she fortify'd with several New Works, which were finish'd in a very short time. She sent discreet and worthy Men to repair and

Gunpowder first made in England.

Berwick fortify'd.

rebuild the Forts and Castles within 20 Miles of the Borders of Scotland. She rigg'd out her Fleet with all manner of Tackling and Ammunition, so that it may be allow'd to have been the best Equipp'd Navy that was ever set out by the English. For the defence whereof she built a Castle on the Banks of *Medway* near *Upmore*, (the usual Harbour for the Fleet) and augmented the Sailors and Mariners Pay: So that she was justly stil'd by Strangers, *The Restorer of the Naval Glory, and the Queen of the North-Sea*. Neither had she occasion to hire Ships from *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Dantzick*, *Genoa* and *Venice*, which was her Predecessors case. The Wealthier Inhabitants of the Sea-Coasts did likewise follow the Queen's example, in building Ships of War with all imaginable Cheerfulness, insomuch that in a little time the Queen's Fleet, in conjunction with her Subject's Shipping, was so Potent, that it was able to furnish out 20000 Fighting Men for Sea-service. Moreover, the Noblemen and Commons were every where as Industrious in providing themselves Arms; so that every Nobleman's House was a compleat Armory. There were also observ'd frequent Musters, and the young Men were trained up to the Arts of War, and Exercis'd in Mock-Campaigns. And the Country-People, after an Act had pass'd for the Transportation of Grain, began to mind their Husbandry with double Diligence, and even beyond the Provision of the Laws, by breaking up Grounds which had lain fallow Time out of Mind. About that time the Queen did also put a stop to the Avarice of those Merchants who furnish'd the Emperor of *Russia*, and other Enemies of Christendom, with Arms and Warlike Stores against the *Polonians*. She likewise curb'd the Exorbitances of the Officers of the Exchequer, who had reserv'd the Pensions assign'd to those Ecclesiasticks who had been turn'd out of the Abbies: For she gave orders, that all of them who were living, and not known to have some Preferment, should be paid to a Farthing.

A Protestation in favour of the Polonians.

She revoked likewise certain Warrants, which had been issued out for victualling the Fleet, giving Money to the Commissioners to buy it, without burdening the People. She design'd likewise to have taken away the Commissions relating to the Provision for her own Household, some Countries having agreed some time after, to furnish it at a certain Rate, to get rid of the Collectors; a kind of Vermin, which the Queen call'd *Harpies*. 'Twas about this time too (if my Memory fail not) that she increas'd the Salary of the Judges, and first allow'd 'em Provision for their respective Circuits: And tho' in the main she was a little saving, yet she was not to learn where, when and how far to extend her Bounty, being indeed an equal Friend to Thrift, and Benefactor to Merit; for whereas King Henry her Father, notwithstanding he had three Children, squander'd away a great part of his Royal Revenue; as also did King Edward and Queen Mary, who had none; she, tho' without Children, gave very little of her own Demesns, or indeed any thing beside, but on condition, it should (in default of Issue-Male) return to the Crown. On which Account, her thrifty and prudent Management deserves a very grateful Remembrance from her Kingdom and Successors.

In the midst of this careful Emulation between Queen and People, for the Nation's Good, which began now to revive and flourish again; this sad Accident happen'd: The beautiful Spire of the Cathedral-Church of *S. Paul* in *London*, was fir'd by Lightning, near the Top: 'Twas a singular Steeple Ornament to the City, and of a wonderful Height,

Heighth,

1561. Ann. 4. Heighth, viz. Five hundred and twenty Foot from the Ground, and Two hundred and sixty from the Tower on which it stood, being fram'd of Timber, and cover'd with Lead. And so violent was the Rage of the Flame downward, (to the great Terror of the City) that in five Hours it quite consum'd it, and all the Roof of the Church, which was very large, and cover'd likewise with Lead. But the Arches, which were built of Stone, remain'd entire. However, by the large Bounty of the Queen, who supply'd a great Quantity of Money and Materials, and by Contributions from the Clergy and others, the Roof, and all but the Spire, was soon repair'd.

Death of E. of Bath. This Year departed this Life John Bouchier, a Person of antient Nobility, the second Earl of Bath, of that Name; and the Lord Fitzwarin, who left many Children by Eleanor, Daughter of George Lord Roffe. His Grandson William, by his eldest Son, came to the Estate and Title.

The Fifth Year of her Reign.

1562. First civil War in Fr. Things now in France began to grow ripe for Tumules and Commotions; whilst, during Charles IX's Minority, the private Ambition of Rival Princes was cloak'd on each side with the specious Pretence of Religion; and the Protestants, in the mean while, were very severely treated. And whereas the Papists in England began, on this occasion, upon what Views I cannot guess, to whisper about many things in private Clubs and Cabals, intimating that the Protestants in England would come under the same Restraints. Every Place was fill'd with Jealousie and Apprehension.

Countess of Lenox and her Husband committed. Margaret Countess of Lenox, Niece to Henry VIII. by his eldest Sister, was committed to the Custody of Sir Richard Sackville; and the Earl of Lenox, her Husband, who held a private Correspondence with the Queen of Scots, to the Custody of the Master of the Rolls; and both were under Confinement some time.

The Poole and others arraign'd. Arthur Poole and his Brother, Great-grandchildren to George Duke of Clarence, Brother to Edward IV. Anthony Fortescue, who had marry'd their Sister; and others, were try'd, for conspiring to withdraw into France, to the Duke of Guise; and from thence to return, with an Army, into Wales; and so proclaim the Queen of Scots Queen of England, and Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence. All which they ingenuously confess'd at the Bar; protesting notwithstanding, that they design'd not to put these Projects in Execution, during the Life-time of Q. Elizabeth, who, they believ'd, would die before the Year was at an end, (having, it seems, borrow'd this Conjecture, from some Pretenders to Judicial Astrology.) Upon this, they were condemn'd; but receiv'd their Pardon, for the sake of that Royal Blood, that ran in their Veins. But the Lady Katharine Grey, Daughter to Henry Grey D. of Suffolk, who claim'd a much nearer Kindred to the Queen, was, in a great many Mens Thoughts, very severely us'd. For, altho' she was Grand-daughter to Henry VIII's other Sister, and marry'd to Henry, eldest Son to the Earl of Pembroke; from whom she was soon after lawfully divorc'd, after she had suffer'd a long Slight and Contempt, and was so far gone with Child, as to be very near her Time. She was committed to the Tower, declaring then that she was lawfully marry'd to Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford, by whom she was now with Child. He therefore being sent for from France, whither he had, by the Queen's Leave, gone for his Pleasure, confess'd as much in publick, and was clapt up under the same Confinement. The

Condemn'd, but are pardon'd.

Lady Grey committed.

And the Earl of Hertford.

Archbishop of Canterbury and others were appointed Delegates to try this Cause, without Appeal; and when he could not, within the Time fix'd, produce a sufficient Certificate of the Marriage; the Archbishop proceeded to pronounce a definitive Sentence: That his Cohabitation with her was unlawful, and that for their Incontinence they ought, both he and she, to be punish'd according to their Deserts. This Sentence was, by John Hales, a Person dogmatical enough, but withal of great Learning, argu'd against, as unjust and unreasonable; this being his Argument, That their very Consent made 'em Man and Wife: Whereupon he was also committed to Custody.

Shortly after, she was brought to bed of her first Son, in the Tower; and afterwards had another by Hertford, who had bribed the Keepers. But for this, Edward Warner, Lieutenant of the Tower, who was privy to the whole Intrigue, paid dear enough, by the Loss of his Place, and his Commitment afterwards. And Hertford himself was, in the Star-Chamber, impeach'd of three Crimes; 1. That he had debauch'd a Virgin of the Blood-Royal, in the Queen's Palace. 2. That he had broken Prison. And 3. That he had abus'd her a second time. He protested, That he was lawfully marry'd to her; and did not deny, but that he had pass'd some Doors of the Prison, which stood open, to support and comfort her under the Rigour of her Sentence; and to pay her the Respects and Obligations of an Husband. Hereupon, he was for every Offence fined Five thousand Pounds, and condemn'd to Nine Years Imprisonment: Nevertheless by the Advice of his Council, he said not to enter his Appeal against the Archbishop's Sentence, and to continue so to do under-hand, tho' lately he has publickly and freely retracted the same. She, after several Years past, in Prison, (if I may make Mention of such distant Times and Things) being seiz'd with a grievous Sickness, beg'd the Queen's Pardon, before Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, that she had contracted Marriage without her Knowledge: And after she had recommended her Children, and her Husband's Discharge, to the Queen's Mercy, she took a quiet and peaceable Farewell of the World.

He's find.

The War at this time breaking out afresh in France, between the Princes of the Blood and the Guises, both sides (as I have observ'd) making Pretence of Religion, to serve their Cause and strengthen their Party; Queen Elizabeth began to entertain some Fears, lest England should feel the Flames of the Neighbouring War. For, she had been inform'd, that the Guises, to gain Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, to their Party, had made a private Offer to him of the Kingdom of Navarre, and to procure for him in Marriage the Queen of Scots, with the Kingdom of England, for her Portion: And all this by the Wealth of Spain, and the Authority of the Pope, who should dissolve the Marriage of Navarre, with his Wife, who was an Heretic; and depose Queen Elizabeth, for the very same Reason. Hereupon, she dispatch'd thither Sir Henry Sidney, a Person of approv'd Abilities and Reputation, to dive into the Bottom of this Business, and to persuade the Heads of each Party to an Accommodation. But Things were now gone too far to admit of any Remedy of that kind; wherefore Sidney return'd out of France, and immediately sent to the Queen of Scots, to adjourn the Interview which she had desired with the Queen in England, till the ensuing Year, or till the Wars of France were at an End. The great Debate now was, whether it would be convenient that such an Interview should pass between the Two Queens; and

whereas Queens.

The Guise's Practice against Q. Elizabeth

Sir Henry Sidney is sent into France,

And into Scotland.

Debates about the intended Interview between the two Queens.

Sentence argu'd 'gainst 'em.

Lady Grey's Sentence.

whereas the Queen of Scots was the first that desired it, there was a fair Probability that she did it to serve her own Ends, and to nick the Juncture; that so she might either strengthen her Title to the Crown of England, or the Hopes at least, and Expectations of the Catholics in England, and her Kinsmen, the Guises, in France. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that such a Conference might prove the Occasion of a happier and better Correspondence: That it might tend to break, by degrees, the Confederacy between the French and the Scots, and to win over the Queen of Scots to the Reform'd Religion. Others again observ'd, that such Interviews do generally lay the Foundation rather of Emulation than Friendship: That one side is always apt to envy the Wealth and Grandeur of the other: That Appearance does not always answer Report, as to the Point of Beauty and bodily Proportion, Wit, and other Qualities of the Mind; and on Consequence, that Faults will be found, on one side or t'other. Neither did the Queen of Scots think it safe to trust herself to Queen Elizabeth, with whom she had disputed her Claim to the Kingdom: And her Thoughts were yet undetermin'd which side to choose, when she heard, that Queen Elizabeth appear'd openly for the Protestants of France; whilst she consider'd, (as she wrote herself) *That on her Father's side she was descended from England, and on her Mother's, from France: That in France she had been a crown'd Queen, and was now a Queen Dowager, and Heir Expectant of the Crown of England: That she ow'd much to her Uncles in France, who had brought her up; and was as desirous likewise of standing fair in the Thoughts of her Sister Q. Elizabeth.* Nevertheless, she was afraid, (so penetrating a Sense had she) that by engaging in a firmer Friendship with the Queen of England, she should lessen the Favour of the French King, be forsaken by the Guises, her Uncles, and lose her Portion, which was paid out of France; and all for preferring the precarious Favour of Q. Elizabeth, which, to use her own Expression, is but personal at best, before the steadier Friendship of her Allies the French. Hereupon, the Conference, which had stuck so many Months on hand, after several Articles likewise proposed, came at last to nothing: Especially when the Queen of Scots refused any Interview, unless the Parliament would declare her Heir Apparent to the Crown of England, or Queen Elizabeth adopt her for her Heir, in order to establish a lasting Union between the Two Kingdoms, which had been so often desir'd. If these Concessions were made, she faithfully promis'd the strictest Adherence to Queen Elizabeth's Service, without any Regard to the Resentments thereof of her Uncles the Guises. She also hinted in her Letters, that she was the more earnest in these Particulars, because she was inform'd, there were some very busie in setting up another Pretender; and for no better Reason, than the Protection of Religion, tho' she had given a Toleration for that of the Protestants, in Scotland.

But the Cardinal of Lorain using at the same time his utmost Persuasions with the Emperour Ferdinand, to get his Son the Archduke Charles, in Marriage, for the Queen of Scots, who was then a Suitor to Queen Elizabeth: The latter sent her word by Sir Thomas Randolph, that if she listen'd to the Cardinal, the great Enemy of the English Nation, as to any thing relating to that Match, 'twould prove the ready way to dissolve the good Agreement between England and Scotland; if not to exclude her from any Hopes of succeeding to the Crown of England; which that she might not come short of, she warn'd

her as a Friend, to make choice of such a Husband, out of the English Nation, as might be both acceptable to her, and lay the Foundation of a firm Peace between the two Kingdoms at the same time, and secure her Succession to the Crown, which could never be declar'd till her choice were publickly known as to this matter.

Tho' so many Cares together were enough to keep Queen Elizabeth's Mind in suspense, yet she had her Eye and Thoughts chiefly upon the Wars of France, that they might not from Normandy be translated to England. To avoid which, after serious and close Deliberation, she took under Protection the French King's Subjects in Normandy, who craved her Assistance, and made a certain Contract with the Prince of Conde, Rohan, Coligni, and others, 'That she would pay them an Hundred thousand Angels; That she would send them over into France 6000 Men, whereof 3000 to be employ'd in the Defence of Diep and Roan; and that they should deliver up to her as a Cautionary-Town, Franciscopolis, a Town built by King Francis I. at the Mouth of the Seine, call'd by the English New-Haven, and by the French, Haure de Grace; which Town Three thousand English Soldiers should hold and defend in the French King's Name, till Calais should be restored. The very same Day that this Agreement was made, she publish'd a Manifesto, declaring her design herein, viz. 'That she sent an Army into Normandy, not to reduce that Country, tho' it had been the ancient Inheritance of the Kings of England, and wrested from them by force, without the least pretence of Claim; but to preserve it indeed for the French King, being yet a Minor, and to rescue it from the Tyranny of the Guises, who had begun already to practice the utmost Barbarities upon those of the Reformation, to endeavour to defraud her of her Right and Title to Calais, and at last to seize on the Coasts of Normandy, from whence they might be ready on all occasions to Invade England which lay so near them, that they thought it in their Hands already. So that she could do no less than prevent their Designs, unless she would have it thought that she intended to leave her Brother and Allie, the young King and his oppressed Subjects, in the lurch; enviously oppose the Peace of Christendom, and (what was the greatest thing of all) unless she would appear the Betrayer of her own Religion, Peace and Security. And whereas Paul Foix, the French Embassador in England, much importun'd her that the Vidame of Chartres, Hayes, and others, who had subscrib'd the Compact, might be given up to the King as Traytors to their Country, according to the Treaty of the Castle of Cambray; she excus'd it by Letters to his Majesty, and exempted them from all Blame, laying it on the turbulent Spirit of the Guises, who had engag'd his Father, and Brother, and Himself, on this tempestuous Scene of War.

In September one part of the English Army arriv'd at New-Haven, under the Conduct of their Commander Sir Adrian Poinings, and was receiv'd by the Inhabitants with great demonstrations of Joy, as was likewise the other at Diep. The Earl of Warwick, General of the whole Army, came somewhat later to New-Haven, having been twice driven back into England by foul Weather. They made some little Excursions into the Country thereabouts. To prevent which, the Rhinegrave came and encamp'd near them. Nevertheless, several slight Skirmishes pass'd between the French and English; and the Seamen belonging to the Fleet scour'd the Seas in the mean time, and

Q. of Scots
has some
scruples,

And refuses the
Interview,
unless on
certain
Terms.

Cardinal
of Lorain
makes
Proposals
of Marriage
to the Q.
of Scots,
Who is
deter'd by
Q. Eliz.

1562.

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1562. and brought many rich Prizes, seizing every day some French Ships in the Roads thereabouts.

Ann. 5. This Year John Vere, the sixteenth Earl of Oxford of that Honourable Line, paid his last Debt to Nature; who by his first Wife, Daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, had Katharine, afterwards Wife to the Lord Windsor; by his second Wife, Margaret Golding, he had Edward Earl of Oxford, (who was in a fair way to spend his Estate) and Mary, afterwards married to Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby.

Sean-Oneal comes into England. He defends himself. And now came Sean-Oneal out of Ireland to perform the Promise he had made a Year ago, with a Guard of Gallo Glasses arm'd with Hatchets, all bare-headed, their Hair flowing in Locks upon their Shoulders, on which were yellow Surplices dyed with Saffron, or stain'd with Urine, with long Sleeves, short Coats, and Thrum-Jackets, which caus'd as much staring and gaping among the English People, as if they had come from China or America. He was receiv'd with great Kindness, when howling and falling down at the Queen's Feet, he own'd his Crime, and receiv'd her Majesty's Pardon. Being ask'd on what Pretence he had Excluded Hugh, his Brother Matthew's Son, from the Estate of his Ancestors, he sternly reply'd, (as he had done in Ireland) 'That there was good Reason for't, 'because himself, who was the lawful and undoubted Heir of Con, as being born of his lawful Wife, was now invested in his Father's Estate, whereas Matthew was the Son of a Blacksmith at Dundalk, and born after his Marriage with his Wife, one Alison, but artificially Father'd upon Con, by his Mother, on purpose to rob him of the Honour and Patrimony of the O-neals; which tho' he had patiently suffer'd, yet none of the same Family would ever do it. That the surrender made by his Father to Henry VIII. and the second grant of it from the King to him by his Letters-Patents, did signify just nothing, forasmuch as Con had no Estate he could make over beyond his own Life; nor could he surrender it, but by the consent of the Nobility and People who had conferr'd on him the Honour of O-neal. That such Letters-Patents were moreover insignificant, unless there was a certain Heir of the Family acknowledg'd by twelve Men, which in this case was never done. For his part, the Laws of God and Man had made him the undoubted Heir, as being his Father's eldest Son, born in lawful Wedlock, and entitul'd O-neal by the joint consent of the Peers and Commons, according to the Law of that Country, call'd Tanistry, by which a Man grown is to be prefer'd before a Child, and the Uncle before the Nephew, whose Grandfather outlives his Father. Nor did he usurp any Authority over the Nobility of Ulster, but what his Ancestors before him had legally exercis'd, as he was able to make very good Proof of. The Queen seeming very well contented with this Account, dismiss'd him with Honour; and in return he did her, for some time, very good and faithful Service against the Hebridian Raparees.

1563. The Sixth Year of her Reign.

A Parliament call'd, and good Laws fram'd. In January the Parliament met at Westminster, and made several good Laws for the Relief of the Poor, the Ordering of the Navy, the Support and Improvement of Tillage, besides others for Punishing Vagabonds, Forgers of Evidences, Conjurors and Fortune-tellers, and such as should commit Sodomy or Perjury; one there was likewise for Translating the Bible into the Welch

Tongue, and another for the Preservation of the Queen's Majesty and the Realm, and avoiding those Inconveniences and Abuses for the future which had arose from the usurp'd Authority of the See of Rome. And the better to curb the Sawciness of those that maintain'd the same, 'twas made High-Treason for any Thrice to assert by Writing, Word or Deed, the Authority of any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual Matters, in England, or any other of the Queen's Dominions; or to refuse the Oath of Supremacy to the Queen in matters Spiritual, or over Persons Ecclesiastical, after it had been twice tender'd; yet so, as that they should not fall under an Attainder, nor forfeit their Goods and Chattels; nor that this Oath should be exacted from any Peer of the Realm, or any Person of eminent Quality, (whose Allegiance the Queen did not in the least question) nor indeed of any, but such who were, had been, or should be in Holy Orders, or did then bear, had born, or should bear some Ecclesiastical Office; or that, after warning given, should refuse to observe the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England; or should dishonour the same in Publick, whether by Word or Deed; or should celebrate or hear Mass, &c. as may be seen in the Statute. The Parliament moreover, as a Congratulatory Compliment upon the happy turn of Affairs, granted the Queen several Subsidies, viz. the Clergy one, and the Laity another, besides two Fifteenths and Tenths, in consideration of her having reform'd the Faith, restor'd Peace to her Kingdoms, rescu'd England and Scotland from the Common Enemy, retin'd the Coin, rebuilt the Navy, provided Ammunition for Sea and Land, and, in a word, for the extraordinary Care she us'd in France for the Security of its young King, the Safety of the Kingdom of England, and the regaining of Calais. A Fifteenth and a Tenth (to take some notice of it for the sake of Strangers) is a certain Tax on every City, Burrough and Town, not upon every Man in particular, but a general Sum, in proportion to the Fifteenth part of the Wealth of the respective Places. A Subsidy we call that which is impos'd on every single Person, as they are Assess'd by Poll, according to the Value of their Goods and Lands. But neither is the one or the other Tax ever laid but by Act of Parliament. In the meanwhile the Prince of Condé, in his expeditious Journey to the English Auxiliary Troops in Normandy, was stop't in that remarkable Battel at Dreux, and taken Prisoner by the Duke of Guise, and with him and several more, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was in the Engagement, and had before voluntarily surrender'd himself to the Protestants, on purpose to communicate some private Advices to them. But in a little time he receiv'd his Liberty, and paid the Sum agreed upon to Coligny, who with the Auxiliary Forces march'd to the Castle of Caen, which he presently Besieged, and by their assistance spent less time in obliging Caen, Baieux, Falaise and St. Lo, to a Surrender.

Whilst these things were acting in France, Queen Elizabeth signify'd to the King of Spain, by Chaloner, Her Embassador there, 'That she had sent over an Army into France to prevent the Guises (who were grown Insolent, and aim'd at her Ruin) from Transplanting the War into England, and to take Possession of New-Haven, which had been deliver'd up to her till she receiv'd Satisfaction for Calais. His answer was, That if Calais was the whole of her Demand, he freely comply'd with her: But if it was made a Religious War, he must, for his part, abide by the Oldest Religion. As for the Guises, he could not but think them too Weak and Inconsiderable for the most Potent Queen of

1563. Ann. 6.

Subsidies granted to the Queen, and why.

A Fifteenth and a Tenth, what.

Subsidy, what.

The P. of Conde and Throckmorton taken Prisoners.

Q. Eliz. informs the Spaniard of her Force, sent into France.

His answer.

1563. Ann. 6. of England to fear, especially since they had no Interest or Alliance with the French at all, as formerly they had. The Bishop of Aquila likewise, the Spanish Ambassador then in England, frequently told the Queen, that the King, his Master, neither could nor would desert his Brother the King of France on the present Juncture. To whom the Queen made no other Reply, than that of an old English Proverb: Every Man must secure his own House, and I mine. Nor was the King of Spain insensible that the Queen, at the very same time, was very importunate with the Protestant Princes of Germany, by Henry Knolls and Christopher Monts, for the Relief of Condé, and the Support of the common Interest of the Church; which the Spaniard being much offended at, sought what Occasions he could against her on the score of Religion likewise.

Hostages for Calais endeavour to escape.

The French Protestants desert the English.

War Proclaim'd on both sides.

The Fr. sent out of New-Haven.

Mean while the French Hostages, who were sent into England for Five hundred thousand Crowns for the restoring of Calais, seeing things look sullenly and as if they would end in War, attempted to escape out of the Kingdom: But just as they were ready to take Shipping, they were brought back again, with John Ribbald the famous Pilot, who came privately into England to Convoy them away. There was a Peace agreed on in the mean time between the King of France and the Prince of Condé, (who pleas'd himself with the hopes of being Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and Husband to the Queen of Scots) as likewise the Protestants, without any regard to the Queen of England. And they declar'd unanimously, that unless the English would depart from New-Haven, the Agreement for restoring Calais, included in the Treaty at Cambray, should be null and void. And there was a Proclamation sent out, giving liberty to all Frenchmen to Assault, Seize and Plunder any Englishmen, as long as they held possession of New-Haven. The same liberty did the Queen grant, by way of Reprisal, to the English, That they should treat all the French, but what dwelt in London, as Enemies, so long as they remain'd Masters of Calais. Hereupon the English put to Sea with an incredible large Fleet, and Block'd up both the French and Spaniard; so that the Queen was forc'd to excuse their Piracies on the Spaniards, by a special Ambassador, and to restrain those Insolencies herein by a Proclamation.

The Earl of Warwick, Governor of New-Haven, when he saw the French so unsteady to their Duty, and, on the slightest Rumours of a Peace, caballing both among themselves and with the Rhinegrave (who lay with a Body of Forces in the adjoining Country) to betray the Town and dispossess the English, he remov'd out of it all the French Protestants as well as Papists, and seiz'd on their Ships. This the French took very heinously, complaining that the English design'd not so much the Protection of the distress'd French, as the bare Possession of the Place; and charg'd them as being injurious to Strangers. Certain it is, that nothing did so much alienate the Minds of the Normans, Aquitanes and Poictons formerly, and the Hearts of others who were under the English Jurisdiction in France, than that they were thought and treated as Foreigners. And now do the French begin to make all possible Preparations for a Siege; and at the same time the King and Condé make as pressing Motions, by Briquemot and d'Alvy, in England, for the re-delivery of New-Haven. Neither did the Queen refuse it on these Terms, That the King of Spain should become Guarantee for the restoring of Calais within the time limited: That the Treaty of Cambray should be confirmed by the Oaths of the King, the Queen-Mother, and the Princes of the Blood, and approved in every Parliament

of France, and some of the first Nobility to be deliver'd as Hostages.

In the mean while, there was a very raging Sickness in the Garrison at New-Haven; and of the Recruits sent thither for their Relief, Two hundred perish'd by Shipwreck, with their Commander Sir Tho. Finch Kt. and two Brothers of the Lord Wentworth; through which Misfortune, when they almost despair'd of keeping the Town, Sir Thomas Smith, Ambassador in ordinary in France, was order'd to propose the restoring of that Town in lieu of Calais, and that the Business should be determin'd by the Umpirage of the King of Spain, who had married the French King's Sister. But this they reject'd, alledging, that the King of France own'd no Superior, nor would he refer his Concerns to the Arbitriment of any Prince whatever; and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was by them roughly Treated, who was commission'd to inspect these Matters, on suspicion that he being dexterous enough in raising popular Tumults, was return'd for that purpose, and they charg'd him with coming into France without a Pass, whereas he had Credential Letters, and others also from the French Ambassador in England; nor would they so much as allow him an Hearing, assuring themselves, it seems, of the surrender of New-Haven, upon the account of the Sickness which was so violent there. The Constable Montmorency, with the chief of the Nobility, arriv'd there about this time, and Condé came soon after with the chief of the Protestants. The English, who could not but wonder for what reason the Minds of the French Protestants were so suddenly chang'd, were inform'd by them, that since the Peace was concluded, their Religion, in which they differ'd from their Countrymen, was no longer concern'd, but the Safety of their Country, in the defence of which every one ought to join. Montmorency sent a Trumpet to Warwick to Summon him to a Surrender; who was sent back with Sir Hugh Pawlet to assure him, that the English were prepar'd to suffer the last Extremities before they would yield up the Town without the Queen's Orders. So the Works being finish'd, and the Batteries having play'd for several Days, some Breaches were made, the Conduits stop'd, and the Water drawn out of the Ditch, which lay higher than the Sea. The French push on the Siege with Vigour, and the English give them as brave a Repulse, but yet there perished more Souls by the Sickness than by the Sword.

Queen Elizabeth having Intelligence of this, express'd with Tears her Commiseration of the sad state her People were reduc'd to; and that she might no longer expose her bravest Men to the Fury of two Enemies, the Sickness and the Sword, she set out a Proclamation, wherein she commended the Valour of her Commanders and Soldiers, and gave orders to Warwick to Capitate upon Honourable Terms. He immediately sent Pawlet, Sir Maurice Dennis, Treasurer of the Garrison, Horsey and Pellham to Montmorency, to agree upon Articles of Surrender. And soon after these were agreed on: That the Town, with all the Ammunition, Shipping and Furniture, which belong'd to the French King and his Subjects, should be surrender'd: That the larger Tower should forthwith be deliver'd up to Montmorency: That the Prisoners taken on both sides should be exchange'd without Ransom; and, That the English should have free liberty to depart in six Days, if the Wind serv'd, with all things that belong'd to the Queen and them. The Hostages deliver'd were Sir Oliver Manours, the Earl of Rutland's Brother, Leighston, Pelham and Horsey. The last that staid was Colonel Edward Randolph, who out of a Piety never enough to be commended, carry'd upon his Shoulders the sick and diseased Soldiers

1563. after it had stood the Siege of a Sickness more violent than the Enemies Fire, left at last to the French, after the English had been Masters of it eleven Months; during which time there were swept away by the Plague, Somerset, John Zouch, Alberick Darcy, Drury, Entwessel, Ormesly, Vaghan, Croker, Cockson, Prowd, Saul, Kemis, all stout Commanders. There were slain likewise the two Tremaines, Brothers, Sanders, Bromfield the Master-Gunner, Robinson Bailiff of the Town, Strangers an expert Seaman, and Goodall an excellent Miner.

The French King was very bountiful of his Te Deum's for the recovery of this Town; the Papists all over the Kingdom were mightily exalted, and made their boasts, That the English were thrust out of France by the same Protestants that invited them thither; and that this would prove the ground of a lasting Dissention between those Parties. D'Hospital, the Chancellor, made a fine Harangue to Congratulate the French on this Occasion, and to dress up the matter, he reported on a false Hearsay, That the English Fleet appear'd with fresh Recruits before the Town the next Day after 'twas surrender'd: And he went so far as to declare, that the English had by this War quitted entirely all Claim and Pretensions to Calais. The Soldiers that were brought back to England sick of the Infection, scatter'd the bad Influence thereof so unhappily, that it seiz'd on the whole Kingdom in a miserable manner; and there were carry'd out of the City of London alone, which consists of an hundred and twenty one Parishes, 21530 Corps.

The Duke of Guise, Uncle to the Queen of Scots, being slain in the heat of the Civil War in France, her Dowry-Money, which used to be paid out of France, was stoppt, Hamilton Duke of Castle-Herault turn'd out of his Dukedom, and the Scots excluded from being of the Lifeguard to the French King; and this the Queen highly resented. The Cardinal of Lorain, another of her Uncles, being apprehensive that this might provoke her to desert the French and court an English Interest, once more set on foot, by the Agency of Crook, a Match with Charles of Austria, and tender'd the County of Tyrol in Jointure. She imparts the matter to Queen Elizabeth, who by Randolph repeated the same Advice she had given her before in relation to this Point: And farther, she recommended to her in plain terms Robert Dudley, (whose Wife, one Robser's Heiress, died of a fall from some high place) and engag'd farther, That if she would marry him, she should be declar'd by Act of Parliament, her Sister, Daughter, or Heir to the Crown, in case she herself died without Issue. As soon as the Queen-Mother, and her Uncles in France, had learnt this from Foix, the French Ambassador in England, they look'd on this Proposal with so much Contempt, and thought it so gross a Disparagement to her Royal Blood and Character, that they promis'd her not only the payment of her Jointure, but to settle the Scots in the Possessions of their ancient Liberty, and to grant them new Privileges also, if she would adhere firmly to the French Interests, and have nothing to say to that Motion. They moreover suggest'd to her, That Queen Elizabeth could never be in earnest when she made this Proposal, but under a disguise, as if she had a mind to Dudley herself. Neither was there any trusting to Acts of Parliament; for in England, what one decreed another repeal'd: Besides, 'twas the great aim of all the Politicks of England to keep her by all possible Arts from marrying at all.

The Queen of Scots came not to any Resolution herein, but referr'd herself to a Conference,

having her Thoughts mightily taken up with her Affairs at Home, which now lay in great Confusion and Disorder; for Murray imprison'd the Archbishop of St. Andrews for continuing to say Mass; nor was he discharged from his Imprisonment, and Pardon'd, without much submission and entreaty. The warmer Party of Churchmen did also thro' Murray's Authority, outrage a certain Priest that said Mass at Court, (which the Laws allow'd) and yet came off with Impunity. Neither was she able to suppress those who were up in Arms, tho' she took all imaginable care of the Publick Welfare, by granting a general Amnesty, augmenting the Judges Salaries, enacting wholesome Laws, punishing Adultery with Death, and often hearing Causes herself in Court, that she might carry things even with Persons of every Rank or Degree.

In this Year of Troubles, to the great Grief of the Protestants, died William Lord Grey of Wilton, Governor of Berwick, a Person who had gain'd a considerable Reputation in the Wars, and lost a great part of his Estate by the payment of a heavy Ransom, when he was taken Prisoner in France. To whom succeeded, as Governor of Berwick, Francis Earl of Bedford. About this time died also Alvares a Quadra, to the as great mortification of the Papists. He had been Ambassador from Spain to England, and had fed his Countrymen with hopes of restoring the Roman Catholick Religion in England; and was a mighty Intimate with the Pools, whom I have mention'd before. This made him look'd on with a jealous Eye, as one that aim'd at the Disturbance of the Publick Tranquility, and the Breach of Correspondence between the Queen and the Spaniard. Upon which the Queen mov'd the King of Spain to recal him home. But he excus'd it under the varnish of Religion, and wrote back to the Queen, That Princes were in a miserable case, if their Ministers must be called home upon every petty Disgust; nor did he a little resent to have his Ambassador confin'd to his own House, without his knowledge or Consent, and stand the Test of publick Examinations and Reproofs; and all for no other reason, than that he had given shelter to an Italian that fled thither, having discharg'd a Pistol at another, and afterwards secretly carry'd him off.

From this time the Spaniard was more enrag'd against the English, making use of this pretence, That the English Pirates were very troublesome to the French upon the Coasts of Spain, and design'd to annoy the West-Indies. And 'twas not long before this glowing Rage broke out into a flame, the King of Spain sending Richard Shelly, who left England for his Religion, and was therefore a most implacable Enemy to his Prince, on an Honourable Embassy to Maximilian the elected King of the Romans, to Congratulate him upon his Nomination: And moreover, he seiz'd on some English Merchantmen in the Ports of Batavia, (now call'd Andalusia) because the English had, in giving chace to the French, taken some Ships from the Spaniards.

This Year likewise did William Lord Paget depart this Life, a Person pretty Ancient, and of whose good Qualities had advanc'd him to high Characters of Honour. For so great was the merit of his Learning and fine Parts, that King Henry VIII. made him his Secretary, sent him Ambassador to Charles the Emperor, and to Francis I. King of France; and nominated him as one of the Lords-Justices of the Kingdom during his Son's Minority. King Edward VI. made him Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and Comptroller of his Household, rais'd him to the Honour of a Baron, and made him Knight of the Garter,

1563. Garter, (which notwithstanding Dudley Duke of Northumberland dishonourably stript him of, and Queen Mary as honourably restor'd, as due to the Character of one who had deserv'd so well at the Hands of the Government) and at last made him Lord Privy-Seal, which is the fourth Place or Degree of Temporal Honour. (For K. Henry VIII. had, by Act of Parliament, consign'd the first Place to the Lord-Chancellor, the second to the Lord-Treasurer, the third to the President of his Majesty's Council, and the fourth to the Lord Privy-Seal; who were likewise to take place of all Dukes, except those of the Royal Blood). Queen Elizabeth, by reason of his great Age, which rendred him unfit for the Publick Service, eas'd him of that Care, at his own request, and retain'd an Affection and Value for him, tho' he was a strict Zealot of the Romish Church. He left three Sons, Henry and Thomas, who succeeded one another in the Title, and Charles, whom I shall have frequent occasion to speak of. He marry'd likewise several Daughters into noble Families.

The death
of the E.
of Rutland

And the same Debt was paid to Nature by Mancours, or de Maneris, Earl of Rutland, being Son to Thomas the first Earl of this Family, and Nephew of George Lord Ross, by the Daughter of Thomas St. Leiger and Ann his Wife, (who being Sister to Edward IV. brought a great accession of Honour to this Family) and Great Grandson to Robert, who having marry'd the Daughter and Heir of the ancient Lord Ross, brought into his Family both a Barony and a most plentiful Estate. This Henry had by Margaret Nevil, Daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmorland, two Sons, Edward and John, both successively Earls of Rutland; besides a Daughter, marry'd to William Courtney of Powderham.

and of the
Duchess
of Suffolk

The same Year did Frances Dutchess of Suffolk end a miserable Life, being Daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by Mary second Sister to Henry VIII. and Queen-Dowager of France, after she had seen her Daughter, the Lady Jane, Proclaim'd Queen of England, and not long after Beheaded, and her Husband undergo the same Fate in some little time. The Lady Katharine, her second Daughter, she liv'd to see marry'd to the Earl of Pembroke's Son, divorc'd from him, and confin'd to the Tower. And the Lady Mary, her third Daughter, thrown away, by an unequal Match, upon Keyes the Groom-Porter at Court: And herself, last of all, so far forgetting the Greatness of her Descent, as to accept for an Husband Adrian Stokes, a Gentleman, but in mean Circumstances; which how much soever it might tend to her Dishonour, yet she seem'd to do it for her own Security.

1564.

The Seventh Year of her Reign.

Now did France begin to triumph, having once more Peace within her Borders; which indeed was in a great measure owing to Queen Elizabeth: For they were the more forward to agree among themselves, that they might stop the Torrent of the English Bravery, which what Havock it had made in former Times, when, upon a private Quarrel, they were called thither by the Duke of Burgundy, they could not easily forget. When by this means the heat of the War betwixt England and France was rather smother'd for a time, than any lasting Peace concluded, the Queen, having been ungratefully Treated by the Protestants of France, resolv'd no longer to hazard her own Safety to secure other Men's, and began to entertain cool and serious Thoughts as to a Peace. This she Negotiated by Sir Thomas Smith, a Person of excellent Sense and Conduct;

Peace be-
tween
France
and Engl.

and the French agreed thereto. Throckmorton, who then liv'd in France, a kind of Prisoner at large, was join'd with him in the same Commission. France submitted the matter to the Management of Morvillier, Bishop of Orleans, and Jaques Burden, Secretary; who in April subscrib'd to these Articles at Troyes in Champaign. That neither Party should invade the other: That the Acts of private Men should bind themselves only: That there should be a Free Trade on both sides: That Rebels and Traytors should not be shelter'd: That no Letters of Reprisal should be granted: That all Hostilities should be forgot: That the reservation of Rights and Titles of all Actions, Claims and Demands, which they have or pretend to have the one against the other respectively, shall remain to them safe and entire; and, That Defences and Exceptions shall likewise be reserv'd. The next Day these Articles were agreed on apart, viz. That a certain Sum of Money should be repaid to Queen Elizabeth at set Times: That the Hostages should be deliver'd and return'd from England, upon payment of Six hundred and twenty thousand Crowns; and, That after the Treaty was settled, Throckmorton should be at Liberty to return to England. The French express'd their Joy at the Conclusion of this Peace, by publick Bonfires, as is usual on such Occasions. The Queen of England swore to the Treaty in presence of Gonor and Foix; and some time after the French King did the same in presence of the Lord Hunsdon, who at the same time invest'd his Majesty with the Order of the Garter, a Robe of Honour, and a Collar of Roses, having the Picture of St. George hanging at it, &c.

About this time arriv'd in England another Ambassador, in the room of the Bishop of Aquila, who died some Months before, viz. Don Diego, Gusman de Sylva, Canon of Toledo; a Person of a venerable Aspect and Gravity. In the interim, the English had met with very indifferent Usage in Spain, by the means of Roderico Gomez de Sylva, who bore them a Grudge, as being Protestants. But the Duke of Alva found a Temper to qualify this; whether in respect to the English, as he pretended, or in spite to Gomez, is hard to say. Nor had the English better Treatment in the Spanish Netherlands. Cardinal Granvill attempted (on the score of Religion too) to foment a Difference between the English and the Netherlanders, who had maintain'd an happy Union and Commerce hitherto. For he it was that made the Netherlanders complain, by Assonville, of the Imposition of unreasonable Customs on their Wares in England, (which notwithstanding was done in the Reign of Philip and Mary) and likewise of the Prohibition, by Act of Parliament, of many of their Manufactures. The English complain'd on the other hand, that their Goods were seiz'd in the Netherlands on very slight Pretences, by virtue of some new Orders which forbid the Exportation of some Goods: That Passage was denied through the Netherlands for Horses, Saltpeter and Gunpowder, out of Italy and Germany: That burdensom and unheard of Imposts were strictly demanded for Provisions, Anchorages, Horses, &c. And all this contrary to the Treaty of Commerce concluded heretofore, call'd, The Grand Treaty.

Mean while the Dutchess of Parma, Governess of the Low-Countries, Prohibits the Importation of such Wares and Manufactures into England from the Low-Countries, as were forbidden in England; and not long after forbids the bringing of English Cloth into the Netherlands; using it for a Pretence, that the Plague very lately rag'd in England to an high and dangerous degree. But, in truth, the Cardinal Granvill's Policy was at the bottom of all, which aim'd at putting into ferment the Spirits of the Clothiers in England, and

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The Eng-
lish fix
their Ma-
nufactory
at Emden.

and many more that had an immediate Dependence on them, when they perceiv'd their Cloth was not Exported, besides that the Cloth-Manufacture might be set up in the Netherlands to the Detriment of the English. At this the English were so nettled, that they took occasion, under colour of fearing the Spanish Inquisition lately brought into the Netherlands, and the prospect they had of future Disturbances there, to settle the Manufactory for the Wares of England at Emden upon the River Ems in Friesland. On the other hand, the Governels of the Netherlands Interdicts all Commerce between the Netherlands and the English at Emden, or elsewhere, or to bring any Merchandizes bought of them into the Low-Countries, on pain of Forfeiture.

Open Trade between the English and the Netherlands restor'd by Gusman.

These were Methods which Gusman thought too sharp to do either side any good: For he was a wise Man, and knew well enough how great gainers the Netherlands were by Trading with England. And for the same reason it was that Lodowick Malanus Earl of Flanders, about the Year 1338, inveigled the English, by the Grant of some large Privileges, to settle the Staple of English Wool at Bruges in Flanders. For, ever since that time, the Resort has been so general of People of all Nations into Flanders, to buy off the English Cloth, and other English Commodities, that 'tis incredible what an Advance it has made of the Merchants and Retail-Trade, and as much it has improv'd the Fishery and Shipping of the Netherlands. Insomuch, that the English Wool has prov'd to them more than an imaginary Golden-Fleece; and from thence was deriv'd that famous Order of the Golden-Fleece, and the full Coats of the Dukes of Burgundy. 'Tis most unquestionably certain, (and I have it from good Books of Accounts) that the Trade between the English and the Netherlands, hath amounted yearly to above twelve Millions of Ducats. Hence it was, that he wrought so hard to make up the matter, and so effectually, that the Trade which had been stop't was put in *Statu quo*, and all Orders and Decrees on both sides to the contrary, from the first of January, in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth, were suspended till farther Orders from Commissioners appointed on both sides. But the Year following, when some Proposals were started on this Head, by the Lord Viscount Montacute, Nicholas Wotton, and Walter Haddon Master of the Requests, Deputies for the English; Montigni, Affonville and Joachim Agidius, Commissioners for the Netherlands, the Troubles in the Netherlands put a stop to the Conference, after it had been agreed, that there should be an open Trade till one Prince should denounce War against the other; and the Merchants in that case to have forty Days Notice to dispose of Themselves and their Effects.

Q. Eliz. visits Cambridge.

These things being so far settled abroad, the Queen took a Progress for Pleasure into the Country, and visited the University of Cambridge, one of the Eyes of the Kingdom; where, after a splendid and courteous Reception, and the Entertainment of the Schools and the Stage, Plays and Disputations, she took a view of the Colleges, and acknowledg'd their Civilities in a Latin Oration, commending the plenty and variety of good Learning that abounded there, and recommended the Study thereof as their first and greatest Care, with a Promise, that she would be always ready to Promote and Encourage them.

At her return, she created Robert Dudley, who was Master of the Horse, and very much in her Favour, and whom she had mark'd out (as I hinted before) for an Husband to the Queen of Scots,

Baron of Denbeigh; and gave him the Place, and some Revenues thereto belonging; and the more effectually to recommend him to the Queen of Scots's Favour, the next Day she made him Earl of Leicester, a Title to be held by him and the Male-Heirs of his Body, lawfully begotten, for ever. On which account, she had likewise created his eldest Brother Ambrose, Lord Lisle and Earl of Warwick. Dudley, after these Honours were so bountifully heap'd upon him, to ingratiate himself with the Queen of Scots, whose Favour he was willing to purchase at any Rate, accus'd the Lord-Keeper Bacon to the Queen, as having interpos'd in the Business of the Succession to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots, and as being privy to a Book, wherein Hales, whom I have had occasion to mention before, attempts, in case the Queen should die, to devolve the Crown, by a Lineal Descent, upon the House of Suffolk. Hereupon Hales was committed to the Tower: But Bacon (who denied the Charge) was, with much ado, restor'd to the Queen's Favour by Cecil, who in the Particular of the Succession ever inclin'd to declare his Opinion, as he resolv'd always to do, unless the Queen demanded his Thoughts herein; of which there was little danger, since she never heard any Discourse with so much uneasiness as that concerning her Successor. When on the other side, those that had most Sense and good Estates were not concern'd for any thing more than this, for that the Differences in Religion had this Influence upon the Zealots of the Reformation, to make them think the Queen of Scots ought to be Excluded from the Succession upon a few nicer Punctilios in Law, however clear and unquestionable her Title was in other respects. And among the Papists, the greatest Part, the cooler Heads at least of the Party, were of opinion her Pretensions were good, and ought to stand, being firm and according to Law: And others again were for setting up Margaret, the Queen of Scots Aunt, and Wife to Matthew Stuart Earl of Lenox, and her Children, of whom they conceiv'd mighty Hopes, as being English-Born. These things the Queen of Scots was not altogether ignorant of; who, to prevent them what she could, sent for Matthew Earl of Lenox into Scotland, by Advice of her Aunt, the Countess of Lenox, under pretence of restoring him to his ancient Hereditary Estate, but in truth and reality, to advise with him in these Particulars. Who by his Wife's means obtain'd the Queen's Leave and Letters of Recommendation, when he had been Banished from his Country about twenty Years.

This Gentleman (to give some light into the matter by going a little higher) was a branch of the same Family with the Stuarts, the Royal House of Scotland, and had Royal Blood in his Veins: For Mary, the Daughter of James II. King of Scots, bore to James Hamilton a Son, James I. Earl of Arran, of that Line, and a Daughter Mary, Wife to Matthew Stuart Earl of Lenox, the first of this Christian Name. James Earl of Arran divorc'd his first Wife, and marry'd in her Life-time Fenetta of Betone, the Cardinal of Betone's Aunt, by whom he had James Duke of Castle-Herault, whom his Enemies hence would needs have to be illegitimate; Mary the Earl of Arran's Sister bore to Matthew, John Earl of Lenox, who being slain by the Hamiltons whilst he was endeavouring the enlargement of James IV. left this Matthew Stuart, we are now speaking of, a Person in very high esteem with K. James V. for his Father's sake. But Matthew, after the King's death, and when 'twas visible that all pass'd through the Hands of the Hamiltons, withdrew

1564. *Ann. 7.* drew into France, from whence being sent back into Scotland by Henry the French King, to prevent any Detriment to the Kingdom from Hamilton's Regency, he did his Country good Service. Nevertheless, being a frank and open-temper'd Person, he fell into the Snare laid by the Cardinal of Betone and Hamilton; and in a little time lost the French King's Favour. And when 'twas come to that pass, that there was no staying at Home, nor returning to France, he came into England, and put himself under the Protection of Hen. VIII. who frankly receiv'd him as a Person whose Interest was considerable in the West of Scotland. And tho' the Hamiltons condemn'd him, and made sale of his Estate; yet King Henry acknowledged him next Heir to the Crown of Scotland, after Mary, then an Infant, and gave him Margaret Douglas, his Niece by his eldest Sister, to Wife, with an Estate in England to the value of Seventeen hundred Marks per Annum: And this Agreement he made with him, That he should deliver into the King of England's Hands the Castle of Dunbritton, and the Isle of Bute, with the Castle of Rothsay; which tho' he resolutely undertook, yet the Success did not answer.

The Cause why Lenox was call'd Home.

This Matthew, Earl of Lenox, was now sent for Home, and his Banishment taken off by the Prudence and Foresight of the Queen of Scots; who restor'd him likewise to his Estate, as well to engage him against any Attempts from James her base Brother, whom she had made Earl of Murray, as likewise to cut off all Pretensions to the Crown of England on the side of Henry Lord Darley, the Son of this Matthew. For, should he, who was a young Person, of Royal Blood, born in England, and in great Favour with the English, happen to match into some Powerful Family in England, she was afraid, that he, with such a fair Prospect before him, might be a Bar to her own Title to the Succession to the Crown of England; and the rather, because in most Men's Opinion he was look'd on as the Heir, immediately after her. Nor did she more earnestly desire any one thing, than that she might be so happy to devolve the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland on some Person of Scottish Extraction, who might entail the Succession thereof in the Name and Family of the Stuarts. This Queen Elizabeth got some notice of, and to prevent it, advertis'd the Queen of Scots, by Randolph, That that Marriage was so far disapprov'd by all the English in general, that she had prorogu'd the Parliament contrary to the Advice of her Council, lest being at present disoblig'd, they should take this very Opportunity to promote some Act against her Title to the Succession. And that it might not hereafter come to this, and that she might likewise give the greater Satisfaction to the English, she advis'd her to think of some new Match; and on this occasion, she once more press'd her to accept the Earl of Leicester, whom she had made an Earl on purpose to qualify him the better for her Favours.

A Conference about a Match between the Queen of Scots and the E. of Leicester.

Hereupon the Earl of Bedford, and Randolph the Earl of Murray and Lidington, were appointed Delegates to Treat about this Match at Berwick, in the Month of November. The English Commissioners promis'd a most inviolable Friendship, a constant Peace, and to secure to her the Succession, provided she would accept this Offer: For on this condition Queen Elizabeth had promis'd to declare her by Act of Parliament her Adopted Daughter or Sister, as soon as the Marriage was over. The Scottish Deputies maintain'd, on the other hand, that it fell much beneath the Character of a Princess, who had been Court'd by Charles, the Emperor Ferdinand's Son, as well as by the French King, the Prince of Conde,

and the Duke of Ferrara, to stoop so low as to Marry an Upstart Earl, and a Subject of England, with no other Settlement or Portion but that of Expectation; nor was it much for the Queen of England's Honour to recommend so mean an Alliance to a Princess and her Kinswoman: But she would give a very acceptable proof of regard for the Queen of Scots, would she permit her to make choice, by her own Inclination, of one who would be ready to make a Peace with England, and make her a yearly Settlement, and would she confirm her Title to the Succession by Act of Parliament.

It seem'd to be Queen Elizabeth's great aim, through the Management of this whole Affair, to fix the Succession to the two Crowns upon an English Bottom, tho' she went but slowly to work about it. The Queen of Scots, after two Years delay, and when she had fix'd her Eye and good Inclinations upon the Lord Darly, suspected she had been Trick'd, and that the true reason of Queen Elizabeth's propounding this Match, was to reserve to herself the first Choice of all the rest, or at least to admit Leicester's Addresses with more decency, after he had gain'd the consent and good-liking of a crown'd Head. But the Scottish Commissioners being true to their Interests, had resolv'd to break off any Match, no matter how, which they found likely to interfere with their Power over the Queen. Queen Elizabeth advis'd them to prevent her Marriage with Darly; and Leicester himself, in hopes of enjoying Queen Elizabeth, secretly advertis'd Bedford not to be too warm in the Business; and on the suppos'd ground of his entertaining these Hopes, he was thought to be an underhand Assistant to the Lord Darly's Pretensions.

The Eighth Year of her Reign.

1565.

The Lord Darly, in the mean time, at the importunate and humble Request of his Mother to the Queen, got leave, tho' with much Difficulty, to go into Scotland, and to make a stay of 8 Months, under colour of enjoying a share in his Father's Restoration: And in that most sharp Winter, when the Thames was frozen over, he came to Edinburgh in February. He was indeed a Gentleman whose Person might well become the Honour of a Crown, extremely Handsome, and of a Temper as well mix'd as his outward Proportions. The Queen of Scots fell in love with him at the first sight; and the better to smother the Flame, she was always entertaining Randolph, the English Ambassador, with Discourses about a Match with Leicester. At the same time she was working at Rome to get a Dispensation; the Lord Darly and herself being so near of Kin, that the Canon-Law demanded a Dispensation. Upon the discovery of all this, she sent Lidington to Queen Elizabeth to gain her consent for Consummating a Marriage with the Lord Darly, and that she might not be debarr'd so Natural a Privilege upon Hopes and Prospects merely precarious.

Queen Elizabeth breaks the Business to the Trustiest of her Privy-Council, who, through Murray's Insinuations, were easily led into the belief, that the Queen of Scots's design in this Marriage, was to corroborate her Title to the Crown of England, to renew her old Claim, and to introduce Popery once more; and that she would not want some Adherents on the score of the Succession's being hereby with more certainty secured, since there was a prospect of Heirs that would probably descend from this Match; and others also, out of the good Affection they bore to the old Superstition, inasmuch as to their own Knowledge, most of the Justices of the Peace

1565. Ann. 8. Peace throughout England were Popishly affected. For the better prevention of these ill Effects, they judg'd it adviseable, in the first place, to Address the Queen out of hand to marry some Person, and so secure and fix the Succession upon her own Issue. (For the great fear was, that should the Queen of Scots Marry and have Issue, the certainty of Succession would cast the Balance of the Peoples Affections on her side). And then again, that this would be a means to encourage the Reform'd Religion, and keep down Popery: The one, by some Abatements of things merely Indifferent to some warmer Sticklers on the Protestant side; and the other, by committing such Popish Bishops to Custody afresh, as had been displac'd, and were, in the Sickness time, dispers'd up and down the Countries, by empowering the Bishops to Exercise the Ecclesiastical Laws to their utmost extent against that Bug-bear, the *Pramunire*, which the Common-Law had thrown in their way, by suppressing Books sent by *Harding* and other Divines (who had fled their Country) out of the Netherlands, by removing some Scottish Priests that were harbour'd in England; by depriving the English Fugitives of their Benefices, hitherto enjoyed by them; and by compelling the Judges (who were almost all of them Catholics) to take an Oath of Supremacy. But in order to break off the Match with the Lord *Darby*, 'twas thought expedient to alarm Scotland, by raising of Soldiers in all the Parts adjacent thereto, and to put more Men into the Garrison of *Berwick*; that the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darby's* Mother, and her Son *Charles*, should be committed to Custody; that the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darby*, should be call'd back to England upon Pain of forfeiting their Chattels and Estates, before any Treaty were clap'd up with France and Spain; that the Scots who oppos'd the Marriage, should be Protected; and that the Lady *Katharine Grey*, with the Earl of *Hertford*, should now receive some Countenance at Court, as being the only Persons the Queen of Scots seem'd to be jealous of as Co-rivals to her in the point of Succession. And this was look'd on as the most probable Expedient to put a stop to the Match.

Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* was dispatch'd away to the Queen of Scots, to put her in mind, That what one could but once resolve on in one's whole Life, could never be too well consider'd before-hand. That those who Marry'd in haste, commonly Repented at leisure, but chiefly indeed to push on the Business of a Match with my Lord *Leicester*. That the design'd Match with her Cousin was directly against the Pope's Authority. For 'twas Queen Elizabeth's great desire, that the Succession might rest in some Person whom she should choose of the English Blood, tho' some again thought, that the Religion of both Kingdoms would fare better, should she die without Issue. She answer'd however, That Matters were now gone too far to be recall'd, nor had Queen Elizabeth any reason to be disoblig'd, since by her Advice she had now made choice, not of a Foreigner, but an Englishman, and withal a Descendant of the Blood-Royal of both Kingdoms, and the first Nobleman of all Britain. *Lidington*, who was all this while in England, had several times mention'd to *Leicester* the Marriage with the Queen of Scots as no impracticable thing; as he also did to *Norfolk*, a Person who deserv'd better to be the Husband of a Queen: But he always wav'd it with a modest Refusal.

The Queen of England, to retard this Match which was now drawing to a Conclusion, calls home *Lenox* and the Lord *Darby* his Son, as her Subjects, according to the Tenour of the Licence granted by her; the Father modestly ex-

cused himself by Letters; the Son humbly requests her Majesty not to oppose his Honour and Advancement, and represents it as probable, that he may by this means be capable of doing some Service to England, his Native Country; and makes a frank and generous Profession of his Esteem for the Queen of Scots, above all other Persons whatever; who in Requital of it, soon after confer'd on him the Honor of Knighthood, and the Titles of Baron of *Ardmanock*, Earl of *Ross*, and Duke of *Rothsay*. And five Months after his Arrival in Scotland, she advanced him to her Royal Bed, by the Consent of most of the Nobility; and had him proclaim'd King: But *Murray*, who had been all this while plotting to serve his own ambitious Ends, and under the fine Cover of Religion, had drawn to his Party the Duke of *Chastel-Herault*; was much offended at the Match: And others upon it broke out into an open Rebellion, making these Queries among themselves; Whether a Papist might be lawfully made their King? Whether the Queen of Scotland was at liberty to make her own Choice? Whether the States of the Realm might not impose one merely by their own Authority?

The Queen of England, who was very well acquainted with the Modesty and good Temper of *Darby*, and the sincere and honest Inclinations of his Father, was so far from being uneasy at the Matter, that she really pitied her Kinsman and the young Queen, who had to do with a boisterous kind of People, so long exempt from the Discipline of Kingly Government, that they would now hardly bend their Necks to the Royal Yoke. And she was now totally freed from all Jealousie or Apprehension on that side, when she saw the Queen, her Rival, rather sink than advance in Power, by so mean an Alliance, when she had likewise the Lord *Darby's* Mother in her own Hands, and foresaw that this would raise great Commotions in Scotland, a Thing which very soon after happen'd: For, some of the Peers of Scotland, the chief of whom were *Murray* and *Hamilton*, slighting the Match; the one, because 'twas carry'd on without the Queen of England's Consent; the other, out of Envy to the House of *Lenox*; but both under a Religious Pretext; set up their Standards in order to break it off: so that the Queen was obliged to raise some Forces, to solemnize her Wedding with the more Security. And so briskly did she and her Husband prosecute the Rebels, that they were driven into England, before the Succours promis'd from thence could come to their Assistance. The Queen of England granted to *Murray* underhand a Retreat in her Kingdom, as being a Person well inclined to the English; and sent him secret Supplies of Money by the Earl of *Bedford*, till his Return into Scotland; which, as we shall shew, happen'd to be the next day, after *David Rizo* was slain. The Causes of the Queen's harbouring *Murray* and the Scottish Rebels, in England, were these: Because the Queen of Scots had protected *Taxley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, English Fugitives into Scotland, and *Oneal* also, an Irishman; and had conspired with the Pope, against the English; and had not done Justice upon the Pirates, &c.

The Marriage of the Queen of Scots being now over, those who were for the real Advancement of the Protestant Interest, thought nothing could better or more effectually promote that End, than if Queen Elizabeth would be now pleas'd to think of marrying in earnest, and by that means defeat the Hopes the Queen of Scots might harbour, as to the Succession. And very seasonably for that purpose did the Emperour *Maximilian II.* make honourable Proposals of a Match

1565. Ann. 8. Their Excuse.

Q of Scots marries L. Darby.

Queen of England bears it with Moderation.

Some of the Scots rebel.

And find shelter in England.

Q. Eliz. importuned to marry.

1565.
Ann. 8.
Emperor
recom-
mends his
Brother.
This cre-
ates a
Quarrel
between
the Earls
of *Suffex*
and *Lei-*
cester.

Which the
Q. com-
pels.

The Am-
bassador
sighted.
Q. of *Scots*
answer.

Match with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Smir-*
corite, his Ambassador. About which time there
arose (for what Reason, unless on the Score of
this Marriage, is hard to guess at) very great
Heats at Court, between the Earl of *Suffex*, who
was a Friend to the Match, and *Leicester*, who
out of different Hopes and Views, privately op-
pos'd it: (So natural is it for Men advanced
above their Pretensions, to entertain boundless
and extravagant Hopes; tho' *Suffex* was highly
to blame for upbraiding the other as an upstart
Nobleman; who (as he used to say by way of
Reflexion) had but two Ancestors to boast of,
his Father and Grand-father; and both of them
Traitors to their Country.) Hereupon the
Court was divided into Parties and Factions;
and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, car-
ry'd great Retinues of Servants with Swords and
Bucklers, with iron Pikes pointing out at the
Bosses (according to the then Mode) as if they
resolv'd to have a Trial of Skill for't. But after
some Days had pass'd, the Queen reconciled 'em,
or rather occasion'd 'em to smother their Refe-
nements. As for the Feuds of the Nobility, and
that common Motto [*Divide & impera*] now
us'd as a Mock-Phrase, the Queen utterly con-
demn'd them; as being of opinion, that the
Force of Authority lay very much in the ready
Inclinations of such as were to obey: How-
ever, she took some kind of Delight, and made
some Use too, of the little Piques and Jealou-
sies which sometimes happen'd among her Wo-
men.

In the mean time, she had not so far discar-
ded from her Thoughts the Affairs of *Scotland*,
but within a Month or two after the Consum-
mation of the Marriage, she sent into *Scotland*,
Tamworth, a Gentleman of her Privy-Chamber,
to put the Queen of *Scots* in mind, not to break
the Peace, and to expostulate with her the Bu-
siness of her hasty Match, with a Native of *En-*
gland, and a Subject, without her Approbation;
and to demand withal, the Return of *Lenox* and
the Lord *Darby*, his Son, into *England*, accord-
ing to the Tenour of the Treaty; as likewise,
that *Murray* should be receiv'd into Favour. She
having receiv'd private Notice of the Matter,
gave the Ambassador no Audience; but pro-
mis'd, by Articles in writing, on the Word of a
Prince, that neither she nor her Husband would
attempt any thing prejudicial to the Queen of
England, her lawful Heirs, or the Tranquillity of
the Kingdom; either by harbouring Fugitives,
making foreign Treaties, or by any other means
whatever; yea, that they should be ready to
contract such an Alliance with the Queen and
Kingdom of *England*, as might make for the
Safety and Honor of both Nations: That they
would make no Innovations in the Religion,
Laws or Liberties of *England*, if ever the Crown
should come to their Share: But all this on con-
dition, the Queen would stand bound by the
same good Intentions, to Herself and Husband,
and would, by Act of Parliament, establish the
Succession in her Person and lawful Issue, and,
in default thereof, in *Margaret* Countess of *Le-*
nox, her Husband's Mother, and her lawful
Heirs. As for other Matters, she had acquainted
the Queen with her Marriage with the Lord
Darby, as soon as she had resolv'd to marry him,
but that she had receiv'd no Answer: That she
had answer'd her Majesty's Demands too, foras-
much as she had not accepted a Foreigner, but an
English, and one of the highest Extraction, and
the most worthy of her good Affections of any
in all *Britain*. That it seem'd strange to her, she
might not enjoy the Company of one, whom
God and the Laws had made so entirely her own,

and be deny'd the Liberty of keeping *Lenox* at
home, who was a Native Earl of *Scotland*. As
for *Murray*, whom she had found her profess'd E-
nemy, she earnestly requested her to leave her
Subjects at her own Disposal; since she pretend-
ed not to interpose, in the Cases of *English* Sub-
jects. With this Answer *Tamworth* return'd, his
Reception having been, in his Judgment, much
beneath his Character; for being a forward and
talkative Man, he had aspers'd the Queen of
Scots with several reflecting Speeches, and re-
fus'd to give her Husband the Title of King.

About this Time, there were some lucky E-
mergencies, that tended much to the Honor of
Queen *Elizabeth*: For the Fame and Opinion of
her Vertue, had oblig'd *Cecily*, Sister of *Errik* *Cecily*
King of *Swethland*, and Wife of *Christopher Mar-*
quels of *Baden*, to undertake a Journey from the *Mar-*
farthest Parts of the North, through *Germany*, on *quels*
purpose to make her a Visit; tho' at the same *Baden*
time she was big with Child. The Queen gave *comes to*
an honorable Entertainment both to her and her *England*
Husband, assign'd her a yearly Pension, and
stood God-mother to her Son, whom she christ-
ned *Edward-Fortunatus*. And *Donall Mac-carty* *Mac-carty*
More, an *Irish* Lord of Note, deliver'd a very *More*
large Estate to the Queen, on his Knees; on *More*
purpose to receive it back from her, and hold it *More*
in Fee for himself, and the lawful Heirs of his *More*
Body; in default of which, he granted them to *More*
the Crown of *England*. She receiv'd him most
graciously, (as indeed she was a Princess that
seem'd both to command the Love and Esteem
of all the World) and in a solemn manner in-
vested him with the Earldom of *Glencarn*, his Son *Glencarn*
Teig with the Barony of *Valentia*, and bore the *Teig*
Expenses of their Journey; on purpose to en-
gage their Service against *Desmond*, who was su-
spected for abetting and endeavouring some *Desmond*
Change in the Government. This Year, *Sir Ni-*
colas Arnold, of *Gloucestershire*, Knight, govern'd *Arnold*
Ireland, in quality of Lord-Justice, and had not *Ireland*
above 1590 Men in Garrisons; But he was soon
recall'd, and his Patent given to *Sir Henry Sidney*,
who had been in Queen *Mary's* Reign, Lord-Ju-
stice and Treasurer of *Ireland*, and was at this
time President of *Wales*. The first Viceroys of *Several*
Ireland, now call'd in *Latin*, *Proreges*, were (to *Names of*
take Notice of it by the by) ever since the first *the Gov-*
Entrance of the *English*, under *Henry II.* till *names of*
Edward III's Days, styled *Justices* and *Guardians*
of *Ireland*; then *Lieutenants*, and their Vicege-
rents, *Deputies*: Afterwards, they were, at the
Prince's Pleasure, term'd *Justices*, or *Lieutenants*,
(which is the more honorable Appellation) but
their Authority was generally one and the same.
And without all Doubt, those *Justices* of *Ireland*,
as well as the Lord Chief Justice of *England*,
were appointed for maintaining the publick Peace,
and doing Right to the Subject; as the *Propra-*
tors and *Proconsuls* of *Rome* formerly, who were
sent into several Provinces, with absolute Com-
missions.

Sidney, having enter'd on his new Charge,
found *Munster*, in the South of *Ireland*, in a very
great Disorder; occasion'd by the private Dis-
ensions, and open Rebellion of *Girald* Earl of
Desmond, who had promis'd to act all the Parts
of a faithful Subject, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*,
with several others. Hereupon, the Queen sends
for *Desmond* into *England*, to prevent farther Mis-
chiefs, and appointed a Justiciary President in *First Pre-*
that Kingdom; with an Assistant, Two Law- *sident of*
yers, and a Clerk: The President named by her *Munster*
Majesty, was *Sir Walter St. Leiger*, a Person of
known Experience and long Practice in the Af-
fairs of that Nation.

1565.
Ann. 8.
Death of
Sir Tho.
Chaloner.

In the middle of October, this same Year, died Sir Thomas Chaloner, soon after his Return from his Embassy in Spain; a Man of Eminence, who was born at London, and educated at Cambridge, and very well qualify'd, both as to Arts and Arms. When he was young, he serv'd under Charles V. in the Expedition of Algier; where he suffer'd Shipwreck, and having swam as long as his Arms and Legs would give him leave, at length he caught hold of a Cable with his teeth, and so escaped, tho' with the Loss of some of them. In the Reign of Edward VI. he acquitted himself with so much Bravery, at Musselborough-Field, that he was Knighted by the Duke of Somerset. In Queen Elizabeth's Reign, he went on an honourable Embassy, to the Emperor Ferdinand, and remain'd in that quality almost Four Years; where he wrote Five elegant Books of Poems, *De Republica Anglorum instauranda*, whilst (as he phras'd it) he liv'd *Hyeme in furno, aestate in horreo*, i. e. In Winter in a Stove, in Summer in a Barn. He was bury'd in S. Paul's Church in London, and had a Funeral answerable to his Worth, at which Cecil attended as chief Mourner: For, his Son Thomas, who was afterward Governor to Henry Prince of Wales, was not then advanced to Man's Estate.

Mother; Henry Champenoun, Philip Butshide, Richard Greenville, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, and others.

In June following, was the Queen of Scots, to the perpetual Advantage of all Britain, happily brought to bed of her Son James, (since King of Great Britain) of which she soon after inform'd the Queen of England, by James Melvin. The Queen, tho' she secretly envy'd her Rival the Honor of being a Mother before her, yet did she dispatch away Sir Henry Killigrew, to congratulate with her upon her safe Delivery, and the Birth of a Son; and to caution her withal, not to favour any longer Shan-Oneal, who was then in Rebellion in Ireland; nor to harbour Christopher Rokesby, who had fled from England: As likewise to punish some Rapparees, who infested the Frontiers.

Queen Elizabeth, as she was now taking her Progress for Recreation, to shew herself as favorable to the Muses at Oxford, as she had done at Cambridge already, made a Visit to that University; where she receiv'd a magnificent Welcome, and stay'd Seven Days; being extremely delighted with the Pleasantness of the Place, the Beauty of the Colleges, and the Wit and Learning of the Students, who diverted her Majesty a great part of the Night, with Plays; and spent the Day in graver Exercises: For which she return'd 'em her Thanks in a Latin Speech, and so took of them and the Place a most gracious Farewel.

As soon as she return'd to London, the Parliament met, (and a very full one) the First of November, being the Day appointed for their Meeting: And after the Passing of a Bill or two, they began a close Debate about the Succession; inasmuch as the Queen seem'd to have made a Vow of Virginity, having never in eight Years time, entertain'd a serious Thought of Marriage; whereas the Papists, on the one hand, were big with the Hopes of finding it fix'd in the Queen of Scots, who had now born a Son; and the Protestants, on the other hand, purpos'd to themselves, some one Person, some another, as they were severally inclined; and every one (according to the Degree of his Respect for his Religion, and its Security) foreboded sad and troublesome Times, should the Queen die without settling the Point of the Succession. Nay, they broke out at length into that Heat and Clamour, as roundly to tax the Queen with a Disregard of her Country and Posterity; defamed Cecil with slanderous Libels, as a pernicious Counsellor, and curs'd Huic the Queen's Physician, as having dissuaded the Queen from marrying, on Pretence of some Impediment and Defect in her. The Earls of Pembroke and Leicester did likewise openly, and the Duke of Norfolk with more Caution, profess it their Opinion, that the Queen ought to be obliged to a Husband, or a Successor be declared by Act of Parliament, even against the Queen's Will: But they soon made their Submission, and obtain'd their Pardon.

Yet they and the rest of the Upper-House being very solicitous on the matter of a Successor, besought the Queen, by their Speaker, the Lord Bacon, according to the Duty they ow'd to God, their Allegiance to their Prince, and Love to their Country, 'That since at present they found themselves Blessed by her Influence, with all the Advantages of Peace, Justice and Clemency, she would provide them a lasting continuance thereof: But this they affirm'd could never be their Fortune till she pleas'd to Marry, and fix the Succession. They therefore humbly intreat and beseech her in the first place to make her Choice how, where and when she shall think fit,

1566.
Ann. 9.

James VI.
K of Scots
born.

Q. Eliz.
visits the
University
of Oxon.

The Par-
liament
meets,

And urges
the Queen
to declare
a successor

1566.

The Ninth Year of her Reign.

The Beginning of this Year, Charles IX. King of France, sent Ramboulet into England, to compliment the Queen with the Privilege of conferring the Order of the Cockle-shell of S. Michael, on what two Noblemen she thought fit. She made choice of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester; of Leicester, as her Favourite; of Norfolk, as a Person of Honor of the first Rank.

Leicester
& Norfolk
made
Knights
of the
French
Order of
S. Michael.

These Persons Ramboulet install'd at the Queens Court at Westminster, after that in the King his Master's Room, he had taken his Place amongst the Knights of S. George, at Windsor. This French Order the Queen held as a great Honor; because she had not remember'd any Englishman to be elected into it, besides her Father Henry VIII. her Brother King Edward VI. and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk: And therefore she could not but appear greatly concern'd, as she was a true Esteemer of Honor, to find it at length profited and sunk so low, that any Man, without Distinction, might be created Knight of it; nor was she so tender of Punctilio's, as not to have at least an equal Regard to the Good and Welfare of her Subjects; for whereas the Unseasonableness of the Weather gave some Cause to apprehend a Dearth, she not only forbade the Transportation of Grain out of the Kingdom; but took care for the Importing of vast Quantities thereof.

Queen's
Care, when
a Dearth
was apprehended.

In the mean time, Henry Earl of Arundel, a Peer of the greatest Interest among the Nobility, after the Expence of a vast Treasure, on the vain Hopes of enjoying the Queen; and those Expectations being now defeated, (Leicester growing apace in the Queen's Favour, and his Interest at Court declining as fast) got leave, under colour of mending his Health, but in reality to give himself some Diversion, under his Disappointment, to depart the Kingdom. But others of the English Nation, who conceiv'd themselves framed by Nature for Arms, not Idleness; went into Hungary, to pursue the War against the Turk, at the same time that Gentlemen from all Parts of Europe, upon the Rumor thereof, flock'd thither. Among whom, the chief Persons were, Sir John Smith Cousin-German to K. Edward VI. and Son to the Sister of Jane Seymour, the King's

Arundel
travels.

1566. *Ann. 9.* fit, and so to bless the Kingdom with the firmest Supports thereof, the Heirs of her Body. And that she would likewise agree with her Parliament, to determine and appoint a Successor in case she or her Children (which God forbid) should die without Issue. They profess'd they had several Reasons for making this so importunate Request, viz. The fresh Apprehensions every Body was seiz'd with upon the ill State of her Majesty's Health: The Occasion that presented, when the Parliament was now sitting, and ready to Debate that Point with the utmost Application: The Terror she would by this means strike into her Enemies; and the immortal Joy she would kindle in the Breasts of all her Subjects. They applaud the Actions of her Predecessors, who in the same Instance had made wise Provisions for their Posterity, and condemn'd that Saying of *Pyrrhus*, who resolv'd to leave the Kingdom to him that had the sharpest Sword. Moreover, they humbly Represented, what a Labyrinth of Miseries this unhappy Kingdom would needs be plung'd in, should she depart this Life without appointing a Successor: That this would occasion such Civil Wars and Commotions, as would leave the Conquerors in possession of nothing but Misery. That she was going the way to Destroy Religion, Eclipse the Laws, and stop the Course of Justice, were it so that she left the Nation without a Prince, who is the very Soul of the Law, and that the Kingdom must needs become a Prey to a foreign Power. Other Calamities they reckon up, and urge them under all possible Aggravations, which must needs oppress the whole Nation, should it so happen that she should die without Issue. Nor did they omit to press her by Advices, Precepts and Examples, borrowed from Scripture itself.

The Commons press the Queen in a rougher manner.

But these things were not manag'd with the same Temperance in the Lower-House; for *Bell and Monson*, great Lawyers, with *Dutton, Paul Wentworth*, and others, grated hard on the Queen's Royal Prerogative; and maintain'd amongst other Points, That Kings are bound to appoint a Successor: That the Affection of the Subject is the most impregnable Bulwark and Support of the Prince; but that Princes can no otherwise gain this Affection, than by providing for the Welfare of their Subjects, both whilst they live and after their death; which can by no means be done, but where 'tis certainly known who shall succeed to the Throne. That the Queen, by not appointing a Successor, did at once provoke the Wrath of God, and alienate the Hearts of her People; whereas, would she possess the Affections of her Subjects, and the Favour of God, and live for ever in the Remembrance of her People, she must of course nominate a Successor: If not, she would be rather a Step-mother of her Country, or something worse, than the Nursing-mother thereof, as being seemingly desirous that *England*, which liv'd as it were in her, should rather expire with than survive or outlast her. That none but timorous Princes, or such as were hated by their People, or fainthearted Women, did ever stand in fear of their Successors; nor can that Prince with any reason apprehend Dangers from a Successor, who is fortify'd and secur'd by the Love and Duty of his Subjects.

The Queen presents this Address.

The Queen heard all this with no little Regret, tho' for a while she either overlook'd it, or at least seem'd so to do: For she knew by Experience what the Hazard would be in nominating a Successor; forasmuch as in Queen *Mary's* Reign many of the Nobility and Commons had already withdrawn their Loyal Respects, and

fix'd their Eye on her as the Person to succeed. Whatever was done in the Queen's Bed-Chamber was presently brought to her; and *Wiat* and others, Men greedy of Innovations, had plotted against the Queen, to advance her to the Throne even against her knowledge, and without the least consent from her. She knew very well, that the way to curb the hopes of Competitors, and keep them within bounds of Duty, was to keep every one of them in suspense, and not declare a Successor at all. She was not ignorant, that Sons had been so fired with an ambitious desire of Governing, as to take up Arms against their Parents; nor could it be thought that remoter Kindred should act with more Duty and Affection. She had likewise collected from her own Conversation with Books, and sometimes took occasion to hint it in Discourse, That there had seldom been any Designation of Successors in a Collateral-Line. That *Lewis* of Orleans, Successor of *Charles V.* and *Francis* of *Angoulême*, Successor to *Lewis* in the Throne of *France*, were never Declared, and they succeeded for all that without the least disturbance. That the Declaration of Successors in *England*, had generally prov'd the Ruin of the Persons so Declar'd: For *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, appointed Heir of the Crown by King *Richard II.* was in a little time cut off. His Son *Edmund*, on the same account, suffer'd twenty Years Imprisonment in *Ireland*, and there died. *John de la Pool*, Earl of *Lincoln*, design'd Successor by *Richard III.* after his Son's death, was always look'd on with a jealous Eye by *Henry VII.* and in conclusion was slain in the Field, whilst he attempted to bring about his Designs; and afterward his Brother *Edmund* was beheaded under *Henry VIII.* But these things may perhaps appear somewhat foreign to the matter.

Now there being some still who did not forbear to insist with too much Heat and Insolence on the Points already mention'd; and to back their Pertness with Invectives and Abuses, the Queen commanded Thirty to be call'd out of each House and make their Appearance before her. These she endeavour'd to smooth and qualify by the most obliging Expressions; and after a Reproof that carry'd Sweetness mix'd with Majesty, she diverted them from their Resolution, and promis'd them to manage things not only with the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderness of a Parent. And whereas the House had offer'd greater Subsidies than usual, on condition she would declare a Successor, she utterly refus'd those extraordinary Grants, accepted a smaller Sum, and with a Commendation of their Respects to her, abated the fourth Payment of the Supply already Granted, saying, *That Money in her Subject's Purse, was as good as in her own Exchequer.*

She pacifies these Heats by kind Words.

The Queen remits part of her Subsidy;

The last Day of this Session she made a short Speech to both Houses, the Abridgment of which take as follows. "Whereas the Words of Principles are observ'd to make the deepest Impression on the Minds of their Subjects, I have this therefore to offer to you. I have been always a most unaffected lover of Truth, and have ever pleas'd myself with the Thoughts that you are so too. But it seems I have been deceiv'd: For I had the Leisure to observe this Session, that Hypocrisy has walk'd it's Rounds under the Mask of Liberty and Succession; and there have not been wanting some among themselves who have stickled for the full Grant or the absolute Refusal of the Privilege to Dispute the Point of the Succession, and its Establishment. Had this been granted, these Persons had been gratify'd so far

and makes a tart Speech to the two Houses.

1566. Ann. 9. "far as even to occasion their Triumphs. And should we have denied, they had been provoked to draw upon us the general Odium of our People, which our worst Enemies have never yet been able to do. But their Politicks were ill tim'd, their Counsels precipitate, and they were not quick-sighted enough to look into the Event: However they have by this means given us an hint to distinguish our Friends from our Foes. 'Tis easie to observe, that this entire Assembly is made up of four sorts of Men. Some have been Contrivers and Abettors, some Actors and Advisers in these Affairs, whereas a third sort has been cajol'd and decoy'd by these fair Speeches, whilst a fourth sort again have said nothing, but stood amaz'd at such bold Freedoms, and these certainly are the least to blame. Can you imagine, Gentlemen, that as to the Affair of the Succession, your Safety and Security is no way consulted or provided for? Or, that we design to inroach on your Liberties? That be still as far from us as it has yet been ever remov'd from our Thoughts. We cannot deny indeed but that we thought it necessary to stop you when you were just upon the brink of the Precipice. There is a time for every thing: 'Tis possible you may have a wiser Prince after me, but you will hardly enjoy one more truly Affectionate to you. For our part, we cannot tell whether we shall ever have the Opportunity of meeting such a Parliament again; 'tis however your best course not to try Experiments on the Patience of your Prince; tho' we do leave with you this Assurance, That we have still a favourable Opinion of the greater part of you, and continue to every one the same place in our good Will and Affection.

All is quiet and made up again. Thus did the Discretion of a Woman lay asleep all these Commotions; which were in time so settled and compos'd, that very few but Malecontents and Traytors appear'd very solicitous in the business of a Successor. Certain it is, that most Men, whatever they may pretend, have no other Regards, as to National Affairs, but what relate to their own Peculiar. Nevertheless, that the Succession might not lie altogether in the dark, nor the Person whose undoubted Claim the Queen asserted, she cast *Thornton*, who was then a Reader of Law in *Lincolns-Inn*, into the Tower, upon the Queen of *Scots* Complaint, that he had call'd her Title in question.

Queen openly favours the Queen of Scots Title.

During this Parliament, besides other things for the publick Advantage, it was unanimously declar'd, That the Election, Consecration, Confirmation and Instalment of the Archbishops and Bishops of *England* (which some had abusively call'd in question) were Lawful; and that the said Bishops were Elected and Consecrated duly, and according to the Acts and Laws of the Land.

And it was likewise Enacted, That both they, and all such as should be hereafter Consecrated, were and should be esteem'd as duly and lawfully Consecrated, notwithstanding any former Law or Canon to the contrary. For the Papists had traduc'd their Ordination as false and counterfeit; perhaps because the *Uction*, the *Ring*, the *Crozier-Staff*, and the *Benediction* were omitted, and for their not being duly Ordained by three Bishops, who were able to derive their Ordination, by a regular Succession, down from the Apostles and our Saviour's time; ††† which notwithstanding they might really have done, (as appear'd by the Records) having receiv'd their Ordination, with the Solemnity of Prayers, Invocation of the Holy Ghost, the Imposition of three Bishops Hands, the Devotion of a Sermon, and the Celebration of the Lord's-Supper. About this time there were Restraints laid, and proper Punishment inflicted on some riotous People, who Mobb'd and Insulted in the open Streets those Reformers commonly call'd Promoters.

And now came on likewise the Day appointed for the Baptism of the young Prince of *Scotland*; for whom the Queen of *England* being importun'd to stand Godmother, she sent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Present, and expressly commanded, that neither he, nor any of his Retinue, should give the Title of King to the Lord *Darby*. This Solemnity being over, the Earl of *Bedford*, according to his Instructions, transacted with the Q. of *Scots* a Reconciliation between herself and her Husband, (for it seems there were some Enemies on both sides, who had used ill Arts to impair that Friendship and good Agreement that had been between them) and likewise a Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*. The latter she flatly refus'd, alledging there was somewhat in the Treaty which might prejudice her and her Children's Claim to the Crown of *England*. Yet she promis'd to send Commissioners to *England* to Treat of that Matter with some Alteration, viz. That she should disuse the Arms and Title of *England* so long as Q. Elizabeth and her Heirs should live; as if she conceiv'd herself engag'd by the Treaty to renounce them for good and all. These Commissioners were likewise to inform her how basely she was impos'd on by the mischievous Arts of those who made an ill use of the Openness and Good-nature of her Husband. She began now to grow Weak and out of Order, and commended the young Prince, her Son, to the Protection of Queen Elizabeth, by several Letters, wherein (to use her own Words) *Tho' she knew herself to be the undoubted Heir of England after the Queen, and that there were many Attempts used to invalidate her Title, she promis'd however no longer to insist on that Point; but to assist and serve her with the truest Friendship against all Persons whatsoever.*

The E. of Bedford goes Embassador to Scotland on the Chriftening of the young Prince.

This very Year died, on the same Day, two of the Privy-Council, *John Mason*, Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber, a Man of Learning and

Prince of Scotland. recommended to the Care of Queen Elizabeth. The death of Mason.

[a] p. 1045 In the end of Archbishop *Brambal's* Works, printed at *Dublin*, are to be found [a] the Order of the Ceremonies used at the Consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, taken out of the Register of the See of *Canterbury*; and before it, out of the same Register, is taken [b] the Process of Confirmation of the Archbishop Elect: In which Process the Reader may find all the Instruments and Forms used during this Election, viz. the [c] *Congre d'Elire*, or Letter of Licence from Queen Elizabeth to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, to proceed to a Choice of an Archbishop: The Dean and Chapters [d] Decree of Election, whereby they choose Dr. *Parker*, and their whole Proceedings therein: The Instrument whereby the Archbishop Elect gives [e] his Consent to the said Election: The Queen's Letters-Patents, wherein are declared [f] the Royal Assent to the said Election, and a Mandate to proceed to the Confirmation and Consecration of the Archbishop Elect; together with all other Instruments and Forms which are alledged for the proof of the legality of any Election.

After an account of the Order of the Consecration; follows, taken out of the same Register, a Mandate to the Archdeacon for [g] the Installation of the Archbishop; and the Archbishop's Procuratorial Letter, whereby he appoints his Chaplains to be his Proctors to receive [h] Induction and Inthronization in his stead. Lastly is added the [i] Order of the Ceremonies used at the Consecration, as they are set down in a Manuscript kept in the Library of *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*; which differs in so inconsiderable and minute Circumstances from that taken from the Register of the See of *Canterbury*, that their differences are rather one proof of the sincerity and authenticity of both of them.

This Manuscript account, together with the Testimonials of the Master and Fellows of *Corpus Christi* College of its authenticity, as also the Certificates of the University, Publick Notary, and Heads of several Colleges concerning it, are inserted in the Appendix to this Life of Queen Elizabeth. Numb. 2.

Gravity, but a great Devourer of Church-Lands, 1566. and Sir Richard Sackvill, Under-Treasurer of the Ann. 9. Exchequer, a Person of wise Foresight, and the Queen's Kinsman by his Mother, who was a Bolen. Into Sackvill's Place succeeded Sir Walter Mildmay, a Person of Probity and Discretion: And the other's Place was supplied by Sir Francis Knolls, who had marry'd Katharine Cary, the Queen's Cousin-German by Mary Bolen.

1567.

The Tenth Year of her Reign.

But before the return of the Commissioners from the Queen of Scots, and a Month or two after the Solemnity of the Christning, the Queen's Husband was by some bloody and barbarous Hands murder'd in his Bed at Midnight, being then in the 21st Year of his Age; and to make the Surprize the greater, the House was blown up by Gunpowder, and his Body cast out into the Orchard. This was soon nois'd all Britain over, and the Fact cast upon Morton, Murray, and others of the Conspiracy; but they were so insolent as to lay it at the Queen's door. What George Buchanan has related of this Patiage, both in his History, and a little Book of his, entitled, *The Detection*, every one may learn from the Books themselves. But forasmuch as Murray's Gold may be presum'd to have set a Byass on his Temper, and to have made him as being Partial enough to have his Writings condemn'd as spurious and false by the States of Scotland, upon whose Credit one may more safely depend; and he himself having (as I am inform'd) often blam'd himself with Tears in the King's Presence, to whom he was Tutor, for having employ'd his Pen in too virulent a strain against that excellent Princess; and having wish'd on his Death-bed that he might live so long as to recal the truth of that Fact, and wipe off those Aspersions he had rashly and unjustly fix'd on her Credit, if his Age would give him leave, and People not take him for a Dotard. Give me leave on this account to offer on the other side as much as I can learn of the whole Story, and that without the least tincture of Prejudice or Favour, and according to the best Informations I can borrow from those Writings which came out at that time, (but which in favour to Murray and ill-will to the Queen, were suppress'd in England) as well as from the Letters of Ambassadors and other Persons of Credit and Consideration.

Digression
to the
affairs of
Scotland.

James,
Prior of
St. Andrew,
aims at the
Government of
Scotland.

In the Year 1558, at the time of the Marriage of Francis the Dauphin and Mary Queen of Scots, James the Queen's base Brother, commonly called the Prior of St. Andrews, (as being Head of the Religious Order of the Metropolitane Church of that name) being out of humour with so grave a Title, press'd hard for some more splendid Character of Honour and Distinction; which the Queen refusing him, by the advice of the Guises, her Uncles, he return'd to Scotland in a Discontent, and under the specious colour of Reformation and Liberty, began to disturb the publick Peace; and so far he went, as in a Juncto of Confederates to alter the Face of Religion without the Queen's knowledge, and to remove the French out of Scotland by the help of English Forces he had call'd in for that purpose. When Francis the French King was dead, he hasten'd to his Sister in France, and endeavour'd to clear himself of all that had been done in Scotland in prejudice to her Honour or Interest, and solemnly promis'd and gave his Oath, to do her all the good Offices a Sister might reasonably expect from a Brother. And being in hopes that the Queen, who had been Bred up from a Child in the Pleasures of France, would hardly return

into Scotland, he manag'd the Matter with the Guises to have some Scottish Nobleman made Regent of that Kingdom, and made broad signs that none was fitter than himself. But when he was sent back into Scotland with a bare Commission, empowering the States of the Realm to Meet and Consult about the Publick Good, he was so nettled at the Disappointment, that he return'd by the way of England, and insinuated to the English, that if they desir'd the Church should flourish in Scotland, Peace be preserv'd at Home, and the Queen's Person safe and secure, they ought to use all possible Endeavours to prevent the Queen of Scots passage into Scotland. She however passing by the English Ships in hazy Weather, arriv'd safely in Scotland, and was still so kind to her Brother, as in a manner to place the entire Administration on his Hands. Yet was not this enough to clip or cure his Ambition, which he made every day and every way fresh discoveries of: For he could not forbear perpetually complaining to his Friends, that the Warlike Nation of the Scots as well as the English, was Rul'd by the Distaff: And he often quoted Knox, whom he esteem'd beyond a primitive Father, for this scrap of Politicks, *That Kingdoms are the claim of Virtue, not Extraction: That Women were never made to Govern Kingdoms; and, That they were mere Monsters on a Throne.* He set his Friends likewise to persuade the Queen to depute four Persons of the Royal Family of the Stuarts to succeed one another in the Kingdom, provided she should die without Issue, without distinguishing whether they were legitimate or not; hoping, no doubt, that he should make one in the number, as being the King's Son, tho' by the wrong way. But the Queen wisely considering, that such a Constitution was repugnant to the Laws of the Land, that 'twould be a prejudice to the right Heirs, a very ill Precedent, and of dangerous Consequence to the Substitutes themselves, as well as a Bar to her own Marriage, gently answer'd, *That she would take some time to advise with the States about an Affair of that Importance.* And to shew her Generosity to her Brother, she conferr'd on him the Earldom of Mar, and afterward of Murray, (because the former Title was contested) and prefer'd him to an honourable and advantageous Match, not knowing at the same time that he aim'd at the Regency, and gave it out, that he was the true and lawful Son of King James V. To clear his way to the Throne, he us'd his Interest with the Queen to crush the Noble Family of the Gordons, who had a great many powerful Adherents; so that he was jealous of this Family on his own account, and in regard of the reform'd Religion. Hamilton, the Duke of Castle-Hevaul, (the next reputed Heir to the Crown) he procur'd to be Banish'd the Court; and Arran, his Son, to be Imprison'd; Bothwell he Banish'd into England, and all that he thought capable of standing in his way, he stript of their Titles and Preferments; nay the Queen herself seem'd to be under the Discipline of a Pupil; and his great Art and Care was to keep her from so much as thinking of an Husband. And no sooner did he perceive that the Emperor Court'd her for his Brother on the one hand, and on the other the King of Spain for his Son, but he strenuously endeavour'd to divert her from both Matches, alledging, That a foreign Prince was really, and would be thought incompatible with the Liberties of Scotland; and that in former Times, whenever the Throne devolv'd on a Female Heir, they had taken no Husbands but of the same Blood and Nation. But when he found it was the general Desire of her Subjects that she should Marry, and learnt by

She makes
him E. of
Murray.

The E. of
Murray
dissuades
the Queen
from
Marriage.

1567. Ann. 10. by some Intimations from the Countess of Lenox, that she was dispos'd in favour of the L. Darly, he was forward to recommend him among the the rest, expecting to find him, as he was very Young, so as ductile and pliant to his Managery. Notwithstanding, when he found the Queen had a real Passion for the Lord Darly, and grew more indifferent to him, he repented his Project, and tamper'd with Queen Elizabeth to cross the Match.

Disturbs her Nuptials. The Marriage being now Consummated, and the Lord Darly declar'd King, and the Queen revoking at the same time the Grants made to him and others in her Minority, contrary to Law, he with others join'd in a Rebellion against the King and Queen, under pretence, that the new King was no Friend to the Protestant Religion, and had marry'd without the Queen of England's consent. But without putting it to the hazard of a Battel, he fled to England, and there despairing to find any Abettors, he transacted with Morton, a Man of Depth and Subtilty, and his intimate Friend and Assistant, that seeing the Marriage could not be dissannull'd, yet some Method might be contriv'd to dissolve that closer Union by which their Affections were rivetted one to another. Nor was it long before they found a very seasonable Opportunity; for there happening some Difference between them, the Queen, to keep down the Aspirings of the young Prince, and preserve the Royal Prerogative to herself, began to place her Husband's Name last in all publick Acts, and to leave it out in all the Stamp for Coin. Morton being a Man unluckily Dexterous in fomenting Divisions, insinuates himself, by Flattery and Wheedles, into the King's good Opinion; and persuades him to wear the Crown of Scotland against the Queen's will, and to get rid of a Woman's Government, since 'twas the business of that Sex to Obey, not to Rule.

He endeavours to set the K. and Q. at odds. By this Advice, he had hopes not only of alienating the Queen, but the Peers and Commons too, from the King. And to work the Effect on the Queen in the first place, he makes use of several slanderous Reports to move the King to take away the Life of David Rizo, a Piemontois, left he, by the Foresight he was Master of, might give a check to their Designs. (This Rizo was a Musician, and came the Year before into Scotland with Morett the Ambassador; and for his exquisite Skill was entertain'd at Court; and so far got the Queen's Favour, as to be employ'd in writing French Letters; and in her Secretary's absence, did in great measure supply his room). And then, to inflame the Queen the more, he persuades the King to assist in Person at the Murder, with Reuven, and the rest of the Assassins, who, together with him, breaking, at Supper-time, into the Queen's Privy Chamber, while she was sitting with the Countess of Argyle, Assaulted Rizo as he was Eating at a Side-board of something from the Queen's Table; (as the Waiters of the Privy-Chamber usually do) and all this in the Queen's Eye, who was big with Child, and had like to have Miscarry'd for Fear; afterwards they clapt a Pistol to his Breast. This done, they dragg'd him into a Lobby hard by, and murder'd him in a most barbarous manner, locking the Queen up in her Privy Chamber, whilst in the mean time Morton guarded all the Avenues.

David Rizo murdered. This Murder was committed the Day before Murray was, according to his Summons, to make Appearance, and answer to the Charge of Rebellion before the Parliament. He appear'd the very next Day, when he was least expected; and such was the Confusion of Affairs, that no

Evidence came at that time against him; information that it look'd as if Rizo's Murder had been dispatch'd the sooner in regard to Murray's Indemnity. Nevertheless the Queen, at her Husband's Requests gave a courteous Reception, and seem'd to place an unsuspected Confidence in him. But the King beginning by this time to reflect on the foulness of the late horrid Fact, and perceiving the Queen did very much regret it, was himself much concern'd thereat, begg'd her Favour and Pardon with Tears in his Eyes, and freely own'd, that Murray and Morton had over-persuaded him to the Murder. And from that time he conceiv'd so mortal an Aversion to Murray, (for as for Morton, Reuven and others, they were fled to England with Murray's Letters of Recommendation to the Earl of Bedford) that he was contriving to remove him out of the way. But being not Old and Wise enough to conceal his Thoughts, or Courageous enough to put them in execution, he was so much a Courtier and kind Husband, as to tell his Wife, the Queen, that it would be for the Interest of the Kingdom, and the Security of the Royal Family, to have Murray made away. She abhorring the very Motion, fell to dissuade him by Threats from such a Design, hoping that they might be reconcil'd again. But the King being vex'd to find the Bastard stand so well in the Queen's Favour, unadvisedly communicated the same Design to others. When this came to Murray's Ears, he begins to Plot upon the King's Life; tho' covertly, and under the mask of a most officious Allegiance, and makes use of Morton's Counsel, tho' absent, to this purpose.

'Twas the opinion of these two Persons, that the best method to be taken, was to draw off the Queen's Affection from the King, it being not well knit since the late Breach, and that Bothwell ought to be engag'd in the Design, who was lately reconcil'd to Murray, and in so good Terms with the Queen, that 'twas the easier to flatter him with the hope of a Divorce from his Wife, and the Possession of the Queen, when she was a Widow. To bring this about, and to abet and skreen him from all Opposition, they oblig'd themselves under their Hands and Seals; imagining that if the Project took effect, they could by one and the same Act, murder the King, bespatter and lessen the Queen among Persons of all Ranks, suppress Bothwell, and get the entire Regency into their own Hands. Bothwell, being a lewd and ill-principled Man, and mad as well as blind with Ambition, accepted the Terms, and villainously acted the Murder, whilst Murray had withdrawn himself to a Country Seat he had at some distance, not above fifteen Hours before, not only to avoid suspicion, but to assist the Complotters to the better advantage, and derive the Odium and Jealousie of the Fact upon the Queen. No sooner was he return'd to Court, but he and the rest of the Juncto recommended Bothwell to the Queen for an Husband, as not altogether unworthy of her Regard, on the score of his Family and good Services against the English, and his singular Fidelity withal. They insinuated farther, That as she was a single and solitary Person, she was the less capable of stemming the Tide of Tumult and Sedition, of preventing the treacherous Designs of her Enemies, and sustaining the weight of publick Affairs: That therefore she would do well to admit him to her Bed, and Board, and Council-Table; who had the Will, the Power, and the Courage to Enterprize any thing. And so powerfully did the Poison work, that she, being scar'd out of her Judgment by two such Tragical Murders, and having in her Thoughts the fresh impresson of Bothwell's Fidelity and Services to herself and

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Morton and others fly to England.

Queen is alienated from the King.

The King murder'd.

her Mother, was prevail'd on to give her Consent; but with this Proviso, that her young Son should be every way secur'd, and *Bothwell* legally acquitted of the Murder, and from his former Marriage.

A Protest concerning the Murder of the Lord Darnley.

It may not be amiss to insert here the publick Protestation made by *George* Earl of *Huntley*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, relating to this Matter; of which I myself have seen a Copy, under their own Hands, directed to *Queen Elizabeth*. 'Forasmuch as *Murray* and others, to conceal their Rebellion against the Queen, whose Authority they would fain usurp, do openly calumniate her, as guilty of the Murder of her Husband; we do publickly protest and witness these things following: In the Month of *December*, 1556. when the Queen lay at *Cragmillar*, *Murray* and *Lidington* acknowledg'd before us, that *Morton Lindley* and *Reuven* slew *David Rizo*, with no other Design, than to save *Murray*, who was at that very time to be proscribed: That therefore they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly desir'd, that *Morton* and the rest, that withdrew themselves, on the Murder of *Rizo*, might be permitted to return: But this, they said, was impossible, unless the Queen were divorced from her Husband; which they promis'd to effect, would we but give our Consent. Afterwards *Murray* promis'd to me *Huntley*, that my antient Estate should be restored to me; and that I should be an eternal Favourite with the Persons now abroad, if I would favour the Divorce. Then we apply'd to *Bothwell* for his Consent; and last of all we address'd the Queen, and *Lidington* intreated her, in the Name of us all, to reverse the Banishment of *Morton*, *Lindsey*, and *Reuven*. The King's Errors and Mis-carriages, those especially against the Queen, he fail'd not to aggravate with all imaginable Bitterness; and shew'd how much it concern'd the Queen and State, to have a Divorce drawn up; it being impossible for the King and Queen to be safe together in *Scotland*. She made Answer, she had rather retire for some time into *France*, till her Husband came to be sensible of his youthful Heats; for she would not willingly have any thing done to the Prejudice of her Son, or her own Dishonour. To this *Lidington* reply'd, we, who are of your Majesty's Council, will look to that. But I command you, says she, to do nothing that may stick either upon my Honour or Conscience: Let things remain as they are, till God pleases to provide a Remedy: That which you imagine may be for my Good, may possibly have a contrary Effect. To which *Lidington* answer'd, Please to leave Matters to us, and you shall find we will do nothing unfit, or what the Authority of Parliament shall not well approve of. Hereupon, since the King happen'd to be basely murder'd a few days after, we do, from the real Persuasion of our Conscience, fully and certainly believe, that *Murray* and *Lidington* were the Authors, Abettors, and Contrivers of this Regicide, whoever were the Actors. (So far they.)

Bothwell acquitted of the King's Murder.

The great and sole Concern of the Conspirators now was, to get *Bothwell* clear'd of the Guilt of the King's Murder. A Parliament therefore is call'd on this very Account, and a Proclamation issu'd out, for the Apprehending such as were suspected of the Fact. And whereas *Lenox*, the deceas'd King's Father, impeach'd *Bothwell*, as the Regicide, and press'd hard that he might be brought to his Trial in Parliament; this was also granted, and *Lenox* commanded to appear in two and twenty Days, in order to prosecute the Defendant. On the Day appointed was *Bothwell* arraign'd, and acquitted by his Judges, and *Mor-*

ton's Management, (the Queen of *England* not having sent any Instructions to *Lenox*, who could not appear in the City, where he had so many Enemies, without visible Hazard of his Life.)

This Business thus dispatch'd, the Confederacy so manag'd the matter, as to work up a great part of the Nobility to comply with the Marriage, and to set their Hands to a Writing to that purpose, for fear, if he had sunk from his Hopes, he should have betray'd the whole bloody Secret. This Match with *Bothwell* (who was created Duke of *Orkney*, or the *Orcades*) help'd very much to increase the Suspicion of the Queen's being accessory to the Murder; and this was heightened by several Letters which the Complotters dispers'd and sent about; and they conspir'd, in private Cabals held at *Dunkeld*, to depose the Queen and destroy *Bothwell*. Yet *Murray*, to make himself appear innocent of the whole Intrigue, ask'd the Queen's Leave to go into *France*, and to remove the least Shadow of Jealousie, recommended his whole Estate to the Care and Management of the Queen and *Bothwell*.

He had scarce got out of *England*, when the very same Persons that had acquitted *Bothwell* of the King's Murder, and gave him their Consent to marry the Queen, under their own Hands; were up in Arms against and ready to seize him: But in truth they gave him secret Notice to provide for himself; and all, lest he should discover the whole Plot, after he was taken; and that they might make this Use of his Flight, to charge the Queen, with the better Face, with the King's Murder. Next they went so far, as to seize on her Person, and treated her in the vilest and most contumelious manner; and allowing her but poor and ordinary Cloathing, they imprison'd her at *Loch-Levin*, and put her in the Custody of *Murray's* Mother; who having been *James V's* Mistress, insulted basely the captiv'd Queen's Misfortune, and made her Brags, that she was the lawful Wife of *James V.* and that her Son *Murray* was his legitimate Issue.

As soon as *Queen Elizabeth* had certain Advices of these things, she was touch'd with so hearty a Resentment of this insufferable Insolence of the Queen her Sister and Neighbour's Subjects, (on whom she would sometimes bestow the Epithets of *perfidious*, *cruel*, and *ungrateful*) that she sent Sir *Nicolas Throckmorton* into *Scotland*, to expostulate with the Confederates this rude and inhumane Treatment of their Queen, and to concert Measures for Restoring her to her Liberty and Authority, for Punishing the King's Murderers, and Conveying the young Prince into *England*, rather than *France*, for his better Security. What I shall from this time deliver concerning these Matters, during the Stay of *Throckmorton* in *Scotland*, you are to take on the Credit of his own Letters, which, without all Doubt, were fair and authentick. *Throckmorton* found in *Scotland* a great many inveterate Enemies against the Queen; who refus'd, in plain terms, both him and the *French* Ambassadors *Croc* and *Villeroy*, the Freedom of Access to her: And yet what Measures to take, as to the Queen, they could not agree among themselves. *Lidington* and some others judg'd it the fittest Course to restore her to her Authority, on these Terms: That the King's Murderers should be punish'd according to Law: That Care should be taken about preserving the Person of the Prince: That *Bothwell* should be divorc'd from her, and Religion establish'd. Others conceiv'd it would be much better to remove her to *England* or *France*, there to remain in perpetual Exile, on condition the *French* King or the Queen of *England* would be Guarantees, that she should give up the Government to her Son and some of the Nobility, and

1567. and abdicate the Kingdom. Others were of Opinion, that she should be try'd, and condemn'd to perpetual Confinement; and her Son crown'd in her Room. And others again, That she ought to lose her Crown and her Life together; and this was the Doctrine which Knox and others of that Brotherhood, made the Pulpits ring with.

Throckmorton, on the other side, quoted several Passages out of the Scriptures, to shew the Necessity of obeying the higher Powers; and vigorously maintain'd, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that of the Judge of Heaven and Earth: That not one Magistrate in Scotland, but carry'd an Authority deriv'd from her; and therefore to be revok'd at her Pleasure. Against this they objected a special Privilege of their Kingdom, and that in extraordinary Emergencies particular Acts must be made; borrowing their Arguments from Buchanan, who about that time, at the Instance of Murray, wrote his pernicious Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; wherein he maintains, That the People have the Power of creating and deposing Princes, quite contrary to the Tenour of the History of Scotland. However this did not discourage Throckmorton from asserting the Queen's injur'd Right, and desiring Admission to her; tho' Lidington would sometimes answer, That he must not expect a Freedom which had already been deny'd to the French Envoy: That they must not disoblige the King of France, to gratify the Queen of England, whom they had lately experienced to promote only her own Interests, when, to serve her own Turn, she remov'd the French out of Scotland; and (to give a later Instance) as she gave but a cold Treatment, and a kind of unwilling Protection, to the Scots who had withdrawn themselves, on the score of David Rizzio's Murder: Moreover, That he ought to take Care, his pressing Importunity upon this Head did not urge the Scots to crave Assistance from the French, in Neglect of the English: And by the French Proverb, *Il perd le jeu, qui laisse le parti, i. e. He loses the Game, that quits the Side*; the English ought not to desert the Scots, their Friends.

After this, they deliver'd to Throckmorton a long Scroll, in form of a Protest, though without any Names subscribed; That the sole Design of putting the Queen under her present Confinement, was to separate her from Bothwell, (for whom she had an Affection, that might prove fatal to the State) till the Heat of two Passions, her Love for him, and her Anger against them, were a little qualify'd and appeas'd: And they desired him to acquiesce in this Answer, till the rest of the Peers were assembl'd. The Queen however was committed to more close and severe Restrictions, after all the Tears she shed, and Intreaties she us'd, for a better Treatment; if not as she was a Queen, yet at least as she was the Daughter of a Crown'd Head, and the Mother of their Prince; a Sight of whom she often requested, but in vain. But (not to insist on every private Affront she suffer'd at their Hands) they at length endeavour'd, by smooth Words, to wheedle her into a Resignation of the Kingdom; and to excuse herself, on the score of Sickness, or the Fatigue of Government; or (as others more politickly advis'd) first to abdicate, and then to get away, when her Guard was less'n'd, and her Confinement relax'd. When these Methods would not take, they began to threaten her with a publick Trial, and to impeach her with the Crimes of Incontinence, Regicide, and Tyranny: Of the last, as she had broken the Laws and Privileges of the Kingdom, viz. those which Randon and D'Oysel had confirm'd in her's and the King of France's Name. At last they so far prevail'd, by threatening her with Death, as to engage her, without being heard, to set her Hand

to three Writings: By the first of which, she resign'd the Crown to her Son, who was scarce 13 Months old: The second confer'd the Regency on Murray, during the Minority of her Son: And in the third, these Governors were nominated for the young Prince, (should Murray refuse the Charge) James Duke of Chastel-Herauld, Matthew Earl of Lenox, Gillespie Earl of Argyle, John Earl of Athol, James Earl of Morton, Alexander Earl of Glencarn, and John Earl of Marre. Next, she represented to the Queen of England, by Throckmorton, that she had resign'd upon Force, and sign'd the Instrument by the Persuasion of Throckmorton, who had assur'd her, that a Resignation extorted in Prison, was a real Act of Force; and so, void of itself. But we shall have occasion to touch these Passages more largely, when we come to the Occurrences of the next Year, and the Accusations and Defences of both Parties, before the Delegates commission'd at York.

The fifth day after her Resignation, James, the Queen's young Son, was anointed and crown'd King; and John Knox preach'd the Coronation-Sermon: And the Hamiltons enter'd a Protestation, That it should not prejudice the Duke of Chastel-Herauld's Title to the Succession, in Opposition to the House of Lenox. But Queen Elizabeth order'd Throckmorton not to attend at the Coronation; lest she should be thought to encourage the injurious dethroning of a Prince, by the Presence of her Ambassador. The twentieth day after the Resignation, returns Murray from France into Scotland; and three days after that he waits on the Queen, with some others of the Cabal, charges her with a great Heap of Crimes, and like a holy Confessor as he was, advis'd her to a serious Repentance, and Invocation of the divine Mercy. She then began to lament the Irregularities of her Life past, acknowledged some of the Faults she was charg'd with, excus'd others, and some she extenuated on the account of humane Frailty; but the greatest part she utterly deny'd: She intreated him to undertake the Charge of the Government, in her Son's Name; and beg'd him, with repeated Importunity, to spare her Reputation and her Life. He said, it was not in his Power to grant the last, but that 'twas a Request proper to be made to the Estates of the Realm: But yet, the best way to secure both, would be to take and follow these Advices; 'Not to disturb the Quiet of the King and Kingdom: Not to endeavour an Escape from her Confinement: Not to engage the Queen of England, or the King of France, to make an Invasion upon Scotland; or foment a War at home: And to throw off all Affection for Bothwell, and all Thoughts of a Revenge upon his Enemies.

And now being declar'd Regent, he obliges himself by an Instrument under his hand, not to meddle with the Business of War or Peace, the King's Person and Marriage, or the Queen's Liberty; without the Advice and Consent of the rest of the Association; and he sends Lidington to desire and caution Throckmorton, not to interpose any more on the Queen's behalf. For he and the rest would rather suffer the worst that could happen, than agree to her Enlargement; the Effect of which would be, that she would still caress Bothwell, bring her Son into Danger, and her Country into Trouble, and themselves into Banishment and Disgrace. 'We know, says he, what Harm England can do us by a War: You can ravage our Borders, and we can do as much for yours; and we know as well, that the French will have a better Regard to the antient Treaty between us and them,

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She signs an Instrument of Resignation.

James VI. crown'd King.

Murray returns into Scotland.

And is made Regent.

1567. *Ann. 10.* them, than ever to forsake us. But for this, he refus'd to *Lignerol* the French Ambassador any interview with the Queen till *Bothwell* was secured; and he added more Weight every Day to the Queen's Sorrows, and Strictness to her Confinement, contrary to his Promise to the French King. Thus far out of *Throckmorton's* Letters.

Murray causes some of the Rep'cides to be Executed. Shortly after *Murray* caus'd to be Executed, *John Hepburn*, Paris a Frenchman, *Daglish* and some other of *Bothwell's* Servants, who were present at the King's Murder. But they (quite contrary to his expectation) protested before God and his Angels, that they were inform'd by *Bothwell*; that *Murray* and *Morton* were the chief Agents in the King's Death. The Queen they acquitted from any share in the Fact; as also *Bothwell* himself, when he was Prisoner in *Denmark*; attesting several times in his Health, and on his Death-bed, and that with the most solemn Asseverations, that the Queen was in no degree privy to the Regicide. And about fourteen Years after, when *Morton* was to suffer, he confess'd that *Bothwell* had tamper'd with him to consent to the Murder; which when he absolutely refus'd, unless he had the Queen's Hand for his Warrant, *Bothwell* made answer, That this could not be, for it she was not to have the least Intimation of such a Design. This rash Procedure in deposing the Queen, join'd with the insolent Carriage of the

The Q cleared from having any hand in the Murder.

The K. of France & Q. Eliz. attempt the Liberty of the Queen of Scots.

Cabal towards the Ambassador, was highly stomach'd both by Queen *Elizabeth* and the French King, as an Affront to the Royal Prerogative. So that they began to appear for the *Hamiltons*, who adher'd to the Queen. And *Pasquier*, the French Ambassador, solicited the Queen of *England* to attempt her Restoration by force. But she thought it the better method to put a stop to their Trade both with *France* and *England*, till she were set at Liberty; and by this means to set the Lords and Commons at odds, who at present seem'd but too firmly united against the Royal Interest. But to adjourn a little from the Affairs of *Scotland*.

Calais demanded.

Hospital's answer to the demand.

At the end of eight Years, when *Calais* was, according to the Articles of the Treaty at *Cambray*, to be restor'd to the English, *Sir Tho. Smith* was sent into *France*, with *Sir William Winter*, Master of the Naval-Stores, and there they demanded, with Sound of Trumpet, and with an Audible Voice, in the French Tongue, before the Gate of *Calais* next to the Sea, the Town and Territory of *Calais*, with a proportion of Ammunition, according to the Treaty. And presently was there an Act of this Register'd by a Publick Notary, and certain Merchants of *Germany*, and others of *Holland*, were call'd as Witnesses thereto. Some time after, he went to the King at *Fossat-Castle*, and there he and *Sir Henry Norris*, Ambassador in Ordinary, made the same Demand again. The King referr'd the Matter to his Council; and *Michael Hospital*, Chancellor, debated the Case in a grave and form'd Speech to this purpose. 'By the same Right the English demand *Calais*, they may as well lay claim to *Paris*; for the one as well as the other was won by Arms, and both were lost the same way. The English plead a new Title to *Calais*, whereas the Title of the French is of the same date with the Kingdom itself. Altho' the English had it in Possession about Two hundred and thirty Years, yet the Right was as much in the Kings of *France*, as were the Dukedoms of *Guiene* and *Normandy*, which the English detain'd a long time by force. Now *Calais* with those Dukedoms the French had not purchas'd, but recover'd by the Sword. The prescription of Time by them pretended, is of

no Consideration among Princes, but the Right always takes place, and by the Law of the 12 Tables, the Authority remains perpetual against an Enemy. The English use great Precautions in making of Treaties, and yet in the late one at *Trois*, after they had commenc'd a War for the sake of *Calais* principally, yet *Calais* was not so much as mention'd; so that they seem'd to have quite abandon'd their Pretensions to that place. The Treaty of *Trois* was but a renewing of a former Treaty; so that the same League was but made twice over; nor is that Clause, relating to the Reservation of Rights, any manner of Objection, because it concerns merely small and insignificant matters, whereas this of *Calais* is of the weightiest Consideration. The Attempts of *Francis II.* in *Scotland*, could by no means affect the Right of *Calais*. Indeed the very Aims of private Persons are in some respects liable to the Laws; but the case of Princes is quite different. As for the Attempts in *Scotland* being a Kingdom held as a Jointure, the English ought to expostulate the matter with the Queen of *Scots*, since they are so expert at guessing the Designs of *Francis* and the Queen: But as for themselves, they made bold to seize on *New-Haven* in *France*, under colour of keeping it for the King, held it by force, and put a strong Garison therein with suitable Provisions; and at the same time furnish'd *Conde* and the Confederates with Money. And therefore they have forfeited their claim to *Calais* through their own Misconduct. It hath pleas'd God to reduce *Calais* into the Hands of the French, and so to end the War between *France* and *England*, Nations which his Providence had parted by the Interposition of a very wide Channel; as 'tis in the Poet.

Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos.

Britain (a lovely Isle) which Seas divide,
As a choice Tract, from all the World beside.

The Queen of *England* would also much better consult her own Welfare and Convenience, by keeping on a fair Correspondence with *France*, than by re-demanding *Calais*. In a word, none would be found Sanguine enough to persuade the King to restore *Calais*; or had any the Assurance to do so, he would deserve Death, if not a worse Doom, after it, for his pains.

To this *Smith* reply'd, 'That he did not expect to find the antiquated Title which the French had to *Calais* insisted on at this time of Day: But he now perceiv'd that whatever the French had got, right or wrong, into their Clutches, they would make bold to call their own, as if their Title hung at their Sword's point; and they matter'd not whether they held it with a good or an ill Conscience. The French persuade themselves they hold *Calais* by right of Recovery, whereas they only hold it on Compact: Nor will they admit of any later Treaty; and seem fully resolv'd not to stand to one Title of their Promise in reference to the Restitution of *Calais*. But these Pretences must bear down all Reason and Sense. As for the Encomiums bestow'd on the English, for their Coolness and Discretion in the management of Treaties, those the French have generally assum'd to themselves in derogation from the English; besides, the renewing of Treaties is what may be turn'd upon the French as a fitting Repartee, for that the Queen demanded *Calais*, because the French forfeited their claim when they attempted Changes and rais'd Com-motions

1567. Ann. 10. motions in Scotland: On the contrary, the French would exclude the English from Calais, on pretence that the Queen afterwards made an Assault upon New-Haven. When neither side (continues he) would abate any thing in this Dispute, a Peace was concluded at Troyes; and if a Renovation was the effect of that, this very fresh Claim cancell'd the Right of the French to Calais, and confirm'd that of the English, whose turn was not yet come, their claim to Calais being not to commence till the end of eight Years. Here rising from his Seat, and applying himself to the Council of France, 'I appeal, says he, to the Consciences of you who are here present, whether upon the Motion we made to have our Right to Calais reserv'd in express Terms, and their urging the omission of that Clause, because the Time was not yet expired, it were not agreed on by mutual consent, that it should be tacitly imply'd under that Paragraph, viz. All other Claims, and Demands shall remain safe and entire; and in like manner the Exceptions and Defences shall be reserv'd. As for New-Haven, the English made a peaceable Entry, being invited by the Inhabitants and Noblemen of Normandy, and under Protestations to keep and secure it for the French King. So then, they made no Hostile Attempts upon the French King, nor any Alterations in prejudice of the Treaty: And tho' they held it, 'twas not in any Right of Property, but as a Pledge or Security that they should have Right done 'em as to Calais, which had been so long detain'd. The claim whereof, both as to the Point of Possession and Propriety, did devolve upon the Queen, upon the Attempts made by the French in Scotland directly contrary to the Treaty. As for the Money, it was lent to Conde and the Confederates, with no other intent than to pay off the German Soldiers, who were ready to Mutiny, that they might not Ravage the King's Countries and Towns; all which the King had owned in his Edict to have been done, *A bon fin, & pour notre Service*; that is, *To a good end, and for our Service*. This, and more to the same purpose was urged by Smith.

Then the Constable, Montmorency, held up a Sword without a Scabbard set with Flower-de-Luces, (the Badge of his Place) and talked much of the mighty Provisions the English made in New-Haven, as if they had been enough to conquer all Normandy instead of one poor Town. *There is no reason, says Smith, to wonder at this, because the English, who lie upon the Sea, know very well that they cannot command the Winds, which command that; and therefore they made sufficient and seasonable Provisions for the future.* The French, after this, making heavy Complaints that the Protestant French Refugees were not deliver'd (according to Agreement) to the French Ambassador on demand, adjourn'd the Business till another time, till at length it dwindled into nothing on the account of a Civil War which soon after sprung up in France. And it cannot be doubted but the French had fully determin'd not to restore Calais. For, as soon as 'twas taken, they demolished the old Forts and began new ones, and let the Houses and Lands, besides those they gave away quite, for fifty Years.

Whilst these things were transacting in France, Count Stolberg came into England from the Emperor Maximilian, to treat about a Match with the Archduke Charles, and the Queen had a little before dispatched the Earl of Sussex to the Emperor on the same occasion, and with a Compliment of the Order of St. George. He, out of Respect to his Country, and the Envy he bore to Leicester,

used all possible Efforts to bring about a Match between the Queen and some foreign Prince, that Leicester's Hopes might be defeated. And Sussex had it commonly in his Mouth, *That a foreign Prince had the preference of any Englishman, tho' of the first Rank, in respect of Honour, Power and Wealth.* Which occasioned one, of another Opinion, to say pleasantly in his presence, *Where Honour, Power and Riches, are the three things only consider'd in a Marriage, the Devil and the World are the Match-makers.* Yet Leicester soothing himself still with the same hopes, practis'd with the Lord North (who travell'd as a Companion with Sussex) to make Remarks upon all that was said and done, and privately to defeat all the Advances Sussex should make with the Archduke, by some tacit hints, that the Queen was not at all inclin'd to marry, whatever she pretended, or Sussex endeavour'd to make appear to the contrary. Nor was he less busy at home in filling the Queen's Ears with the several Inconveniences attending on a foreign Alliance. He represented to her the effects of a late Match between Queen Mary her Sister, and Philip of Spain, which embroil'd her in continual Troubles, and brought England under the danger of a Spanish Yoke. He pleaded, that the Customs and Tempers of Foreigners could hardly be learnt, which yet are things absolutely necessary to be discover'd in an Husband, who should be of the same Spirit and Disposition, as well as of the same Flesh with his Wife. That 'twas a very irksom and uneasy Life to converse with a Language and Deportment altogether strange and foreign. That the Off-spring of such foreign Marriages was usually uncouth and defective. That Strangers infected a Kingdom with new Methods and odd Customs. That when Princes match'd abroad, they augmented others Kingdoms, not their own, subject themselves and theirs to a foreign Dominion, and discover the Secrets of their Government to Strangers. That an Husband, who is a Stranger, will, out of a natural Regard for his Country, prefer his own Countrymen to the English. That England needs no foreign Aid, since she is strong enough to defend herself and others against all foreign Assaults. That the addition of a new Kingdom brings nothing but Care, Trouble and Expence, along with it; And that Empires, like human Bodies, sink under their own weight. That the usual Saying (*that Marriages at home lessen the Royal Character*) is applied by some Persons in meer Affront to the Nobility, whereas the Queen herself, whose Virtues have raised her to the Dignity of a Throne, owes her Extraction to, and borrows her Regal Title from, the Noble Blood of England: And therefore 'tis that the Kings of England have in their occasional Letters to Dukes, Marquesses, Earls and Viscounts, always given them the Title of Cousins.

Sussex, in the mean time, pass'd with a very fine Retinue by Antwerp, Cologne, Mentz, Worms, Spire, Ulm and Ausburgh, in his way to Austria; where he was honourably Entertain'd 5 Months together at the Emperor's Charge, and held daily Conferences with him about Affairs of moment; and among others, the Marriage with the Archduke. After this, on a Day fix'd for the purpose, he Installed the Emperor, at Evening Service, *Knight of the Garter*, tho' his Conscience would not allow him to be present at Mass. From this Negotiation there sprang some Difficulties relating to Religion, the Duke's Maintenance, the Title of King, and the Point of Succession; all which were warmly canvass'd on both sides. For the Title, the Archduke was to bear that of King of England; then for the

1567. Ann. 10.

Difficulties arise as to the Match.

The matter is let fall thro' delay.

Sussex sent to the Emperor to Treat of a Match with the Archduke

the Succession, the Laws of the Land debarred him of that, because 'twould be an Injury to the Children they might have. But 'twas agreed however, that he should be their Guardian during their Minority; and this was all that was granted to Philip of Spain when he marry'd Queen Mary. Now in relation to his Maintenance, if he would consent to maintain at his own Charge the Train and Equipage he brought into the Kingdom, the Queen would be ready to furnish all other points of Grandeur answerable to the State of a Prince, and bear the other Expences too rather than fail. But touching Religion, there the matter stuck. The Emperor demanded, and his Son likewise, the Privilege of a Publick Church for himself and his Servants, where might be perform'd Divine Service after the Romish manner. When this Point could not be gain'd, the Emperor contriv'd a middle Way, which was, the having a private Chappel in some part of the Court, where he might enjoy the Worship of God quietly, (as the Ambassadors of Catholick Princes were allow'd to do in their Houses) And this to be permitted on these Conditions: That no Englishman should be admitted to it; nor himself, nor any of his Domesticks, speak any thing to the Disparagement of the Religion establish'd; nor countenance any that do: That if his Way of Worship happen'd to give any Offence, he should oblige himself to forbear it for a time; and that he should also be present with the Queen, at the Service of the Church of England. To be short, after this Business had pass'd a long and thorow Consultation in England, the Queen's Answer was: That should she admit of this, she must wrong her Conscience, and make a palpable Violation of the Laws, if not endanger her Honour and Security. But if the Arch-duke Charles thought fit to come over into England, and visit the Queen; his Voyage might perhaps be worth his while. Upon the whole, Suffex was honorably dismiss'd, and went something out of his Way to Graetz, to take his leave of the Arch-duke, who was not to look for any other or more favorable Answer from the Queen: For a very little Time serv'd to efface the very Traces of those Designs, which had been carrying on for Seven Years together; and by very honorable Steps and Applications: There remain'd, however, that good Understanding and Friendship between the Two Princes, as made the Emperor, on all occasions, thwart the Pope's Practices against Queen Elizabeth. It was not long after, that the Arch-duke married Mary, the Daughter of Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had the Queens of Spain and Poland, besides other Children.

The Negotiation proves unsuccessful.

Archduke marries.

About this time arriv'd in England Stephen Twerdico and Theodore Pogorella, from the most potent Emperor John Basilides, Emperor of Russia and Moscovia, with rich Furs of Sables, Lucerns, &c. which did then, and in former times, bear a mighty Value with the English, both for their Ornament and Use. They made great Professions and Tenders of Friendship to the Queen and the Nation; as the Emperor had already done, on the occasion of some Particulars I shall here insert.

Whilst some Merchants of the City of London, the chief of which were Andrew Judd, George Barnes, William Gerard, and Anthony Hussey, were attempting a Passage thro' the North-Channel into Cathay, in the Year 1553. under the Conduct of Sir Hugh Willoughby, who was frozen to death; Rich. Chancellor, who was the next Adventurer, was so lucky as to discover one into Russia, till then unknown, by the Mouth of the River Dwina, lying in 64 Degrees of Northern Latitude; where stands a little Monastery dedicated to St. Nicholas. Hither the Emperor sent some

English find a Passage into Muscovy.

Sleds to carry 'em upon the Ice to Moscovy, after the Custom of the Country. He receiv'd and dismiss'd 'em with extreme Courtesie, and promis'd the English vast Advantages, if they would open a Trade into his Country. Nor was he a little pleas'd to find that foreign Wares might be so easily imported by Sea into Russia; which the Russians had before brought to 'em, with a great deal of Difficulty, by the way of Nerva, and the Countries of Poland; which held no good Agreement with them.

As soon as Chancellor return'd, and gave this Account, and how high a Rate English Cloaths were sold at in those Parts, and what a cheap Price Flax and Hemp, Wax, and richer sorts of Furs, went at there; those Merchants procur'd the Queen's Patent to establish themselves into a Company, call'd The Muscovy-Company; who having many Privileges granted 'em by the Emperor, settl'd a vast Trade, and sent a Fleet thither once a Year. But that which rais'd their Advantage to the Height, was this, that Queen Elizabeth so well improv'd her Interest with Basilides, as to obtain a Grant, in the Year 1569, that none but the English Company should be allow'd to trade into the North of Russia, or have Liberty to disperse or vend their Commodities in any part of that spacious and large Empire; as shall be shewn in its place.

With these Russian Ambassadors return'd Anthony Jenkinson into England, who had taken a most accurate Map of Russia, and was the first Englishman who adventur'd thro the Caspian Sea, to the Country of the Baetrians. To him the Emperor gave some Instructions, which he did not take care to communicate to his Countrymen, viz. That he should earnestly press the Queen to settle a League offensive and defensive; and to supply Russia with Shipwrights, Sailors, and Ammunition; and to endeavour to get an Oath from her, that she would afford himself and Family a safe Retreat, should he happen to lose his Kingdom, by the Sword of foreign or domestick Enemies. So little secure was this Tyrant in his own Thoughts, who had endanger'd the Safety and Quiet of so many; Nor can we believe he took it well at the Queen's hands, that she gave so little Notice to these Remonstrances, notwithstanding he still ply'd the same Affair both by Letters and Embassies, sometimes requiring that the said Jenkinson should be sent home, as having been false to the weighty Trust reposed in him.

In the very first Month of this Year, died Nicolas Wotton, Doctor of the Common and Civil Law, Dean both of Canterbury and York, at the same time: A Person well descended, but far more valuable for his wise Conduct of Affairs, both at home and abroad. For he had been Privy-Counsellor, not only to King Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; but was sent Nine several times Ambassador to the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain, and other Princes: Thrice was he a Commissioner for settling Peace between the English, French, and Scots; and was chosen by King Henry VIII. One of the Sixteen Overseers of his last Will and Testament.

The same Year, died Elizabeth Lebourne, the third Wife of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who had been Widow to the Lord Dacres, and marry'd to the Duke about a Year; but brought him never a Child. Her former Husband had by her George Lord Dacres, who died young, by the Misfortune of the great Horse's Falling upon him, as he was learning to vault; besides three Daughters, who were engaged by Contract to three of the Duke's Sons.

I have already given an Account, how, in the Year 1560, and 1562, Shan-Oneal, the lawful Son of Con-Oneal, nicknamed Basco, or the Lame, a Man

And of the Duke's of Norfolk.

Man of the first Interest in the North of Ireland, call'd *Ulster*, came into *England*, and begg'd the Queen's Pardon for having been in Rebellion. Upon his return, he bravely defended that Part of *Ireland* against the Insults of the *Scots*, from the Quarters of *Cantire* and the *Hebrides*, and slew their Leaders, *James Mac-Conel*, who was his Father-in-law, and his Brother *Agne*. Being flush'd with this Conquest, he began to lord and domineer it over the Petty Lords of *Ulster*, and burnt down *Armagh*, the Metropolis of *Ireland*, in pure hatred to the Primate. He stripp'd *O-donell*, whose Estate lay nearest to him, of his House and Land, took him Prisoner, and committed a Rape upon his Wife. He Robb'd *Mac-Guise* of his Paternal Estate, and Treated *Mac-Genis* and others much after the same rate. And when the *English* undertook the Redress of these Grievances, he set up his rebellious Colours against the Queen, but presently took them down again thro' the persuation of Sir *Tho. Cusack* Kt. and deliver'd his Son for a Pledge of his future Loyalty and Obedience. To keep him firm herein; the Queen resolv'd to cancel the Patent of King *Henry VIII.* wherein he declared *Matthew* (falsely supposed to be the Son of *Con*) his Father's Successor, and to confer the Honour of Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and Baron of *Dungannon*, upon this *Shan*, who was the undoubted Son and Heir. But he, being a Man of an unquiet and turbulent Spirit, when he found himself strong enough to raise 1000 Horse and 4000 Foot among his own Creatures and Followers, and had already a Guard of 700 Men about his Person, through a Pride and Savageness very natural to him, disdain'd these as petty and insignificant Titles, compared with the Name of *O-neal*, and gave himself the Title of *King of Ulster*, training up the Country-People to Martial Discipline, and offering the Government of *Ireland* to the Queen of *Scots*. And so inveterate an Hatred did he bear the *English*, that he named a Castle which he built in the Lake *Eaugh*, *Feoghne-gall*; i. e. *The Hatred of the English*: And so far was he transported therewith, as to strangle some of his Men for but feeding upon *English* Bread. And yet for all this, he never mention'd the Queen but with terms of Respect.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, the Lord-Deputy, receiv'd Orders to advance against this Rebel. And *Edward Randolph*, an excellent Commander, was sent by Sea, with a Cornet of Horse and Seven hundred Foot to the Coasts of *Ulster*, as far as *Derry*, a small Bishop's See, to charge him in the Rear, at the same time that the Lord-Deputy attack'd him in the Front. *Shan*, having got some Intelligence thereof, made a furious Assault upon *Dundalk*; but was beaten off by the Garison, and received a shameful Defeat both here and at *Whites-Castle*. After which, he was routed and put to Flight by a small Handful of *English*, and with a considerable loss on his side, just as he was going to destroy the Country of *Louth* with Fire and Sword. His next March was to *Derry*, where he Insulted the *English* Garison, and Ravag'd the Country round about: But the *English* having ranged themselves in order of Battel, soon made a shift to break through a Crowd of raw and undisciplin'd Fellows, and to defeat and disperse them. But a very dear Conquest it was, since it cost the Life of *Randolph*, the chief Commander, who was killed Fighting amongst the thickest of the Enemies. And certainly never did Man deserve a fairer and more honourable Remembrance, for the Authority he maintained, and the Love and Respect he deservedly shared among the Soldiers. His Commission was given to *Edward Saint Lo*, who proved a se-

vere Scourge to the Rebels in those Parts, till by a sad and sudden Disaster the Town and Garison took Fire, and the Powder and Provisions, with a great many of his Men, were blown up and destroy'd. Upon this Accident, he put his Foot aboard some small Vessels he had, and he himself with the Troop of Horse, Commanded by *George Harvey*, broke through the midst of the Enemies Forces; and by a four Days March joined the Lord-Deputy, who was then in Mourning for *Randolph*, whose Bravery he had an high esteem for.

And now the Lord-Deputy marches into *Ulster*, and *Shan* retires into the Woods and Thickets, making now and then some faint Attacks on the Enemies Rear near *Clogher* and *Salmon*, a Castle belonging to *Turlough Leinigh*, who had a little before revolted from *Shan*: But as soon as the Lord-Deputy's Men were put into Garison, and *O-donell* put in Possession of his Estate, and was return'd in order to make up some Differences between the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, who were engag'd in a most fatal Quarrel; *Shan* takes Courage again, Pillages the Country all about, and lays a second Siege to *Dundalk*. But he was soon oblig'd to raise it, with equal Damage and Disgrace, and a vast Slaughter of his Men besides; whereupon the Savage Humour gain'd the ascendant, and put him upon the Exercise of extreme Barbarities to his own Men, which occasion'd the Revolt of a great many; so that when he found the poor and shatter'd Condition of his Troops, (there being, besides Deserters, 4000 slain) when he saw all the Avenues secur'd, and the Passes guarded by the *English*, he then took up a kind of Resolution to cast himself on the Lord-Deputy's Mercy, with an Halter about his Neck, and a Confession in his Mouth: But his Secretary dissuaded him, and advised him first to try the Friendship of the Highland *Scots*, who, during the brunt of the War, had retreated to *Clande-boy*, from whence they were driven out a little before, under the Conduct of *Alexander Oge* and *Mac-Gillespich*, whose two Brothers, *Agne* and *James Mac-Conell*, himself had slain in the Field. To these he at length betakes himself with *O-donell's* Wife, whom he had ravish'd, and to regain their good opinion, he sent before-hand their Brother *Surly-Boy*, or the Yellow, whom he had a long time detain'd a Prisoner. They, to revenge the death of their Brethren and Kinsmen slain by him, treated him with a kind of dissembling Courtesy; but having got him into their Tents, and falling in their Cups to hot Words, they fell upon him and murder'd him and most of his Associates, for some defamatory Expressions of his against their Mother.

Thus did *Shan* come to this bloody End about the middle of *June*, after he had robb'd his Father of his Government, and his Brother of his Life. A Man he was who had stained his Hands with Blood, and dealt in all the Pollutions of unchast Embraces; and so scandalous a Glutton and Drunkard was he beside, that he would often lie up to the Chin in Dirt to cool the feverish Heats of his intemperate Lust. The Children he left by his Wife were *Henry* and *Shan*, but he had several more by *O-donell's* Wife, and others of his Mistresses. His Goods and Chattels were forfeited by Act of Parliament; and *Turlough Leineigh*, a Man of the first Interest of his Family, and of a modest and peaceable Spirit, was by the Queen's pleasure chose and saluted by the People with the Character of *O-neal*. Nevertheless *Hugh*, commonly called Baron of *Dungannon*, *Shan's* Nephew by his Brother *Matthew's* side, a young Person of an indifferent Character, and who liv'd afterwards

1567.
Ann. 10.

Shan O-neal rises in Arms.

Forces sent against him.

He is twice repulsed.

Randolph slain.

1567.

Ann. 10.

Derry burnt by accident.

Shan makes another fruitless assault.

He is slain.

His Character and Children.

1567. to be the Scourge and Pest of his Country, was received into the Queen's Favour, as a necessary Instrument to be made use of against *Turlough*, should he happen to quit his Duty and Allegiance.

Hugh is made E. of *Tir-Oen*.

Some Troubles in *Munster*.

Thus was *Ulster* resettled in a peaceable Condition; but *Munster* was in the mean time under as violent Commotions, occasioned by the unhappy Rivalry of two Kinsmen, the Earls of *Ormond* and *Desmond*, who could not agree about the Extent of their Jurisdiction; insomuch that the matter came to a Battel near *Dromelin*, and the Litigants were sent for into *England* to argue the matter before the Council-Board. Nevertheless the case being Intricate, they were refer'd to the Lord-Deputy in *Ireland*, where the Evidence and Witnesses were nearer at hand. But as they were upon the level as to Power and Interest, and had Spirits formed in the same Mould, so they resolv'd the matter should be decided not by the best Law, but by the longest Sword. The Lord-Deputy interpos'd his Authority and Forces; but *Ormond*, willing to set the better Face upon his Cause, procur'd the Deputy to be Impeach'd as a favourer of *Desmond*, and got Orders to seize on his Person. Whereupon he was soon after surprized at *Kilmanock*, together with his Uncle *John Desmond*, and sent into *England*, where they were both committed to Custody.

1568.

The Eleventh Year of her Reign.

Popish Priests grant Absolution.

Whilst *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders* and *T. P.* (Clergymen who had withdrawn from *England*) were much taken up in exercising the Episcopal Authority they had lately received from the Bishop of *Rome*, of absolving the Consciences of such as returned to the Bosom of the Church, and dispensing with several Disorders, such only excepted as related to cases of wilful Murder, or fell under the cognizance of a Judicial Court; as likewise of granting Absolution in the case of Heresy, provided the Persons to be absolved abstain from the Service of the Altar for three Years: *Coleman*, *Futton*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and others, who professed a more pure and reformed Religion with more Zeal than Knowledge, whether it was that they would admit of nothing which could not be immediately proved from Scripture, or that they affected a purer Reformation, or were really addicted to Novelty and Divisions, these Persons openly opposed the receiv'd Discipline of the Church of *England*, disputing the Liturgy and the regular Ordination of Bishops, and condemning them as having a mixture of Popish Superstition; (which they thought to be highly impious and abominable) so that they used all possible Attempts to have the whole Service of the Church of *England* new form'd upon the *Geneva*-Model. And tho' the Queen commanded them to be put under Confinement, yet 'tis almost incredible how this Sect, called then by an invidious Name, the *Puritans*, gathered and encreased every where, through a selfish Obstinacy on their side, the Bishops Indiscretion, and the secret Countenance of certain Noblemen, who gaped after a Morfel of Church-Lands.

A second Civil War in *France*.

Not long before this time, the *French*, who had likewise attempted a Reformation of Religion, out of an apprehension that the Papists had formed the Holy League against them, applied themselves in an humble Address to his Majesty: From whence arose soon after a second Civil War; to compose which, the Queen commanded *Norris*, her Ambassador, to use his utmost Mediations; and there ensued a Peace

thereon; but such an one as seemed to carry nothing but Treachery and ill Designs at the bottom. And now it was that the Queen-Mother of *France* began to treat the Ambassador and others of the *English* Nation, with a cajoling kind of Civility, and to drop some dark Hints and Innuendo's about a Marriage betwixt Queen Elizabeth and her Son *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, who was scarce Seventeen Years of Age. And this with no other design (as several were of opinion) than to keep her from sending any Succours to the *French* Protestants under a third Civil War, which she thought was very near breaking out. But *Man*, the *English* Ambassador in *Spain*, received but very coarse Entertainment; for having been taxed with dropping some disrespectful Expressions about the Pope, he was forbid the Court, and sent from *Madrid* to the Confinement of a Country Village, and his Servants forced in the mean time to be present at Mass, whilst the exercise of his own Religion was altogether forbid. Whether this was done in spite to the Queen, or her Persuasion, is not easily guess'd; but certain it is, that she treated *Gusman*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, after a manner of Civility quite contrary to this sort of Treatment, and allow'd him the free use of his own Religion. She could not therefore but regret this ill Usage of her Ambassador, as a dishonour done to herself, as she did likewise the Injury done by the *Spaniards* to Sir *John Hawkins* at the same time. This Gentleman had put in at *St. John de Ullua*, in the Bay of *Mexico*, with five Merchant Ships laden with Goods and Negroes, Commodities which were bought up in *Africa* by the *Spaniards*, and from them by the *English*, to make a better Market of in *America*. The very next Day the King of *Spain*'s Royal Fleet arrived at the same Port; which tho' he could have prevented from coming into the Bay, yet he allow'd them safe Harbour, on Security given and certain Conditions made, that he might be no ways charged with a breach of the Treaty. The *Spaniards* being now got in, and scorning to be tied down to Terms within their own Dominions, watched their opportunity, set upon the *English*, slew a great many, and took and rifled three Ships. But this Victory was not by them without much Bloodshed obtain'd. This bred very ill Blood in the *English* Sailors and Soldiers, who now began to grow importunate for a War with *Spain*, and to exclaim against them as breakers of the Truce; inasmuch as 'twas made an Article in the Treaty between the Emperor *Charles V.* and King *Henry VIII.* That there should be free Commerce settled between the Subjects of both Princes, in all and each of their Kingdoms, Isles and Dominions, not excepting *America*, which did at that time belong to the Emperor. But the Queen took little notice of this, having enough to do with the Affairs of *Scotland*. For about this time, on the 2d of May, The Q. of the Captive Queen made her escape from her Confinement in *Lough-Levin* in *Scotland*, to *Hamilton-Castle*, by the assistance of *George Douglas*, Brother to the Person under whose Custody she was. Where, upon hearing the Affidavits of *Robert Melvin* and others, a Sentence Declaratory was pronounced by the unanimous Consent of a great Body of Noblemen there conven'd, signifying, That the Resignation extorted from the Queen under her Fears in Prison, was *Ipso facto* null and void, and that it was obtain'd by force, of which the Queen's Oath, who was then present, was a sufficient Confirmation. Hereupon, there gather'd to her in two or 3 Days time such a vast throng and confluence of People, as furnish'd her with an Army of 6000 fighting Men, who

1568.
Ann. 11.
Raised an Army, and is vanquished.

She comes into *England*.

Her Majesty's Q. E.

1568. who were notwithstanding easily routed by Mur-
 ray, as having engag'd with more Heat than ei-
 ther Courage or Conduct. The timorous Queen,
 quite disheartned with this bad Success, thought
 it best to fly, and secur'd herself by Riding that
 Day 60 Miles; and after this she travelled by
 Night to the House of Maxwell, Baron of Heris,
 and chose rather to trust to the Mercy of the
 Sea and Queen Elizabeth's Courtesy, than the
 Loyalty of her own Subjects. However, to
 prepare the way to her better Reception, she
 sent the Queen a Diamond by John Beton, (the
 very same she had received from her as a Pledge
 of mutual and lasting Friendship) and let her
 Majesty understand withal, that she designed to
 come into England and put herself under the
 Queen's Protection, if her Subjects continued
 their rebellious Hostilities against her. The
 Queen promised her all the Aid and Friendship
 she could expect from so near a Relation as a
 Sister. But before the Messenger's return, she
 had taken Boat with the Lords Heris and Fleming,
 and a few more, (contrary to the Persuasions of
 all her Friends) and on the 17th of May arrived
 at Wirkinton in Cumberland, near the Mouth of
 the Derwent; and the same Day wrote a Letter
 to Queen Elizabeth in French under her own
 Hand. The chief Contents of which I have
 thought fit to give you from the Original here
 set down, because it contains the History of her
 Sufferings in Scotland in a fuller way of Relation
 than I have yet offer'd. The Words are as fol-
 lows.

Her Let-
 ter to
 Q. Eliz.
 "You cannot but be sensible (most dear Sister)
 "What Plots have been fram'd to imprison my-
 "self and Husband, even by those Men whom
 "I have rais'd to an envied pitch of Greatness;
 "and likewise, how ready I was, at your Ma-
 "jesty's Intercession, to receive them again in-
 "to Favour, after they had been forcibly driven
 "from my Kingdom; yet had these Men the
 "Confidence to break into my Chamber, to
 "murder my Servant in the most barbarous
 "manner before my Face, and to confine my
 "own Person when I was great with Child.
 "And when they had got a second Pardon from
 "me, they went so far as to charge me with a
 "new pretended Crime, and sign this Accusa-
 "tion with their own Hands; and had, it
 "seems, an Army ready to oppose me. But I
 "was willing to spare the effusion of my Sub-
 "jects Blood, and so put myself, under the
 "Guard of my own Innocence, into your
 "Hands. They immediately cast me into Pri-
 "son, stript me of my Servants, all but a Maid
 "or two, my Cook, and my Physician, threat-
 "ned and terrify'd me into the Resignation of
 "my Kingdom, and refus'd an Hearing to my-
 "self and Council in a Convention or Juncto
 "which they afterwards called. The next
 "thing was the seizing on my Goods, and de-
 "barring me the Privilege of any Conversa-
 "tion. After this, it pleas'd God to favour my
 "escape from Prison. And being now guarded
 "by the very Flower of the Nobility, who
 "cheerfully gather'd to me from all Parts, I re-
 "minded my rebellious Subjects of the Duty
 "and Allegiance they ow'd to me, I offer'd
 "them a free Pardon, and propos'd an Hearing
 "in Parliament of the Causes or Grievances on
 "both sides, that the Government might be no
 "longer embroil'd by Civil Dissentions: Two
 "Messengers I sent on this very Errand, and
 "they were both clapt up: Those that assist-
 "ed me they proclaim'd Traytors, and comman-
 "ded them by publick Order to desert my Per-
 "son and Interest. I desir'd them to accept of
 "the Lord Boyd as an impartial Umpire between

us, to settle and accommodate Matters on
 both sides: But this was refus'd. However,
 I hoped still that your Majesty's Mediation
 must have work'd them up to a dutiful Com-
 pliance. But when I saw 'twas come to that,
 that I must either be a Sacrifice or a Prisoner
 once more, I took up a Resolution to go to
 Dunbritton. They were as much resolv'd to
 stop my Journey, and in a following Skir-
 mish, killed some of my Men, and put the
 rest to flight. I at last got safe to my Lord
 Heris, who has accompany'd me into your
 Kingdom; and I promise myself from your
 Friendship and Generosity, the Aid and Pro-
 tection I want; and that you will influence
 others to Assist me, by your own Example.
 I therefore most earnestly request the Favour
 of a safe Conduct to your Majesty, for I am
 now under the most pressing Exigences, as I
 shall satisfy you more at large, if you shall
 think my Condition worth your Pity or Re-
 gard. God grant you a Life long and happy,
 and me Comfort and Patience; which I
 hope and pray that his Providence may make
 you the blessed Instrument of procuring to
 me.

Queen Elizabeth sent her the most obliging
 Letters by Sir Francis Knolls, and others; and
 promis'd her all the Protection which was due to
 the Justice of her Cause. However, she would
 not consent to admit her to her Presence, be-
 cause she stood charg'd with many Mismanage-
 ments; and therefore order'd she should be con-
 vey'd to Carlisle, by Louder, Deputy-Warden of
 that City, and the Gentlemen of the County,
 as to a Place of more Security, should her Ene-
 mies make any Attempts against her. Upon
 the receipt of this Answer, and the Queen's re-
 fusing to see her, she renew'd her Request both
 by Letters, and by Maxwell Baron Heris: "That
 "she might have leave to remonstrate the
 "Wrongs which had been done, and clear her-
 "self of the Crimes laid to her charge; insist-
 "ing, how reasonable a thing it was, that the
 "Queen, her near Kinswoman, should afford
 "her a patient Hearing, support her Exile by
 "her Company and Presence, and restore her
 "to her Crown and Kingdom, in opposition to
 "those whom she had pardon'd and restor'd, af-
 "ter their Rebellion had made them run their
 "Country, to her own absolute Ruin, unless
 "timely prevented. She intreated her therefore
 "either to admit her to her Presence, in order
 "to some redress of her Misfortunes; or else to
 "have leave to depart immediately out of the
 "Kingdom, to crave some Succours elsewhere;
 "and that she might no longer live like a Pri-
 "soner in Carlisle Castle, since her coming into
 "England was a voluntary Act of her own, in
 "confidence of that Friendship the Queen had
 "made so many honourable professions and pro-
 "mises of, by Letters, Messages, and other To-
 "kens.

These Letters, join'd with Heris's Representa-
 tions, had such an effect on Queen Elizabeth,
 that she seem'd at least touch'd (for who can dive
 into the Hearts of Princes, of which they who
 are Wise always keep the Key?) with an hearty
 and feeling Sense of her Kinswoman's Disasters;
 who was not only seiz'd and imprison'd by her
 own Subjects, but hunted almost to Death, con-
 demn'd without Hearing, and robb'd of her
 Kingdom, contrary to all the Laws of Equity
 between Man and Man, and at last forc'd to fly
 into England in hope of the Queen's Aid and Pro-
 tection. And the rather was the Queen inclin'd
 to hear her, because she had freely submitted her
 Cause to a fair and equal Debate, and engag'd

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Q. Eliz.
pities her
condition.
The Coun-
cil hold a
long and
serious
Debate.

to prove her Adversaries guilty of all the Mis-
carriages they had unjustly loaded her with. But
whatever tender Resentments Queen Elizabeth
might have of her case, the Council entred into
close and serious Consultations, how to dispose
of her. If she were still entertain'd in England,
they were apprehensive she might, by the ad-
vantage of that Fluency and Eloquence she was
so great a Mistress of, win many to her Interests,
who already favour'd her Title to the Succession,
and this would serve to nourish her Ambition,
and perhaps encourage some Attempts to place
the Crown upon her Head. And as foreign
Embassadors would give an helping Hand to
such a Project, so would the Scots themselves
turn good Subjects again, when they were like
to be such gainers by the Bargain. Besides,
'twas very possible Keepers might betray their
Trust; and farther, should she die in England,
tho' in the common way of a Disease, it might
draw after it a great many ill Consequences,
besides the Calumny and Censure it might occa-
sion. Then again, should she be sent over into
France, they were afraid the Guises, her Kinsmen,
would again revive the Prosecution of her claim
to England, out a notion of some great Feats she
might be capable of doing in England, by the In-
fluence she had on some, on a religious Account;
and the Interest she bore with others, as they
stood affected to the Firmness of her Claim, or
the Itch of Change and Novelty. Besides, 'twas
a ready way to break the Union between Eng-
land and Scotland, which was of much greater
Consequence, and to revive the Treaty between
the latter and France; which would have worse
Effects now than heretofore, when Burgundy was
upon terms of Peace with England, which had
now no Friends but the Scots to trust. And
should they send her back to Scotland, the fear
was, that all those in the English Interest must
lose their Places, and the French be advanc'd in
their stead. That the young Prince would be
expos'd, changes made in Religion, and the
French and other Foreigners let into the King-
dom: In a word, That the Highland Scots
would be more troublesome to Ireland, and the
Queen herself be in more hazard of her Life
from her Enemies at home. 'Twas therefore the
Judgment of the far greater part of the Council,
to have her detain'd as a Prisoner of War; and
that she should not be surrender'd till she gave
Satisfaction for usurping the Title to the Crown,
and some Answer to the Point of her Husband
the Lord Darly's death, who was a Native and
Subject of England. For the Lord Darly's Mo-
ther, the Countess of Lenox, had lately made
very mournful Complaints to the Queen in her
own and her Husband's name, and humbly beg'd
the Queen of Scots might be brought to her
Trial for the Murder of her Son. But the Queen
gave her both Comfort and Advice, telling her
how careful she ought to be of fixing a Charge
of that heinous nature upon so great a Princess
and a Kinswoman of hers, when there was no
certain Proof or Evidence of the Fact. And she
said withal, That the Iniquity of the Times and
the Partiality of the World was such, that a
blind Malice would charge guilt upon the most
Innocent Head, whereas Justice was more
quicksighted, and God would not fail to make
use of it in the punishment of lewd and wicked
Actions.

Murray
calls a Par-
liament.

The Lord Heris intreated the Queen on the
other hand, not to afford too ready an Ear
or too hasty a Belief to any Untruths that might
pass about a Queen, whose Cause had not yet
been heard; nor to consent to Murray's hurrying
on the Session of a Parliament in Scotland to the

prejudice of the ejected Queen, and the conse-
quent Ruin of her good Subjects. This the
Queen of England press'd very home: But for
all that, Murray, the Regent, call'd a Parlia-
ment in the King's Name, and seiz'd on the
Goods and Chattels of several who adher'd to the
Queen's Cause. Queen Elizabeth being much
incens'd at this Proceeding, sent the Regent a
sharp Message by Middlemore; letting him know,
That she took it very ill he should encourage a
Precedent of such dangerous Consequence to
Kingly Power, which would be sure to bring
the Crown into contempt with the Subject, and
submit it to the Lust and Faction of the Popu-
lace. But how far soever they might forget
the Duty and Allegiance owing to their Prince,
yet could not she neglect any Office of Piety or
Humanity to the Queen, her Sister and Neigh-
bour. That he ought either to come in Person,
or send fitting Deputies to answer the Com-
plaints the Queen made against him and his Par-
ty, and to give sufficient Reasons for deposing
her. Otherwise she would directly order her
Enlargement, and lend her what Assistance she
could to recover her Crown and Kingdom. And
she caution'd him withal, not to dispose of the
Queen's Wardrobe and Jewels, tho' the Parlia-
ment should permit or connive at it.

Murray obey'd the Queen, but unwillingly,
and only as he was beholding to England to sup-
port his Regency. And whereas the Lords of
the Kingdom who were pitched upon for De-
puties, refus'd to act or appear in the matter;
Murray came himself to York, (the Place assign'd
for this Business) and brought with him seven of
his Bosom-Friends, to act as Commissioners for
the Infant-King, viz. James E. of Morton, Adam
Bishop of Orkney, Robert Commendator of Dunfer-
melin, Patrick Baron of Lindsey, James Mac-Gilly,
Henry Balnaw: And Lidington too came in the
same company, Murray having made him round
Promises, and being afraid, intruth, to leave
him at home; as did also George Buchanan, ano-
ther of Murray's most obsequious Creatures.
The same Day came thither Thomas Howard Duke
of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex, who
was made some time before Lord-President of
the North, and Sir Ralph Sadler Kt. one of the
Privy-Council, Commissioners appointed to
Hear and Examine the Cause of the Queen's be-
ing Deposed. On the Queen of Scots side ap-
pear'd John Lesley Bishop of Ross, William Baron of
Levingston, Robert Baron of Boyd, Gavin Commen-
dator of Kilwinin, John Gordon, and James Cock-
burn. And this the Queen of Scots resented as
very hard Measure, That Queen Elizabeth would
not allow her a Personal Hearing, and yet gave
Orders, that the Allegations of her Subjects
should be heard before her Commissioners, tho'
she, who was an Absolute Princess, could not
be oblig'd to answer the Charge of her own Sub-
jects but when and how she pleas'd.

When they were met, on the 7th of October,
and had open'd their Commissions, and shewn
their Authority, Lidington, who stood by, ap-
ply'd himself to his Countrymen with extraordi-
nary Freedom, to this purpose: 'That foras-
'much as it appear'd by the Authority granted
'by Queen Elizabeth to her Commissioners, that
'she design'd nothing else but that the Deputies
'of Scotland should throw a Blemish on the Cre-
'dit of their King's Mother, and so the Case
'might fall within her own Sentence and Umpi-
'rage: They would therefore do well to consi-
'der carefully before-hand, what an Odium and
'Hazard they should draw upon themselves, not
'only from those of Scotland, who favour'd the
'Queen's Case; but likewise from other Chri-
'stian

They
think it
proper to
detain her.

Countess
of Lenox
her Com-
plaint.

The Q. of
England's
answer.

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The Q. of
England
dislikes it.

Deputies
appointed
for the
K. of Scots

Deputies
from
Q. Eliz.

Commis-
sioners for
the Q. of
Scots.

Lidington's
advice to the
Scots.

1068. *Ann. 11.* *flian Princes, and her Kinsmen in France, should*
they impeach her of a Guilt which must stain
her Reputation, and that in so publick and for-
mal a way, before the English who were profess'd
Enemies to the Scots. He likewise demanded
what Account they should be able to give their
new King hereafter of such a bold and insolent
Charge, and one so prejudicial to the State of this
Kingdom; when he, without all peradventure, as
soon as he arriv'd at Man's Estate, wou'd consider
it as a foul Reflection not only upon his own and
his Mother's, but also upon his Country's Ho-
nour. He therefore, for his part, thought it the
best Prudence to wave so scandalous an Im-
peachment, unless the Q. of England would enter
into a League offensive and defensive, to bear
them out in such a Procedure. These things,
he said, he could not but give some hints of,
both as their Friend, and in regard to his Office,
as he was Secretary of Scotland. But this Mo-
tion produc'd no other Effects, than a profound
Silence, and a general Consternation.

A Prote-
station
of the Q.
of Scots
Deputies.
The Queen of Scots Deputies, who had the
 preference at this Interview, before they were
 sworn, protested, That altho' the Queen of
 Scots was willing to have the Cause depending
 between herself and her disloyal Subjects, Tried
 before the English; yet did she not thereby sub-
 mit herself to the sovereign Jurisdiction of any
 Person whatever, because she was a free Prin-
 cess, and no way subject to the Authority of any
 other. The English Commissioners protested at
 the same time, That they did in no wise admit of
 that Protestation in prejudice to that Claim the
 Kings of England had long since made, of being
 superiour Lords of the Kingdom of Scotland. The
 next Day, the Queen of Scots Commissioners de-
 liver'd a Declaration in Writing, setting forth,

A counter
Protest
from the
English.
Declar-
ation of the
Scottish
Commis-
sioners.
That James Earl of Morton, John Earl of Marr,
 Alexander Earl of Glencarn, Humes, Lindsey,
 Rethuen, Sempil, &c. had rais'd an Army in the
 Queen's Name, against her Person; and having seiz'd
 and wretchedly abus'd her, had likewise imprison'd her
 at Lough-Levin, broken open the Royal Mint, taken
 away the Stamps, with all the Gold and Silver, whe-
 ther coin'd or not, and Crown'd her Infant-Son, whose
 Authority James Earl of Murray had usurp'd under
 the Title of Regent, and had seiz'd on all the Forts,
 Wealth and Revenues of the Kingdom. They farther
 set forth, How the Queen, since her escape after ele-
 ven Months Imprisonment, had publicly declar'd upon
 Oath, That whatever she had done in Prison, had been
 extorted from her by Force and Threats. Nevertheless,
 she had, in order to restore the publick Peace, autho-
 riz'd and empower'd the Earls of Argile, Eglington,
 Cassills and Rothsay, amicably to compound these
 Matters with her Enemies; who notwithstanding,
 when she had design'd to cross the Country to Dunbri-
 ton, forcibly oppos'd her Passage, slew a great many of
 her good Subjects, and carry'd some to Prison, and
 others they forc'd from their Houses and Estates, and all
 this for no better reason, than their Fidelity to their
 Prince. These were the Injuries which had drove her
 into England for Sanctuary, and to crave Assistance
 at the Queen's hands, which had been so often promis'd
 and by the means of which she might recover her Crown
 and Country.

The an-
swer of
the Scots
Commis-
sioners
for the K.
A few Days after, Murray, the Regent, and
 the Commissioners for the young King, (as they
 stil'd themselves) put in their Answer to this
 purpose: That after the Lord Darly, the King's
 Father was made away, James Hepburn Earl of
 Bothwell (suppos'd to be the Regicide) had so
 far wrought himself into the Queen's Affections,
 as to carry her by a seeming Force, but really
 with her own Consent, away to Dunbar, and
 there marry her, after having put away his
 former Wife. That the Lords of Scotland were

so mov'd at this Procedure, that they thought
 they could not do better, since the King's Mur-
 der was imputed to the Conspiracy of several
 Noblemen, than to punish Bothwell, release the
 Queen from those unlawful Bonds, and con-
 sult the young King's Safety, and the Nation's
 Security. That when the matter was just rea-
 dy to be decided by the Sword, the Queen had
 sent away Bothwell, severely threatening the
 Lords, and thought of nothing but Revenge;
 insomuch that there seem'd to be a necessity to
 confine her Person, till Bothwell should be ap-
 prehended and brought to Justice. That she,
 bending as it were under the care and weight
 of a Crown, had voluntarily resign'd the King-
 dom, transfer'd it to her Son, and constituted
 Murray Viceroy; and that hereupon her Son was
 anointed King, with the usual Ceremonies.
 That all these Steps were approv'd of, and
 sign'd by the Lords in Parliament; and the
 Government began to breath afresh under a
 more impartial Administration: Till some Men,
 who were no Friends to their Country's Peace,
 cunningly contriv'd the Queen's Escape; and,
 contrary to their Oaths and Fealty to the King,
 took up Arms against his Authority; and tho'
 it pleas'd God to give them a Defeat, yet are
 they not discourag'd, even at this very time,
 from carrying on their Hostilities against their
 King and Country. It appears therefore high-
 ly necessary, that the King's Authority be as-
 serted against all the Attempts and Contrivances
 of such factious People.

To this the Queen of Scots Deputies, after
 having repeated the former Protest, made their
 Reply as follows.

Whereas Murray and the Conspirators af-
 firm, that they took up Arms against the Queen,
 because Bothwell, who stands charg'd with the
 King's Murder, was so much in her Esteem;
 this pretence will by no means clear them of
 the imputation of unfaithful Subjects, foras-
 much as the Queen was altogether ignorant that
 he had any hand in the Murder; nay she knew
 very well that he was by his Peers acquitted of
 the Fact, and that his Acquittal was confirm'd
 by Act of Parliament, with and by the con-
 sent of those very Persons who are now his
 Accusers, and were then Instruments in per-
 suading the Queen to accept him for her Hus-
 band, as the fittest Man, in their opinion, to
 sustain the weight of the Government: And
 so far they went, as to subscribe a Writing;
 wherein they promis'd him Fealty and Alle-
 giance, and did not utter one Breath against
 the Match, till they had debauch'd to their
 Party the Captain of Edinborough-Castle, and
 the Provost of the City. Then did they in the
 dead time of the Night assault the Castle of
 Bothwick, where the Queen lay, and she hap-
 pening to make her Escape under the favour
 of the Night, they immediately rais'd Forces
 under colour of defending the Queen, and
 then march'd with Colours flying to intercept
 her in the way to Edinborough, whether she
 intended to go. Grange they sent before to
 warn her not to protect Bothwell, till he had
 stood his Trial; which rather than occasion the
 shedding of any Blood, she readily consented
 to. But Grange gave Bothwell private notice to be
 gone, and engag'd his Word that he should not
 be pursu'd; so that 'tis plain he went away by
 their consent, and might have been taken af-
 terwards with very great ease. But having se-
 cur'd the Queen, they matter'd not him, but
 were now for steering the Course their Ambi-
 tion directed. And whereas they were Sub-
 jects to the Queen, and bound by Oaths of
 Allegiance,

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Reply of
the Q. of
Scots De-
puties.

1567. *Ann. 10.* Allegiance, and yet had treated her in a way unworthy of the Royal Character, 'twas no wonder if she used some Methods more rigorous than ordinary. When she was willing to refer her Cause to the Decision of a Parliament, and intimated as much by *Lidington*, her Secretary, they would not so much as give him the Hearing, but convey'd her by Night to *Lough-Levin*, and there confin'd her. And whereas they pretend, that the Troubles deriv'd on her from her Crown were the true Motives why she resign'd it, nothing can be more false: For she was neither made incapable by Age or Sickness, but had Vigour enough, both of Mind and Body, to manage the Affairs of her Throne. This cannot be deny'd, That the Earls of *Arbol*, *Tullibardine* and *Lidington*, (who were of her Council) advis'd her to sign the Instrument of Resignation, to avoid the certain Fate she had otherwise undergone. And they affirm'd moreover, that this could not prejudice herself or her Heirs, since 'twas done under Confinement, *Forasmuch as being imprison'd implies a just Fear, and a Promise made by one in that Condition, is, in the opinion of the best Lawyers, of no force or validity.* That *Sir Nicholas Throckmorton* had also given her the same Instructions under his own Hand, whom she had desir'd to make the Queen of *England* acquainted that she had resign'd only upon force and compulsion. They urged yet farther, That *Lindsey*, when he deliver'd her the Instrument to be subscrib'd, threatn'd her with Death, and whatever was most frightful, and made her sign it at a time when she could not read it for Tears; and that the Lord of *Lough-Levin-Castle* refus'd to set his Hand as a Witness, being convinc'd that what the Queen had done, was against her will. That it was therefore a most unjust and unreasonable Resignation, in the stead of which she had neither Maintenance, Liberty, nor Safety allow'd her; so that in the judgment of Persons indifferent, such an Abdication could not be suppos'd to place any Bar against her Right and Prerogative, when she revok'd it as unjust and extorted, as soon as she was at Liberty, and that by a publick Declaration before several Peers of the Realm. Nor ought the Queen to receive any prejudice from the pretended Acts of Parliament they so much boast of: For whereas about an hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, have Votes in the Parliament of *Scotland*, there were not in this tumultuary Assembly rather than Parliament, above four Earls, one Bishop, one or two Abbots, and six Barons: And even of that small Number, some entred their Protest, *That nothing ought to be transacted against the Queen or her Successors, now that she was a Prisoner.* Nor could the *English* or *French* Embassadors obtain the liberty of Access to her, to learn the true state and manner of the Resignation, tho' they press'd very earnestly for it. And then for the state of the Kingdom, so far has it been from faring the better, since it came into the Hands of the present Usurper. That Impiety and Sacrilege were never more practis'd or less punish'd; there being nothing more common at present, than the pulling down of religious Houses, the ruin and subversion of the best Families, and the general Oppression of the poor Commons. They did therefore most earnestly request, that Queen *Elizabeth* would be pleas'd to Succour, Aid and Assist, by all means possible, the distress'd Condition of the Queen, her Kinswoman, who had receiv'd the most unworthy and injurious Treatment. This I have seen

and copied from the original Papers of the Commissioners themselves.

When the *English* Deputies, upon hearing what had been alledg'd, demanded *Murray* to give the Reasons of so rugged a Procedure against an absolute Queen, and to produce more substantial Proofs than had hitherto been brought; (for there appear'd no Witnesses, nor any thing but a few forg'd, or at least suspected, Papers) and *Lidington* having, it seems, given them private notice, that he had more than once counterfeited the Queen's Hand, *Murray* had but this to say, *That he was loth to impeach his Sister further before Strangers, unless the Queen of England would engage for the Protection of the young King, and to abandon the Cause and Interest of the Queen of Scots.* But since their Commission did not warrant them to promise any such thing, one or two of the Agents on both sides were summon'd up to *London*. To whom Queen *Elizabeth* declared, 'That she was still of opinion the Subjects of *Scotland* were much to blame in respect of the Queen: But however, she would interpose with her on their behalf, and hear whether they had any farther or better Defence to make for themselves. *Murray* follow'd them up, but utterly refus'd to accuse his Sister, unless upon the same Terms insisted on at *York*.

And now were the Deputies recall'd, and their Commission expir'd, to the great Satisfaction of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had always heartily espous'd the Queen of *Scots* Title to the Succession; and was of opinion, that all that was aim'd at in the late Debate, was to fix a lasting Mark of Infamy upon herself and her Son, and so to exclude them both, as unworthy to succeed to the Throne of *England*. And he thought moreover, That he was now happily rid of a double Danger: For he was afraid, had he given Sentence against her, he must have wrong'd his own Conscience, and utterly ruin'd her: And should he have determin'd in her favour, he must of course have incurr'd the Queen's high Displeasure, and drawn on himself the Odium of all that were ill-affected to the Queen of *Scots*, on the score of Religion, or any other account.

But there happening about this time some Tumults in *Scotland*, occasion'd by some of the Queen's Friends, and they requiring *Murray's* Presence, to compose and settle things, he drew up an Accusation before the Queen and the Lord-Keeper *Bacon*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Clinton* Lord-Admiral, *Sir William Cecil* and *Sir Ralph Sadler*, who were constituted by a new Patent the Examiners of this Matter. And before them, he produc'd some conjectural Proofs and Circumstances, some few Affidavits, and the Acts and Resolutions of the late Convention. But what he laid the greatest stress upon, were certain Love-Letters and Poems, wrote, as he affirm'd, with the Queen's own Hand; and this was to prove her guilty of her Husband's Murder: To back the Evidence, he gave them *Buchanan's* Book, entitul'd, *The Detection*, to peruse. But that found but very little credit with the greater part of them; for the Book was Partial, and the Author look'd on as a mercenary Writer. Then for the Letters and Verses, (there being no Name nor Date to them, and too many abroad who are very dexterous at Counterfeiting other Men's Hands and Subscriptions) they gain'd little belief with Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' she did not want a certain degree of Emulation so natural to the Sex: And it were enough for that, if the Queen of *Scots* Reputation were only something impair'd by this Impeachment.

Now

Now, as soon as the Commissioners for the Q. of Scots understood, how scandalous an Accusation Murray had bestow'd upon her; they were prepar'd and ready to answer the Charge: But she had already cancel'd and revok'd their Commission; being secretly inform'd by some Persons well skill'd in the Laws, that she might do so, forasmuch as Queen Elizabeth's Commission granted to the Duke and others, for adjudging the same Cause, was already recall'd. One or two of the *New Deputies*, whom she knew to be ill-affected to her Interest, she excepted against; unless the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors might be join'd with them, and she might be allow'd the Privilege of making a publick Defence, before the Queen and them, and Murray likewise might be stop't and brought upon his Trial, who, she said, might, with little Difficulty, be made to appear the Author of the Lord *Darby's* Death. All this appearing highly reasonable to *Norfolk*, *Arundel*, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, and *Clinton*, Q. Elizabeth, not over well pleas'd at the matter, said publickly, That the Queen of Scots would never want an Advocate, as long as *Norfolk* liv'd. And 'twas enough, as she thought, to convene her Privy-Council, and the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, *Huntington*, and *Warwick*; and to communicate to them the Allegations made by Murray; having first engaged them, by an Oath of Secrecy, that neither Party might receive Prejudice. And whereas Murray was call'd home, and the Lord *Boyd*, as the Report went, attempted privately the Queen of Scots Escape; the Business was put off till another Opportunity; the Queen of England having profess'd an utter Abhorrence of the Scots Insolence in deposing their Queen.

The matter falls.

Debate touching the Government of Scotland.

Murray propounds a Marriage between Norfolk & the Queen of Scots.

About this time, *Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastell-Herault*, return'd from France, being sent by the *Guises*, to get the Question again debated, Whether Murray should continue to have the Regency of Scotland, in the King's Minority? He very resolutely maintain'd, before Queen Elizabeth, "That by the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom, he had the best Right to the Ministry; as being nearer akin to the King, than Murray who was illegitimate. Murray and the King's Commissioners made it out, to the contrary, "That the Regency was to be entrusted, not with the next of kin, but to such as the States should pitch on, as the fittest Persons: And, that it would be unreasonable indeed, to deliver the young King into his Hands, who aspir'd so high, on the score of his Alliance to the Crown, that it may be suspected, his Ambition would prompt him to catch at it, before his time: And, that there was more Reason to be jealous of the *Hamiltons*, than any other, on this account, Because they bore an inveterate Grudge to the King's Predecessors, the Earls of *Lenox*; and had barbarously murder'd the King's Great-grand father, by the Father's side; and drove *Matthew*, the King's distress'd Grand-father, out of Scotland. And this very *Hamilton* had been very troublesome and vexatious to *Henry*, the King's Father; and had put his Mother into the King of France's Hands, to get, with the more Ease, his own Foot upon the Throne. Queen Elizabeth, after she had heard this, told *Hamilton*, that he made a most unreasonable Demand; and order'd him withal, not to leave England, till Murray were return'd into Scotland.

Murray had, just before his Departure, made the Duke of *Norfolk* (as shall be shewn presently) a subtil kind of Proposal, relating to a Marriage with the Queen of Scots; and had likewise given her, by *Melvin*, some Shadow of a Hope, that

she should be restor'd again to her Kingdom; tho' at the same time he endeavour'd to draw off Queen Elizabeth's Esteem, by spreading false Reports of her, that she had made over her Title to the Succession, to the Duke of *Anjou*; and that the Conveyance was confirm'd at *Rome*. He likewise produc'd Letters, whether true, or counterfeit, I do not determine, which the Queen of Scots had written to her Friends; wherein she charg'd Queen Elizabeth with a Breach of Promise, and brag'd of certain Aids she was to receive elsewhere. This indeed gave Q. Elizabeth some Uneasiness, as not being able to ghes on what Grounds this new Dependence was supported: For the Civil-War in France was now grown so flagrant, that the Bishop of *Rhemes* was sent from the King to Queen Elizabeth, to desire her not to interpose in the Affairs of France; and the Duke of *Alva*, who came into the Netherlands, the Year before, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, was capable of doing her no Service, his own Hands were so full already.

But it has been since discover'd, and left in Writing by *Hieronimo Catena*, Secretary to Cardinal *Alexandrine*, That *Robert Ridolph*, a Florentine, who had liv'd for a long time a Factor in London, was employ'd by Pope *Pius V.* (for he durst not, it seems, send a publick Nuntio) to animate the Papists in England, to an Insurrection; a Charge he was very diligent in the Performance of. There arose also some little Suspicion, on the account of some private Conferences, held between *Lidington*, the Bp. of *Ross*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, at *York*: The last of which was importun'd by the other two, to use his best Endeavours, for the Preservation of the Queen, under her Afflictions; and an Offer was made him, to marry her, if he pleas'd: But this he modestly declin'd, as not over safe. Nevertheless, he promis'd his best Service to the distress'd Queen, as far as it consist'd with his Honour and Loyalty. This Jealousy was much increas'd, by the frequent Resort of *Ligon*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Servant, and a rank Papist, to *Bolton*, (a Castle of the Lord *Scroop's*) where the Queen of Scots resided, in the Custody of Sir *Francis Knolles*, on pretence only, of paying the Compliment of a Visit to the Lord *Scroop's* Lady, who was the Duke of *Norfolk's* Sister. And tho' there could be nothing gather'd from all this, that amounted to a Certainty; yet it occasion'd the Removal of the Queen of Scots, from *Bolton*, which lay in a Popish Neighbourhood, to *Tutbury*, a more Inland Part of the Country; where she was committed to the Custody of *George Earl of Shrewsbury*.

1568.

Ann. 11.

Q. of Scots committed to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

'Twas now time for Queen Elizabeth to look well after the Safety of the Church, the State, and her own Person; and the rather, because both the *Guises* in France, and the Duke of *Alva* in the Netherlands, had begun their Projects laid at *Bayonne*, for the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion. For in France, the Peace treated of in the Beginning of the Year, dwindled into nothing; and Edicts were publish'd, to prohibit the Exercise of the Reform'd Religion, to displace the Professors of it from any Offices of Trust, and to command the Protestant Clergy to leave the Kingdom, within such a time. And now did they suffer every where extreme Persecution, notwithstanding Queen Elizabeth had solicited very hard, by her Ambassador *Norris*, that a firm and hearty Peace might be establish'd; and had several times advis'd the King, not to incense 'em by trying odd and dangerous Experiments; but to have a Care of those, in the first place, who, by driving away his best Subjects, endeavour'd to weaken the Power of France, to such

The third Civil-War in France.

1568. *Ann. 11.* such a degree, as to leave it an easy and ready Prey to those who were inclin'd to disturb it. But when he was deaf to these Intreaties, and rais'd Money and Soldiers out of *Italy, Germany, and Spain*; the Queen likewise, that she might not baulk the Common-Cause, generously sent 100000 Angels to the Protestants, with Ammunition proportionable, (for they now made a solemn Protestation, that they did not take up Arms against the King, but purely in their own Defence) And she likewise gave a courteous Reception to such of the *French*, as were forc'd, on the score of Religion, to fly their Country: The same she did to the *Netherlanders*; who flock'd to *England* in vast Multitudes; as a Retreat, from the Storm of the Duke of *Alva's* Cruelties practis'd against 'em. She gave them the Liberty of Settling themselves at *Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidston, and Southampton*; which turn'd to the great Advantage of *England*; for they were the first that brought into the Nation the Art of making those slight Stuffs, call'd *Bays and Sajs*, and other Linnen and Woollen-Cloths, of the same kind.

Original of the Low-Country Wars. And here, it may not be altogether impertinent, to give a brief Account of the Rise and Causes of the War, which broke out, about this time, in the *Netherlands*; since 'tis so interwoven with the Affairs of *England*, that it will of course fall often in my way to mention it.

When the *Spaniard* could by no means be prevail'd on, to remit any Part of that Severity, which was practis'd in the *Low-Countries*, on a Religious Account; but tyranniz'd over Mens Consciences, by the Authority of the new-erected Court the *Inquisition*, and would not permit the States of the *United Provinces* to assemble and meet, (whereby they were hinder'd from consulting and taking Measures for the Security of their Affairs, the only Remedy they could have Recourse to, under their Calamities) but govern'd 'em by Laws and Statutes, fetch'd from *Spain*; and not by the Customs and Usages of their own Country: It happen'd, that a few of the Mob rais'd a Tumult, and pull'd down and broke the Images and Pictures in all the Churches. And tho' the Hurly-burly was soon appeas'd, yet the King of *Spain*, hearkning to those who were for putting a Yoke of Servitude on the Neck of a Free People, tax'd the whole Country with a publick Rebellion, for the private Mutiny a small Number of 'em were engag'd in: And, to let 'em see, their Liberty was now at the last Gasps, he sent Don *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke of *Alva*, a Person of noted Cruelty, to take upon him the Charge of the Government. This D. of *Alva* was not in the least Degree ally'd to the Royal Family; but got the supreme Command, contrary to all the Customs and Usages of the Country: Upon which, he stripp'd the Ordinary Provincial Synods of all Authority, erected new Courts of Justice, and condemn'd and executed the Noblemen by incompetent Judges, placing *Spanish* Garrisons in all the Cities and Towns, and building Forts to keep 'em in awe, and forcibly demanding the Twentieth Penny upon every Alienation of Lands, and the Tenth upon Goods and Moveables. And this ended in a long and dangerous War.

Money sent from Spain to the Netherlands. And defended from the French, by the English. About this time, the *Genoa* Merchants, and some of *Italy*, sent a vast Sum of Money out of *Spain* into the *Netherlands*, to raise a Bank. 'Twas brought in a great Ship of *Biscay*, and four lesser Vessels; which, after having been chased by *Tury Chastellerie*, a *Frenchman*, and brought off by *William Winter*, an *Englishman*, did, with much ado, escape into *Plimouth, Falmouth, and Southampton*, English Sea-ports. As soon as the Queen

heard of it, she order'd the Officers belonging to those Places, to treat the *Spaniards* very civilly, and protect their Ships against the *French*. And *Gerard de Speft*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador in *England*, apprehending some Danger from the *French*, solicited the Queen (who took his Word, that it was the King of *Spain's* Money) to issue out fresh Warrants, for securing of the Vessels from the *French*, who lay hard-by, ready to seize 'em. Having obtain'd this, he made a second Address, that the Money might be carry'd thro' *England*, and so sent, by a safer Passage by Sea, to *Antwerp*. This likewise the Queen granted, and promis'd them Security both by Sea and Land. In the mean time, the *French* were very near taking one of the Ships, had they not been beaten off by the *English*. Therefore to secure the Money, 'twas thought the wisest way to get it landed; but before 'twas all on shore, *De Speft*, being over-credulous on the wrong side, inform'd the Duke of *Alva*, that the Queen had seiz'd on the Money: And whilst he was advising with the Duke about the matter, *Odet Cardinal of Chastillon*, who had retir'd hither from the Troubles in *France*, gave the Queen Intelligence, that the Money did not belong to the King of *Spain*, but to certain Merchants of *Genoa*; and that the D. of *Alva* design'd to apply it, against their Will and Consent, to the Ruin of the Protestants. Hereupon, a Debate was held in Council, Whether the Money was to be seiz'd or not? Most were of opinion, that the best way would be to send it over into the *Netherlands*, lest the King of *Spain*, who was a very potent Prince, should by this means increase the Animosity, he at present bore to the *English*. But Queen *Elizabeth*, being certainly inform'd by one or two of the right Owners, who were mightily afraid, lest the Duke of *Alva* should seize upon it, that it really and solely belong'd to the Merchants, and not one Piece of it to the King of *Spain*; resolv'd to borrow it of the Merchants, and give 'em Security, as Princes usually do, in the case of Goods found in their Harbours; and as the King of *Spain* had done himself, not long since. And this she declared to the *Spanish* Ambassador, when he deliver'd the Duke of *Alva's* Letters, for sending the Money over; and solemnly promis'd to return the Money, as soon as the King of *Spain* made it appear, he had a Right to it. Upon the same day, which was the 29th. of December, the Duke of *Alva*, in a violent Disgust, arrested all the *English* Goods in the *Low Countries*, and kept the Owners Prisoners under a Guard; so that one might guess, from the very timing of the matter, that the Duke design'd to aw the *English*, let the Queen make what Satisfaction she pleas'd for the Money: But she was so far from being scared, that she commanded, by way of Reprisal, that the *Netherlanders*, their Ships and Goods, should be all seiz'd; which were found to be abundantly more, than the *English* Merchandize, which the Duke detain'd in the *Low Countries*; so that he now repented too late of his Proceedings, and that he had brought the Wound to a Gangrene, which at first might have been heal'd with all the Ease imaginable.

The last day but one of this Year, was the last that *Roger Ascham* liv'd. (The Memory of a valuable Person must excuse a short Digression) He was born in *Yorkshire*, and educated at *Cambridge*, and was one of the first of our Countrymen, that refin'd the Style of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and restor'd 'em to a Purity and Exactness, which deserv'd Commendation. He was for some time Tutor to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue; but being too much

much addicted to Dicing and Cock-matches, he liv'd and died a poor Man. He left behind him Two excellent Pieces, as Monuments of his Wit; both wrote in *English*, and entitl'd, the one *Toxophilus*, and the other *Scholarcha*. But to return to our History.

1569.

The Twelfth Year of her Reign.

Proclamation concerning the Engl. Goods stopp'd, &c.

Spanish Embassador's answer.

On the 6th. of January, came out at London, a Proclamation concerning the Commodities of the *English*, which the D. of *Alva* had arrested; wherein there was Mention made of most of those things already touch'd upon; and the Blame was laid upon *De Speis*, who publish'd another Paper, and signify'd therein, that the said Proclamation was not set forth by the Queen's Order, but in the Queen's Name only, by some, that had no Kindness for the King of *Spain*, and were dispos'd to favour the *Netherland-Rebels*. He bestow'd large *Encomiums* on the Queen, for her former Favours shewn to the *Spaniards*, was sorry to find her Affections so much warp'd, and took it ill, that his Character found no better Credit; especially when seconded by the Duke of *Alva's* Letters: He wonder'd that the Money should be detain'd; whereas, in his Judgment, it were more for the Queen's Advantage, to supply the King of *Spain* with Money, against his bad Subjects, than take any from him, at such a Juncture. In fine, he tax'd her Majesty as the first Aggressor, and excus'd the Proceedings of the Duke of *Alva* and himself. But this did not satisfy him; and so he dispers'd abroad an Heap of scandalous Libels, that contain'd grating Reflexions upon the Queen's Reputation, under the fictitious Name of *Amadis Oriana*. For this he receiv'd a Reprimand, and was, for a day or two, kept under a Guard; and the Queen did not fail to remonstrate to the K. of *Spain* this ill Treatment, tho' to no purpose.

Conspiracy against Cecil.

On the account of the Moneys being detain'd, certain Peers of England, and amongst others, the Marquess of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Pembroke, Leicester, and others, began to clamour against Cecil; as they had done once or twice before, about the Supplies sent to the Protestants of France. But the real Cause was this, that they envy'd the Interest he had in the Queen, were jealous of his favouring the House of Suffolk, in the point of the Succession, and apprehended him as a main Bar to the Progress of their Designs. They therefore laid their Heads together, to get him thrown into the Tower, Throckmorton (another of those who could not bear his Greatness) having insinuated to them, that could they once get him clapt up, 'twould be no difficult thing to effect his Ruin. But the Queen had timely Intelligence of these Designs, by what means, I know not; and Cecil had the Happiness of finding the whole Project dash'd by the sole Bravery of his Royal Mistress, who surpriz'd them in the very Instant, and, by the Authority of her Royal Presence, aw'd 'em out of these base Measures. She likewise defeated another Plot of theirs, which was more closely laid; and that was, to proclaim the Queen of Scots undoubted Heir of the Crown, should Q. Elizabeth do otherwise than well: And this was in opposition to a Pamphlet, which was dispers'd, in favour of the Suffolk-Title.

The Spaniards demand the Money.

About this time comes D'Assonville, in the D. of *Alva's* Name, to require the Money which was seiz'd; but having no Letters of Demand from the *Spaniard*, he was refer'd, by the Queen, to her Council; to whom he refused, at first, to apply himself: But soon after, he changed his

Mind, had an Hearing at the Board, and return'd home, without dispatching the Business he came about.

1569. Ann. 12.

The *English* Merchants were now setting up a new Factory at *Hamburg*, in *Germany*, since the Duke of *Alva* prohibited all Trade with the *English*, and appointed Searchers to hinder them from bringing in, or exporting any Goods from the *Netherlands*: An active and busie Man among these Commissioners, was John Story, an *English* Renegade-Lawyer, who had practis'd with one *Bestall*, a sort of Conjurer, against the Queen's Life; and had given the Duke of *Alva* Directions, how to invade his Native Country. But being kidnapp'd on board a Ship, which was reported to have brought over *English* Goods, and some heretical Books and Writings, they presently set Sail, and carry'd him to *England*, where he was afterwards executed; as we shall shew, in its proper Place.

The Duke of *Alva*, not satisfy'd with what had pass'd, order'd, that no Ships, but Men of War, should sail out of the *Netherlands*; and that they should attack the *English*, where-ever they met them. He procur'd the same Game to be play'd in *Spain*; where the *English* Merchants and Seamen were hook'd into the Inquisition, condemn'd to the Gallies, and their Goods put to Sale. And the King of *Spain* sent Letters of Command to the Count of *Mont-Agund*, Governor of *Andaluzia*, that no Oil, Allum, Sugar, Spices, or other Commodities of that sort, should be transported to *England*; supposing that the *English*, when depriv'd of these Conveniences, would not be long, before they rebell'd: And he dealt likewise with the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Ormond*, underhand, to give the Q. what Trouble they could; the one at home, and the other in *Ireland*; and this they were so loyal and ingenuous as to discover themselves. But no sooner had the Sailors and Seamen an account of all this, but they put to Sea with incredible Chearfulness, on purpose to annoy and rife the *Spaniards*. So that the Queen was forc'd to restrain them by Proclamations, and to prohibit the buying of any Merchandizes from Privateers.

The D. of Alva enraged against the English.

At this time also was there a stop to the *Russian* Trade, as well as that with the *Netherlands*, occasioned partly by the unfaithfulness of the several Factors, and the unhappy Quarrels among themselves; and partly through the Odium they lay under with the *Germans* and *Russians*; the latter complaining of their fraudulent Arts in raising the Prices of their Goods; and the *Germans* and *English*, that belong'd not to the *Russia* Company, that they had engros'd the Trade, and set up a Monopoly. To heal these Differences, Sir Thomas Randolph was sent the Year before into *Russia*. And tho' he was not very welcome to the Emperor, because he not only mention'd the matter of Trade without taking the least notice of the Treaty, which I had occasion to mention in the Year 1567. yet at his request, and out of the profound respect he bore to the Queen and Kingdom of *England*, he granted the *English-Russian* Company an Exemption from all Customs, and leave to vend and dispose of their Manufactures where-ever they would through his whole Dominions; and to transport them into *Persian* and *Media* by the *Caspian-Sea*. (the Merchants of other Nations being not permitted to Trade beyond *Moscow*) He likewise gave them Rope-Houses for twisting their Cables for Shipping; and a woody piece of Ground of five Miles circumference to forge the Iron, and adopted the *English* for an Opprimey, i. e. for the Elect Seed of his People.

Trade in Russia stopp'd.

The English have new Privileges in Russia.

1569. And now did the *English* venture up farther in-
 Ann. 12. to those Countries, and transported their Goods
 Their Trade in those Parts along the River *Dwina* in Boats made of one
 entire Tree, which they towed and rowed up
 the Stream with Oars and Halfers, as far as *Wo-*
logda. From thence they carried them seven
 Days Journey by Land to *Yeraslaw*; and then
 thirty Days and as many Nights down the River
 to *Astracan*, by the *Volga*, which is about a Mile
 over, and runs through a clayish Soil planted
 with Oaks and Birch-Trees. From *Astracan*,
 where they used to build their Ships, they ven-
 tur'd often (which was a very remarkable and
 memorable Attempt) to cross the *Caspian-Sea*,
 which is full of Flats and Shelves, and made
 their way through the vast Desarts of *Hyrkania*
 and *Bactriana* to *Teverin* and *Casbin*, Cities of *Per-*
sia, in hopes at the long run to discover *Cathay*.
 But the War between the *Turks* and *Persians* en-
 creasing to a great height, and the Robberies
 committed by the *Barbarians* being very frequent,
 the *Londoners* had not stomach to pursue this glo-
 rious Enterprize any farther. The Emperor dis-
 miss'd *Randolph* with Presents, and with him *An-*
dreas Gregorivitz Saviena, with a splendid Reti-
 nue, after the fashion of that Country; who
 found an honourable Entertainment from the
 City of *London*, and a courteous Reception at the
 Queen's Hands. He exhibited a certain Treaty
 written in *Russian* Characters, which he insist'd
 might be confirm'd (by private Letters) in
 the very same Words, in his Presence, and be
 translated into the *Russian* Tongue, and ratify'd
 by the Queen's Hand and Seal, and Oath; and
 that the Queen would likewise dispatch an Em-
 bassador into *Russia*, in order to receive private
 Letters from the Emperor to the same purpose,
 and sign'd with his Hand and Seal, and the Ce-
 remony of Saluting the Cross being to be per-
 form'd at the same time in his Presence. The
 Queen sign'd the Treaty with a Clause of Re-
 serve. So far as she might lawfully do it without
 prejudice to any Contracts made with other Princes to
 support and aid one another against the common Enemy,
 and so far as might be no infringement of Law or Right.
 And should he be forc'd by any Misfortune of
 publick Wars or private Treachery to quit his
 Country, she promis'd him faithfully, on the
 Word of a *Christian* Princess, before his Embassa-
 dor and the chief of her Privy-Council, and con-
 firm'd it with her Seal, That she would Receive
 and Entertain him, with his Wife and Children,
 in a manner becoming so great a Prince, and
 assign him a convenient Residence, grant him
 the free use of his Religion, and leave him at
 liberty to depart when he pleas'd: For this was
 the sum and substance of those private Letters.
 But so far was this from satisfying the wild Ca-
 price of one whose Will was his Law, that he
 wrote a long Letter stuff'd with the repetition
 of what Civilities they had found at his Hands;
 upbraiding them as Ungrateful; and was very
 angry with the Queen for not sending an Em-
 bassador along with his, to receive his Oath.
 In a word, he taxed the Queen for having neg-
 lected his Affairs, and minded only those of her
 Merchants (matters beneath the Thoughts of a
 Prince). Then he began to treat the *English* too
 with Slights and Affronts, as a sort of People
 who regarded their own Purse more than their
 Prince's Honour. And having entertain'd a sus-
 picion, that they might put some stop to his De-
 signs, he threatn'd hard to revoke the Privileges
 he had before granted them. But this he forbore
 to do, the Queen having sent him a kind and
 pacifying Letter by *Jenkinson*, which had this
 effect, That he ever after consider'd and respect-
 ed her as his Sister, press'd her at several times

to a more solemn Ratification of the Treaty,
 and retain'd a greater value for the *English* than
 any other Nation whatever.

Now when *Murray* had procur'd himself a safe
 return into *Scotland*, by putting the Queen of
Scots, the Duke of *Norfolk* and others, in hopes
 that he would get her restor'd to the Crown;
 on which account, she had, it seems, prevented
 the Design of some of her own Subjects, who
 had resolv'd to way-lay and murder him, he was
 no sooner got to *Edinburgh*, but he summon'd
 together those of the Nobility, who were of the
 Loyal side, in pretence of consulting with them
 about the Queen's Restoration. And *Hamilton*,
 Duke of *Castle-Herault* (who was nominated Vice-
 roy by the Queen) and *Harris* happening to
 come before the rest, in compliance with the
 credulous Queen's Letters; *Murray* fearing the
 worst, circumvents and imprisons them, without
 staying for the rest; and then proceeds to har-
 ass the rest of the Queen's Friends with all the
 Calamities of a Civil War.

Hereupon several Reports were spread of *Mur-*
ray over the whole Kingdom: That he had agreed
 with Queen Elizabeth to send the young King to be
 Educated in England; That the Castles of *Edin-*
burgh and *Sterling* were to have *English* Garisons
 in them: That *Dunbriton* was to be put into the
 Hands of the *English*: That *Murray* was to be pro-
 claimed the lawful Successor to the Crown of *Scotland*,
 should the King die without Issue: And that he was
 to hold the Kingdom by way of Grant from the Queen.
 This was so common and general a Report, and
 carry'd such a face of Probability, as to give the
 Nation a great deal of Trouble, and to make
 the Queen herself believe she was concern'd in
 respect to her own Reputation to clear off these
 Aspersions. To this end she put forth a Declara-
 tion, in which she protested, in the Word of a
 Queen, That these things were absolutely false,
 and contriv'd by some who were no well-wishers
 to either Kingdom: And that there had not been
 (to her knowledge) any manner of Contract
 made by Word or Writing between herself or
 her Ministers and *Murray*, since he came last into
 England. But the Earl of *Lenox*, Grandfather to
 the young King, requested the Queen, That if
 his Grandson could not be safe in *Scotland* from
 the designing Practices of ill Men, he might be
 sent into England. She declar'd moreover, That
 she looked on another Report that went about
 concerning a Contract between *Murray* and *Her-*
ford, to be a mere Forgery, the purport of which
 was this, That they had oblig'd themselves to be
 mutually Assistant to one another, in seizing on
 the Crowns of both Kingdoms. To be short, she
 affirm'd, That it was no fault at all of hers that
 Things were not rightly concert'd between the
 Queen of *Scots* and her Son, and that it should
 be her business to adjust them. And most cer-
 tainly the Queen was as good as her word, al-
 tho' it was not without some of those Pangs and
 Conflicts springing from the Jealousie and Emu-
 lation which never dies in the Breasts of Princes.
 And which were heighten'd very much by the
 compassionate Sense she had of the common
 Frailties of human Nature.

As this Sentiment was more and more in-
 creas'd from a view of the afflicted Queen's Cir-
 cumstances; so did the Queen of England's Fears
 abate in proportion, when she had receiv'd sever-
 al Letters from her full of an affectionate Re-
 spect, and wherein she promis'd, That in Gra-
 titude for the Civil Treatment she had found,
 as well as in regard to the nearness of Alliance,
 she would be far from attempting any thing a-
 gainst Queen Elizabeth, or from borrowing any
 foreign Aid in order to her Restoration: Inso-
 much

Embassy
 from Rus-
 sia into
 England.

She pities
 the Q. of
 Scots.

much that the Queen of England used very pressing Mediations with Murray and other Scottish Noblemen, by Wood, Murray's Secretary, for Restoration of the Queen to her Regal Authority. However, that she might at least be permitted to share the Government with her Son; or, if this would not be granted, she might live amongst her own People as a private Person, without any Incroachments upon her Honour, Freedom, or Safety. But Murray was not to be won to any Terms, when he was now mounted to an absolute pitch of Sovereignty.

It was whisper'd about this time, among Persons of better Note, That the Duke of Norfolk was to marry the Queen of Scots. And this several Persons wish'd heartily, according as their Interests ran or their Affections were engag'd. The Papists, they hoped for the Advancement of their Religion by this means; and others promis'd themselves, that the Publick would be the better for it. Most certain it is, that a great many, who observ'd the Queen's averseness to Marriage, and that foreign Princes, who were Enemies to England, consider'd the Queen of Scots as the undoubted Heir of the Crown of England, believ'd it would tend more to the Settlement of Affairs, and the Fixing of the Queen of Scots to just Measures of Government, should she marry the Duke of Norfolk the first Nobleman in England, a Man of popular Interest, and bred up in the Protestant Religion; than should she admit of a foreign Prince, who might, by her help, embroil both Kingdoms, and at last inherit them; whereas 'twas the general wish to have them united in a Person of English Blood, should the young King of Scots do otherwise than well. Nor did they spare some private Endeavours to get him over into England; that since he was Heir to the Crown of it, he might be Educated in the National Religion, and so the more firmly engage the Love and Esteem of the English, be a means of removing all points of Scruple as to the Succession, and free Queen Elizabeth from any apprehensions of danger from the Duke or the Queen of Scots, when she had such a Pledge of Security in her own Hands.

Moreover, to prevent any Enterprize of the Duke's against him, and to excite in him a greater Affection for the young Prince, a Project was put on the Anvil, That the Duke's young and only Daughter should be contracted to him. Among these Projectors, were the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Sussex, Pembroke and Southampton, and a great many Barons; as also Leicester himself (but whether his engaging herein had any other aim than the Duke's Ruin, is not certain). However they all agreed in opinion, that the matter ought to be first communicated to the Queen, and pursued as should seem fitting to her Royal Pleasure and Consent, since she was to appoint the Measures for the Security of her Person, Religion and Government. But the substance of this entire Matter I shall give you from the written Confession of the Duke himself, which I have seen; and out of the Diary and Memoirs of the Bishop of Ross, who acted a considerable Part in this Transaction.

When the Commissioners met at York about a Year since, Lidington and the Bishop of Ross propos'd to the Duke, as they were Hawking, a Marriage with the Queen of Scots, the same that Murray did, not long after, at Hampton-Court. Murray, being in private Discourse with the Duke and a few more, made as if he desir'd nothing so much, as that matters might be well compos'd in Scotland, and his dear Sister, the Queen, restor'd to her just Authority, on condition she would pass a general Act of Amnesty

for all Faults committed against her by her Subjects. He could not however dissemble his Apprehensions, That should the Queen marry out of France, Spain or Austria, she would be apt to revenge the Indignities she had suffer'd, alter the Religion Establish'd, and involve England in hazardous Circumstances. To prevent all which, he promis'd his utmost Endeavours, that after his Sister had married a mere Boy, and then a wild and improvident young Fellow, (to use his own Expression) she should now enjoy a good Husband and a wise Man in the Person of the Duke; a thing which could not but mightily promote the Tranquillity of both Kingdoms, the Security of the two Queens, and the firm Settlement of Religion itself. And as he, for his part, had an high value and veneration for the Queen of England; so he should make it his study to cultivate and improve a good Understanding between England and Scotland, and by that means reconcile with more ease the Queen of Scots to the Persuasion himself had embrac'd.

The same Thoughts did Murray impart, by Melvin, to the Queen of Scots, and tender'd her his best Offices for the bringing it about. But the Duke made answer, That he could resolve nothing as to a Proposal of that kind, before the Queen stood acquitted of the Crimes laid to her Charge. Yet the Bishop of Ross, after all this Indifference in the Duke, used all possible Essays to work him up to a Compliance. 'Twas not many Days after, that Sir Nicolas Throckmorton meeting the Duke at Whitehall, signify'd to him, after great professions of Respect and Civility, That he understood the Earl of Leicester design'd to transact with him about a Marriage between him and the Queen of Scots, which, Throckmorton said, was very strange to him, because 'twas not long ago that Leicester was carrying on the same Design for himself. But he beg'd leave to advise the Duke as a Friend, That whenever Leicester made such a Motion, he should offer him the advantage of it, as being the first Pretender: But should he insist upon it with any urgency, that then he should decline it, on the score of those heavy Impeachments the Q. lay under. 'Yet I could wish (contin'd Throckmorton) with all my Heart, that she were your own, both for the sake and benefit of the true Religion, and to bring the Queen of Scots to an entire Dependance on the Queen of England. Let me nevertheless leave this Caution with you, to take Leicester's Advice, if you make any farther steps in this matter; for you will hardly compass the Queen's consent without him.

Within a Day or two, Leicester propos'd the matter to the Duke, who made much such an Answer as Throckmorton had advis'd him; and when they came to touch upon the Point of the Queen's Impeachment, Leicester put the best face upon every thing, and made use of Candish his Name and Reputation, whom he recommended to the Duke's Service, tho' he had not the highest opinion of his Fidelity. After this, Leicester broke the matter to the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duke to Arundel; and both they and Throckmorton join in recommending him by several Letters to the Queen of Scots Bed. The Duke likewise sent her another full of amorous Respects, and the offers of his best Service: And from this very time, he made them privy to all the Letters he wrote to or received from her; and there were frequent Conferences held with the Bishop of Ross about the properest means to consummate the Marriage: And in May 1568, they offer'd to the Queen of Scots, by the Hand of Candish, the following Articles, written with Leicester's own Hand.

Secret Consultation upon the rumor of Norfolk's being to marry the Queen of Scots.

1569. Ann. 12.

The Duke's answer.

Leicester proposes the same Marriage.

He proposes the Match to Norfolk.

Murray's Proposal to the Duke of Norfolk.

1569. *Ann. 12.* 1. That she should attempt nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen of England, or her Heirs, as to the Succession.

Articles of Marriage propounded to the Queen of Scots. 2. That she should make a League Offensive and Defensive between the two Kingdoms.

3. That she should establish the Protestant Religion in Scotland.

4. That she should receive such of her Subjects into Favour as had appear'd against her.

5. That she should revoke her assignment of the Kingdom to the Duke of Anjou.

6. That she should marry some Nobleman of England, and particularly and expressly the Duke of Norfolk, the first Peer of the Realm.

If she would give her consent to these Articles, they engag'd to get the Queen of England's concurrence, and to effect in a little time her restoration to her Crown, and the confirmation of her Title as to that of England. These Terms she readily clos'd with, all but the business of the Treaty, which she could not comply with without consulting the French King. She protested there was no such thing as an Assignment made to the Duke of Anjou; but however, she would procure his Renunciation if requir'd. She advis'd them, in the first place, to secure the Queen's Consent, to keep off any Inconvenience that might arise to the Duke or herself, a thing she had already had a sad experience of in the instance of her Match with the Lord Darly, which was made up without the Queen's privity. However, they thought it best to sift the Inclinations of some more of the Nobility; who, most of them, gave their consents with this proviso, That the Queen were not against it. Neither did the Business meet with any opposition from the Kings of France or Spain; they were only jealous of Murray, that, altho' he had appear'd the most officious Promoter of it, he would at the long run prove the greatest Obstacle to the Design. 'Twas however the general Resolution, That Lidington, who was just then expected, should be employ'd to learn the Queen's Thoughts. The Duke, in the mean time, acquaints the Lord Lumly with all the Steps that had been taken; and with much ado prevail'd on Leicester to allow him the liberty of consulting some other Friends of his about the matter: And not long after he discover'd the business to Cecil, with the consent of the Earl of Pembroke.

A Contrivance on foot to get the Q. of Scots out of Custody. 'Twas about this time that Leonard Dacres was forming a Contrivance to get the Queen out of her Confinement at Whinfield in the County of Derby, in Custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Northumberland, who had a hand in the Plot, discover'd the matter to the Duke; but he put a stop to the execution, for fear they should contrive to marry her into Spain, and in hopes too that Queen Elizabeth would in a little time give her consent.

'Twas not long before the Queen had a very full and certain account of this intended Match, by the Intelligence of some Court-Ladies, who are excellent at the discovery of such Intrigues. But when the Duke came to understand this, he earnestly intreated Leicester, both himself and by his Friends Pembroke and Throckmorton, instantly to acquaint the Queen with the whole Proceeding. Leicester used a great many Traverses and Delays, as if he design'd to watch the fairest Opportunity. But Cecil observing a great uneasiness in the Duke, advis'd him to be his own Intelligencer, and remove all Scruples from his own and the Queen's Thoughts, by laying the whole matter before her. Leicester gives him the clean contrary Advice, and promises to break the business to the Queen in her Progress. But whilst he used these fair Words and long Delays, the

Queen took the Duke to Dinner at Farnham, and pleasantly advis'd him to be very careful on what Pillow he laid his Head. At last Leicester falls sick at Titchfield, or feigns himself so at least, and the Queen coming to make him a Visit, found his Blood and Spirits withdrew as fast as she apply'd Expressions of Comfort to him. However, he so far recover'd his Fears, as to open to her the whole Business from the very beginning, and beg'd her Pardon with all possible appearance of concern.

After this, the Queen call'd the Duke to her into the Gallery, and roundly reprimanded him for attempting a Match with the Queen of Scots without her cognizance, and commanded him, on his Allegiance, to give over those Pretensions. The Duke made her a very hearty and cheerful Promise, that he would; and, as if he had a very slight regard for the Queen of Scots, was not shy to affirm, That his Estate in England was worth little less than the whole Kingdom of Scotland, in the ill state the Wars had now reduc'd it to; and that when he was at his own Tennis-Court in Norwich, he thought himself at least a Petty Prince. However, his Mettle was considerably abated after this Interview; and when he perceiv'd both in the Queen's Looks and Behaviour a greater Indifference to him than before, that Leicester had now laid aside the Friend, and many of the first Nobility shrinking by degrees from his Interest, and declining his Conversation, paying him now and then, as they happen'd to meet, a short Compliment, and away; he resolv'd to go for London without taking leave; and took up his Residence with the Earl of Pembroke, who gave him all the Hopes and Encouragements he was capable of. The very same Day, the Queen, in a great disgust, refus'd the Suit of the Spanish Ambassador, in reference to the Enlargement of the Queen of Scots; and advis'd her to bear her Condition with less Impatience, or otherwise she might chance to find some, on whom she had grounded her best hopes, the Head shorter in a very little time.

When the report of this Marriage was more and more blazed abroad, and the French Ambassador was mighty Importunate with the Queen to set at Liberty the Queen of Scots, which he did more by the Instigation of some English Gentlemen, than in obedience to the Orders of his Prince, as it afterwards appear'd; fresh Jealousies sprang up on both sides; and Cecil, who had always express'd a most pious concern for Religion and his Country, apply'd himself, with all possible Dexterity, to trace out the matter. To this purpose he wrote Letters to Suffex, Lord-President of the North, who was the Duke's great Familiar and Friend, to request him to let the Queen know the utmost of what related to the Duke's Marriage. What answer he gave, I cannot tell. But whereas it had been observed, that there pass'd several Interviews at Hampton-Court between the Duke and Murray, Regent of Scotland, Sir George Cary, the Lord Hunsdon's Son, was privately sent to Murray, to sift him, whether the Duke had acquainted him with any part of his Design in relation to the Marriage. The Duke in the mean time, terrify'd with a false Report of a Rebellion in the North; and hearing from Leicester, that he was most certainly to go to the Tower, he withdrew himself to Norfolk, designing to continue there till by the management of his Friends at Court the present Storm should blow over, or he could appease the Queen by submissive Letters at that distance. However, he had Spys set over him, who had their Directions to observe his very Looks and Gestures, as well as his general Conduct and Deportment: And

1569. And when he found there was little to be expected from his Friends, and that 'twas the Opinion and Advice of Heydon and Cornwallis, and others of the first Rank and Quality in those Parts, that if he knew himself Guilty, he ought to fling himself upon the Queen's Mercy, he was half-distracted with a throng of different Thoughts and Scruples. The Court, in the mean time, were not without Suspensions and Fears lest this should end in a Rebellion: And 'twas commonly rumour'd, that if it did so, the Queen of Scots was to be put to death. But the Duke, being easie within, and conscious of no ill Designs that might bring him under the charge of High-Treason, (for that Act of Henry VIII. That none should marry with the Children of the Sisters, Brothers, or Aunts of the King, without the King's knowledge, on pain of High-Treason, was, it seems, repeal'd by Edward VI.) and being apprehensive withal, that the Queen of Scots would find the harder Treatment on the score of these popular Surmises, he sent some more Letters to his Friends at Court, to assure and acquaint them, That he had retir'd to his Seat for fear of being imprison'd; desiring them withal, to remove, if possible, those pestilent Reports which had been spread at Court, whither he was now preparing to come, in order to receive the Queen's Pardon.

The Duke returns to Court.

When he was got on his Journey as far as St. Albans, Owen the Earl of Arundel's Man, being privately sent from Throckmorton and the Lord Lumly, (then in Custody) advis'd him, in their Names, to take the whole matter upon himself, without charging Leicester, or any Body else, for fear he should make his Friends his Enemies. At the same Place he was met and complimented by Edward Fitz-Gerard, Brother to the Earl of Kildare, Lieutenant of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners; by whom he was convey'd to Burnham, about 3 Miles from Windsor, where the Queen and Court were. Four Days after, the Abbot of Dunfermelin deliver'd Letters to the Queen from

Murray makes a discovery of the whole Design.

Murray Regent of Scotland, intimating, That the Duke had been practising with him at Hampton-Court to favour and assist his Marriage with the Queen of Scots; and that he threatned him hard, if he did not comply: That he promis'd to him what Service he could, to prevent a design upon his Life, to be put in execution, upon his return, by one Norton. Whereupon the Duke engag'd for his safe Passage, and that he should not be Assaulted by Norton, or any other. That shortly after, the Duke sent him a Letter, written in private Characters, wherein he desir'd his Concurrence to the Match; and that he sent him Word likewise by Boyd, That he would never forsake the Queen of Scots. And more than all this, That the Ministers of the said Queen had almost possess'd him with a belief, that the Queen of England had consented to the Marriage, and given the Queen of Scots great Encouragement in the Point of Succession. Queen Elizabeth perceiv'd moreover, that she had made several broad signs to some Peers of England, to draw them to her Interest, pretending she had an Affair in hand which would secure the Queen, and promote the Advantage of both Kingdoms.

The Duke, who carry'd on a very cautious Correspondence with the Bishop of Ross, Leicester and Throckmorton, by Letters convey'd in certain Ale-Vessels, or Bottles, was about this time examin'd upon the business of his intended Marriage with the Queen of Scots, and his private Conferences with the Bishop of Ross; and upon confessing a great deal, he was sent to the Tower under the Custody of Sir Henry Nevil, after he had receiv'd a sharp Reprimand for withdrawing from Court without leave, and tax'd with a de-

sign to disturb the Tranquillity of the Nation. Two Days after, the Bishop of Ross receiv'd his Examination, and Robert Ridolph, (the Gentleman of Florence) that was so intimate with Ross, and the rest, was committed to Sir Francis Walsingham's custody. The Earl of Pembroke was confin'd to his own House, where he was privately Examin'd; but in respect to his great Age and Quality, he found the Favour of having his Confession not set down in Writing, it being his own Request, because he was not able to Write himself. Certain Noblemen, who were privy to the matter, ask'd the Queen's Pardon, and own'd they had given the Duke their Advice and Consent to the Match, which Murray himself was the first Propounder of, but with this restriction, that all the Parties concern'd stood engag'd to make the Queen acquainted with the Matters before it came to any conclusion. In like manner, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who had a share in the Plot, submitted themselves to the Earl of Sussex, Lord-President of the North, and beg'd the favour of his Mediation with the Queen on their behalf. There were likewise several Pamphlets printed against this Match, and in opposition to the Queen of Scots, and her Title to the Succession; but in so pert and sawcy a way, that Queen Elizabeth resolv'd to call them in by a Proclamation; and conniv'd at the Bishop of Ross's putting out an Answer to them. He immediately printed one under the Title of Morgan Philips; wherein he asserted the Honour of his Royal Mistress, defended her Title to the Crown of England, and wrote for the Lawfulness of a Female Reign; for that also was a Subject now in dispute: But he afterwards freely own'd, in his Commentaries, that the Arguments he had produc'd in defence of her Title, as Successor, were privately borrow'd from Sir Antony Brown, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas; and Carell, two of the most eminent and judicious Lawyers in England.

About this time arriv'd Chapine Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona, with Letters of a very ancient Date from the Duke of Alva, under colour of composing the Differences about Trade: But in reality, his Errand was to watch the issues of a Rebellion just ready to break forth, and to take the Command of certain Forces which the Duke of Alva had promis'd under-hand to send out of the Netherlands. He had dispatch'd away La-Mot, Governor of Dunkirk, before (as he confess'd himself) in the Habit of a Sailor to sound the Ports: But it appearing that this Marquis had only the Duke of Alva's Commission for what he did, who was no more himself than a Deputy-Governor, there was some scruple made, whether he was to be admitted under the Character of Ambassador or not. Yet the Queen was pleas'd to signifie, that she would consider him as an Ambassador from Spain. But when he produc'd no other Orders than a bare Demand of the Money that had been stop'd, the Queen being much dispos'd to preserve a Peace, advis'd him to procure a more ample Authority for the Accommodation of Matters; which whilst he waited for, there was a current Report of a Rebellion just breaking out in the North of England. There went about a slight Rumour of such a Rising (to fetch the matter something higher) in the beginning of Autumn; but it soon dropt, as having little or no Foundation: But it spread very much in a little time after, by reason of the frequent Consultations of Northumberland, Westmorland, and others; insomuch that Sussex, the Lord-President, sent for them, and examin'd them about the said Report. They confess'd that they had heard such a Rumour, but flatly deny'd that they were the

1569.
Ann. 12.
Others after him.

Books printed against the Marriage.

And answer'd by the Bishop of Ross.

A Rebellion in the North.

1569. the Authors or Abettors of it; and they made the
 Ann. 12. most solemn Affeuerations, that they were ready
 to venture their Lives for the Queen, against all
 her Enemies whatsoever. Hereupon they were
 discharg'd, and commission'd to enquire after the
 Spreaders of this Report. However, it increas'd
 to that degree, that the Queen (tho' she was not
 forward to believe any thing to the Prejudice of
 Persons of their Quality) commanded, however,
 the Earl of *Suffex* to warn them up to *London*, to
 avoid Suspicion: But *Suffex* order'd 'em to meet
 him, to consult barely about the Affairs of that
 Province. (On what design is hard to guess at)
 They hereupon made use of dilatory Excuses at
 first, and soon after flatly refus'd to come; which
 made the Queen send 'em her peremptory Or-
 ders, to appear presently before her, (all Excuses
 and Pretences apart) to the end she might either
 awe them out of any rebellious Pursuits, or else
 drive 'em to that Extreme, before they had For-
 ces and Materials ready for such a Design. For
 it appear'd not long after, that there were cer-
 tain Supplies and Recruits from the *Scottish* Con-
 federates, and from the Duke of *Alva*, appointed
 to be landed at *Hartlepool*, in the Bishoprick of
Durham.

As soon as *Northumberland* had read the Letters,
 between the Softness of his Nature, and the Con-
 sciousness of his Guilt, the Bigottry of his Per-
 suasion, and the Violence of his Resentment for
 a conceiv'd Wrong done to him, in relation to a
 rich Copper-Mine found upon his Estate; but
 which was Granted away from him, by Vertue of
 the Queen's Right to Royal Mines; yet not with-
 out some Reserve of Favour to be expected from
 the Queen: he seem'd to labour under a very
 great Suspense, whether 'twere best to apply to
 her Majesty, to seek his Safety by Flight, or
 fairly turn Rebel. His Friends and Servants,
 who were ripe for Mischief and Sedition, ob-
 serving their Master's Cowardice and Irresolu-
 tion, alarm'd him at Midnight with the surpris-
 ing Cry, That *Oswald*, *Ulthrop*, and *Vaughan*, his
 Enemies, were ready, with Arms and Men, to
 take him Prisoner. They intreated him not to
 betray himself, his Friends, and the Faith of his
 Ancestors; and represented to him, that the *Catholicks*
 were ready, all *England* over, to assert the
Romish Religion, and that the Bells were rung
 backwards almost in every Parish, to encourage
 the People to an Insurrection. At this the Earl
 in a Panick Fear got out of Bed, and withdrew
 to a Lodg in his own Park, near *Topcliff*; and
 the next Night he retir'd to *Branspeth*, a Seat be-
 longing to the Earl of *Westmoreland*; where he
 found a great Number of People, who were no
 Strangers to the Secret.

Pretences
 of the
 Rebels.

The better to raise and amuse the Multitude,
 some were commanded to arm themselves, and
 join their Forces in the Queen's Defence: Others
 were possess'd, that all the Peers of *England* did
 now act in Conjunction with them, for the re-
 storing of Popery: To others they pretended,
 that they were forc'd to take up Arms, to pre-
 vent the Encroachments of Upstarts, upon the
 ancient Nobility of *England*, and the Betraying
 thereof to a foreign Power. Under this colour,
 they broke out into an immediate Rebellion, and
 were the first that disturb'd the Tranquility of
 the Nation, which had now lasted Eleven Years
 without Interruption, under the Reign of Queen
Elizabeth. *Nicolas Morton*, a Priest, was the great
 Incendiary, who had been sent from the Pope,
 to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick; and
 therefore to have no farther Right to her Crown
 and Kingdom. 'Twas not long before they pub-
 lish'd a Manifesto, declaring, That they took up Arms
 with no other Design, than to restore the Religion of

their Ancestors, to remove ill Counsellors from the Queen,
 to restore the Duke and other faithful Peers, who were
 depriv'd of their Title and Honour, to their Liberty and
 the Queen's Favour; and, that they attempted nothing
 against the Queen, to whom they vow'd a most con-
 stant Fidelity and Allegiance. They likewise sent
 Letters to the Papists all round the Kingdom; sent the
 and advis'd 'em to come in to their Assistance: But
 But so far were they from joining with them,
 that most of 'em sent the Letters they had re-
 ceiv'd, with the Bearers thereof, to the Queen:
 Every one strove who should be foremost in the
 Tenders of his Service, and the Offers of his
 Purse and Person, towards reducing the Rebels.
 Nor was *Norfolk* himself the last, upon this oc-
 casion; so that from hence the Queen had a fair
 Opportunity of discerning the good Affection of
 her Subjects towards her; and was not backward
 in acknowledging the abundant Goodness of God
 to her, upon that account.

The Rebels march'd first to *Durham*, a Bishop's
 See hard-by; where they abus'd and defac'd all
 the *English* Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer,
 which they found in the Churches. From thence
 they proceeded, by small Journeys, saying Mass
 in all Places they came to, and marching in their
 Ranks, with Colours flying (some of 'em bear-
 ing the Five Wounds of Christ, and others the
 Chalice) whilst *Richard Norton*, a Reverend old
 Gentleman, bore a Cross, with a Streamer, be-
 fore them, as far as *Clifford-Moor*, not far from
Wetherbey; where they made a Muster, the 12th
 day after the Insurrection commenc'd; and re-
 kon'd not above 600 Horse, and 4000 Foot. Having
 learnt here, that the Queen of *Scots*, (up-
 on whose Account they had undertaken this Ri-
 sing) was remov'd from *Tutbury* to *Covenry*, a
 very strong City; and committed to the Cust-
 ody of the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Huntington*;
 That *Suffex* was just by them, with a strong Party
 of new-raisd Forces; That Sir *George Bowes* was
 behind them, with a choice Detachment, and
 had fortify'd *Bernard-Castle*; And that the Lord
Scroop and the Earl of *Cumberland* had strength-
 ened *Carlisle*, and were then raising a Body of
 Men; they retir'd back almost the same way they
 came, and got to *Raby*, the chief Seat of the Earl
 of *Westmoreland*: From thence they made a Fetch,
 and besieg'd *Bernard-Castle*; which, for want of
 Provision, was soon oblig'd to surrender upon
 Terms; Sir *George Bowes*, with his Brother *Robert*,
 and the Soldiers of the Garrison, being permit-
 ted, by the Agreement, to march out with their
 Arms.

On the same day they were proclaim'd Trai-
 tors to their Country, and *Suffex* march'd against
 them with 7000 Men, attended with *Edward* Earl
 of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Evers*,
 and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. As soon as
Suffex was come to *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in
 great Consternation, to *Hexham*; and soon after
 straggld in Companies, and by private Roads, to
Naworth-Castle: Where, receiving Intelligence,
 that the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Clinton* Lord Ad-
 miral, pursu'd 'em closely with 12000 Men, from
 the South of *England*, the Two Earls, with a
 small Company besides, withdrew themselves,
 unknown to the rest, into the Neighbourhood of
Scotland. *Northumberland* was forc'd to skulk in
 some of the poor Cottages at *Hartlaw*, among
 the *Grahams*, who were notorious Robbers, and,
 after some time, betray'd him into *Murray's* hands.
Westmoreland was conceal'd by *Carr* of *Ferniburgh*,
 and *Buckluy*; and at last made his Escape, with
 some few *Englishmen*, into the *Netherlands*; where
 he liv'd wretchedly poor to the last, under a
 slender Pension allow'd him by the King of *Spain*.
 The rest, being dispers'd several ways, made a
 shift

1569. shift to save themselves, some by Flight, and others by lying hid. Threescore and Six Petty-Ann. 12. Constables were hang'd up at Durham, for an Example; and among 'em the most noted Mutineer was one Plomtree, a Priest. At York were executed Simon Digby, J. Fultorpe, Thomas Bishop, Robert Peneman; and a few Months after, at London, Christopher and Thomas Norton; and some others in other places.

66 Petty-Constables executed.

After this, some of the first-rate Malecontents were convicted of High-Treason, and outlaw'd; viz. Charles Earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Earl of Northumberland, Anne Countess of Northumberland, Daughter to Henry Earl of Worcester, Edw. Dacres of Morton, John Nevel of Leversage, J. Swinborne, Thomas Markenfeld, Egremont Ratcliff, the Earl of Sussex's Brother, Christopher Nevil, Richard Norton of Norton-Coniers, Christopher, Marmaduke and Thomas of the Norton-Family, Robert and Michael Tempest, George Stafford, and about Forty more, of Noble Extraction. The Conviction and Outlawry of these Gentlemen, was confirm'd in the next ensuing Parliament; and the rest who had no Estates, and did not fly for't, receiv'd their Pardon.

A new Rebellion breaks out

Thus came this Rebellion to an happy End, Chapine Vitelli, who, as I before observ'd, was privy to this Design, seeming to stand in Admiration, before the Q. and several of the Lords, that so great a Flame was so suddenly extinguish'd; tho' it stung him to the quick, that his Errand into England was, by this means, so foully disappointed. But the Embers of this Rebellion were not so totally quench'd; for they afforded Sparks enough, to burst into a new Flame, at Naworth in Cumberland, near a Place call'd Valium Severi, or The Picts-Wall. The Bellows to this Blaze was Leonard Dacres, second Son to William Lord Dacres of Gilleland. It happen'd, that the Lord Dacres, the Nephew of this Gentleman, by his elder Brother, died young, as I before hinted; and it stuck very much in his Stomach, that so plentiful an Estate would, by the Law, descend to his Nieces, who were contracted, by the D. of Norfolk, their Father-in-law, to Two of his Sons: On which account he enter'd a Suit against 'em. But the Cause going against him, he fell to plotting, and siding with the traitorous Party; and attempted (tho' in vain) to rescue the Queen of Scots from her Confinement: But when he saw the Rebellion was in a greater Forwardness than he expected, and that the Rebels were proclaim'd Traitors; whilst he was at Court, as he was introduc'd to kiss the Queen's Hand, he offer'd her Majesty his best Service against the Rebels, and thereupon was sent home again: But, as it appear'd afterwards, he held Correspondence with them, by the way; sent 'em encouraging Messages, and Promises withal, of great Matters from the Ambassadors of foreign Princes; and among other things, that he would be sure to make use of the Forces he had rais'd in the Queen's Name, to cut off the Lord Scroop, Warden of the West-March, and the Bishop of Carlisle. Which not being able to do, he sent commendatory Letters after those Earls who were making for Scotland, seiz'd on the Castle of Greystock, and the other Seats belonging to the Dacres, and fortify'd Naworth-Castle, as his own, by Right of Inheritance: Then, under pretence of securing his own Estate, and resisting the Rebels, he got together a Gang of 3000 bordering Robbers, and others who had a Respect for the very Name of Dacres; as being by much the noblest Family in those Parts.

Against these the Lord Hunsdon march'd, with the Garrison-Troops of Berwick; and they not daring to trust to their Fortifications, came on

to encounter them; and being flank'd with their Cavalry, and plac'd in a Triangle, prepar'd to receive them, at the little River Gelt. The Fight was hotly maintain'd on both sides, and Leonard (tho' he was crook-back'd, yet) perform'd every thing that could be expected from a brave Commander: But having lost a great many of his Men, he was forc'd to quit the Field to Hunsdon, (tho' it cost him dear) and retire, as well as he could, to the nearest Part of Scotland; from whence soon after he went over into Holland, and ended his Days at Louvain, in a poor Condition; insomuch that his Father, who on his Death-bed pray'd to God to afflict him plentifully, for his Disobedience, seem'd to have something in him of the true Prophet. The Lord Hunsdon retook the Castles, and deliver'd them to the Care of Norfolk's Servants; and the Q. publish'd an Act of Indemnity to all that had taken up Arms in the late Rebellion.

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Rebels are routed.

Altho' the Queen had her Hands full of these Disorders at home, yet was she not wanting either in Assistance or Commiseration to the poor distress'd Hugonots of France: For having press'd the several Princes of the same Persuasion, to lend their Hands to the Common-Cause; she supply'd the Queen of Navarre with Money, and took her Jewels as a Pledge; and also permitted Henry Champernoon (whose Cousin-German Gawin had marry'd the Earl of Montgomery's Daughter) to command a Regiment of Volunteers, consisting of 100 Gentlemen, all well mounted, into France; and with this Motto in his Colours, *Finem det mihi Virtus*, viz. *Let Valour decide the Cause*. In this List of Volunteers, were Philip Butshide, Francis Barkley, and Walter Raleigh, a very young Person, who now first began to be taken notice of. These things were no Secret to the French King, who, out of a Design to drain the Wealth of England, which flow'd away apace in the Relief of the French Protestants; or to divert it at least into some other Channel, resolv'd to raise a new Combustion in Scotland, by sending Supplies to those, who maintain'd the Castle of Dunbriton, for the Queen of Scots. To this purpose, he design'd to dispatch thither Sebastian Martignes, a Person eminent enough for Martial Exploits; but he happen'd to be shot at the Siege of *S. John d'Angeli*; and so this Stratagem fell to the Ground.

Q. Eliz. assists the Protestants in France.

Nor was Ireland at this time free from some Commotions: For Edmund and Peter Boteler, Brothers to the Earl of Ormond, after they had insulted their Neighbours in Munster, grew too big to be restrain'd within the Bounds of Law, and destroying the Queen's good Subjects with Fire and Sword, they enter'd into a Confederacy with James Fitz-Moris, of the House of Desmond, Mac-Artimore, Fitz-Edmund Steward of Imokelly, and others; to do all they could, in Conjunction with the Bishop of Rome and the Spaniards, to maintain Popery, and dispossess Queen Elizabeth of her Kingdom of Ireland. Hereupon, they were proclaim'd Traitors, and Sir Peter Carew the elder had several Skirmishes with them, but with various Success. Nevertheless, they at last got together a Gang of desperate Fellows, and besieg'd Kilkenny; commanding the Citizens to deliver Warham St. Legere's Wife, into their Hands. But being repuls'd by several Sallies from the Garrison, they made a miserable Waste of the Country all about: And to feed and pamper the Mutineers Humour to the Height, Juan Mendoza was sent privately from Spain, when at the same time came the Earl of Ormond out of England, to compose and direct it; and had the Good-luck to effect his Design, by prevailing on his Brothers to submit themselves, which they did; but were never-

A Rebellion in Munster in Ireland.

1569. nevertheless imprison'd, tho' the Earl prevail'd so effectually with the Queen on their behalf, that they were not brought to their Trial, as their Offences deserv'd: For he could not but be much concern'd, that they should prove the Instruments of bringing such a Slur on so noble a Family. That which went a great way to procure this Grace, was, the near Relation between them and the Queen, who us'd sometimes to triumph and please herself in the unsully'd Grandeur of this Family. But the Lord-Deputy briskly pursu'd the remaining Parties of the Rebels; and, by the Help of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, soon routed and dispers'd 'em.

Another
in Ulster.

In *Ulster* likewise they were up in Arms; for *Furlough Leinigh* was so wavering himself, and

kept such restless Ministers about him; that War and Peace were a kind of alternate Diversion to him. But if the *English* Garrisons were not able to curb his Exorbitances, the *High-landers* knew how to keep him within Bounds, by quitting the lean Pastures of their own Islands, and making bold with the Forage of his fatter Country: But to prevent their Incursions on that side, there were several large Sums sent out of *England*, to fortify the Sea-Coast. But all to no purpose; by reason of an Inconvenience common to *England*, as well as *Ireland*; where for the most part such Men push forward, and are countenanc'd and employ'd, as are so wholly engag'd in their own, that they absolutely neglect the publick Interest.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

ELI-

ELIZABETH,

Anno 1570.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

The Thirteenth Year of her Reign.

THE Rebellion in England being now suppress'd, *Murray*, Regent of Scotland, did all he could to have the Queen of Scots in his Hands. To this end he offer'd Hostages, promis'd to deliver up the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, and by his means the Bishop of *Ross*, the suppos'd Author of the Rebellion, is committed to the Custody of the Bishop of *London*. Then, to ingratiate himself with Queen *Elizabeth* by some meritorious Exploit, in January he entred that Part of Scotland which borders upon England, at the Head of an Army, in search of the English Rebels: A few of them he took, but those of no Note; till at last he seiz'd upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, betray'd by his Host as he lurk'd among the Pillagers on the Frontiers. Him he sent Prisoner to *Lough-Levin*, and put the Borderers under severe Hardships.

He is slain.

But the same Month, when, after the Fatigues he had endur'd, he seem'd now secure, he was shot below the Navel by one in Ambuscade, as he was riding through the Streets of *Limnuch*, by the Scots call'd *Lithquo*. One *Hamilton* was the Assassin, who presently fled over to France, where he liv'd for several Years after, often declaring that he reveng'd himself thus privately of *Murray*, since his Patience could no longer away with the Injustice he had done him. For *Murray*, because of his Loyalty to the Queen, had proscrib'd him, clapt him up in Prison, and threatn'd often to hang him, till he had surrender'd up a Farm that fell to him by his Wife to a Creature of *Murray's*. Upon this the Woman fell distracted, and he himself in a rage broke out of Prison, and committed the Murder. Nor could he afterwards be persuaded in France, tho' look'd upon as a Man of a daring Spirit, to attempt the like against the Admiral *Coligny*; giving out, That he had indeed, to his Sorrow, reveng'd his own just Grievances, but that neither Reward nor Interest should draw him on to revenge another Man's Quarrel.

Various Opinions of him.

Hereupon all Britain was full of Discourse about the Regent's Murder, many making Wonders of Trifles; such as his Mother's Dream after her Night's Lodging by stealth with King *James V.* of a Lion and a Dragon fighting together in her Womb. But the more sober Persons pass'd their Judgments upon him, according to the Party they sided with. Some commended

him for expelling the Romish Religion out of Scotland, for preserving the young King, for his impartial administration of Justice, and for his Bounty to learned Men, especially *Buchanan*. Others blam'd him, for making a Cloak of Religion, the better to enrich himself and his Creatures with the Spoils of the Church; for his most unaccountable Ingratitude to the Queen his Sister, to whom he was many ways obliged; and for his unmanly insulting over her Female Weakness. And these, by their Surmises and Conjectures, and from the bad Inclinations of several that are base-born, guessed, that he who had outed the Mother of her Kingdom, would hardly spare the Son. The Queen of Scots was troubled that he met with so sudden and violent a Death, before he had (as she said) repented seriously of his Offences to God, his Country and his Prince. But the English that favour'd *Norfolk*, accus'd him, as far as they durst, as a sly and cunning Dissembler.

The Night after the Regent's Murder, *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurst*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buckluy*, two of the stoutest Men among the Scotch Borderers, great Loyalists to the Scottish Queen, and who for their adhering to her Interests were banish'd and outed of all they had, brake the Peace, made an Incurion into England at the Head of the Scots and some English Rebels, and laid waste the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. This they did to be reveng'd of the Queen of England, because for her sake the late Regent had used the Borderers so severely. Upon this Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was sent Express into Scotland, to represent before the Scottish Lords, in a publick Assembly, this so great an Injury; and to inform them, That if they (because of the Disorders now in Scotland) could not suppress the Violators of the Peace, the Queen would with her Forces chastise the Offenders, without hurting the Innocent. There was no Answer made to this, because they had not as yet appointed a Regent. Yet, to protect the English Borderers from Wrong, and to curb the Insolence of the Enemy, the Earl of *Suffex* receiv'd Orders to levy Forces, and march against *Buckluy* and *Fernihurst*; with Instructions only to fight those who had lately, with the English Rebels, invaded and ravaged England, or had or should countenance the English Rebels, contrary to the Confederacy. Nor could he be staid, tho' the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley*, who favour'd the Queen of Scots, sent *Treboun* to crave a Truce till they could inform Queen *Elizabeth* of the Scotch Affairs: But when they could not dissuade her

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An Incurion of the Scots and Rebels into England.

Complaint thereof made in vain.

Suffex sent to suppress 'em.

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from

1570. from prosecuting her Designs, they first fell to Threating, and then to Praying and Beseeching her, that certain Laws enacted and established in Scotland the last two Years, might be repealed.

The English revenge themselves

Nevertheless, in the middle of April, *Sussex*, with the Lord *Hunsdon* and *Drury* Marshal of *Berwick*, entred *Scotland* with an Army; and coming into *Tividale*, laid waste great part of the County, burning all the Towns and Villages belonging to *Buckluy* and the two *Carrs*, and plundering all their Estates; the two Castles of *Fernibury* and *Crailing*, belonging to *Thomas Carr*, were raised, and demolished: While, at the same time, *Henry Lord Scroop* entering the Western Borders of *Scotland*, laid waste the Estate and Possessions of *Johnson* in *Anandale*, and plunder'd some others, who, with him, had favour'd the English Rebels; and in these Expeditions three hundred Towns and Villages were burnt, and near fifty Castles demolished.

Within a few Days, *Sussex*, with the *L. Hunsdon*, makes a second Inroad into *Scotland*, and lay down before *Humes* Castle, whither the English Rebels used to fly: And after he had batter'd it with his Ordnance, it surrender'd upon Articles. There were not above two of the Rebels found therein, who were immediately hang'd, and a Garrison put in the Castle. After which *Drury* was sent to besiege *Fest Castle*, another Fort belonging to the Lord *Humes*, which was soon yielded up to him.

They aid the King's Party in Scotland.

When the English Rebels had now betaken themselves to the utmost Parts of *Scotland*, and joining with others of the same Stamp with themselves, threatned the Borderers in *England*, and the Royalists in *Scotland*, with Fire and Sword; *Sussex*, at *Drury's* return, sent him back again seven Days after into *Scotland* with 1200 Foot and 400 Horse; who at *Coldingham* receiv'd Hostages for the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Murr* and *Glen-carne*; and for the Barons of *Reurven* and *Lindsey*, who had with much ardency invited in the English. Afterwards *Sussex* himself, attended by Sir *George Cary*, Sir *Thomas Mannours*, Sir *Robert Constable*, (whom with *Drury* he had knighted) *Hierom Bons* *William Knolls*, *Tho. Brickwell*, *Robert Games*, *Elvington*, *Carrit*, and other Commanders, march'd to *Edinburgh*, and join'd his Forces with the said Earls, and with *Lenox* newly return'd from *England*; tho' at the same time they suspected he favour'd *Norfolk* and the Q. of *Scots* Party. They march'd by *Lithquo* to *Glasgow*, from whence *Hamilton* D. of *Chastel-Herauld* had withdrawn himself. From thence they drew off to *Hamilton-Castle*, which after the great Guns had play'd against, was soon surrender'd, and half demolished. They likewise fired a goodly Town of the *Hamiltons*, laid waste their Territories all over *Chisdall*, and in their return did the same to *Hamilton's* Palace at *Lithquod*.

They take Hamilton Castle.

Lenox made Regent of Scotland.

Now the Lords of *Scotland* that were of the King's Party having removed the *Hamiltons*, and the rest which had stood for the deposed Q. met together about choosing a new Regent, and sent for Queen *Elizabeth's* Counsel. Her Answer was, That she would not concern herself in the creating a Regent, lest she might seem to act in prejudice to the Queen of *Scots*, whose Cause was not yet decided. But they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the Queen's Grandfather, first of all *Interrex*, and soon after Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* not opposing it. For she knew he would out of natural Affection be most tender of his young Grandson, and most affectionate to the English for the Civilities he had receiv'd; and doubred not but he would be at her devotion, since she had his Wife in her power.

Whilst Queen *Elizabeth* thus favour'd the Royalists in *Scotland*, the Spaniard was not wanting to the Captive Queen; but by the contrivance of *Hamilton*, Rector of the Church of *Dunbar*, sent privately out of the Netherlands great store of Arms and Powder, seven great Guns, and some Money, to *Huntley*, the Queen's Lieutenant in *Scotland*. In the mean time *Huntley*, the Duke of *Chastel-Herauld* and *Argyle*, the Queen's Lieutenants, agreed, by the Queen's consent, to dispatch *George Lord Seaton* in Quality of Ambassador to the Duke d'Alva; who having Audience, deliver'd himself in these Terms. 'That he was sent from a Kingdom depriv'd of its publick Peace, and of a most excellent Prince, thro' the Treachery of disloyal Subjects. That the sum of his Embassy was this: They desir'd that Supplies might be sent over to redeem the Q. from a wretched Captivity in a strange Land, and the Realm from the Oppression of Foreigners. That the Scotch Rebels might be prohibited from Trafficking in the Spanish Dominions; and that the Ten thousand Ducats promised to the Queen of *Scots*, might be paid. That the Queen had thrown herself under the Spaniards Protection, as one whose sole regard was to Honour, Justice and Piety, (Objects most worthy of a Catholick Prince). That she made use of the Duke d'Alva as a Mediator, on whose Endeavours did depend the performance of those laudable Intentions of his Catholick Majesty. That he could propose no Advantage to the Spaniard hereby, that being a thing unworthy of so great a Monarch: But that he offer'd him the eternal Alliance of a most renowned Queen, and of a very valiant Nation, and their assur'd Submission with thankful Hearts. That the Glory of his Father *Charles I.* was spread over all the World, by restoring the Duke of *Florence* and the *Mahometan* Prince to their former Dignity. But should he restore a Christian Queen, a constant Favourer of the Christian Religion, an absolute Princess, ally'd both by Blood and Confederacy to the greatest Princes in *Christendom*, and the most undoubted Heir of two most flourishing Kingdoms; how glorious a Thing would that be, and how incomparable an Argument of his Piety? That hereby he might not only oblige *France*, *Denmark*, *Lorain*, the *Guises*, his Holiness, and the whole Catholick Church in general; but likewise, by following his Father's Example, in relieving and restoring deposed Princes, he might equal, yea and far transcend his Father's Glory. That it highly concern'd him to revenge this dangerous Example of deposing Hereditary Kings, since he was the greatest Monarch of *Europe*, and his own Dominions being so far asunder, might very easily be expos'd to the like Insolency. Neither could there be offer'd him a more signal or advantageous Mark of Justice. For by restoring her, he would entirely bring over to his Alliance and Confederacy, a Queen-Dowager of *France*, an Absolute Queen of *Scotland*, the undoubted Heir of *England*, and the whole Scottish Nation, whose unshaken Fidelity in observing the League with *France* ever since the Reign of *Charles the Great*, is very well known to the whole World. Besides, (had he a Mind worthy of himself) by this means he had an opportunity of revenging the Wrongs offer'd him by the Queen of *England*, who favours his Rebels in the Netherlands, had intercepted his Money, abus'd his Ambassador, and seiz'd upon his Subjects Goods. That to lie still till *Scotland* should have submitted to the Queen of *England*, would argue him to be supinely Careless and Slothful. That this Wo-

man,

1570. Ann. 13. man having made such an addition to her Empire, and secur'd all at Home, would be a Terror to her Neighbours; and her Masculine Spirit, join'd with the Humour of her Sex, that is always ambitious of Command, would soon find out Methods of involving Spain in a long War. But were her Designs prevented, she might soon be curb'd with the fearful apprehension of her own Condition; since the Captive Queen had but few Enemies in Scotland; most of the Nobility, and generally all the Catholicks of both Kingdoms on her side, and all the Ports of Scotland in her power: And for carrying on so Holy a War as this, his Majesty would not spare the very Revenues of the Church. The only thing now wanting is, That his Catholick Majesty would do his utmost in so just, so pious, and so blessed a Cause. From him alone all the Catholicks of Britain do now expect either their Happiness, or their final Ruin.

The Duke d'Alva's answer.

The Duke d'Alva reply'd, That he would freely and readily do his utmost to promote this Business with the King of Spain; but that he could not prohibit the Commerce of the Scotch Rebels, since it was contrary to the Privileges of the Netherlands: But as for the Money, he promis'd it should be forthwith paid. In the mean time Seaton, the better to oblige the Spaniard and the Duke d'Alva, went in Disguise to the Confederate Netherlands, and by smooth Words, Feastings, and other insinuating Artifices, drew the Scots that serv'd under them to revolt; and when he was to be Tortur'd for it, he narrowly escap'd with his Life to the Duke d'Alva, who promis'd him six Months Pay for Ten thousand Men. But it came to nothing, since by reason of the great Disorders in the Netherlands, he could send no Men into Scotland.

In the mean time the Bishop of Ross, (who had industriously solicited the Queen of Scots Affairs in England, and had been committed to the Custody of the Bishop of London, as the private fomenter of the late Rebellion) being now set at Liberty, procur'd the French King, by his Ambassador and Montluc, to be Earnest with Queen Elizabeth for the Delivery of the Queen of Scots: They complain'd of her close Confinement, and that under the Earl of Huntington, her most bitter Adversary and Competitor, for that he made as open Pretensions to the Kingdom of England as the did. The same thing, by the procurement of Ross, was very strongly urg'd by the Spanish Ambassador in his Mistress's Name. But the Queen, after she had reckon'd up the many fly Stratagems some had used to set the Queen of Scots at Liberty, (whom she obscurely tax'd as accessory to the late Rebellion) answer'd, 'That it would be a piece of inconsiderate and most dangerous Folly to set her at Liberty, who by unlawful Artifices so openly aspir'd to the Kingdom of England: That necessity had forc'd her to confine her more closely, to cut off some of her superfluous Train, and to join the Earl of Huntington (whom she acknowledg'd indeed to be her Kinsman, but yet had no Right to the Crown) with the Earl of Shrewsbury, her former Keeper, who lately began to suspect the Trustiness of his own Servants, many of whom he had perceiv'd were daily drawn in to favour the Queen of Scots. That notwithstanding this, the Earl of Huntington had been remov'd from her some time ago. She likewise promised, That she would do all she could to compose Matters between the Queen of Scots and her Subjects. And withal protested, she would not revenge the Injuries she had receiv'd. But yet she hoped, the French King, the Spaniard, and

the Queen of Scots, would give her leave to provide for her own and her Peoples Security and Quiet, according as Nature, Reason, and her Princely Reputation or Honour justly require. If any of them could devise a more likely Expedient to ward off the Danger, she would very willingly hearken to it and embrace it.

After this, there were frequent Debates at Court, whether the Queen of Scots should be sent Home, or kept still in England? And how the Safety of the Kingdom, the Queen, and Religion, might be best secur'd?

At this juncture, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the Son of Richard, Son of William Herbert Senior Earl of Pembroke, presaging some Disaster to himself, departed this Life in his Climacterical Year; leaving behind him three Children, Henry, Edward, and Ann; and, after a stately Funeral, was laid under a sumptuous Monument in St. Paul's Church. An extraordinary Man, who was in some sort the raiser of his own Fortune. With Henry VIII. he got into great Favour, and was made his Chamberlain. By his wife Conduct he encreas'd his Wealth, especially after the King had married Katharine Parr, his Wife's Sister. Under Edward VI. whilst the Court was distracted with Factions, he was made Knight of the Garter, Master of the Horse, Baron Herbert of Caerdiff, and Earl of Pembroke. Under Queen Mary, he commanded her Forces against Wiat, was General of the English Army at St. Quintin's, Lord-President of Wales, and twice Governor of Calais. Under Queen Elizabeth he was made Great Master of the Household; whose Favour he lost for a time, because he was the chief Promoter of Norfolk's Marriage with the Queen of Scots, tho' he had no ill Design in it. After he was dead, they were ready to proscribe him upon some Discoveries made, and some strong Presumptions against him.

Pius V. Bishop of Rome, who had hitherto carried on his Designs privately against Queen Elizabeth; and the last Year, by his Declaratory Bull, without any previous Admonition or Citation, had pass'd a private Sentence of Excommunication, and rais'd rebellions against her, now caus'd the same to be publish'd and fix'd upon the Bishop of London's Palace Gates, in these Words.

A Declaratory Sentence of Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England, and the Hereticks her Adherents. Wherein likewise all her Subjects are declar'd absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance, and any other Duty they owe unto her: And whoever shall henceforward obey her, are included in the same Curse.

A Bull publish'd against the Queen.

Pope PIUS, the Servant of God's Servants, for a standing Memorial of the matter.

'He that Reigneth on high, to whom is ascrib'd all Power both in Heaven and Earth, hath committed the Absolute Government of his One, Holy, Catholick and Apostolick Church (out of which there is no Salvation) to only One upon Earth, namely, to Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's Successor, the Bishop of Rome. Him alone has he made Prince over all Nations and Kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build; that he may preserve the Faithful (knit together with one common Band of Charity) in the Unity of the Spirit, and present them safe and sound to their Saviour. In the discharge of which Function, We, who are by the divine Favour call'd to the Government of

1570. *Ann. 13.* the said Church, spare no Labour; but strive earnestly, that Unity and the Catholick Religion (which, for the Trial of the faithful, and our Amendment, hath, by its Author's Permission, been expos'd to so many Troubles) might be preserv'd entire. But the ungodly are grown so numerous and powerful, that now there is no Place in the Universe, but what they have endeavour'd to taint with their most pernicious Doctrines: To which, among others, *Elizabeth*, the pretended Queen of *England*, abandon'd to all Wickedness, is an Abettor; under whose Protection the most profligate Persons have found a Retreat. Which very Woman, having seiz'd on the Kingdom, and wickedly usurp'd to herself the Supremacy over the whole Church of *England*, and the chief Authority and Jurisdiction thereof; has reduc'd that Kingdom to a miserable Apostacy; which had been so lately reclaim'd to the Catholick Faith, and a thriving Condition.

For having strictly prohibited the Exercise of the true Religion, (which *Mary*, the lawful Queen, of famous Memory, had, by the Assistance of this See, restor'd; after it had been lately suppress'd by *Henry VIII.* an Apostate therefrom) and following and embracing the Errors of *Hereticks*; she has dissolv'd the Privy-Council, consisting of the *English* Nobility, and fill'd it up with *Hereticks* of an obscure Descent; suppress'd the Embracers of the Catholick Faith, and set up, in their stead, wicked Preachers, and Ministers of Impiety; abolish'd the Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers, Fastings, the Choice of Meats, Celibacy, and the Rites of the Catholick Church; and commanded Books containing in them downright Heresie, to be publish'd throughout the whole Realm; and order'd impious Rites and Ceremonies (which she herself entertain'd and observ'd, according to *Calvin's* Institution) to be likewise observ'd by her Subjects; presum'd to eject Bishops, Rectors, and other Catholick Priests, out of their Churches and Benefices; and to bestow them, and other Church-Livings, on *Hereticks*; and to determine Ecclesiastical Causes; prohibited the Prelates, Clergy, and Laity, from acknowledging the Church of *Rome*, or obeying its Injunctions, and Canonical Sanctions; compell'd most of 'em, by Oath, to submit to her wicked Laws, to abjure the Authority and Obedience of the Pope, and to acknowledge her the sole Head over Temporal and Spiritual Matters; impos'd Penalties and Punishments upon those who obey'd not her Commands, and executed 'em upon those who continu'd in the Unity of the Faith, and their former Obedience; cast the *Catholick* Prelates and Rectors of Churches into Prison, where many of 'em, worn out with continual Afflictions and Grief, have died miserably. All which things are so manifest and notorious to the whole World, and confirm'd by the serious Testimony of so very many; that no Excuse, Defence, or Evasion can be made. We therefore, seeing that Impiety and Wickedness receives daily Growth, and that the faithful are persecuted, and Religion abus'd, every day more than other, by the Instigation and Endeavours of the said *Elizabeth*: And since we perceive her Heart so harden'd and obdurate, that she has not only condemn'd the solemn Intreaties and Admonitions of *Catholick* Princes, for her Safety and Conversion; but has also deny'd the *Nuncios* of this See, to cross the Seas into *England*, for that purpose: We, I say, are constrain'd, at last, to make use of the Arms of Justice, against her; and cannot but lament, that we are forc'd to pu-

nish One, whose Ancestors have been signally serviceable to the whole State of Christendom. 1570. *Ann. 13.* We therefore, supported by his Authority, whose Pleasure it was to place us (tho' too weak for so weighty a Burden) on the Supreme Throne of Justice, do, by Vertue of our Apostolick Power, declare the said *Elizabeth* an *Heretick*, and a Favourer of *Hereticks*, and her Adherents in the Crimes aforesaid, to have incur'd the Sentence of Excommunication, and to be cut off from the Unity of the Body of Christ. Moreover, We declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the said Kingdom, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege whatsoever. And the Nobility, Subjects, and People of the said Kingdom, and all others who have taken an Oath to her, to be for ever absolv'd from any such Oath, and all other Duty, Allegiance, and Obedience: We do likewise, by Authority of these Presents, absolve them, and deprive the said *Elizabeth* of her pretended Title to the Kingdom, and all other things before-mention'd. And We charge and command all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforesaid, That they presume not to obey her, or her Orders, Mandates, and Laws: And those who shall do otherwise, are subject to the like Excommunication. But because it cannot be expected, that these Presents should be publish'd in all places, where they are needful; Our Will is, that the Copies of 'em, under a Publick Notary's Hand, and the Seal of an Ecclesiastical Prelate, or his Court; be of the same Force with all Men, judicially and extrajudicially, as these Presents should be, if they were exhibited and shewn. Given at *Rome*, at *S. Peter's*, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1569, March 28. and the Fifth Year of Our Papacy. *Ca. Glorierius.*

Hereupon new Surmises arose, that something extraordinary was to be expected. And truly, another Rebellion was like to break out in *Norfolk*; but was crush'd in its very Birth. Several *Norfolk* Gentlemen, willing to set the Duke at liberty, (for whom all of them had a singular Respect) laid a Plot, that at *Harlestone-Fair*, they would gather the Mob together, by the Sound of a Trumpet, under pretence of driving the *Netherlanders* out of *England*; who, to avoid the Duke of *Alva's* Tyranny, had many of 'em fled over to that County. Some of these Gentlemen were brought to a Trial, and found guilty of High-Treason: Three only were executed (So merciful was the Queen) The most noted of them was *John Throckmorton*; who at his Trial confess'd nothing, but at the Gallows, to excuse the rest, own'd himself the principal Author and Promoter of the Fact.

John Felton, who set up the Pope's Bull on the Bishop of *London's* Palace-Gates, was now taken, (for fly he would not) arraign'd, and boldly confess'd the Fact, (which yet he would not allow to be a Fault) for which he was hang'd near the Place where he had set it up; getting thereby the empty Repure of a glorious Martyrdom. But most of the moderate Papists secretly disliked the Bull; because there had been no previous Admonition, as Justice required; and withal foresaw the Storms that hung over their Heads, who before securely exercis'd their Religion within their own private Houses, or had made no Scruple of frequenting the Service of God, as now receiv'd in the *English* Church. And from that time, many of 'em continu'd firm in their Allegiance; especially when they saw the neighbouring Princes, and the *Catholick* Countries, keep up their usual Correspondence with

A Rebellion design'd in *Norfolk*, prevented.

The Authority of the Pope and executed.

The Bull disliked by the Papists.

And by most of them slighted.

with the Queen, and the Bull to be slighted, as 1570. an empty Noise of Words.

Ann. 13. The day Felton was arraign'd, the D. of Norfolk (having confess'd, that through Imprudence he had done amiss, and having so far repented of what he had done, that his Mind was averse from thinking on, and his Ears from hearing any Mention of the Match; and having bound himself in a Bond, not to concern himself any farther in the Marriage with the Queen of Scots, without Queen Elizabeth's Knowledge) was discharged from the Tower of London, wherein the Plague was then hot; and remitted, to the Satisfaction of all Men, to his own House, where he liv'd under the easie Confinement of Sir Henry Nevil. Neither could he be proceeded against by the Statute of the 25 Edward III. concerning High-Treason, as Cecil intimated; who, favouring the Duke, did all he could to work him over, to marry any other Woman; whereby he would afterwards be free from Suspicion, and the State be out of Fear. Notwithstanding there were some, who thought he was now set at liberty on purpose, that he might be brought into some greater Danger. This is certain; that more things came to light afterwards, than he was aware of; and the Fidelity of those, who were his greatest Confidants, either by Hope or Bribery, began to fail him.

Cecil persuaded him to some other Marriage. Many imprisoned. These Times were very subject to Suspicions and Conspiracies. For a Plot was laid, to free the Queen of Scots out of Prison, by Thomas and Edward Stanley, the Earl of Derby's younger Sons, (which he had by the Daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk) and by Thomas Gerard, Rolston, Hall, and others, in the County of Derby: But Rolston's Son, one of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, discover'd the Plot; and they were all imprison'd, except Hall, who fled to the Isle of Man; from thence was sent over to Dunbriton, by the Bishop of Ross's Recommendations, afterwards, upon taking the Castle, was seiz'd, and executed at London. And the Bishop of Ross himself, lately set at liberty, was now again confin'd to the Bishop of London's Palace, for holding secret Conferences with the Earl of Southampton, a violent Catholick.

An Expedition into Scotland. In the mean time, Sussex and the Lord Scroop, with some light arm'd Soldiers, made another Incurfion into Scotland; fir'd the Villages all over Anandale, demolish'd Anand a Fort of Herri's, and Caer-Laveroc a Fort of Maxwell's; because these two had made Inroads into England, and plunder'd it: And he press'd so hard on those who stood firm to the Queen of Scots, that the Duke of Chastel-Herauld, Huntley, and Argyle, sent him a Bond, under their Hands and Seals, whereby they oblig'd themselves to forbear all Acts of Hostility, and withdraw themselves from the English Rebels. Sussex, upon his Return, knighted Edward Hastings, Francis Russel, Valentine Brown, William Hilton, Robert Stapleton, Henry Curwen, and Simon Musgrave; for their Valour: And himself was afterwards, for his approv'd Prudence and Virtue, made one of the Queen's Privy-Council.

Treaty with the Q. of Scots. Queen Elizabeth (being full of Jealousies about the Bull, and the Norfolk-Conspiracy) sent Cecil and Walter Mildmay, to the Queen of Scots, then at Chattefworth, in the County of Derby; to consult with her, how the Difference in Scotland might be best compos'd; she restor'd to her former Dignity; and the Security of Queen Elizabeth, and the Safety of the young Prince, be best provided for. When they came thither in October, after a dangerous Journey, occasion'd by the Overflowing of the Waters; she did nothing but bemoan her forlorn Condition, complain of

the treacherous Artifices of Murray, excuse Norfolk, and repose all her Confidence in Queen Elizabeth's Goodness; on whose Power she understood all the Affairs of Scotland, as well as England, wholly depended. They propos'd, That for making a lasting Peace between both Kingdoms, the Treaty of Edinburgh should be ratify'd: That she should renounce her Title and Claim to the Crown of England, during the Survival of Queen Elizabeth, and her Heirs lawfully begotten: That she should not renew or maintain Confederacy with any against England: That she should not permit any forein Forces to come into Scotland: That she should not hold any Correspondence with the English or Irish, without the Queen's Knowledge: That she should deliver up the English Fugitives and Rebels: That she should requite the Damages suffer'd in the English Frontiers: That she should enquire, according to Law, as well into the Murder of her Husband the Lord Darly, as of Murray: That she should send her Son into England, as an Hostage: That she should not marry any Englishman, without the Queen of England's Knowledge; nor any other, without the Consent of the States of Scotland: That the Scots should not cross into Ireland, without the Queen of England's Leave: That for the Ratification of these things, the Queen and the Delegates to be appointed should give it under their Hands and Seals: That six Hostages, of the Queen of England's naming, should be sent into England: That if the Queen of Scots, by herself or Agents, attempt any thing against Queen Elizabeth, she should ipso facto forfeit all the Right she claims to the Crown of England: That Humes-Castle and Fast-Castle be three Years in possession of the English: That some other Fort in Galloway or Cantyr be put into the English hands, to hinder the Scotch-Irish from infesting Ireland: Lastly, That the States of Scotland ratify the Premises, by Act of Parliament.

To these things she presently made a prudent and wary Reply; but refer'd them, for a fuller Answer, to the Bishop of Ross, her Ambassador in England, to Alexander Gordon Bishop of Galloway, the Earl of Huntley's Uncle, and to William Baron of Lewingstone; Delegates from her Lieutenants in Scotland: Who afterwards accepted some of these Articles, and others they rejected. Their Answer was this: That the Edinburgh-Treaty should be confirm'd: That the Title should be renounc'd, during the Life of Queen Elizabeth: That the ancient League with the French was to be consider'd of; which if they did not observe, the Queen would lose her Dowry, and the Scotch Nation be endamag'd, of whom 100 Cuirassiers, and 124 Archers were maintain'd for a Guard: That the Merchants, Students, and many who had purchas'd Estates in France, and were in Church-Livings, would be turn'd out, and depriv'd of very great Pensions and Privileges which they enjoy'd; and Scotland would be robb'd of the Alliance and Assistance of a most potent Nation: That unless the English would fully make amends for these things, they could by no means renounce the French Confederacy: That they would not admit of any forein Forces, unless such a Rebellion should break out, as could not be suppress'd by their own Arms at home: That the Queen of Scots should hold no Correspondence with the Subjects of England, to the Damage of England; provided the Queen of England likewise would hold none with the Scotch Subjects, to the Prejudice of Scotland: That if there

1570. *Ann. 13.* there were any *English* Fugitives and Rebels in *Scotland*, they were among the *Scotch* Rebels, and to be demanded of them: That the Injuries which were done should be examin'd by Delegates: That they would enquire into the Murder of the Lord *Darby* and *Murray*, according to the Laws of *Scotland*: That they could not deliver the King for Hostage, since he was in their Hands, who, under his Name, rebell'd against the Queen: That it was a new and an unheard of thing, that an absolute Princess should marry none but whom a foreign Prince, and her own Subjects should prescribe: That the *Scots* should not go over to *Ireland*, to the Prejudice of the Queen of *England*, without her Leave; if, on the other hand, in the same Article, the *Irish* be prohibited from coming over into *Scotland*: That for the ratifying the Premises, they were willing to give Hostages, any the Queen of *England* should name; except the Duke of *Chastel-Herauld*, *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and *Arbol*. Besides, they agreed, That the Queen of *Scots* should forfeit her Title to the Crown of *England*, if ever she attempted any thing against the Queen of *England*'s Title; provided the Queen of *England* would oblige herself, under the like Penalty, if she should attempt any thing against the Queen of *Scots*: As for *Humes-Castle* and *Fast-Castle*, they desire that they be restor'd to the Lord *Humes*, the proper Owner of them; and no longer held by the *English*: That to deliver up a Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantyr*, into a Foreigner's Hands, would be nothing else but adding fresh Fuel to the Flames.

They cannot agree.

When they could not agree upon these Terms, nor any Delegates arriv'd from the Regent of *Scotland*; and because there went Reports about, that the Pope, the *French* King, and the Duke of *Alva*, were solicited to send Succours, for the Delivery of the Queen of *Scots*; and the *English* Rebels, *Westmoreland*, the Countess of *Northumberland*, and the rest, were withdrawn from *Scotland*, (to whom the Pope had remitted 12000 Crowns, by the Hands of the Bishop of *Ross*) this Treaty came to nothing: Only Queen *Elizabeth* (who sat Mistress and Umpire, at the Helm of all *Britain*) order'd, by her Authority, the States of *Scotland* to be prorogu'd, and a Treaty to be frequently debated; since the Heads of both Parties were a very great Annoyance to all *Scotland*.

Ross craves aid for the delivery of *Q. of Scots*, but in vain.

The Heads of this Treaty were sent by the Bishop of *Ross*, to the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Spaniard*; and he gave them to understand, that the Queen of *Scots* would be forc'd to consent to them, unless they sent her timely Aid and Advice; which he very earnestly desir'd, tho' to no purpose. For they had their Hands full of other Business; and the *Spaniard* was wholly taken up in his Preparations for a Marriage with *Anne* of *Austria*, the Emperor *Maximilian's*, and his own Sister's Daughter, who at this time set sail out of *Zealand*, towards *Spain*; for whose Convoy over the *British* Seas to *Spain*, Queen *Elizabeth* dispatch'd *Charles Howard*, with a Fleet of Men of War, and several Noblemen; in testimony of the Love and Esteem that she bore to the House of *Austria*.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Respects to the House of *Austria*.

The Twelfth Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign being now happily expir'd (wherein the credulous *Romanists* expected, according to the Prediction of Conjurers, to see their Golden-Day, as they call'd it) all true-hearted *Englishmen* were full of Joy, and with Thanksgivings, Sermons, repeated Prayers, Turnaments, melodious Ringing of Bells, and other such like Expressions of Joy, began to solemnize the 17th. of November,

Anniversary of her Reign first celebrated.

being the Anniversary of the Beginning of her Reign; which was continu'd as a Testimony of the Good-Will and Esteem they bore her, all her Life long.

About this time died *Henry Clifford*, the Second Earl of *Cumberland* of that Name; the Son of *Henry Clifford*, whom *Henry VIII.* had rais'd to that Honour, in the Year 1525. but descended of an ancient and noble Family; very famous for their Marriages with the Heirs of the *Vescii*, and *Viponts*, or *de veteri ponte*; who were formerly Hereditary Viscounts of *Westmoreland*. He had by his first Wife *Eleanor*, one of the Daughters of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Mary*, King *Henry VIII's* Sister) one Daughter, namely, *Margaret*, who marry'd with great Hopes and Splendor, to *Henry*, the Earl of *Derby's* Son, as being sole Heiress to the Family of the *Cliffords*. But these Hopes were cut off, when, by a Second Wife, *Anne Dacres*, he had Two Sons, who succeeded each other in their Father's Honour.

At the same time died *Nicolas Throckmorton*, whom we have often mention'd; the fourth Son of *Sir Geo. Throckmorton*, by *Katharine* the Daughter of *Nicolas Lord Vaux*: A Man of a large Experience, piercing Judgment, and singular Prudence; who being very busy in Queen *Mary's* days, had very near lost his Life, for all his extraordinary Prudence: And under Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' he discharg'd several Embassies, with a great deal of Diligence, and much to his Praise, yet could he not be Master of much Wealth, nor rise higher than to those small Dignities (tho' glorious in Title) of Chief Cup-bearer of *England*, and Chamberlain of the Exchequer; and this, because he acted in Favour of *Leicester*, against *Cecil*; whose Greatness he envy'd. It was in *Cecil's* House, where, as he was feeding heartily at Supper, upon a Sallad; he was seiz'd, as some say, with an Inflammation of the Lungs; as others, with a Catarrh, not without Suspicion of Poison; and died very luckily for himself and Family, his Life and Estate being in great Danger, by reason of his turbulent Spirit.

In *Ireland*, *Connogher O-Brian*, Earl of *Twomund*, not being able to bear with *Edward Fitton*, Governour of *Connaugh*, (who began to be very strict in his Government, and to cut off all the Hopes the *Irish* Lords had, of living on the Spoils of their Subjects) had laid a private Plot with several to raise a Rebellion; which very fortunately was crush'd in its very Birth. For, the day before they design'd to rise, *Fitton*, a perfect Stranger to the whole Intrigue, very civilly told *Twomund*, that he and some of his Friends would come and dine with him, on the morrow. *Twomund*, his Conscience flying in his Face, and seiz'd with Fear, (the worst Ghesper in such a doubtful Case) presently thought his Plot was discover'd, and that he must expect an Enemy, not a Guest, of the Governour: Whereupon he forthwith cross'd over to *France*, all Men wondering what was become of him; and the Conspirators, fearing he was gone into *England*, to discover the Business, remain'd quiet. When he came to understand how Cases stood, he repented seriously of what he had done, made an ingenuous Confession of the whole Matter, to *Norris*, the Ambassador in *France*; and, by his Intercession, was re-admitted into *Q. Elizabeth's* Favour, and restor'd to his Estate.

But *Thomas Stukely*, an *Englishman*, a lewd, profuse, and vaunting Rascal, (who, after spending his Estate, had fled into *Ireland*) being disappointed of the Hopes he had, of being Steward of *Wexford*; having vented many base and scurrilous

Stukely flies out of *Ireland*.

1570. Anno 13. rilous things against his Princess, who deserv'd far better from his hands; and being so contemptible a Wretch, that he was not able to raise any Disturbances; at last escaped from Ireland to Italy, to Pope Pius V. Where, by the cunning Arts of Insinuation, he wheedl'd himself into an incredible degree of Credit and Reputation with the Pope, who then desir'd nothing so much as the utter Ruin of Queen Elizabeth. For he promis'd, and boldly bragg'd, that with 3000 Italians, he would drive the English out of Ireland, and burn the English Fleet. Which afterwards he, like a Villain, attempted to do; but fell in the Enterprize, as we shall shew hereafter.

The Fourteenth Year of her Reign.

1571. In the very first Month of this Year, Queen Elizabeth enter'd London, in great State; where she visited that sumptuous Burse, which Sir Thomas Gresham, Citizen of London, and her Majesty's Merchant, had erected for the Use of Merchants; and by Sound of Trumpet, after the Manner of a Dedication, her Herald nam'd it, *The Royal-Exchange*.

A few days after, she who had been so sparing in dispensing of Honours, that for Twelve whole Years, she had advanced but Four to the Dignity of Barons; by her Royal Letters Patents, solemnly created William Cecil, her Secretary, being invest'd in Barons Robes, Baron Burleigh, in this Form: *In consideration not only of the continual Services, in the time of our Predecessors, Kings of England; but also of the faithful and acceptable Duty he hath, from the very Beginning of our Reign, always perform'd, and continues still to perform; not only in the great and weighty Affairs of the Council-Board, but in the general Administration of the State: And for his Circumspection, Courage, Prudence, Dexterity, Probity of Life, Providence, Care, and Faithfulness; We, out of Our special Grace, mov'd thereto by certain Experience, have created, advanced, and prefer'd him, to the State, Degree, Dignity and Honour of Baron of Burleigh; and have impos'd, given, and bestow'd upon him, the Name, Stile, and Title of Baron of Burleigh, to have and to hold, to him and his Heirs-Male, begotten of his Body, for ever, &c. I have the more willingly mention'd, and shall mention him and others, whom she rais'd to the Dignity of Barons; because 'tis one of the highest Degrees of Honour. For the Parliamentary Barons of England are Peers, Nobles and Counsellors of the Realm, by Birth; who enjoy a great many Immunities and Privileges, which 'tis not proper to mention here; especially, since some of them I have already taken notice of elsewhere.*

Just before this, Ridolpho, the Florentine we already mention'd, who had, for fifteen Years together, been a Merchant in London; privately convey'd the Pope's Letters to the Queen of Scots: Wherein he promis'd a great deal of Zeal, Aid, and Assistance, for advancing the Catholick Religion, and her Interest; desiring she would favour and trust Ridolpho with all her Secrets, and let his Holiness know by him (who then design'd for Italy) by what means the Catholick Religion, and the common Grievances of Britain might be redress'd. Ridolpho likewise, by his own private Letters, begg'd the Queen to communicate these things, and recommend him to the Duke of Norfolk, and the rest of her Friends. But she wav'd answering it, (tho' the French King, the Spaniard, and the Duke d'Alva had written to her upon the same account) till she saw, what the Treaty on foot would come to.

For, there came to England, in the King's Name, the Earl of Morton, Petcarn Abbot of Dun-

fermelin, and James Mac-Gilly, about the Affairs of Scotland; who being commanded by Queen Elizabeth, to give her a more clear Account of their Causes for deposing the Queen, and to prove them to be lawful; gave in a large Remonstrance in Writing: Wherein, by an insolent sort of Freedom, and with Boldness of Expressions, they endeavour'd to prove, by an ancient Law of Scotland, by some antiquated Instances, and other new ones gather'd up, no one knows where: *That the People of Scotland are superior to the King: And that upon Calvin's Authority, Popular Magistrates are every where constituted, to curb in the Ambition of Kings: And that 'tis lawful for them to imprison and depose bad Kings.* But they bragg'd much of their Clemency towards the depos'd Queen; in that they had given her leave to substitute her Son in her Room, and to appoint him Tutors: *That it was by the Peoples Favour, not her Innocence, that she liv'd; with many other such like things, which turbulent Spirits insolently invent, against the Majesty of Princes.* Queen Elizabeth perus'd the Paper, but not without Displeasure; and privately condemn'd it, as design'd for the weakning of Regal Authority. But to the Delegates she answer'd, *That she could not yet see any just Cause for being so severe upon the Queen; therefore she order'd them to consult immediately, about Methods for healing the Differences in Scotland.*

Hereupon, it was propos'd at the Lord-Keeper Bacon's House, to the Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Galloway, and the Baron of Levingstone, the Queen of Scots Delegates; *That for the Security of the Kingdom and Queen of England, and of such Nobles in Scotland, as were of the King's Party; before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of Chastel-Herauld, the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, the Lord Humes, the Lord Herries, and another of the Barons, should be given for Hostages: And that the Forts of Dunbritton and Humes, should be in the Possession of the English, for 3 Years.* They answer'd, *That no doubt but the Queen of Scots, who had freely thrown herself under the Queen of England's Protection, would be willing to satisfy her, as far as conveniently she might: But to deliver up so great Men, and so strong Forts, would wholly rob the miserable Queen, of the Strength of all her truest Friends, and safest Garrisons; and so expose her an easie Prey to her Enemies. However, they offer'd two Earls, whereof one should be one of the three abovemention'd, and two Barons, in Hostage, for two Years. But as for the Castles, they could not by the League be put into the Hands of the English; unless as many were deliver'd up to the French. But (said Bacon) all Scotland, your Prince, Nobles, and Castles, are too little to secure the Queen and the most flourishing Kingdom of England: therefore the Queen of Scots was not to be set at liberty, upon any Security the Scots thought fit to propose.*

Upon this, they presently concluded, and gave out publicly, that they were at last sensible, that the English were fully design'd and resolv'd, to keep the Queen a Prisoner for ever in England; and withal, to break off the Treaty; since they so stiffly insist'd upon such Security, as Scotland was never able to give. However, the rest of the English Council declar'd, that they heartily desir'd the Queen of Scots might be set at liberty, provided sufficient Security were given. And for this purpose, they confer'd with Morton and his Collegues, about these Matters, and sending the King into England: who answer'd flatly, *That they had no Commission to consult;*

1571. Anno 14.

Writing of the Scots against Regal Power.

Condemn'd by Q. of Engl.

Terms propos'd by the English, for the delivery of Queen of Scots.

Answer of her Deputies.

English reject their Offers.

either about receiving the Queen into Scotland, or delivering the King. But the Queen of Scots Delegates rejected this, as an idle Come-off; Since they who were the Authors of the Queen's dealing, were sufficiently empower'd to consult about setting her at liberty. Nor was there any Reason, why they should require a Commission from the rest of the Conspirators, since their Crime had made them all Equals.

As for the Prince, being scarce five Years old, he could give them no Authority; and as for the Regent, he had refer'd all to Q. Elizabeth's Disposal. They therefore desired, that either the Commissioners might be compell'd to a Conference, or else that Matters might be reasonably adjusted without them. But Queen Elizabeth perceiving, nothing could be done for her own, the King's, and Queen's Security, unless both Factions would agree; thought it reasonable, that the States of Scotland, now ready to convene, should choose certain Men, who should use their utmost Endeavours for making up the Breach.

Hereupon the Bishop of Ross and his Collegues openly complain'd, that some of the English Council had abus'd the Queen of England's Prudence, and the Queen of Scots Patience; impos'd sily upon the forein Princes, and fed up the Scots with vain Hopes. And the Queen of Scots herself, full of Resentments and Complaints, and weary of such Delays, recall'd the Bishop of Galloway, and Levingstone. But the Bishop of Ross, whom Queen Elizabeth had commanded to depart from London, she order'd to stay at London, by the Privilege of an Ambassador; which thing several look'd upon with an ill Eye. Her own Party in Scotland she order'd to rise up in Arms, and rely no longer on those prejudicial Truces and Conferences.

For whilst these Transactions pass'd in England, the Queen of Scots Party were severely used, many of them were executed, several slain, Dunbritton seated upon the Marsh of Glotta, or Cluid, one of the strongest Castles in Scotland taken, and J. Hamilton Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Duke of Chastle-Herauld's Brother, hang'd on a Gibbet, as guilty of the King's Murder; tho' he was not try'd according to the Laws of the Land, but only accus'd of it by a Priest, who declar'd he had heard it formerly of the Regicides in Confession.

When the Captive Queen was now out of all Hopes, but full of Sorrow; all her Retinue, besides ten Servants and a Mass Priest being cut off, and when she saw herself debarr'd of all the Means of procuring her Safety and Liberty, which even Nature allow'd to be reasonable, she could not then but disclose that which she had kept so long within her own Breast. She therefore secretly sends a long Draught of her Designs, which she had before drawn up, and several Love-Letters to the Duke of Norfolk, written in Cyphers known only to them two; and other Letters to be convey'd by Ridolpho to the Pope and the Spanish King; which Ridolpho she commended as a Man very loyal and true to her Interests, and very necessary for her turn. Higford, the Duke's Secretary, who transcrib'd those Papers in an usual Character, being order'd to burn them, hid them under a Mat in the Duke's Bed-Chamber, and, as it seems, on purpose too. This Ridolpho, once himself in the Duke's Presence, and often by Barker, argu'd thus.

That he had taken notice of a great many, as well of the Nobility as Commonalty in England, who wish'd for a Revolution in the State; and that these were of three sorts. Some who in Queen Mary's Days had been in Authority and Favour, and now made little or

no Figures: Others, who were addicted to the Popish Religion, and took it ill that they could not have the free Exercise of it: And Others, who, cherishing new Hopes, were very uneasy under their present Condition. That these Men wanted nothing to put them upon any Design, but a Leader of noble Extract, Money, and a foreign Aid. That none could be pitch'd upon for a Leader of more noble Blood, nor a fitter Person, than the Duke, a Man so very much esteem'd by all sorts of People. That it was but just to revenge the Injuries he had receiv'd, who had been so long a Prisoner contrary to the Laws of his Nation, and now, to his Disgrace, was not call'd to the Parliament-House, wherein he had a Place and Vote, as being the Chief among the Peers, and Earl-Marshal of England. To prevail upon him the more effectually, he produc'd a Catalogue of the Gentlemen, who had devoted themselves and Estates to the Duke's Service, if he would undertake the Business. As for a foreign Aid, he declar'd, That the Pope (provided the Catholic Religion might be encourag'd) would bear the Charge of the whole War; who the last Year, when the Bull was publish'd, had laid down an Hundred thousand Crowns, whereof Twelve thousand Ridolpho himself had distributed among the English Fugitives. That the Spaniard, incens'd with the Wrongs offer'd him by the English, would supply him with Auxiliaries, of 4000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, which might be transported to Harwich, a Sea-Port-Town in Essex, (near which Place the Duke had many powerful Adherents) and that most Commodiously and without the least Suspicion, in the beginning of the Summer, when the D. of Medina Cali was just coming into the Netherlands with a strong Fleet. Lastly he concluded, That such Caution might be used, that the Duke might be clear of all Suspicion of aiming at the Crown, and the Queen of England's Safety might be secur'd, provided she either embrac'd or tolerated the Romish Religion, and consented to the Q. of Scots Marriage with the Duke.

These things the Duke listned to, as having some shew of Probability, but refus'd to subscribe to the Letters of Credit (as they call them) which Ridolpho, upon his departure, presented to him. Nor would he hearken to the Plot which Ross, with great Industry, had contriv'd, and imparted to him by Parker, viz. That the Duke, with a select Company of Gentlemen, should suddenly seize upon the Queen, and give a Disturbance to the Parliament; which (he intimat'd) might be easily done at this Juncture, when so many Gentlemen devoted to the Duke, who at another time could not easily meet together without suspicion, would now very readily put these things in Execution. That he had just Reasons for it; because the Duke had been a long time Prisoner, contrary to the Laws of his Country, and not admitted to sit in Parliament; and because severe Laws were devised against the Catholics. Nor did he want Examples: For Castrutio in Italy, and others elsewhere, had come off with success in very daring Designs, by giving a sudden Blow. That five Gentlemen in Scotland had very lately disturb'd the Parliament wherein Murray was to be Proscrib'd, and seiz'd the Queen: And that by the same means, and with as much ease (if they clos'd with the Opportunity) Queen Elizabeth might be seiz'd, the Marriage with the Queen of Scots be concluded, and the Popish Religion in England secur'd without much stir or a foreign Aid.

This

1571. This Design the Duke (who was naturally averse to any base Action) detested from his Heart, as villainous and full of danger. But at the same time Henry Percy offer'd his Service to *Ross* towards the setting the Queen of Scots at Liberty, provided *Grange* and *Carr* of *Ferniburst* would receive her at the Frontiers of Scotland, and his Brother the Earl of *Northumberland* should be deliver'd out of Scotland. But because he was somewhat suspected by reason of his intimate Acquaintance with *Burghley*, and because he put off the thing from time to time, this Plot came to nothing; as likewise did that of *Powel* of *Sandford*, one of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, and of *Owen*, a Retainer of *Arundels*; who were both ready to have undertaken the same, had not *Ross* forbid them, as Men unfit for so great an Enterprize, being Persons of little or no Note. What was else transacted more closely in this Business, we shall omit at present, till time shall give a farther Discovery.

An Earthquake in Herefordshire. Whilst things were carry'd on thus secretly at London, there happen'd a terrible Earthquake at *Kinnaston*, a small Village in the East of *Herefordshire*. For on the 17th of February, at six in the Evening, the Earth sunk, and a Hill with a Rock of Stones at the Foot of it rais'd itself up (as if it had risen from a long sleep) with so great a roaring and noise at first as was heard at a great distance; then it mounted higher, leaving a great Pit behind it, and carrying along with it whole Trees as they grew, Sheep-cotes, and Flocks of Sheep. Some of the Trees were thrown down and cover'd with Earth; others stuck so firm in the Hill as it rose, as if they had taken root there at first. In the place whence it departed, it left a Pit forty five Foot wide, and an hundred Yards long. The Ground in all was about twenty Acres, which in going threw down a Chappel that stood in the way. It remov'd a Yew-Tree which stood in the Church-yard, from the West to the East. With the same violence it forc'd forward the High-ways, with Sheep-cotes, Hedges and Trees. Of Arable Ground it made Pasture, and of Pasture Arable Ground. The rising Ground which lay in its way roll'd before it, and being crush'd together with great violence, became a higher Hill, like a Mount cast up. Thus when it had walked from Saturday Evening till Monday Noon; weary as it were of the Journey, and tired with its own Weight, it stood still.

Chr. IX. A little before this, in France a Marriage was solemniz'd with great and royal Pomp, at *Maes* on the River *Maes*, between *Charles IX.* King of France and *Elizabeth* of Austria, the Emperor *Maximilian's* Daughter. Queen *Elizabeth*, for the Affection she bore the Emperor, whom she honour'd as a Father, for her Love to the French King, her Neighbour and Ally, and for her own Honour, sent over *Thomas Sackvill*, Baron of *Buckhurst*, into France, to congratulate their Marriage, who was there honourably received, according to his Prince's Merit and his own. In his company was *Guido Cavalcanti*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, a Man of great Experience, with whom the Queen-Mother of France, herself a *Florentine*, designing her own and her Children's Welfare, transacted publicly about a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry Duke of Anjou*. Some of the Articles she sent by him immediately to Queen *Elizabeth*: And afterwards the King of France solicited his Brother's Cause very vigorously by *Marvesier* his Embassador, and by *La-Mott Fenellon*, and *Foix*, who jointly and separately urg'd Q. *Elizabeth* upon it for almost a whole Year.

There were some hopes this Marriage would succeed, because the Duke (being Young, and brought up under *Carvalette*, no Enemy to the Protestant Religion) was not as yet a stiff Catholic, and might by degrees be brought over to Protestantism. Which, if brought about, would be of great Advantage (as they guess'd) to the Protestant Religion: Since he, being one of a Warlike Disposition, might with the joint Forces of the Germans and English subdue the Papists, establish a lasting Peace between England and France, frustrate the Designs of the Scottish Queen, the Pope, and the Irish Rebels; and add to the Crown of England the rich Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, and in probability much greater Matters. In a word, were this Match neglected, never would a more Honourable one be propos'd.

After various Debates, the French propos'd three Articles, concerning the Duke's Coronation, the joint Administration of the Kingdom, and the Toleration of his Religion. To which, at length, this Answer was made: That the Queen could not grant, without the assent of the Parliament, that he should be crown'd after the Marriage; but in regard of the Marriage, she would willingly agree, that he should wear the Matrimonial Crown, (as she phras'd it) provided it were not to the Prejudice of her Majesty, her Heir, or Successor, if the Parliament so pleas'd; and she would pay him all the Respect that was due to a Husband. As for the joint Government, she thought it not unreasonable that he, whom she honour'd with the Title of King and Husband, should be likewise admitted her Consort and Partner in the Government. But for tolerating his Religion, she could not as yet, for several weighty Reasons, assent to. Which Reasons (as I had them from Queen *Elizabeth's* Letters) were these: That altho' the external Exercise of the Christian Religion with different Rites and Ceremonies might be tolerated among the Subjects of one and the same Kingdom; yet a different, yea a quite contrary Exercise of the Queen, who is the Head of her People, from her Husband, would seem not only dangerous, but very absurd.

She desires the French King and the Queen-Mother to consider as well her Danger, as the Duke of *Anjou's* Honour. By tolerating his Religion she should break the established Laws, give offence to her best Subjects, and encouragement to her worst; which things were certainly more considerable than the Duke of *Anjou's* Honour. But the French reply'd, 'That it was no ways becoming the Duke to live without the exercise of his Religion; for this would seem altogether irreligious: Neither would it be for Queen *Elizabeth's* Honour, to have him branded for an Atheist. On the other hand, Queen *Elizabeth* urg'd, That if the Duke would plentifully water the Seeds of the reformed Religion already sown, and suffer more to be sown, he would soon see this would redound to his greatest Honour.

At last the matter came to this issue; 'That if the Duke would be present with the Queen at Divine Service, and would not refuse to hear and learn the Principles of the Protestant Religion, she would agree that neither the Duke nor his Family should be compell'd to use the Ceremonies of the Church of England, nor be disturb'd in the use of other Divine Rites that were not manifestly repugnant to God's Word; provided it were done in a certain and private Place, so as the English might have no opportunity thereby to violate the establish'd Laws. *Foix* stuck at that Phrase, the Word of God: For whose satisfaction Queen *Elizabeth* order'd, instead of God's Word, to insert God's Church. Which when he liked worse, and would have had instead of it, the Catholic Church, Q. *Elizabeth* declar'd

1571. Ann. 14. The hopes receiv'd thereof.

Articles propounded by the French Q. Elizabeth's answer.

French reply.

Queen's answer.

The Issue

clar'd against it: And hereupon the Business by 1571. degrees grew cold.

Ann. 14. Some thought the French King and his Mother were never serious in the business, but that their design was, by a mention of a Marriage with a Protestant Princess, to assure the Protestants of the sincere Love they had for them; and so put a stop to a secret Treaty of Marriage which they suspected was carrying on between Queen Elizabeth and the King of Navarre, whom the French King would have to marry his Sister. Neither was it believ'd in England, that Queen Elizabeth gave any serious heed to it; but only with a design that the King, his Mother, and his Brethren might be more favourable to the French Protestants; the Queen of Scots Hopes might be frustrated, the Designs of the Spaniard and the Irish against England, excited thereto by the Cardinal of Lorain, might be disappointed; and the Pope's Fulminations, procur'd by the French King, be blown over. For at that time Leicester (who knew more of the Queen's secret Intentions than any Man) wrote to Walsingham, then Ambassador in France, That the Queen had some inclination to marry, but a very cold one; and that she had persuaded herself to agree to it rather as it was convenient she should marry, than that she had any desire of herself to it. Besides, That if the Duke should not insist on that Point in the Treaty concerning Toleration of Religion, yet the Queen would bind him by such a Caution, that he should never afterwards care for the Marriage.

Q. of Scots Marriage hastned. The French were not more forward in making up this Marriage, than some in England were in hastening another Marriage betwixt the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whom by their wicked Counsels they had so far prevail'd upon, that, contrary to his Promise, he began again to think of marrying her; which was at first thus discover'd.

By what means discover'd Ridolpho the Florentine, who was sent (as we said) to solicit the Queen of Scots Affairs Beyond-Sea, had communicated to Charles Bayliff a Netherlander, the Queen of Scots Servant, all his Transactions with the Duke d'Alva; and had given him Letters written in Cyphers, for her, the Spanish Ambassador, the D. of Norfolk, Rofs, and the Baron of Lumley, made up in one Packet; which Bayliff brought over himself, tho' Rofs had order'd him to leave them with the Governor of Calais to be convey'd over.

But as soon as Bayliff was arriv'd at Dover, he was apprehended and imprison'd, and the Packet sent to the L. Cobham, Governor of the Cinque-Ports. Rofs was the first that had notice of it, who manag'd his Business so industriously and cunningly with the Lord Cobham, that the Packet was deliver'd to him, and another Packet made up of other obsolete Letters deliver'd to the Council; and this Bayliff was acquainted with. But however, being put to the Rack, he confess'd some things, and amongst the rest, that a Packet of Letters was come to Rofs's Hands. Nor was Rofs ignorant of this, who presently sent away Cuthbert his Secretary, and left his Cyphers and what else might do him any Prejudice, among his Friends: So that when Suffex, Burleigh, Mildmay and Sadler made a careful Search in his House, they found nothing, nor could they get any thing out of him by Questions, who stiffly maintained, that an Ambassador was not to be accountable to any but his Prince. However, the third Day after he was committed to the Custody of the Bishop of Ely, and a while after convey'd to the Isle of Ely. Sir Tho. Stanley likewise, and Sir Tho. Gerard Knights, and Rolston (all three mentioned formerly) were cast into the Tower of London. And Henry Howard, who

Rofs committed to Custody.

and others

had aspir'd to the Archbishoprick of York, was upon Suspicion committed to the Custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

About this time the Queen of Scots had sent a certain Sum of Money to the French Ambassador, to be by him convey'd to her Party in Scotland. He delivered it to Barker and Higford, who giving the Duke an Item of it, delivered it to Brown a Citizen of Shrewsbury, one of the Duke's Retainers, in order to be convey'd by Banister and Lowder into Scotland, to the Lord Heris. Brown, being one of a suspicious Nature, and perceiving by the Weight that Gold Coin was delivered him for Silver, put the same with the Letters into the Hands of the Privy-Council.

By this the wiser sort observed that the Duke hereby first became guilty of High-Treason, in that he would have relieved Heris and the Scots, who were proclaimed Enemies, and had ravaged the Frontiers of England. Upon this Higford was cast into Prison, who presently of his own accord confessed the whole matter about the Money, and withal discovered where he had hid the Letters, and Cyphers, and the Q. of Scots Draught before-mentioned, viz. under the Mat and Tiles.

In this Draught she discours'd at large of the following Particulars. 'That the French approved of the Conference begun with the Scots, and yet propos'd a Marriage between the Duke of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth, upon no other design, but that they might more speciously deny the Aid they had promised for her Restoration. That they privately oppos'd her Marriage with Don John of Austria, and were mightily for that with Norfolk, only in hatred to the Spaniards. That the Duke d'Alva was so averse to the Design of sending back the Queen of Scots into Scotland, that he thought it would tend to the utter Ruin of the Queen, and the Catholick Religion in Britain: Because when the Queen was once returned into Scotland, she must of necessity either undergo the danger of a Siege, or hazard a Battel with the Rebels, who with the English Supplies would soon get her into their power, before any foreign Forces could come to her Assistance. Since then she could not be safe in Scotland, nor expect any thing from France now embroil'd with intestine Wars: He thought it her best way to have recourse to the Spaniards Assistance, who had propos'd her Marriage with Don John of Austria; (which yet she was ready to refuse, upon an assurance that the Duke of Norfolk would restore the Popish Religion in Britain) and withal, that her Son should forthwith be convey'd out of Scotland, and sent into Spain; where he might be safely kept, brought up from his Childhood in the Romish Religion, and deprive the Scots of all their Pretences, who cloak'd their Rebellion under his Name. For the management of this Business, and the procuring foreign Aid; Ridolpho was to be sent away presently, with this Advice, that by all means he should keep these things from the knowledge of the French.

When the Council had receiv'd this Draught, the Letters above-mention'd, and others sent by the Pope; and when Barker, being apprehended, had confess'd every Particular, Sir Ralph Sadler was ordered to keep a strong Guard upon the Duke's House at London (formerly a Seat of the Carthusian Friars). The third Day after, the Duke himself was examin'd, and (not knowing what his Servants had confess'd, but supposing the Draught with the Letters were burnt) he stiffly denied all which they had confess'd. Hereupon, within a Day or two, namely the 7th of September;

September, he was, to the great Grief of the People, carried back to the Tower of London (from whence the Year before he was released) by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevill, and Doctor Wilson. Afterwards Banister, the Duke's Counsellor at Law; the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, and Thomas his Brother, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powel, Goodier, and others, were clapt in Prison, who every one of them, in hopes of Pardon, confess'd what they knew.

As soon as the Council produc'd these Mens Confessions, the Queen of Scots and Rofs's Letters, with the Draught, to the Duke's Face, he was strangely daunted: But upon sight of the Draught and the Letters, which he had fondly suppos'd to have been burnt, he was amaz'd, and at last brake forth into these Words; *I am betray'd and undone by my Confidants, not knowing how to distrust them, tho' Diffidence is the very Essence of Wisdom.* However, he humbly pray'd the Council to intercede for him to the Queen, promising to conceal nothing which he knew, and solemnly protesting, that he had never consented to any thing which might prejudice the Queen or injure the Realm; but had declar'd heartily against the Plots they laid for surprizing the Queen, for seizing upon the Tower of London, and setting the Queen of Scots at Liberty: And that he never thought of calling over foreign Forces into Britain, but only to suppress the Queen of Scots rebellious Subjects. The same Day he was examin'd upon Fifty Articles or thereabouts, and conceal'd nothing. Afterwards the whole Proceeding was reported in the Star-Chamber, in a full Assembly of the Nobility, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London being present; and after that to all the Citizens at the Guild-Hall, by William Fleetwood their Recorder.

But since by the Confession of all, even of the Duke himself, the Bishop of Rofs was charg'd as principal Contriver of the Business, they entred into a serious Consultation what should be done with him, being an Ambassador. For whilst he (after the manner of other Ambassadors) thought he might lawfully promote the Interest of his Prince by any Methods, and that by the sacred and inviolable Privilege of Ambassadors, he was not to be accountable to another's Jurisdiction; he had already committed many Irregularities, by raising Rebellion, and holding Nocturnal Cabals with the Earl of Southampton and others; and now lately with the English Fugitives in the Netherlands, the Duke d'Alva, the Spaniard, and the Pope, for Invading of England. It was therefore propos'd to Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones, learned Civilians.

First, Whether an Ambassador that raises Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, should enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador, and not rather be liable to Punishment as an Enemy?

They answer'd, That such an Ambassador, by the Law of Nations, and the Civil Law of the Romans, has forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassador, and is liable to Punishment.

Secondly, Whether the Minister or Agent of a Prince depos'd from his publick Authority, and in whose stead another is substituted, may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador?

They answer'd, If such a Prince be lawfully depos'd, his Agent cannot challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador, since none but Absolute Princes, and such as enjoy a Royal Prerogative, can constitute Ambassadors.

Thirdly, Whether a Prince, which comes into another Prince's Kingdom, and is there kept Prisoner, can

have his Agent; and whether that Agent may be reputed an Ambassador?

They answer'd, If such a Prince have not forfeited his Principality, he may have an Agent: But whether that Agent may be reputed an Ambassador, depended upon the Authority of his Commission.

Fourthly, Whether if a Prince declare to such an Agent, and his Prince in Custody, that he shall be no longer reputed an Ambassador, that Agent may by Law challenge the Privileges of an Ambassador?

They answer'd, That the Prince may forbid the Ambassador entrance into his Kingdom, and may command him to leave the Kingdom, if he keep not himself within the Bounds prescribed to an Ambassador: Yet in the meantime he may enjoy the Privileges of an Ambassador according to the Authority deputed to him.

According to these Answers of the Civilians, Rofs being call'd up from the Isle of Ely, and receiving a sharp Reprimand, it was declar'd by the Council, that he should be no longer reputed an Ambassador, but be severely punished according to his Demerits.

He answer'd, That he was the Ambassador of an absolute Queen that was unjustly depos'd, and had, according to his Duty, carefully endeavour'd the Delivery of his Princess, and the Safety of both Kingdoms: That he came into England with the full Authority of an Ambassador under publick Warrantise, which he had produc'd; and that the sacred Privileges of Ambassadors are by no means to be infrin'd. Burghley most gravely inform'd him, That neither the Privileges of an Embassy, nor Letters of publick Warrantise, could protect Ambassadors that offend against the publick Majesty of a Prince, but that they are liable to be punished for the same, else wicked Ambassadors might plot against the Life of Princes without any Punishment.

On the other hand, he stilly maintained, That the Privileges of Ambassadors had never been violated (to use his own Words) via Juris, but via Facti: And he pleasantly wish'd them not to shew him fouler play than the English Ambassadors, Throckmorton in France, and Randolph and Tamworth in Scotland had found; who had raised Rebellions, and openly fomented them; and yet suffered no greater Punishment, than the being commanded to depart within such a time. When they began to urge him with Testimonies of Englishmen, he gently desired them not to do it, since by a common received Custom, which (as he said) was grown into a Law, The Testimony of an Englishman against a Scotchman, or of a Scotchman against an Englishman, was not to be allow'd of.

After some Debates whether this would hold good, unless betwixt the Borderers of both Kingdoms, and that in cases relating to the Frontiers; and whether the English Ambassadors had raised Rebellions; Rofs was committed to the Tower of London; where being kept close Prisoner, within a while he answer'd to all Questions, with this Proviso, That his Answers should not be prejudicial to any. He excus'd the Queen of Scots, for that she being a Prisoner in the Flower of her Age, could not but use her utmost Endeavours to regain her Freedom, since Q. Elizabeth deny'd her access to her Presence, debar'd her from all hope of her Liberty, and openly reliev'd her Enemies. The Duke he excus'd, in that he had done nothing as to the Marriage with the Queen of Scots, but with the Consent of many of the Queen's Council; nor could he forsake her, tho' he had promis'd to do so under his Hand and Seal, since there was before a mutual Engagement of Marriage betwixt 'em.

Lastly, he excus'd himself, For that since he was an Ambassador and a Servant, he could

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Ann. 14. not without a Sin depart from his Duty, and abandon his Princess in her Distress. But that he propos'd the Design of seizing on the Queen, with no other intent, than to try whether the Duke had Courage to undertake such an Attempt. The Crimes of the other Conspirators he cunningly extenuated, but could by no means be brought to tell the Names of the Gentlemen who had devoted their Service to the Duke in seizing the Queen. But he confess'd, that, by the Queen of Scots Orders, he had, by Servants employ'd betwixt them, treated with the Duke, Arundel, Lumley and Throckmorton, and with the Lord Viscount Montacute by Lumley, about putting the Castles in Scotland, the Hostages, and the King of Scots, into Englishmens Hands, about renouncing the Title, and giving up the English Rebels. Thus far of these Transactions for this Year, extracted wholly out of the Duke's Confession, and Rofs's own Account under his own Hand to the Queen of Scots.

Lenox
Regent of
Scotland
slain.

At this very time Matthew Earl of Lenox, Regent of Scotland, and the King's Grandfather, summon'd in the King's Name a Convention of the States at Sterling, where (whilst he liv'd in Security) he was suddenly surpriz'd by the Nobility of the adverse Faction, who held a Parliament in the Queen's Name at Edinburgh. And after he had surrender'd himself to David Spense of Wormstone, (who did all he could to protect him) he was slain, together with Spense, by Bell and Caulder, after he had for about 14 Months carefully govern'd the Kingdom for the King his Grandson: Whilst on the one side, the French King supported the Queen's Party; and on the other side, Queen Elizabeth the King's; not so much that their Friends might overcome, as that themselves might not be overcome. Queen Elizabeth, in hopes that the young King might be deliver'd into her Hands; the French King, that Dunbarton and Edinburgh might be surrender'd to him, who grievously oppress'd the Scotch Merchants, prohibiting them Commerce with France, and drew many daily to the Queen of Scots Party, in hopes they might enjoy their Trading. In Lenox's room, by the unanimous Consent of the King's Party, John Areskine, Earl of Marre, was elected Regent; who being a Man of a very mild Nature, and very affectionate to his Country, when he had struggled no less under the turbulent Counsels of his own Party, than the Insolencies of his Adversaries, died for very Grief, after he had Govern'd 12 Months.

The E. of
Marre
Regent of
Scotland.

Laws
against
turbulent
and sediti-
ous Per-
sons.

The Iniquity of these Times, and the Love which the Parliament of England (now met at Westminster) bare to their Prince and Country, was the occasion of a Law for preventing the Practices of seditious Persons, whereby, according to the Tenour of former Laws, it was provided; That if any Man should attempt the Death or personal Hurt of the Queen, or raise War, or excite others to War, against her: If any one should give out, that she is not the lawful Queen of this Realm, but that any other can claim a juster Title thereto: Or should pronounce her to be an Heretick, Schismatick or Infidel; Or should usurp the Right and Title of the Kingdom during her Life; or should affirm, that any other has a Right to the Crown; or that the Laws and Statutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the Crown and the Successor thereof; every such Person should be guilty of High-Treason. That if any one, during the Queen's Life, should by any Book, written or printed, expressly maintain, that any Person is or ought to be the Queen's Heir and Successor, except the Natural Issue of her Body; or should publish, print or disperse any Books or Writings to that effect; he and his Abettors should for the first Offence be imprison'd for a whole Year, and forfeit the one half of his Goods: If any should offend a

second time, he should incur the Penalty of a Premunire, that is, loss of all his Goods, and perpetual Imprisonment.

Some look'd upon this as too severe, who thought it would tend to the establishing the Quiet of the Nation, if an Heir-apparent were declar'd. But it is incredible what Jestts those that lewdly catch at Words made upon that Clause, except the Natural Issue of her Body; since the Lawyers term those Children Natural which are gotten out of Wedlock, whom Nature alone, without the intervention of honest Matrimony, hath begotten; and those they call lawful, according to the Tenour of the Common Law of England, who are in lawful Matrimony begotten of such a one's Body. So that I myself, being then a young Man, have often heard People say, that this Word was inserted into the Act by Leicester, with a design, that one time or other he might impose some Bastard Son of his upon the English for the Queen's natural Issue.

It was also Enacted, "That whosoever by Bulls or other Rescripts of the Pope, should reconcile any Man to the Church of Rome, and those who should be so reconcil'd, should be guilty of High-Treason. That whosoever should relieve such as did so reconcile Men, or should bring into England any Agnus Dei's, Grains, Crucifixes, or other Things consecrated by the Pope, should incur the Penalty of a Premunire. That whosoever should not discover such Reconcilers, should be guilty of concealing Treason, (commonly call'd Misprision of Treason).

Besides, the Conviction and Proscription of the Rebels in the North was confirm'd, and their Goods and Possessions, within the Bishoprick of Durham, adjudg'd to the Queen and her Successors. (Against James Pilkington the Bishop, who laid Claim to the Royalities between the Rivers of Tese and Tine) This was done, in regard of the vast Charge the Queen was at, in freeing the Bishop and his Diocese, from the Rebels; yet with Proviso, that this should not prejudice the Right of the Church of Durham, for the future. Against the Insolence likewise of such, as being devoted to the Pope, and contemning the Authority of the Laws, and their Allegiance to their Prince, had daily withdrawn themselves in great Numbers, without the Queen's leave, to foreign Countries, to contrive Innovations in the State; It was provided, that under forfeiture of their Estates, they should, within such a time, return and submit themselves, and that the fraudulent Conveyances, which they had made, should be void. So much against the Papists.

On the other side also was restrain'd, by wholesome Laws, as well the Covetousness of certain Church-Men, who (as if born for themselves alone) did, to the notorious defrauding of their Successors, waste the Church-Revenues, and let out Leases for many Years: As also the Insolence of others, who, desirous of Innovation, oppos'd the Articles concluded upon in a Synod at London, in the Year 1562. for abolishing of Schisms. It was likewise propos'd, that, if the Queen of Scots should again offend against the Laws of England, she should be proceeded against by Law, as if she were the Wife of an English Peer. But the Queen by interposing her Authority, prevented the Enacting thereof.

As soon as the Parliament broke up, in the beginning of June, a Consultation was held, about John Story, Doctor of Law; one of the D. d'Alva's Searchers (of whom Mention was made before, in the Year 1569.) Wherein it was debated, Whether he, being an Englishman born, who in Brabant had consulted with a foreign Prince,

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Against
Papists.

Rebel.

Fugitives.

Covetous
Church-
men.

Parliam.

And the
Queen.

John Story
condemned

1571. Prince, about invading his own Country; and had inform'd him how it might be invaded; were not guilty of High-Treason. The ablest Lawyers said he was. Whereupon being arraign'd, and charg'd with High-Treason, for having consulted with one *Prestal*, a great Magician, against his Prince's Life, for having conspir'd the Death of her and the King of *Scots*, curs'd her daily in his Grace at Meats, and inform'd the Duke d'Alva's Secretary, how to invade England, raise a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and at the same time fend the *Scots* into England. He refus'd to submit himself to Trial, and to the Laws of England; affirming that the Judges had no Power over him, since he was not a sworn Subject to the Queen of England, but to the King of Spain. However he was condemn'd according to the ordinary Form of *Nihil dicit*, (because no Man can relinquish his Country where he was born, nor abjure his native Soil, or his Prince, at his Pleasure) and suffer'd the Death of a Traitor.

Difference between the English and Portuguese compounded. Now there had been Differences for some Years depending, between the *Portugal* and the *English* Merchants; whilst the *English* had from the Year 1552. exercis'd a gainful Trade for Gold with the *Negroes*, on that part of *Africa* which they call *Guinea*; and the *Portuguese*, as the first Discoverers of those Coasts, did all they could, by Force of Arms, to prevent them: So that sometimes they had some Skirmishes by Sea, and seiz'd one anothers Ships. But *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, now out of his Minority, that he might procure a Peace, sent *Francis Gerard* into England; who made a League with the Queen, upon some such Conditions as these: 'That there should be a perfect Amity and free Commerce on both sides: That neither of them should attempt any thing to the Prejudice of the other, nor assist the Enemies, Rebels or Traitors of the other: That all Merchandize, Money, and Ships that were arrested should be restor'd: And that, to gratify the King of *Portugal*, Queen Elizabeth should prohibit the *English* from making any Voyages upon the Seas and Lands of the *Portugal-Conquest*; which Prohibition if they did not observe, let it be at their Peril, if they should be depriv'd of their Lives and Goods by the *Portuguese*. The Kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarbe* were excepted; and the Isles of *Azores*, *Madera*, and the Coast of *Barbary*; where they were allow'd to have free trading.

Death of Marquess of Northampton. This Year *William Parr* Marquess of *Northampton*, sweetly ended his Life: A Man very well vers'd in the softer Studies of Musick, Amours, and other courtly Diversions. He was advanc'd by King *Henry VIII.* first to the Dignity of Baron *Parr* of *Kendall*, then to the Marriage of *Anne Bourchier*, sole Heiress to the Earl of *Essex*; and withal to the Title of the Earl of *Essex*, upon the King's marrying his Sister. By King *Edward VI.* he was promoted to the Style and Honour of Marquess of *Northampton*. Under *Q. Mary*, he was condemn'd for High-Treason, having taken up Arms for the pretended Queen *Jane Grey*: yet was he soon after pardon'd by her, and restor'd to his Estate; and afterwards by Queen Elizabeth re-instated in his Honours. He had no Children, but left for his Heir *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew by one of his Sisters.

And of Bp. Jewel. About this time also died *John Jewel*, scarce Fifty Years of Age: A Man of an excellent Genius, deep Knowledge in Divinity, and singular Piety. He was born of honest Parentage in *Devonshire*, prov'd a most excellent Student in *Corpus-Christi-College* in *Oxford*; in Queen *Mary's* Days liv'd an Exile in *Germany*, and by Queen

Elizabeth was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*. In the Year 1562. he publish'd *An Apology for the Church of England*; and in two *English* Volumes he very learnedly maintain'd the Protestant Doctrine against *Thomas Harding*, an Apostate from the same: Which Volumes are now extant in a *Latin* Version.

Ireland was at this time pretty quiet; for Sir *John Perott*, Governour of *Munster*, so harass'd *James Fitz-Morris*, who had rifl'd *Kilmallock*, that he was oblig'd to hide himself in Lurking-holes near *Ardagh*; and at last (as we shall shew in its proper Place) brought him to that pass, that he humbly begg'd Pardon. *Sidney* the Lord-Deputy return'd into England, and Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, who had marry'd his Sister, was substituted in his Room.

The Fifteenth Year of her Reign.

1572.

The Beginning of the New-year presented the *Londoners* with a new and sorrowful Spectacle in *Westminster-Hall*. For a wooden Scaffold was erected in the midst of the Hall, reaching from the Gate to the upper End; where there was a Tribunal built, with Seats on both sides; such a Sight as they had not seen in full Eighteen Years. On the 16th. day of *January*, was *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, brought before this Tribunal, between Sir *Owen Hopton* Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir *Peter Carew*, Knights; the fatal Ax being carry'd before him, with the Edge turn'd from him. Upon the Bench or Tribunal sat *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, constituted Lord High-Steward of England, for that day. On each side of him sat these Noblemen, who were appointed to be his *Triers*, whom we call *Peers*; namely,

Duke of Norfolk arraign'd.

Reginald Grey Earl of Kent.
Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex.
Henry Hastings Earl of Huntington.
Francis Russel Earl of Bedford.
Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke.
Edward Seymour, or of Saint Maur, Earl of Hereford.
Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick.
Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester.
Walter D'Evereux Viscount Hereford.
Edward Lord Clinton, Lord-Admiral.
William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord-Chamberlain.
William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Secretary.
Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton.
James Blount Lord Mountjoy.
William Lord Sands.
Thomas Lord Wentworth.
William Lord Burroughs.
Lewis Lord Mordant.
John Powlett Lord Saint John of Basing.
Robert Lord Rich.
Roger Lord North.
Edmund Bruges Lord Chandois.
Oliver Lord Saint John of Blenesho.
Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhurst. And
William West Lord De la Ware.

His Peers.

After Silence was proclaim'd, the Commission Form of the Arraignment was read; wherein the Authority granted to the Lord-Steward was contain'd: Then *Garret-King-at-Arms* put a white Rod into his Hands, which the Lord-Steward presently deliver'd to his Gentleman-Usher, who standing by him held it upright all the time of the Trial. Then were the Earls and Barons call'd over, and every one answer'd to his Name. Silence being again proclaim'd, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to return his Writ, and to bring the Duke

1572. Duke to the Bar. The Duke was presently brought: On the one side of him was the Lieutenant of the Tower, on the other Sir Peter Carew, and next him stood the Ax-bearer, with the Edge turn'd from the Duke. After Silence was proclaim'd again, the Clerk of the Crown spake to the Duke in these Words: Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Kenninghale in the County of Norfolk, hold up thy Hand. When he had held up his Hand, the Clerk read, with a loud Voice, the Crimes he stood arraign'd for; namely,

Heads of his Accusation.

'That in the Eleventh Year of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, he had enter'd into a treasonable Conspiracy, about deposing her from her Throne, and taking away her Life, and invading the Kingdom, by raising War, and bringing in a foreign Power.

'That tho' he knew for certain, that Mary late Queen of Scots had usurp'd the Crown of England, with the Title and Arms thereof; yet he had treated about a Marriage with her, (without acquainting the Queen) and had lent her a great Sum of Money, contrary to what he had promis'd under his Hand.

'That tho' he was sure, that the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Markenfield and others, had raised a Rebellion against the Queen, and were driven into Scotland, yet he had supply'd 'em with Money.

'That in the thirteenth Year of the Queen's Reign, he had by his Letters craved Auxiliary Forces of Pope Pius V. the Queen's professed Enemy, of the Spaniard, and the Duke d'Alva, to set the Queen of Scots at Liberty, and restore the Popish Religion in England.

Lastly, 'That he had reliev'd Heris the Scot, and other the Queen's Enemies in Scotland.

These Articles being read, the Clerk ask'd the Duke, whether he were Guilty, or not Guilty?

He desires Counsel, which is deny'd him.

The Duke crav'd, that if the Law would allow it, he might have Counsel assign'd him to defend his Cause. Lord-Chief-Justice Cateline answer'd, 'That the Law could not allow it. It is fit (said the Duke) I should submit myself to the Opinion of the Judges; but in this Case there are many nice Points; nor had I notice till within these fourteen Hours, that I should be brought to my Tryal. I have been also unprovided of Books. I see now I must fight for myself without Weapons. However, I have heard that in the Reign of King Henry VII. Sir Henry Stafford had Counsel allow'd him in a case of High-Treason. Dier, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, answer'd, 'That Stafford had Counsel assign'd him about the Privilege of Sanctuary, from whence he was violently drawn: But in the case of High-Treason, he pleaded his own Cause without Council. To Day then (said the Duke) I must Plead for my Life, my Estate, my Children, and (which is above all) my Honesty, (as for my Honour, let it go). If I die innocent, God will be sure to avenge my Cause. Yet let me ask this one Question; Whether that Enumeration of my Crimes be to be taken for true in every Part, and to which Part I must answer? Cateline said, 'Since the Causes are true, that Enumeration is also to be taken for true. I desire (said the Duke) to be inform'd whether every Particular therein be High-Treason; for I have heard say that in a Case of the Lord Scroop's, in the Reign of Henry IV. — As he was going on, the Clerk interrupted him, crying; 'Thomas Duke of Norfolk, art thou guilty of those Crimes, or no? He answer'd, 'Not guilty. The Clerk ask'd him again, 'How wilt thou be try'd? He answer'd, 'To God and these Peers I commend my Cause.

He accepts the Trial.

The Heinousness of these Crimes daunts me, but the Royal Goodness of the Queen refreshes me, from whom I could expect no better. But of you, my Lord-Steward, I earnestly desire, that I may have a fair Trial, and that my Memory, which is very weak, may not be overcharg'd with any Variety of Matter. That I have such as you for my Peers and Judges, I acknowledge my self happy; to most of whose Integrities I would willingly and readily commit my Life. I trusted to my Innocence, and so have not shifted for myself by Flight. Yet I must ingenuously confess, I have fail'd in my Duty towards the Queen; but not so as to amount to High-Treason. I beseech you, that these lighter Crimes may not promiscuously be reckon'd among Crimes of High-Treason.

Then said Barham the Queen's Serjeant at Law; 'The Crimes of High-Treason, where- with you stand charg'd, are these. You have conspir'd to depose the Queen, and take away her Life: You design'd to marry the Queen of Scots: You invited foreign Forces into the Kingdom: You reliev'd the Rebels; and you assist-

ed the Scots the Queen's Enemies. Barham, (said the Duke) pray do not aggravate the Matter with Words, by objecting the Marriage, and other things which amount not to High-Treason. Barham turning to the Peers, pleaded to this Effect: 'That

whosoever is willing to marry that Woman, which lays a Claim to the Kingdom, the same Man affects the Kingdom. But this the Duke went about to do, when he was one of the Commissioners at York, for hearing the Queen of Scots Cause; at which time he was bound by Oath, to consider impartially the Accusations and Defences on both sides. That Case (said the Duke) has several Particulars in it, which amount not to High-Treason. The Lord-Steward of England commanded the Duke not to stray from the Matter in hand, by his Digressions; who, when Barham clamorously insisted upon it, acknowledged that the Queen of Scots had indeed laid Claim to the Kingdom of England, but had long ago desisted from that Claim. Barham shew'd to the contrary, that she had not relinquish'd it, because she would not yet renounce the Title which she pretended; and he sharply accus'd the Duke, of instructing the Queen of Scots Delegates, what they should answer; and this was prov'd out of the Bishop of Ross's Confession. The Duke confess'd that Lidington had mention'd the Marriage to him, but that he refus'd it, and gave no Instructions to the Commissioners; and withal desir'd, that Ross might be brought Face to Face against him.

Then Barham press'd at large many things (already mention'd) concerning the Marriage, to prove that the Duke had affected the Crown; and was often urging and repeating this Question, 'What else could the Duke propose to himself, whilst he resolv'd, without the Queen's

Knowledge, to marry the Queen of Scots; a Woman without a Fortune, without a Kingdom, (her Son being now establish'd on the Scottish Throne) but that he might, by means of her, enjoy the Kingdom of England, and consequently deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life. These things (said the Duke) are far fetcht, to prove I ever intended the Deposing and Death of the Queen.

Well then, (said Barham) to come a little nearer; 'tis very well known, that you enter'd into a Design of seizing the Tower of London, which is certainly the greatest Strength of the Kingdom of England: So that it thence follows, that you then attempted the Destruction of the Queen; since no Kingdom can away

with

1572. The Duke did not deny, but that one *Hopton* had mention'd to him the Design of seizing the Tower; but that he rejected the Motion. 'What made you then (said *Barham*) to consult with the Earl of *Pembroke* about it, who dissuaded you from it?

Barham went on, and urg'd, That when the Queen demanded to have the young King of Scotland, certain Castles, and the English Rebels in Scotland, deliver'd into her Hands; the Duke privately advis'd the Scots not to assent to it. He likewise accus'd him of attempting to set the Queen of Scots at liberty; and that after he had solemnly given it under his Hand, that he would have nothing more to do with her.

Now was *Candish* produc'd as a Witness, That the Duke had fully resolv'd upon the Marriage, and had ask'd him, Whether, if Queen *Elizabeth* should die, he would draw his Unkle over to his Party. These things the Duke utterly deny'd, and rejected his Testimony, as a Man in Poverty, and a beggarly Witness. Besides it was prov'd, That the Duke had privately sent his Servant to the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, to advise 'em not to break out into open Rebellion, since it would be very dangerous. There were likewise produc'd, the Queen of Scots Letters to the Duke; wherein she was concern'd, that *Northumberland* was taken, before he had arm'd himself for the Rebellion. (For so it had been reported to her; whether designedly or no, I cannot tell)

To these things the Duke answer'd, 'That it could not, from these Arguments be prov'd, he had any Design upon the Queen's Life; and that nothing as yet alledg'd was of any Force against him, but only the Bishop of *Ross*'s Testimony: And that since he was a Foreigner, his Testimony (by the Authority of *Bracton*, a Man well vers'd in our Common-Laws) was not to be admitted. That he had never such an Esteem for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as to repose his Life in their Hands. That his own Innocence had been such a Surety to him, that he never so much as thought of flying.

'It is sufficiently evident, (said *Gerard*, the Queen's Attorney) that the Duke did resolve upon a Marriage with the Queen of Scots, upon no other Design, than to destroy the Q. That he likewise seriously consulted about invading the Kingdom, is manifest by his Letters to the Pope, the Spaniard, and the Duke d'Alva. What he transacted with *Ridolpho*, is now apparent from those obscure Notes in Cyphers hid under the Tiles in *Howard's* House; and from the Letters (which he had order'd to be burnt) found under the Mat, in the Entrance of his Bed-Chamber. All which things might be easily prov'd, by the Examinations of those Men, who were neither terrify'd by Torture, nor convicted of Treason. To these things the Duke answer'd, 'I was neither the Author nor the Favourer of those Consultations with the Pope and the Spaniard; but I always dislik'd them. Let them who have committed the Offence, bear the Blame; and not lay it at my Door, to excuse themselves.

Gerard farther accus'd the Duke, that he had treated with *Ridolpho*, about transporting 10000 Men out of *Flanders*, to be landed at *Harwich*, a Sea-port in *Essex*; and this he prov'd out of *Barker's* Examination: That Letters were likewise sent by *Ridolpho* to the Spaniard and the Duke d'Alva, to which tho' the Duke would not set his Hand; yet by *Ross's* Advice, he sent *Barker*, his Secretary, to the Spanish Ambassador, to assure him, that the Letters were his.

'My Memory (said the Duke) fails me, nor can it attend to so great a Variety of Matter. You Lawyers have your short Notes, but I must answer extempore. Certainly, 'tis very unlikely, that I, who have been always avers to the *Romish* Religion, should have any thing to do with the Pope. I had rather be drawn in pieces with Horses, than revolt from the Religion which I profess. The very Situation of *Harwich* is enough to clear me of this Accusation. Who is not sensible, how hard a Matter it is, to lead an Army through that Country; which is full of Hedges, and very inconvenient, by reason of the narrow Ways? Had I intend'd a War against my Prince, I should certainly have furnish'd myself with Arms; but these full ten Years I have bought me no more than eight Breast-Pieces, and no Powder at all. Such Letters I should never have committed to *Barker's* Trust, but rather to *Banister's*, who was to me worth a great many *Barkers*.

Now were produc'd the Bishop of *Ross's* Letters to the Queen of Scots, from the Tower; which being intercepted confirm'd the things that have been alledg'd. The Duke desired to see the Letters, for he seem'd to suspect they were counterfeit. You need not question the Letters, (said the Lord High-Steward) they are *Ross's* own Hand-Writing. There was also produc'd another short Letter, written with Oker by the Duke, to his Servant, ordering him to burn a Packet of Letters hid in such a Place, and to lay the Blame upon *Ross*; who, by the Privilege of an Ambassador, would easily elude the Law. To this the Duke answer'd, 'Being inform'd that it was nois'd about, that I accus'd many; I answer'd it in that short Letter; and when I saw every thing was narrowly pry'd into, I order'd that Packet to be burnt, to save some from Danger.

Bromley the Queen's Solicitor, or Second Attorney, produc'd *Ridolpho's* Letters; wherein he intimated, that the Duke d'Alva approv'd of the Plot; as also the Pope's Letters to the Duke, dated the 4th. of May. Then *Wilbraham* made an eloquent Speech, concerning the Validity of the Testimonies of the Bishop of *Ross* and the Duke's Servants. The Duke reply'd, 'Tis not in my Power, to refute such a set and so polish'd an Orator. But yet that Orator (said he) let him be never so well skill'd, has omitted to shew, how great the Power of Fear is, which oftentimes removes a resolute Mind from its Place and Station. And here again he urg'd and commended *Bracton* against the Validity of foreign Witnesses. *Cateline* the Lord Chief-Justice answer'd, That in such Cases as this, the Testimonies of Foreigners were valid; and that it was at the Peers Pleasure, to credit or discredit such Testimonies.

Now it came to be prov'd, That the Duke had reliev'd the Rebels that were fled: Which appear'd from the Countess of *Northumberland's* Letters, wherein she thank'd the Duke for the Money he had supply'd her Husband and her with.

That which was last of all objected, concerning relieving the Scots the Queen's Enemies, was prov'd from the Duke's Letters to *Banister*, from *Banister's* own Confession, and from the Money deliver'd to *Brown* of *Shrewsbury*.

Here the Duke ask'd the Judges, 'Whether the Subjects of another Prince in Confederacy with the Queen, were to be reputed the Queen's Enemies? *Cateline* answer'd, They were: and that the Queen of England might wage War with any Duke of France, and yet at the same time be at Peace with the French King.

When

When it now grew late, the Lord-Steward asked the Duke, if he had any thing more to say for himself. He answer'd, *I confide in the Equity of the Laws.* The Lord-Steward commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to take the Duke from the Bar: And after Silence proclaim'd, turning to the Peers, he said: 'You have heard how *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, being charged with High-Treason, and not confessing himself guilty, hath submitted his Cause to God and you. It is for you therefore to consider with yourselves, whether he be to be held guilty, and to give in your Verdict upon your Conscience and Honour. And withal he ordered them to withdraw and advise together.

After a short space they return'd to their Seats. Then the Lord-Steward beginning with the last, said, *My Lord Delaware, is Thomas Duke of Norfolk guilty of that High-Treason charged against him, or no?* He rising up, and laying his Hand on his Breast, answer'd, *Guilty.* So answer'd the rest, being ask'd in their order.

Then was the Duke brought again to the Bar, to whom the Lord-Steward spake in this manner. *Thomas Duke of Norfolk, thou hast been arraign'd upon divers Crimes of High-Treason, and hast submitted thyself to God and these Peers, who have all found thee Guilty. Hast thou any thing to say why Sentence should not be pass'd upon thee?* The Duke answer'd, *God's Will be done, who will judge between me and my false Accusers.*

Silence being now kept, the edge of the Ax was turn'd towards him. Upon this *Barham* requir'd the Lord-Steward in the Queen's Name to pass Sentence; which he with Tears in his Eyes pronounc'd according to the usual Form, in these Words. 'Forasmuch as thou *Thomas Duke of Norfolk* hast been charged with High-Treason, hast pleaded not Guilty, and submitted thyself to the Judgment of thy Peers: This Court adjudgeth thee to be carried back from hence to the Tower, then to be laid upon an Hurdle, and drawn through the City to the Gallows, there to be hang'd, and being half dead, to be cut down, thy Bowels taken out, and after thy Head is cut off, to be quartered: Thy Head and Body to be disposed of according to the Queen's pleasure; and God have mercy upon thy Soul.

The Duke having heard this Sentence, with a presence of Mind answer'd: 'Sentence is pass'd upon me as upon a Traytor: I have none to trust to but God and the Queen: I am excluded from your Society, but hope shortly to enjoy the heavenly. I will fit myself to die. Only this one thing I crave, That the Queen would be kind to my Children and Servants, and take care that my Debts be paid.

These things, which I heard myself, I have the more exactly penn'd down, since in such weighty Matters it may be of some use to Posterity to have the very least Particulars recorded.

Some few Days after, *Barney* and *Mather* were Executed, for having conspir'd with one *Herle*, a wicked Accomplice of theirs, the Death of certain Privy-Counsellors, and the freeing the Duke out of the Tower. But *Herle* soon discover'd the Plot; and being produc'd as a Witness against them, *Herle*, (said *Barney* smiling) *thou art one Hour before-hand with me, else I had stood in thy place as thine Accuser, and thou in mine, as guilty, and to be hang'd.*

This Plot, and several others that were laid to deliver the Prisoners, hastned the calling of a Parliament. Against which the Queen promoted *Walter D'Evereux*, Viscount *Hereford*, to the Honour of Earl of *Essex*, because by the Great

Grandmother's side he descended from the *Bourchiers*, Earls of *Essex*: And *Edward Lord Clinton*, a Man of a plentiful Estate in *Lincolnshire*, to the Dignity of Earl of *Lincoln*. Besides, she summon'd four new Barons to this Parliament, viz. *John Powlet of Basing*, the Marquis of *Winchester's* Son; *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheney*, and *Henry Norris*.

At which time it was Enacted by the Authority of Parliament, 'That whosoever should seize upon, demolish, or burn any of the Queen's Forts, should be guilty of Felony: That who-ever should hold them by force against the Queen, burn her Ships, or block up her Havens, should be guilty of High-Treason. And likewise, 'That if any Person should go about to deliver any Man imprison'd upon the Queen's Writ, for Treason, or suspicion of Treason before his Arraignment, the said Person should forfeit his Estate during Life, and be imprison'd during the Queen's pleasure: If Arraign'd, he should incur the Penalty of Death; if Condemn'd, the Penalty of High-Treason.

As the Severity of these Laws was only necessary for the Time; so the Parliament thought fit it should be only Temporary; namely, during the Queen's Life. But so many Designs of this nature were set on foot, as hastned the Duke's Execution; which however was put off for about four Months. Nor till then could the Commons in Parliament, the Counsellors at Court, nor the Importunity of Preachers, by suggesting the greatness of the Danger she was in, overcome the Queen's Clemency.

But on the 2d of *June*, at Eight in the Morning, the Duke was brought to a Scaffold erected upon *Tower-Hill*; whereon he was no sooner mounted, and *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *St. Pauls*, who was there as his ghostly Comforter, desired the Multitude that stood round to keep Silence; but he said; 'Tis no new thing for Men to suffer Death in this Place; tho' since the beginning of our most gracious Queen's Reign, I am the first, and God grant I may be the last. At this the People cry'd, *Amen.* Then (to give you an Abstract of what I heard at large) he went on: 'I acknowledge my Peers have justly sentenced me worthy of Death; nor have I any design to excuse myself. I freely confess, that I treated with the Q. of *Scots* in Things of great moment, without my Sovereign's Knowledge, which I ought not to have done; whereupon I was cast into the Tower. But I was afterwards set at Liberty, having made an humble Submission, and promised upon Honour to have nothing more to do with her; yet I confess I acted contrary, and this in truth disturbs my Conscience. But I neither promised nor swore it at the Lord's Table, as is commonly reported. I once confer'd with *Ridolpho*, but not to the Queen's Destruction. For there are several which know I had to do with him about Money-matters, upon Bills and Bonds. I found him to be one that envied the Peace of *England*, and forward to contrive any Villany.

Two Letters from the Pope I saw, but by no means approv'd of them, nor of the Rebellion in the North. I have not been Popishly inclin'd ever since I had any Taste of Religion; but was always averse to the Popish Doctrine, and embraced the true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, and put my whole Trust in the Blood of *Christ* my blessed Redeemer and Saviour. Yet I must own that some of my Servants and Acquaintance were addicted to the Romish Religion. If in this I have offended either God, the Church, or the Protestants, I pray God and them to forgive me. Then after the reading a Psalm

An act for security of Forts, &c.

Another act against attempts to rescue Prisoners

Duke of Norfolk brought to execution

His Speech and Confession at his death.

Barney & Mather executed.

Earls created.

1572. into thy Hands I commend my Spirit. After this, he embraced Sir Henry Leigh, whisper'd something to him, and Dean Nowel, who turning to the People, said, 'The Duke desires you would all of you pray to God to have mercy on him, and withal keep silence, that his Mind may not be disturbed. The Executioner ask'd him Forgiveness, and had it granted. One offering him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes; he refus'd it, saying, *I am not in the least afraid of Death.* Then falling on his Knees, he lay prostrate with his Mind fix'd upon God, and Dean Nowel pray'd with him. Presently after, he stretched his Neck upon the Block, and his Head was immediately cut off at one blow, and shew'd by the Executioner as a doleful sight to the sorrowful and weeping Multitude.

It is incredible how dearly the People loved him; whose Good-will he had gain'd by a Munificence and extraordinary Affability, suitable to so great a Prince. The wiser sort of Men were variously affected: Some were terrified at the greatness of the Danger, which during his Life seem'd to threaten the State from him and his Faction. Others were mov'd with Pity towards him, as one very nobly Descended, of an extraordinary good Nature, comely Personage, and manly Presence; who might have been both a Support and Ornament to his Country, had not the crafty Wiles of the Envious, and his own false Hopes, led on with a shew of doing the Publick Service, diverted him from his first course of Life. They call'd likewise to mind his Father's untimely End, who tho' a Man of extraordinary Learning, and famous in War, was yet beheaded in the same Place five and twenty Years before, and that upon very slight Grounds, viz. for Quartering the Arms of Edward the Confessor with his own; which yet we read that the *Mowbrays*, Dukes of Norfolk, from whom he Descended, had born by Permission of King Richard II.

Here it will be worth our while to add briefly what Hieronymo Catena hath published concerning this business in the Life of Pius V. Bishop of Rome; an Author for his Integrity made Free of the City of Rome, and Secretary to Cardinal Alexandrino, Pius V.'s Nephew; that so we may see whence the whole Business proceeded, and by whom this Plot was contriv'd. 'Pius V. (says he) being very zealous to restore the Romish Religion in England, and at the same time to remove Queen Elizabeth out of the Throne; since he could not have an Apostolical Nuncio, or any other publick Minister, to carry on his Designs, procured one Robert Ridolpho, a Gentleman of Florence, (who lived in England under pretence of being a Merchant) to stir up the People to contrive the Destruction of Q. Elizabeth. He manag'd the Business carefully, not only with the Catholics, but also with some Protestants, who entred into the Conspiracy, some out of a private grudge to those who aspir'd to the Crown, and others in love with Innovations. Whilst these Things were carry'd on privately, there happen'd a Difference betwixt the Spaniard and Queen Elizabeth, about some Money that was intercepted. The Pope laying hold on this Occasion, persuaded the Spaniard to assist the Conspirators in England against Q. Elizabeth, by which means he might the more securely carry on his Designs in Flanders, and the Romish Religion might be restored in Britain. He likewise persuades the French King to do the like, as oblig'd to it upon the account of his Kinswoman the Queen of Scots; and by the good Service of the Scots, who had by their

Incurfions diverted the English Forces from aiding the Protestants of France; and lastly, by the merit of these noble Conspirators in England, who by their Artifices had hindred the Queen of England from openly assisting the French Protestants. Upon which account the French King had promised them his Aid for Delivery of the Queen of Scots, but fail'd them. In the meantime, Ridolpho brought it about, that the Conspirators drew the Duke of Norfolk into the Association, made him their Head, and promis'd him Marriage with the Queen of Scots, she also consenting thereto. The Pope, to forward the business, published a Bull, deposed the Queen, absolved her Subjects from all their Oaths and Allegiance, and sent printed Copies thereof to Ridolpho to be dispersed all over England. Upon this the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland took up Arms against their Prince; who soon after, for want of Money, withdrew into Scotland. Norfolk and others were cast into Prison, amongst whom was Ridolpho, whom the Pope had ordered to furnish the Conspirators with an hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, which, he being in Prison, could not do.

But forasmuch as the Queen could not discover the bottom of this Plot, he with the rest were discharged, and then distributed the Money among the Conspirators, who sent him to the Pope to certify him, that every thing was prepared and in a readiness at home against Queen Elizabeth, and to intreat the Spaniard, that the Supply out of Flanders might forthwith join them. The Pope commended the Design; (tho' the Duke d'Alva, to whom Ridolpho in his Journey communicated the business, lik'd it not, as being too full of Danger.) This Ridolpho he sent to the Spaniard upon another Pretence, and to the King of Portugal with Instructions, and at the same time by Letters he promis'd Aid to Norfolk.

He urges the Spaniard to assist the Conspirators; and the more effectually to persuade him, promises to go himself to their Assistance, and, if need were, to mortgage all the Goods of the Apostolick See, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vestments. That there was no Difficulty in it, if he would send Chapini Vitelli out of Flanders with an Army into England. Which the Spaniard ordered to be done with all expedition, and the Pope himself provided Money in the Netherlands.

But the Duke d'Alva was not pleas'd with these Projects, who both envy'd Vitelli the Glory of this Action, and would have had his Son prefer'd before him; and at the same time feared some Hostile Attempt from France. Withal he propos'd to their Consideration, Whether if England were conquer'd it would fall to the Spaniard? Whether the French King would not oppose it? And whether the Pope could give them a Supply sufficient for such an Undertaking? However, the Spaniard expressly commanded him to invade England, sending Ridolpho back with Money into Flanders. But by God's permission the whole Design was discovered to Queen Elizabeth by a certain Foreiner, and Norfolk was taken and put to death. The Pope was concerned at it, and the Spaniard sorry for it, who said in the presence of Cardinal Alexandrino, the Pope's Nephew, That never any Plot was laid more advis'dly, or concealed with greater Consent and Constancy, which in so long a time was never discover'd by any of the Conspirators: And that in 24 Hour's time Forces might have been transported easily from the Netherlands, which might have suddenly seiz'd upon the Queen and the City of London, restor'd

1572. Ann. 15.

The D. of Norfolk drawn in.

Popes Bull against the Queen.

Rebellion in the North.

D d'Alva opposes the design

For what reason.

The design frustrated.

Pope and Spaniard sorry for it

restor'd Religion, and settled the Q. of Scots upon the Throne; especially since *Tho. Stukeley*, an English Defenter, had taken upon him at the same time with 3000 Spaniards to reduce all Ireland under the Subjection of the Spaniard, and with one or two Spy-boats to fire the English Fleet.

Thus far *Hieronymo Catena*; some of which things were unknown to the English till he published them in his Book printed at Rome, with the Privilege of *Sixtus V.* in the Year 1588. Now to the purpose, if this be beside it.

Scarce ten Days after the Duke's Execution, *William Lord De-la-Ware*, *Sir Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilson* Doctor of Law, and *Thomas Bromley* the Queen's Solicitor, were sent to the Q. of Scots, now overcome with Grief and Mourning, to expostulate with her by way of Accusation: That she had usurp'd the Title and Arms of the Crown of England, and had not renounced the same, as was agreed upon in the Treaty of *Edinburgh*: That for the full possessing herself thereof, she had treated of a Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*; without acquainting the Queen therewith; for the consummation whereof, and for freeing the Duke out of the Tower by force of Arms, she had used all Methods possible by her Ministers. That she had raised a Rebellion in the North, reliev'd notorious Rebels in Scotland and Flanders; petition'd for a foreign Aid from the Pope, the Spaniard and others, by *Ridolpho* an Italian, in order to invade England, and conspired with certain of the English, who should free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of England. That she had received Letters from the Pope, wherein he promised to cherish her as a Hen does her Chickens, and to esteem them true Sons of the Church, who should stand for her. Lastly, That she had procur'd the Pope's Bull against the Queen, and permitted her Party in foreign Parts to stile her publicly Queen of England.

Her ans^w. First of all she declared to them, That she was an absolute Sovereign, and dependent on none. Then she answer'd the Things objected against her with a settled Mind and Countenance. That she herself had not usurp'd the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of England, but the French King, her Husband, had impos'd them upon her whilst young and under a Husband's Power, and therefore she was in no fault. That she had neither born them since her Husband's Death, nor would challenge them as long as Queen Elizabeth or her Children liv'd.

As for the Marriage with the D. of Norfolk, she never intended it to the Queen's Prejudice; for she was of the opinion it would be for the Good of the Common-wealth: But she had not renounc'd it, being contracted to him. That she did advise the Duke to free himself out of Prison and Danger, as she was oblig'd to do by the love of a Wife.

That she had rais'd no Rebellion, nor was necessary to any, but was always most ready to discover any Designs form'd against the Queen, if she would but vouchsafe to give her Audience in her Royal Presence. That she never reliev'd the English Rebels, only by Letters recommended the Countess of Northumberland to the Duke of Alva. *Ridolpho*, whom she knew to be in the Pope's Favour, she made use of in Money-concerns; but had receiv'd no Letters from him.

That she had excited none to set her at Liberty. That she had indeed lent a willing Ear to such as offer'd her their Service herein, and to this purpose had communicated to *Rolston* and *Hall* a private Cypher.

That she had indeed now and then received Letters from the Pope, very full of Piety and Consolation, but no such forms of Speech as is said were in them.

That she was not the procurer of the Bull, only she had seen a printed Copy thereof, which when she had read, she cast into the Fire. If any in foreign Parts write or stile her otherwise than they ought, let them bear the blame. That she had never by Letters desir'd Aid of the Pope, or the Spaniard, for the invading of England; but had indeed implor'd their Assistance to resettle her in her Kingdom, and that with the Queen's knowledge.

That if any Scruple remain about those Letters, or about consummating the Marriage by force of Arms, she prays that (since she is born of the Blood-Royal of England) she may give in her personal Answer at the next Session of the English Parliament.

Scotland in the mean time was most miserably harass'd with intestine Divisions; whilst on the one side those of the Queen's Party, presuming on the Favour of the French; and on the other side those of the King's Party, relying on the Assistance of the English; prosecuted one another with mortal Hatred and deadly Wars. Yet the English and French seem'd very desirous of composing the Difference, sending their Embassadors into Scotland.

The French, supposing this to be the most proper Method, propos'd, That some good and equitable Persons should be chosen to govern the Kingdom of Scotland for a time in neither the King's nor Queen's Name. For they would not acknowledge the K. of Scots for King, since he had no other Right to the Crown than from his Mother, and the Mother they thought could not be deposed by her own Subjects: That she therefore was to be acknowledg'd as Queen, and the ancient League between her and the French King to be observ'd.

On the contrary the English, by weighty Arguments, maintain'd, That such an Administration of Government would be downright Anarchy: That the Common-wealth could not be govern'd by so many: That the Scots, who had always been under the Government of a King, would never consent to the Election of such Governors: That the Estates of the Kingdom had deposed the Queen, and had duly constituted and inaugurated the King; and that that ancient League was not contracted between twixt Persons, but the Kingdoms of France and Scotland: And that the most Christian King was by the very tenour of the League oblig'd to defend the King of Scots. For it was provided in express Words, That the Kings of France, if at any time the Succession of the Crown of Scotland should be controverted, should defend him, to whom the Estates of Scotland adjudg'd the Kingdom. As for the Causes of deposing the Queen, the Scots who had done it were to be consulted in the case.

However the French King openly favour'd the Queen of Scots Party, and was very importunate with Queen Elizabeth for her Delivery, lest (as his Embassadors ingenuously declar'd) he should seem to neglect her that had been Wife to the King his Brother, and was now Dowager of France; to break the ancient League between the French and Scots; to slight the Family of the Guises, now so very Powerful in France; or to approve of that pernicious Example of deposing Kings: And (which was the main Argument) lest she, being abandon'd by the French King in her Distress, should close with the Spaniard, and

at length the most Potent Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland, by her Means should be joined in a League with Spain to the endangering of France.

To these Things Queen Elizabeth gently reply'd: 'Let the French King have a care what Esteem he puts upon the Queen of Scots; tho' she has been Queen, and be now Dowager of France, yet she privately consulted with the Spaniard about breaking off the Match with the Duke of Anjou. Let him consider whether he does not violate that ancient League, if he defend not the young King. Let him consider how much France is oblig'd to the Family of the Guises; by whose Counsels France itself has been involv'd in a deadly War, Scotland alienated from the French, and the Q. of Scots herself brought under these sad Circumstances. The example of deposing Kings is certainly very dangerous, and to be condemn'd to the Pit of Hell; but let the Scots be responsible for that. I here unwillingly mention what I utterly dislike. Yet whether the French formerly mislik'd it, I know not, when Pepin depos'd Childerick, and Hugh Capet Charles of Lorain, from their Ancestor's Kingdoms; translating the Crown to other Families: And when Philip le Bon the Burgundian turn'd Jaquetta out of Hainault and Holland; or the Danes when they banish'd Christian II. and his Daughters out of the Kingdom; or the Spaniards when they excluded Queen Uraca from her Kingdom and imprison'd her. That Sons should be admitted to the Government upon their Mother's Exclusion, is no new thing. Thus Henry II. King of England; Alphonsus the young Son of Uraca King of Castile; and within our memory Charles V. King of Spain and Sicily, mounted the Throne during their Mother's lives. That Queens have been imprison'd, every Age furnishes us with Instances; and France may sufficiently testify it; which has seen the Wives of three Kings successively (viz. of Lewis Hutin, Philip le long, and Charles the Fair) imprison'd, not to say worse. To speak the truth, I detain the Queen of Scots in honourable Custody for England's and my own Security. This Policy the French taught me; who (to provide for their own Safety) clapt Childerick into a Monastery, Charles of Lorain into a deep Dungeon, and Lewis Sforza Duke of Milan into an Iron Cage. Other things of this nature she repeated out of the Spanish History, as one that was very well acquainted with the Histories of all Nations. Lastly; She concluded, 'That such great Examples had always something of Injustice in them: But she desir'd the French King to defend the young King of Scots, who was lawfully enthron'd, according as he was oblig'd by the League. For this would tend more to the French Nation's Glory, than did the unfortunate Expeditions which they made in behalf of that infamous Creature Joan of Naples.

But when it was known for certain, that the Queen of Scots at that very time carry'd on a private Confederacy with the Spaniard, by her Minister the Lord Seaton; who arriving in Essex, had return'd through England into Scotland in a Seaman's Habit, and had promis'd the Scots who were of the Queen's Party Supplies from the Duke d'Alva; both she was confin'd closer, and the French King's Affection by degrees grew cold towards her. And certainly the Duke d'Alva omitted nothing which might serve towards the venting that secret Grudge which he bare towards Q. Elizabeth; and she was no less diligent to ward off the Blow and defeat his Designs. In the beginning therefore of this Year, when he made his Complaint by the Spanish Embassador in

England, that the Rebels of the Netherlands furnish'd themselves with Warlike Provisions out of England, and were harbour'd in the English Sea-Ports. The Queen immediately issued forth a strict Proclamation, commanding the Netherlands that were suspected of Rebellion to depart the Land, and an Embargo to be laid on their Ships of War. This was of very ill Consequence to the Duke d'Alva. For William Van-der-Marb Lord of Lumey, and other Netherlands, being either terrified by this Proclamation, or privately forewarned, withdrew themselves out of England as it were forc'd by Despair, seiz'd upon the Briel at the mouth of the Maes, soon after drew Flushing and other Towns to revolt, driving out the Spaniards just as they were going to build Fortresses to be the Fetters of their Freedom; and in a short time excluded the Duke d'Alva from almost all Command of the Sea. By this advantage of the Sea they disturb'd and harass'd the Spaniard with so long a War, not without a notable oversight in the Duke, (as Martial Men have thought) and unbecoming so great a General, who for full four Years had grossly neglected the Sea-Coasts of the Netherlands.

Now after a famous Muster of the Londoners, Englishmen and an Exercise performed before the Queen at Greenwich, the Martial Men, who rusted with Idleness at Home, began to flock into Flanders out of England: Some (according to the Parties they affected) to the Duke d'Alva; Others, and those the far greater Number, to the Prince of Orange, who, for Religion and Liberty's sake, oppos'd the Duke d'Alva.

First of all Thomas Morgan carry'd over Three hundred Men to Flushing: The report of whose arrival is thought to have kept off the Duke d'Alva, who was preparing to attempt the recovery of Flushing. Afterwards, through the Procurement of Morgan, nine Companies of the English arriv'd there under the Command of Sir Humphry Gilbert, who, joining with the French, first made an attempt upon Schuis and Bruges, and then upon Ter-goes in South-Beverlandt. But their Ladders being too short, the French and English disagreeing, and Mondragon coming to the relief of the Belieged, they retir'd to Flushing, not without loss of Men. This Place the French and English cunningly endeavour'd to be Masters of; but being divided by Animosities, fomented by the cunning Artifices of the Prince of Orange, they could not effect their Design.

In France the Protestants had at this time a flattering Calm; and King Charles was wholly intent upon the Low-Country War, being (as he pretended) the only Remedy to prevent a Civil War at Home: And under this colour, he pretended a willingness to enter into a Confederacy with the German Princes and Queen Elizabeth as a Testimony of his Good-will towards the Protestants, whom yet he had secretly mark'd out for Destruction. This Confederacy was concluded at Blois the 11th of April, between him (who was afraid of the French Protestants and the Spaniard) and Queen Elizabeth, (who was no less afraid of intestine Broils and the Plots of the Duke d'Alva.) Commissioners for the French King were Francis Duke of Montmorency, Renat Brirague, Sebastian L'aubespine, the Bishop of Limoges, and Paul Foix: For the Queen, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Francis Walsingham.

The Articles briefly extracted out of the Original, were as follow.

'The Articles in this Treaty shall not recede from the former Treaties made between the said Princes and their Predecessors, unless they are inconsistent with this present League.

1572. *Ann. 15.* This League shall be a Confederacy, Bond and Union, betwixt the said Princes, for a mutual Defence, against all Persons, of what Degree soever; who shall, under any Pretence or Cause, none excepted, invade, or go about to invade, their Persons, or the Territories by them possess'd.

This League shall remain in full Force, not only between the said Princes, but also between their Successors; if such Successor shall within a Year, by his Ambassadors and Letters, signify to the surviving Prince, that he accepts of the same Conditions: Otherwise the Survivor shall be understood to be free from all Observance of this League.

This League shall be of Force against all, even against those who shall be in Alliance with either King or Princes; and against all Leagues contracted, or to be contracted.

The Queen of England shall be bound, upon Request made by Letters, sign'd with the French King's Hand, requiring her Assistance; to send into France, within two Months, 6000 arm'd Foot, or 500 Horse, at his Choice, to be enter'd into his Pay, as soon as they shall arrive in France.

For a Defence by Sea, the Queen of England shall send Eight Ships of a reasonable Burden, with 1200 Soldiers, and all other Necessaries on board them.

The Seamen and Soldiers shall be only Englishmen; but they shall be under his Pay, and he shall find them all Necessaries, and provide them Victuals, from the time they enter into his Service: Nevertheless they shall obey the Admiral of France. The Queen of England shall victual her Ships for two Months; for which the French King shall pay her, within two Months.

The French King, upon Notice given him, by Letters sign'd by the Queen of England's Hand, that she is assaulted by War; shall be bound to send over into England or Ireland, within two Months, 6000 Foot; or, if she had rather, 500 Cuirassiers, which with others shall make up 1500 Horse; and about 3000 Foot, with serviceable Horses and Arms, after the French Fashion; to be enter'd into her Pay, as soon as they shall arrive upon her Dominions.

For Sea-Service, he shall equip Eight Ships, mann'd with 1200 Soldiers, in manner as is aforesaid.

They shall serve as long as the invaded Prince shall think fit to retain them.

The Form of the Succours and Pay shall be contain'd in a Schedule hereunto annex'd.

The one shall be bound to sell to the other (when invaded) both Arms and other Necessaries.

They shall make no Innovations in Scotland, but defend it against Foreigners; not suffering Strangers to enter, or foment the Factions in Scotland: but it shall be lawful for the Queen of England to chastise by Arms, those Scots who shall countenance or harbour the English Rebels now in Scotland.

This League shall have only that Construction, which the bare Force and Propriety of the Words will allow of.

Both Princes shall ratify every particular Article, by their Letters-Patents; and shall *bonâ fide*, really and effectually deliver them interchangeably, to the Ambassadors on both sides, within three Months.

For the ratifying this League by the French King, Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Lord-Ad-

miral of the Sea, was sent into France, with a great Train of Noblemen; among whom were the Lord Dacres, the Lord Rich, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Sands, and others. In like manner the French King sent into England the Duke of Montmorency and Paul Foix, in great Splendor; that the Queen might likewise ratify it, by Oath, before them, and Bertrand Salignac Mota Fenelon, his ordinary Ambassador. This was done at Westminster, the 16th. of May. The next day, Queen Elizabeth, by the French King's leave, chose Montmorency to be a Knight of the Garter, as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Kindness she had receiv'd from his Father Annas, High-Constable of France. Which Honour King Henry VIII. had conferr'd upon Annas himself, as a Pledge of the Love he bore to that Family; which has the Title of First Christian of France, and is esteem'd the most noble Family in all France.

Montmorency, during his Stay in France, made these short Proposals, in the French King's Name: That as much Favour, as could in Safety, might be shewn to the Queen of Scots: That there might be a Cessation of Arms in Scotland, and an Agreement confirm'd there by the Parliament: But if a Parliament could not be holden conveniently, that then certain Men chosen for both Parties, by the Scots, might meet at London, for composing the Differences; together with the French King's, and the Queen of England's Commissioners. But it was answer'd, That greater Favour had been shewn, and would, for the French King's sake, be still shewn to the Queen of Scots, than she deserv'd; tho' the Estates of the Realm now assembled in Parliament, were of opinion, that the Queen could never be secure without some Severity shew'd towards her. As for an Agreement and Cessation of Arms, the Queen has done what she could towards it; and for that purpose had very lately sent Drury, Marshal of Berwick, into Scotland, with Croc, the French Ambassador: But they could by no Arguments induce Grange and the Garrison in the Castle of Edinburgh, to hearken to Peace; being fondly in hopes of Succours from France and the Netherlands; tho' Huntley and Hamilton of Arbroth had, for the Duke his Father, given it under their Hands in Writing, to Queen Elizabeth; That they were ready to entertain a Peace; and the rest of the Queen's Party had promis'd as much.

Then Montmorency earnestly solicited again the Marriage with the Duke of Anjou; but when they could not agree about the Exercise of Religion, he return'd into France, leaving the Matter desperate; whilst a Marriage was preparing, with great Solemnity, between Henry of Navarre, and Margaret, the French King's Sister. To this Marriage the Queen of Navarre, and the choicest of the Protestants, were allur'd, by flattering Promises, and a credulous Hope of a lasting Peace, and the Renewal of Friendship; but not without a notable Piece of Dissimulation. There were likewise invited out of England, under pretence of doing 'em Honour, Leicester and Burleigh; and out of Germany, the Elector Palatine's Sons; that being allur'd into the Toils, both they, and with 'em the Evangelical Religion, might, at one Blow, be either butcher'd, or at least receive a mortal Wound. For no sooner was the Marriage solemniz'd, but of a sudden a black Tempest eclips'd their so much hop'd-for Sun-shine; even that horrid Massacre of Paris, and the bloody Butcherings of the Protestants, which, with an unheard of Wickedness, were committed throughout the Cities of France, upon Men of all Qualities. Yet they pretended Justice, even and Piety too; and by Edicts fought a specious Cloak

1572. Ann. 15. Cloak to cover that impious Fraud; as if the Protestants had enter'd into a wicked Conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the King's Brethren, the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the Blood. For there were Medals coin'd in Memory of the Fact; in the Fore-part whereof, with the King's Picture, was this *Motto*, *Virtus in Rebelles, Virtue against Rebels*; on the other side, *Pietas excitavit Justitiam, Piety has excited Justice*.

A little before this, the Queen-Mother of France (who always pretended great Kindness to the Protestants, a Woman very inquisitive into Futurity, and prone to believe the Predictions of Astrologers; who, by the Position of the fix'd Regal Stars at their Nativities, had foretold that every one of her Sons would mount a Throne) commanded *Mota-Fenellon* to propose to Queen Elizabeth, a Marriage with her youngest Son Francis Duke of Alençon; that if possible she might procure him the Title of King; or at least, by this Office of Kindness, hinder Queen Elizabeth from assisting the Protestants in France. *Mota-Fenellon* propos'd this Marriage at *Kenelworth*, two days before the Massacre at Paris. But Queen Elizabeth modestly excus'd herself, upon the account of their Difference of Religion, and Inequality of Age: for he was scarce Seventeen Years old, and she was now above Eight and thirty. However, she promis'd to consider of it; nor did Alençon cease to press the Business home, by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

The same Month, *Thomas Percy* Earl of Northumberland, who upon his Rebellion had fled into Scotland, was, for a Sum of Money agreed upon, deliver'd to the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governour of Berwick, by *Morton*; who had been extremely beholden to the Earl, whilst himself liv'd an Exile in England. (But who has ever prov'd grateful to Men in Adversity?) He was shortly after beheaded at York.

As Norfolk and Northumberland were cut off this Year, by the Stroke of the fatal Ax, in the Flower of their Age; so a peaceable Death took away two others of the chief of the Nobility, both of the Privy-Council, in their old Age; namely, *William Powlet*, Lord High-Treasurer of England, Marquess of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Baron St. John of Basing: A Man that had pass'd through very great Honours. He died in the Ninety seventh Year of his Age; after he had seen One hundred and three Persons that were descended from him. In his Office of High-Treasurer was constituted *William Cecil* Lord Burleigh. The other was *Edward* Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange of Knocking; with whom the Glory of Hospitality seem'd to fall asleep.

This Year likewise died Sir *William Peter* Knt. one of the Privy-Council, Secretary to Henry VIII. *Edward VI.* Queen *Mary*, and *Q. Elizabeth*; and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter: having perform'd many Embassies with Approbation: Who being descended of honest Parentage at Exeter, after he had, by his Wisdom and Learning, gain'd a plentiful Estate, did, for the Encouragement of Learning, by *Q. Mary's* Grant, very bountifully enlarge the Revenues of *Exeter-College* in Oxford; wherein he had been educated.

The Queen also herself, who had hitherto been very healthy, (never eating without an Appetite, nor drinking Wine without some Allay) fell sick of the Small-Pox at Hampton-Court. But she recover'd before there was any News of her being sick; and falling to the Care of the Government, order'd *Portsmouth* to be strengthen'd with new Fortifications, her Navy to be increas'd with more Men of War, Musters to be observ'd

in every County at set times, and the Youth to be train'd up to War; and this, when she enjoy'd a profound Peace. The Money which she had borrow'd of her Subjects she repaid with Thanks. For this her People were no less in love with her, than they were for two seasonable Proclamations, publish'd in the Beginning of the Year. By one of which she commanded, that such of the Nobility should be proceeded against according to the ancient Laws, as kept a greater Retinue than they ought. For their Men, being thus entertain'd, exempted themselves from the publick Offices of the State, maintain'd Factions, and offended many ways against the Laws; presuming upon the Power of the Noblemen to whom they belong'd. By the other she restrain'd a most ravenous sort of Men, call'd Concealers; by revoking their Commission, and forcing them to restore what they had taken away. For they, being appointed to discover, whether any Lands belonging to the Crown were conceal'd by private Men; had begun, by a sacrilegious kind of Avarice, to seize upon Lands given by our pious Forefathers, to Parish-Churches and Hospitals; as also upon Bells and the leaden Roofs of Churches. But these Grievances, tho' they have been now and then suppress'd, yet they have as often sprung up again.

In Ireland some Commotions arose, thro' the severe Government of Sir *Edward Fitton*, Governour of Connaught: Which Severity when the Sons of *Richard* Earl of *Clan-Richard*, whom he had by divers Wives, (being Men who always us'd to do what they pleas'd) could not away with; they rais'd a Rebellion, and passing the *Shannon*, committed insolent Robberies upon the Inhabitants all over *West-Meath*. Their Father, descended from an ancient English Stock, nam'd *de Burgo*, a Man with a reverend grey Head, and of a moderate Disposition, went to the Lord-Deputy, clear'd himself from the Crime of Rebellion, and consulted with the Council of Ireland, by what means he might restrain his dissolute Children. But the Queen, for the better Security of the publick Peace, thought fit by degrees to remove *Fitton* from Connaught, and made him Treasurer of Ireland. And a while after, the Earl's Sons, being pursued by the Soldiers in Garrison, humbly submitted themselves to the Lord-Deputy.

In *Lemster* also the *O-Moors*, a seditious sort of Men, rais'd an Insurrection; who being presently proclaim'd Rebels, return'd to their Duty, by the Persuasion of the Earl of *Kildare*. At this time Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Queen's Secretary, a discreet and learned Man, taking pity of the forlorn Condition of Ireland, obtain'd of the Q. that a Colony should be transported into a Peninsula of Ireland, call'd *Ardes*, on the Eastern Part of *Ulster*, under his base Son, the only Son he had; that so those half-barbarous People might be taught some Civility. His Hope was, that the Place might be easily defended by Garrisons plac'd in that strait *Isthmus*, by which it is join'd to the rest of the Island. He granted to every Footman an Hundred and twenty Acres, and to every Horseman an Hundred and forty; which are as much as Five hundred English Acres: for which they were to pay yearly a Penny for every Acre. But it fail'd of the wish'd Success: For his Son *Thomas*, when he had transported the Colony, was intercepted and slain, by the Treachery of *Neal Brian Artbo*. But *Malbey* an Englishman, Governour of *Lecale*, a Place hard by, supposing no unjust Death could be inflicted upon a treacherous Villain, soon after kill'd *Neal*, leaving him to be devour'd by Wolves.

I know

1572. Ann. 15.

She restrains the number of Retainers

And Concealers

Rebellions in Connaught

And in Lemster

A Colony transported into Ireland

1572.
Ann. 15.
A new
star.

I know not whether it be worth while to mention that which all Historiographers of our Time have recorded, viz. That in November, a new Star, or, as some stile it, a *Phænomenon* appear'd in *Cassiopea's* Chair; which (as my self observ'd) in Brightness exceeded *Jupiter* in the *Perigee* of his *Excentrick* and *Epicycle*. It continu'd in the same place, full Sixteen Months, being carry'd about with the diurnal Motion of the Heaven. *Thomas Digsey* and *John Dey*, two famous Mathematicians amongst us, have learnedly prov'd, by the Doctrine of *Parallaxes*, that it was in the Celestial, not in the Elementary Region; and were of opinion, that it disappear'd by little and little, by ascending. 'Tis certain, that after Eight Months, all Men perceiv'd it to grow less and less. *Theodore Beza* wittily apply'd it to the Star, which appear'd at the Birth of CHRIST, and the Slaughter of the Infants under *Herod*; and admonish'd *Charles IX.* King of France, who had acknowledg'd himself Author of the Massacre of *Paris*, to beware, in this Verse,

Beza's
Prophecy.

*Tu vero, Herodes, sanguinolente, time, i.e.
And look thou, bloody Herod, to thy self.*

Nor was he out, in his Conjecture: For in the fifth Month after the disappearing of this Star, after long and horrible Pains, he died of excessive Bleeding.

1573.

The Sixteenth Year of her Reign.

Spanish
Fleet de-
feated.

Traffick
between
the Ne-
therlan-
ders and
English
renew'd.

The Spanish Affairs in the Netherlands being very much disturb'd, *Flushing* lost, the Towns of *Holland* falling off, and the Spanish Fleet (with which the Duke of *Medina Celi* was commanded, with *Vitelli Chapini*, to aid the Papists in England) routed by the *Zealanders*; the Duke d'Alva, tho' unwillingly, began to be more favourably inclin'd towards the English. Therefore in January, the Commerce, which had been prohibited, between the *Netherlanders* and the English, in the same Month of the Year 1568, was now at last permitted for two Years; and the Articles agreed upon at *Bristol*, upon that account, were ratify'd by the Spaniard in June. Amongst which was this Clause: 'And if this mutual Correspondence and strict Amity shall for a time be overshadow'd; yet it shall in no wise be understood to be broken and dissolv'd. And if the Business cannot be adjusted by Commissioners, within a Time prescrib'd; the said Intercourse, at the end of the said two Years, shall cease. And cease it did, by degrees, before the two Years were expir'd; by reason of the Troubles that increas'd all over the Netherlands; and a new Intercourse was begun with the Confederate States.

Q makes
the Engl.
amends.

But Queen Elizabeth (to her vast Honour) fully repair'd the Damages of the English Merchants, out of the *Netherlanders* Goods, which were stopt; return'd the Overplus to the Duke d'Alva; and wholly agreed with the Merchants of *Genoa*, about the Money that was intercepted; which had been the first Occasion of the Breach: Whereas the Duke d'Alva did not so much as restore one Farthing to the *Netherlanders*, out of the Englishmens Goods. And (which was yet more glorious, and to her Subjects much more pleasing) she discharg'd England of the Debts, which her Father and Brother had contracted with Foreigners; which had been very much increas'd by the Interest. Now she restor'd likewise the Charters of the City of London, (which had been so often renew'd) to the great Joy of the Citizens.

Pays her
Predecess-
sors Debts.

Yet was both the Queen and the Ecclesiastical State very much disturb'd by some of their own Profession; who, pretending to be very zealous, and breathing nothing but Evangelical Purity, not only defam'd the Ecclesiastical Polity, (as stain'd with *Romish* Dregs) both by publick and private Preaching, and by publishing Books, entitl'd, *An Admonition to the Parliament*, and *An Apology for the Admonition*; but also refus'd to frequent the Divine Service, as it was establish'd; framing and usurping to themselves other Rites in Divine Worship. So that the Queen, disliking them as Men of a turbulent Spirit, greedy of Novelty, and very forward to root up what was well establish'd; to prevent a Schism, commanded the Rigour of the Law, concerning Uniformity of publick Prayers, to be every where put in Execution: and the Books to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Bishops, or some of her Council, upon pain of Imprisonment; though *John Whitgift*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had solidly confuted them.

There was likewise publish'd, by the English Fugitives and Rebels, an infamous Book, entitl'd, *A Treatise of Treason*; wherein they accus'd *Bacon* Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, and *Cecil* Lord *Burleigh* Lord-Treasurer of England, of Treason against their Country; thereby to bring those Persons under the Odium of the Prince and People; who, by their Prudence and Vigilance, had prevented or broken their villainous Designs and wicked Hopes. But the Queen was so far from crediting these Accusations, that by a publick Proclamation she declar'd them to be improbable, false, and meer Slanders, maliciously invented by the profess'd Enemies of the true Religion, and their Country; upon no other End, than by their secret Artifices to deprive the Kingdom of its most faithful Counsellors. Wherefore she charged all Men to give no Credit to these Libels, but to slight and burn them; unless they had rather undergo the Penalty to be inflict'd upon the Encouragers of Sedition. However these Books (such is the natural Curiosity of Mankind) because prohibited, were very much read, till (as it often happens) being contemn'd, they grew out of Request.

The last Year, in November, was born to *Charles* King of France, a Daughter, to whom the King requested Queen Elizabeth to be God-Mother; both to engage her the more firmly to him, by all Offices of Kindness; and to cut off all Hopes of Assistance out of England, from the French Protestants. For these Ends, and to borrow Money, he sent into England an eloquent Courtier, one *Albert Gondy*, (commonly call'd Count de Gondy's Rhetz.) He in a set Speech endeavour'd to persuade the Queen, that the Massacre of *Paris* (which some term'd a Villainy, but he a Remedy) was executed, not out of Hatred to the Protestant Religion, but to break the Neck of a Conspiracy, plotted by the Admiral *Coligni* and others: notwithstanding which, the King would most religiously observe the Edicts of Religion. He pray'd the Queen, not to hearken to such Men as were clamorous and timorous without Cause; but religiously to observe the League lately enter'd into, and advise them to be obedient to their King, whom they should find very merciful.

She promis'd to be mindful of the League, and that the King should find nothing wanting on her Part, which might become a most loving Confederate. But for the Money to be borrow'd, she desir'd to be excus'd. Nor did he mention the Money, but only in Policy; namely, that she should not supply the Protestants, if they desir'd it, with the Money, which she deny'd

ny'd the King. And truly, she took this Occasion of denying them Money; remembering how basely they had serv'd her, about Money-Matters, in the first Civil-War. In this Embassy, Rhetz prevail'd so far, that the Protestants, from that time, met with less Favour and Assistance from her Hands, for a while.

A little after, William Somerset Earl of Worcester, was sent into France, with a Font of pure Gold; to be present as Surety, in the Queen's Name, with the Deputies of the Empress Mary, and of the Duke of Savoy; at the Baptizing of the French King's Daughter. Which when the Protestant Pirates, both French and Netherlanders, understood, (suspecting him to be a Papist) it mis'd but little, but they had intercepted him in his Passage over. However, they ris'd one or two Ships of his Company, killing some of the Passengers.

At this the Queen was so displeas'd, that she sent out William Holstock, Comptroller of her Navy, with some few Men of War; who scour'd the Seas, either taking or scattering the Pirates, and retaking some Merchant-Ships out of their Hands. But whereas many of 'em had promis'd their Service to Montgomery, (now in England) for the Relief of Rochelle, he happen'd to set sail out of England too late; and with so small a Fleet, that he did them no good at all.

Hereupon, some French Protestant Refugees in England, being very much incens'd, out of Hatred to the contrary Religion, offer'd Injuries to some other Frenchmen that were come over; drawing their Swords upon them, and among the rest, upon the Servants of Flerie, who was come privately into England, from Alençon, about the Marriage: Yea the Vidam of Chartres, ignorant of Flerie's Negotiation, accus'd him, to the Queen's Council, as if he came with a Design to take away Montgomery's Life.

On the other hand, the French Ambassador complain'd to the Q. that Montgomery had, with the Assistance of the English, contrary to the League, undertaken a Voyage to Rochelle; and that the English Merchants had supply'd the besieg'd Rochellers with Victuals. She answer'd, 'That she did and would religiously observe her Faith given in the league. 'That those Auxiliaries were Pirates, and being outlaw'd, had put to Sea without her Commission, and carry'd counterfeit Flags; and for her part, she heartily wish'd they might be punish'd. Moreover, that the English Merchants, having been basely us'd at Bourdeaux, had traded to Rochelle, without her Leave: That they are Men which always mind their own private Gain: And withal she desir'd, that some more commodious Port in France might be assign'd them, to trade in, instead of Rochelle.

The French King was very well pleas'd with these Answers; That the Queen of England would stand to her Promise; and that now she was so far drawn off from minding the French Protestants, that they could look for no Assistance from her. Hereupon, the French King and his Mother were more and more in Love with her, when they perceiv'd her sincere in observing the Amity betwixt them; and she receiv'd several Love-Letters sent by Alençon, from the Camp before Rochelle; and all this Year the French King and his Mother earnestly solicited the Marriage, by Mota-Fenelon their Ordinary Ambassador, and by Chasteau-Neuf, sent extraordinarily for that purpose. Certainly Queen Elizabeth now began seriously to think of Marrying, upon a double Fear she was in, for lack of Children: On one hand, she fear'd Contempt at home; and on the other, she fear'd Attempts from abroad: Against both she was perswaded, and would often say as much to others, That an

Husband and Children were the surest Bulwarks.

On the contrary, it was argu'd by some selfish Courtiers, 'That Religion and Equiry were 'the strongest Bulwarks of a State, against all 'Attempts: Nor had she any Reason to fear the 'Contempt of her own People; whose Hopes 'and Fortunes depended on her alone; whose 'Hearts were devoted to her, as they had been 'to a long Series of her Ancestors; and whose 'Eyes were every day refresh'd with the Lustre 'of her Vertues. With other such like Expressions, familiar amongst Courtiers. And when she often said, *That most Men neglect the Setting-Sun: These fawning Flatterers would as often tell her, Who will neglect the wholesome Beams of the clear Sun-shine, to behold the faint and confus'd Glimmering of the lesser Stars rising together?* For so they call'd the Competitors.

In the mean time, the Queen-Mother used frequent Intreaties, that her Son the Duke of Alençon might have leave to come into England, to see her; who, being weary'd with so many Letters, at last assented to it; provided he would not think it a Prejudice or a Disgrace to him, if he return'd without Success. But as soon as Queen Elizabeth had Intelligence, that his Brother Henry, the Duke of Anjou, was elected King of Poland, and that the French King was sick; she advis'd Alençon, by Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, not to be too hasty in coming over to England: And she gave these Reasons for it: 'That upon the account of the 'Massacre so barbarously committed upon the 'Protestants throughout France, for their Religion, even in the midst of Nuptial Solemnities, 'when he himself first sued for a Marriage with 'her; the Protestants in England suspected, that 'this Marriage would prove as fatal. And they 'were the more inclined to think so, because Alençon himself, immediately after, went to the 'Siege of Rochelle, breathing nothing but Hatred 'against the Protestants; and had wrote, in several Letters thence, that he would visit the Q. 'after he should see Rochelle won: So that his 'Rage towards the Protestant Religion seem'd 'hotter than his Love towards her. Whereupon 'very many in England suspected, that he intended to come into England, to prosecute his 'Courtship, with a Sword dy'd in the Blood of 'those, who profess'd the same Religion as the 'English did. Wherefore she friendly and lovingly advis'd him, to be the Means of a Peace 'in France; and first to give some notable Testimony of his Affection to the Protestants: 'that so England might receive him, as a more 'welcome Guest and Suitor.

A Peace being afterwards concluded in France, and the Protestants allow'd the Exercise of their Religion, in certain Places; the French King and the Queen-Mother were again very solicitous for consummating of the Marriage; (For they were desirous of removing Alençon out of France, being a Person of a crabbed Temper, and prone to raise Commotions) and withal they intreated Queen Elizabeth, that if the D of Anjou should take his Journey by Sea into Poland, he might have her Royal Word, for his safe Passage through the British Seas. She was not only very willing to grant this, but also offer'd her Fleet for his Convoy. In the mean time, Alençon fell sick of the Measles, which the Queen-Mother signify'd to Queen Elizabeth, by Gondy Count de Rhetz, and excus'd his not coming into England, because of his Sicknefs. Gondy found Queen Elizabeth at Canterbury, where she entertain'd him honourably. At this time Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, solemniz'd the Queen's Birth-day, viz. the 7th. of September, in a large Palace

1573. Ann. 16.

Courtiers argue against it.

Leave given to Alençon to come into England.

But is privately advis'd not to come, and why.

Peace in France.

Gondy returns into England, where he is nobly entertained.

1573. Palace of the Archbishops, which himself had repaired. To this Solemnity he invited the Queen, *Gondy* and *Mota-fenellon*, with as great a number of Nobility, as the Emperor *Charles V.* and King *Henry VIII.* had in the same Palace been feasted with in the Year 1519.

Morton
made Re-
gent of
Scotland.

In Scotland, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* was, by the special Instance of Queen *Elizabeth*, constituted Regent of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of *Marre*; who, being established in his Authority in a Convention of the States, enacted wholesome Laws in the King's Name for the maintaining of Religion against Papists and Heretics. But the charge of the King's Person (because the Earl of *Marre*, to whom by peculiar Right the charge of the Kings of Scotland in their Minority belongs, was under Age) he settled upon *Alexander Breshkin* upon these Conditions:

- That the Papists and factious Persons should be deny'd all access to him: That an Earl should be admitted with two Servants, a Baron with only one, all others alone, and every one of them without Weapons.

French K.
endea-
vours to
supplant
him.

Q. Eliz.
to support
him.

In the mean time the French King, having sent thither Monsieur *Vivian*, used his utmost Endeavours to supplant the Regent before his Authority was settled, setting up against him *Arbol*, *Huntley*, and others, to whom he promis'd great Rewards. Queen *Elizabeth*, endeavouring all she could to the contrary, inform'd the Scots by Sir *Henry Killegrew*, That the bloody Massacre of *Paris* was executed by the joint Contrivance of the Pope, the French King, and the Spaniard, for the utter extirpation of the Protestants. Therefore she advis'd them not to be corrupted with the French Pensions, nor disunited by Factions, so as to open a way for those foreign Forces which *Strozzi* was suspected to be bringing over; but manfully and unanimously to endeavour the Defence of their Religion, which was the only Band of Concord betwixt the Scots and English; and to take timely Care of the King; or send him into England, that he might not be convey'd into France. However, some of the Nobility, sworn to the Captive Queen's Party, absolutely declar'd against the King's or the Regent's Authority; till Queen *Elizabeth*, interposing her Authority, by *Killegrew's* means, prevail'd upon *James Hamilton* the Duke of *Chastel-Herauld*, and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, (who were chief of them) to accept of these reasonable Conditions, viz. That they should allow the Religion establish'd in Scotland, submit themselves to the King, and to the Government of *Morton* and his Successors in the Regency. That they should abjure the Authority of all others. That those who should attempt any thing against Religion, the King, or the Regent, should be declar'd Traytors by an Act of Parliament. That the Sentences pronounced against the *Hamiltons* and the *Gourdons* should be repeal'd, excepting such as concerned the Murder of the late Regents *Murray* and *Lenox*, which should be left to Queen *Elizabeth's* Decision. (But this she refer'd to the King, and thought it fit to be defer'd till the King were of Age to take upon him the Government according to the Laws of England). And, That all Offences committed since the 15th of June 1567, (except the Murder of *Lenox*) should be remitted to those who should sue for a Pardon. However, for the Security of the King and the Regent, lest the one should be in danger of being murder'd, and the other convey'd into France, it was thought fit that the Q. of England, by a publick Instrument, should pass her Royal Word, That neither the *Hamiltons*, nor any other, should be call'd in Question, or Fined for the Murder of the Regents without

And to
compose
Matters in
Scotland,

Upon
these Con-
ditions.

her consent. And this for the securing the publick Peace in so turbulent a Time, was confirm'd in a Convention of the States.

But *William Kircald* of *Grange*, (whom *Murray* the Regent had made Governor of *Edinburgh Castle*, taking an Oath of him in the King's Name) the Lord *Humes*, *Lidington*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and others, who thought the Queen of Scots was too severely dealt withal; would by no means accept of these Conditions: But being obstinate, and contemning the Authority of the King and the Regent, held and fortified that Castle in the Queen's Name. *Lidington* was their Counsellor; and they trusted much to the unapproachable strength of the Place, to the warlike Ammunition that was in it, (for there all the King's Magazine was kept) and to the Succours promised by the Duke of *Alva* and the French King, which last had sent them some Money, (the greatest part whereof was intercepted at *Blacknes*) and more he would have sent, had he not been prevented by the tedious Siege of *Rochelle*. When neither the Regent by offering Rewards, nor Queen *Elizabeth* by Persuasion or Threatning could induce these Men to accept of any Conditions of Peace, but they still maintain'd the Castle against the Regent, every day annoying *Edinburgh* the Seat of Justice with their Shot and Incursions, and invited over Auxiliary Forces from France: Then Queen *Elizabeth*, who could not endure the French should have the least Footing in Scotland, was at last prevail'd upon by the Regent, and promis'd him Men, Ordnance and Ammunition for the reducing of the Castle, upon these Conditions.

• The Regent shall not Compound with the Besieged without the English Generals knowledge, nor he on the other side without acquainting the Regent and the King's Council. If the English take the Castle, it shall be delivered up to the King within ten Days, with all the Ammunition, Utensils, Rolls and Records of the King and Realm; but the rest shall be a Prey to the Assailants. The English shall fortify no Place in Scotland, but with the consent of the Regent and the Nobility. The Regent shall supply the English with all the Assistance and Provision he can. The Besieged, after the taking the Castle, shall be retain'd to be proceed'd against according to Law, the Q. of England being first acquainted therewith. If any of the English should be kill'd, their Wives and Children should be paid Stipends out of the Rebels Estates. If any wounded, they likewise shall receive Stipends till they be cured. If any of the English Ordnance receive Damage, and the Powder and Ball that shall be spent, shall be made good out of the King's Store in the Castle, or out of the Rebels Estates. And ten Hostages shall be sent into England to secure the sending back the Forces and Ordnance, unless they are cut off by the common Misfortunes of War.

Upon these Conditions Sir *William Drury*, Marshal of the Garison of *Berwick*, entred Scotland with several great Pieces of Cannon and Fifteen hundred Men; among whom were several Gentlemen as Volunteers, viz. *George Cary*, *Henry Cary*, *Thomas Cecil*, *Henry Leigh*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *William Killigrew*, and others. Having join'd the Scotch Auxiliaries, he beleaguerr'd the Castle, after he had to no purpose summon'd them twice in the King's Name to surrender. At first they play'd upon the Castle with their Mortars for four Days together from five Batteries, and especially upon *David's Tower*, which after some Days was batter'd to the Ground. Afterwards giving the Assault,

Spurr-

1573. Ann. 16. *Spurr-Fort* was taken, while those who at the same time assaulted the Castle on the other side, were beat back not without some loss of Men. The next Day the Belieged hung out a Flag, and desir'd to parley with *Drury*. *Kircald* himself and *Robert Melvin* were let down by a Rope from the Castle, and *Henry Leigh* with *Fleck* a Scot were likewise taken into the Castle as Hostages. They demanded, That they might freely enjoy their Lives and Estates: That *Humes* and *Lidington* might upon the account of the private Animosities of some Persons withdraw into England: That *Kircald* might stay in Scotland, or at least have leave to depart. When they would not grant these Things, but only allow the Soldiery to depart unarm'd with their Baggage; the third Day after, the Garison being very thin, at variance among themselves, wounded, and spent with Watchings and Toil, without the least hopes of Succour, and pinch'd for want of Water, (for one of their Wells was stop't up with the Ruin of a Stone-Wall, and the other lay open to the Enemies great Shot) they yielded themselves and all they had the thirty third Day of the Siege, to Queen *Elizabeth* and *Drury*. Upon the receipt of Letters from England, *Drury* re-deliver'd the Castle with all the Prisoners to the Regent, for the King's use. Of these Prisoners, *Kircald*, his Brother *James*, *Mosman* and *Coky*, two Goldsmiths who had adulterated the Money in the Castle, were hang'd; tho' for the sparing *Kircald's* Life, an hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offer'd to be for ever Vassals to the Regent, to pay a yearly Pension of 3000 Marks, and 2000 Pound of Scottish Money in hand; and to give good Security that he should for the future continue a faithful Subject to the King. *Humes* and others who were dispers'd into several Castles, were spared at the intercession of Queen *Elizabeth*, not without commendations of her Clemency. *Lidington* was sent to *Leith*, where he died of a violent Distemper, yet not without suspicion of being poison'd: A Man of very great Experience among the Scots, and of an excellent Wit, had it been less wavering. Upon which account *George Buchanan*, who envy'd him, in a Writing of his call'd the *Chameleon*, represents him in his Life-time as one more mutable than the *Chameleon*, and sharply taxes him as a party-colour'd Enemy to the King's Grandmother, his Mother, *Murray*, the King himself, and his Country. From this time Scotland took breath after the Civil War; and as well the Heads of the Parties, as the Soldiers, going over to *Swedeland*, *France* and the *Netherlands*, gain'd great Commendations for their Martial Valour.

1573. Ann. 16. *Bo. of Ros* banish'd out of England. And that England might be the better secur'd from all domestick Attempts upon the Queen of Scots account, *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ros* (who had serv'd his Queen with an approved Loyalty, tho' to the Ruin of some, and the Danger of more) was dismiss'd from the Tower, and commanded to depart England. He accordingly withdrew into France, being deadly afraid of the E. of *Southampton*, (whose Life he brought into danger by the Discovery he made) and of *Henry Howard* the D. of *Norfolk's* Brother, for the appeasing of whose Displeasure, he wrote an Apology for himself. He was scarce gone, but *H. Cokin*, his private Letter-Carrier, was apprehended, and by his confession *Morgan* discover'd; who, being a forward Man to promote any secret Designs for the Queen of Scots Interest, and very eager to put them in execution, presently fled. Also, the principal Physician among the Papists; and *Good*, both of'em Doctors of Physick; and *Francis Bertie*, were kept in Prison for some Months, for holding a private Correspondence with her by Letters; and upon the same account were *Hen-*

ry Goodyer and *Richard Lowder* had in Suspicion.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Ros* was not wanting in the Duty of a most faithful Subject to the Queen of Scots, but solicited the Emperor, the Pope, the French King, and the Catholick Princes of Germany, who held him in hopes, but perform'd just nothing. But herein he complain'd that it happen'd very unluckily, that the Duke d'Alva (on whom he had cheifly relied) was just upon leaving the Low-Countries, having obtained a fair dismissal from his Government, under pretence of recovering his Health. But really the Spaniard called him Home, as he was cruelly pursuing an entire Conquest, having already reduced almost all Holland under his Power. He was perswaded by Cardinal *Granvell* and *Roderigo Gomez de Sylva*, that the Duke's Power grew too great, that his Name founded higher than his Prince's, and that through the Rigor of his violent Government the *Netherlanders* were driven to a Revolt; nay more, to Desperation. However, some Bloody-minded Persons were of opinion, that no fitter Men could be found in all Spain to make an end of that War, and reduce the *Netherlands* into the form of a Province. Those hot-headed Men seem'd to pity the King, if he ever hoped by Mildness to bring under his Obedience the Prince of Orange and the Confederates, who were obstinately bent and resolv'd to retain their Liberty, abounded in Riches, and were so secured by the situation of the Places they maintained. *Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens*, great Commendator of *Castile*, was appointed the Duke d'Alva's Successor, a Man of a milder Disposition; who, desiring to obtain Queen *Elizabeth's* Favour by all good Offices, and minding his own Concerns, would not meddle either with the Scottish or the English Affairs.

I know not whether I should here mention the frantick Opinion of *Peter Burchett*, who was perswaded that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the Truth of the Gospel. So far had the Error of this Opinion transported the Man, that he drew his Dagger upon *Hawkins*, that famous Sea-Captain, and wounded him, taking him for *Hatton*, who was then in great Favour with the Queen, and of her Privy-Council, whom he had heard to be an Enemy to the Innovators. The Q. was so extraordinarily incensed at this Fact, that she commanded that the Man should be presently punished by Martial or Camp-Law, till she was informed, by some prudent Persons, that Martial-Law was not to be used but in Camps, or in turbulent Times; but that at Home, and in Times of Peace, the Proceeding must be carry'd on in the way of a judiciary Process. Being therefore brought to his Tryal, he maintained, That what he had done was consonant to the holy Scriptures, and therefore lawful. Whereupon being just about to be condemn'd for Heresie, he promis'd to renounce his Opinion; yet he still shifted it off, and would not. Upon this he was thrown into the Tower of London, where he slew one of the Keepers, knocking him on the Head with a Billet which he snatcht up out of the Chimney: He was condemn'd of Murder, had his right Hand cut off, and nail'd to the Gallows, and then he was hang'd discovering a silent reluctancy.

In the beginning of this Year died *William Lord Howard of Effingham*, Lord-Privy-Seal, Son of *Thomas Howard*, that Martial Duke of *Norfolk*, by his second Wife *Agnes Tilney*. He was a Man of most approved Fidelity and unshaken Courage; who being first of all Governor of *Calais*, was by Queen *Mary* prefer'd to be a Baron, and made Lord-High-Admiral of England. He was

1573. Ann. 16. Being absent he attempt's new Com-motions.

D. d'Alva called home out of the Netherlands.

Requesens succeeds him.

Burchett put to death.

Martial Law.

The death of William Lord Howard of Effingham

afterwards her Lord-Chamberlain, as he was also Queen Elizabeth's; till, being broken with Age, he resign'd it a few Months before his death to *Suffex*, being made Lord-Privy-Seal, which (as I formerly hinted) is the fourth degree of Honour in England. His Son *Charles* succeeded him in the Barony, and a while after was made Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, as also Lord-High-Admiral of England.

Not long after died also *Reginald Grey Earl of Kent*, whom the Queen, a Year before, had raised from a private Man to the Dignity of Earl of *Kent*, after that this Title had lain dormant for fifty Years, from the death of *Richard Grey Earl of Kent*, who had squander'd away his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this Man's Grandfather. His Brother *Henry* succeeded him in his Honour.

Neither must we pass over in silence *John Caius*, a famous Physician, born at *Norwich*, and bred up at the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Padua*, who died about this time, having spent his whole Life in Physick, translated a great deal of *Galen* and *Celsus* into *Latin*, and Commented upon more, and at last bestow'd all his Wealth to the advancing of Learning, joining a new College to old *Gonvil-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and giving a perpetual Allowance for 23 Students. Whereupon they grew into one Name of *Gonvil and Caius College*, where he lies intomb'd with this Inscription, *FUI CAIUS*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, two restless Families, having raised several Troops of Rovers, made a cruel Assault upon *Athlon* upon the River *Shannon*, and then sack'd and burn'd it. But Sir *John Perott*, President of *Munster*, hinder'd them from joining their Forces with the Rebels of *Munster*; for with continual IncurSIONS he so harass'd and prosecuted *James-Fitz-Moris*, *Fitz-Edmunds* Steward of *Imokelly*, and the rest of the Rebels, killing many, and forcing the Castle of *Mayn* with a French Garrison in it, that he made them glad to ask Pardon with all Submission in the Church of *Kilmalock*, that is *S. Malachie's Cell*. And at the same time the Earl of *Desmond* with his Brother *John*, who were the Authors of that Rebellion, were by Sir *Edmund Fitton* brought back out of England into *Ireland*, and thrown into Prison at *Dublin*, whence notwithstanding they shortly after made their escape.

In *Ulster*, *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had seiz'd a great part of the Country of *Clandeboy*, burnt the Town of *Knock-fergus*, that is *Fergus's Rock*; and others in those Parts began to raise Tumults. Against these *Walter D'Evereux* (whom Queen Elizabeth had lately created Earl of *Essex*) craved leave to undertake an Expedition, following therein the Counsel of those who desir'd above all things to have him farther off, and to plunge him into Dangers, under pretence of procuring him Honour. Which he knew well enough: But being a stirring Man, and one not unacquainted with Warlike Discipline from his very Youth, he held on his Resolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that upon certain Conditions the one half of *Clandeboy*, if he drove out the Rebels, should be granted to him and his Soldiers: For the Defence whereof he should maintain at his own charge 200 Horsemen and 400 Foot. And to furnish himself for the War, he borrow'd of the Queen Ten thousand Pounds of English Money, mortgaging his Lands in *Essex* for the same.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, fearing lest the Name of so great an Earl should eclipse his Glory in *Ireland*, advis'd the Queen, that he might not be sent, feigning I know not what general Revolt of all *Ulster*. But

Essex for all that was sent; and, that the Lord-Deputy's Honour and Authority might stand un-eclips'd, he was commanded to receive his Patent from him, whereby to be made Governor of *Ulster*; which he was long in procuring, and that not without very importunate Solicitation.

After he had been tossed with a sad Tempest at Sea, he arriv'd towards the end of August at *Knock-fergus*, with the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Rich*, *Henry Knolls*, and four of his Brethren, *Michael* and *John Cary*, *Henry*, *William* and *John Norris*, and a Band of Soldiers which had been hastily collected. Before his arrival, *Brian Mac-Phelim* had driven away his Cattel, which were all his Wealth, into the inner Parts of the Country, (for besides Sheep and Hogs, he had Thirty thousand Cows). After his arrival, he congratulated him, and most frankly profer'd him all Kindness; as also did *Mac-Gilespie*, *Mac-Guilly*, *Hugh Baron of Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about. The Earl promised to pardon *Mac-Phelim's* Rebellion, and endeavour'd to oblige him to him by his Civility. But he shortly after revolted, and withdrew himself with all his Friends to *Turlough-Leinigh*; upon which follow'd daily Skirmishes with the English. The Lord *Rich*, being call'd away by his private Occasions, return'd after a Month into England; *Henry Knolls* also, by reason of Sickness, and many others, alledging some one Cause and some another, withdrew themselves daily by degrees out of that rude and barbarous Country. *Essex* made grievous Complaints to the Queen and his Friends by Letters, 'That his noble Comrades began to flag and languish: That the Expedition was undertaken

some what too late; Victuals too long before they came to 'em, and those tainted: That the common Soldiers were inconsiderately chosen at first, and many of them had miscarry'd: That *Mac-Phelim* was revolted, and that by the Cunning or rather Treachery of *Pierce an English Captain*, who had formerly born some Sway amongst the Irish in those Parts. For his part, he was unable to bear the Charges of the War: Neither had the Lord-Deputy as yet sent him his Patent; so as he could exercise no Authority over the bordering People. He therefore prayeth the Queen to carry on the Service in her own Name, and by her own Command, tho' he bare the one half of the Charge. Afterwards he besought *Suffex*, *Leicester* and *Burghley*, to persuade the Queen to allow Pay for 100 Horse and 600 Foot, and to grant him *Mayo*, a Peninsula, or almost Island. And when the Queen had now determin'd to call home *Essex* out of *Ulster*, Tumults arising in *Munster*, *Leicester* and others overcame her so by their Persuasions, that he was not sent for. And the Lord-Deputy commanded, that whilst he himself march'd against *Desmond*, who was escap'd out of Prison contrary to his Word given, *Essex* should march to the Borders of *Ulster*. Which tho' it somewhat troubled him, who was now wholly busied in making Fortifications in *Clandeboy*, yet he obey'd; and, marching on in *Munster* with *Kildare*, he persuaded *Desmond* to lay down Arms, who not long after submitted himself.

Now *Essex*, having receiv'd his Patent, undertook a long March against *Turlough Leinigh*, *O-Donell* joining with him. But from *Con O-Donell*, *Turlough's* Son-in-law, who would not Serve under him, he took the Castle of *Liffer*, and gave it to *Hugh O-Donell*; *Turlough* in the mean while spinning out the time with Parlies, till that *Essex* was of necessity to return: Who as he had tired out his Body with Labours and Cares all the Summer; so now, Winter approaching, he consider'd seriously with himself,

1573.
Ann. 16.

The death
of Regi-
nald Earl
of Kent.

And of
Dr. Caius.

Gonvil
and Caius
College.

Commo-
tions in
Ireland.

Perott
suppresseth
the Rebels.

The E. of
Desmond
escapes
out of
Prison.

An Expe-
dition of
the E. of
Essex into
Ireland.

1573.
Ann. 16.

He is for-
saken of
his Com-
panions.

He is be-
set with
Difficulties.

He per-
suadeth
Desmond
to submit.

1573. *Ann. 16.* himself, by what means *Ulster*, which had been so long neglected, that it was grown wild and savage, might be reduc'd to Civility. And upon mature Deliberation of the Matter, he shewed, That if three Towns were built at the Queen's Charge, and ten Forts by the common Purse of the Soldiers, in such convenient Places as he had design'd, above Seven thousand Pounds of English Money might be gather'd yearly from those People; and after two Years, the Queen should not need to maintain any more Garisons there.

He is in danger by Mac-Phelim. Mac-Phelim taken Prisoner. Chaterton's Enterprize overthrowen. Whilst he was wholly taken up about these Projects, and other commendable Endeavours for providing of Victuals, he escap'd narrowly from being slain by the Irish. For *Brian Mac-Phelim*, who had of late treacherously slain one *Moore* an English Captain, had conspir'd with *Turlough* and the *Hebridian Scots* to cut him off. Which as soon as he understood, he thought it best not to expect their coming, but to set upon them. And set upon them he did so resolutely, that, with the slaughter of 200 Irish, he took *Brian* and *Rory Oge* his half Brother, and *Brian's* Wife. With these Actions was the Year well-nigh spent in Ireland, to no Man's Advantage, but to *Essex's* great Damage; and also to the great Loss of *Chaterton*, an English Gentleman, who upon certain Conditions with the Queen, had unfortunately undertaken to carry over English Colonies into *Fues* and the Territory of *O-Hanlan* adjoining.

The Seventeenth Year of her Reign.

1574. *Alenxon* maketh means to see the Q. She granteth it. He is suspected at home. Committed to Custody. In the first Month of the Year, *Francis* Duke of *Alenxon* did by Letters full fraught with Love, and by *Maveisier* the French Embassador, endeavour more earnestly than before, that he might come into England upon safe Conduct, and salute Queen Elizabeth in Person, for whom being absent he had so singular a Love and Respect. She, being overcome with his Importunities, yielded to it, (tho' she under-hand advised him otherwise) and gave him her Royal Word, that he might come when he pleas'd before the 20th of May; liberally promising, that he should fail of no Kindness which might be expected at the hands of a most loving Princess. Certainly she now loved and respected him more heartily, after she understood for certain that he bare a mortal Hatred to the *Guises*, her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought to *Alenxon*, *Valentine Dale*, Doctor of Law, Embassador in France, (in the room of *Walsingham*, now made Secretary) gave Queen Elizabeth notice, that *Alenxon* and *Navarre* were suspected to endeavour a change of Affairs. For the Queen-Mother, being a Woman of an high Spirit, began to suspect, that he practis'd secretly with *Navarre*, *Montmorency*, and others, to remove her from the Government, if any thing should befall the King other than well. And this her Suspicion the *Guises* increased, suggesting to her, that her Son *Alenxon* had not long before held intimate Familiarity with *Coligny*, the Ringleader of the Protestants in France. *Alenxon* being question'd about it, amongst other things voluntarily confess'd, that he had for a good while been a Suitor for Marriage with Queen Elizabeth of England; wherein, believing that *Coligny's* Friendship would be of good use unto him, he had now and then had discourse with him thereof, and of the Low-Country War. Notwithstanding, both he and *Navarre* had Keepers set over them. But *Thomas Wilks*, Dale's Secretary, came privately to them both, and comforted them in the Queen of England's name; promising, that she would omit

no Opportunity to help and relieve them. Whereof that subtil old Woman soon got knowledge, and so prosecuted *Wilks*, that he was fain to withdraw himself into England; where she also follow'd him with Letters of Complaint, in so much that he was sent back into France, and there humbly crav'd Pardon. *Navarre*, not unmindful of the Consolation he gave him, when he came to be King of France, and saw him in *Normandy* twenty five Years after, Knighted him. Afterwards Queen Elizabeth sent *Thomas Randolph* into France to the Queen-Mother, if it were possible, to restore *Alenxon* and *Navarre* to their former Grace and Favour. But before he arriv'd in France, King Charles was dead; for whom a solemn funeral Obsequy was kept with great Magnificence in St. Paul's Church in London.

As soon as *Henry III.* of that Name, King of France, was return'd out of Poland into France to take the Crown, *Roger Lord North* was sent over into France, to Congratulate the new King both about the Kingdom and his Return; to Condole the rending of France in pieces by Civil Wars; to Persuade him to Peace and the observation of the late Edicts; to restore *Alenxon* into Favour; to pacify the Displeasure conceiv'd against *Montmorency* and the Marshal of *Cosse*; and to procure Favour towards the Lady *Charlota* of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Montpensier's* Daughter, who had withdrawn herself into Germany for Religion. But he effected nothing; For now France, as it were, thrust forward by Destiny, ran desperately headlong into a cruel War. Nevertheless the King and his Mother sent *La Garde* into England, with Letters from them both, to prosecute the business of Marriage for her Son *Alenxon*. For he now stomaching it very much that he was so unworthily led about by his Mother like a Prisoner, and holding secret Correspondence with the Politicians in France, they purpos'd to rid him away into England in hopes of Marriage, thereby to divert the young Man's Mind from War and Faction at home.

Nevertheless in the mean time they left no Stone unturn'd in Scotland, by secret Contrivances, to procure that the young King might be sent over into France, and *Morton* the Regent laid aside; sending privily to this purpose certain Scots of the French Guard into Scotland. And this the Queen of Scots much desir'd, being persuaded that if her Son was once in France out of Danger, she and the Catholics in England should be more mildly dealt withal. For hereby the thought it would come to pass, that the English Faction in Scotland, which was hitherto supported by the Authority of the King's Name, would presently fall to the Ground; and the English, as he grew more and more ripe in Years, would stand in fear of him, both from France and from Scotland. And no less did the French wish the same, fearing lest the Regent of Scotland, being most devoted to the English, would dissolve that ancient League betwixt the French and the Scots. Notwithstanding, when the Regent earnestly intreated that there might be a League of mutual Defence concluded betwixt England and Scotland against Foreigners, he was not heard nor minded; perhaps because at the same time he sued that a yearly Pension might be assign'd him and some other Scots. But those were hearkned unto, who upon a light Suspicion charg'd the Queen of Scots, the Countess of *Shrewsbury*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* also himself, as if they had made up a Match between *Charles* the King of Scots Uncle (to whom the King had lately in a Parliament confirm'd the Earldom of *Lenox*) and *Elizabeth Catlish*, the Countess of *Shrewsbury's* Daughter

1574. *Ann. 17.*

The death of Charles.

L North's Embassy to H. III.

The King & Queen's Mother commend Alenxon to the Q. of Engl.

They favour the Q. of Scots against the Regent.

Q. Elizabeth neglecteth the Regent

She believeth Tale-bearers against the Q. of Scots

by a former Husband, without acquainting the Queen. For which Cause the Mothers of them both, and some others, were detain'd a while in Custody; and all the Blame was laid upon the Queen of Scots.

Earl of
Hunting-
ton made
President
of the
Council
of the
North.

Original
of this
Council.

Whilst now there arose sundry Suspicions, whether this Marriage should tend, Henry Earl of Huntington was made President of the Council in the North, and furnish'd with new and secret Instructions in this matter. This Presidentship, which is now a Place of great Honor, did, from a mean Beginning, grow up in a short time to this high Estimation. For, (to relate to Posterity what I have heard, by a free and brief Digression) when in the Reign of Henry VIII. the Rebellion of the Northern People about the suppressing of Abbies was quell'd, and the Duke of Norfolk staying in those Parts, many Complaints were brought to him of several Wrongs, done in the Rebellion; some of 'em he made up himself, and others he committed to Men of Discretion, under his Seal, to be by them compounded and accorded. Which when the King undertood, he sent him a peculiar Seal to use in these cases: And the same Seal he committed, after the Duke was recall'd, to Tunstall Bishop of Durham, and appointed him Assistants, with Authority to hear and determine the Complaints of the Poor. He was then first named President, and the Authority of his Successors has ever since increas'd very much.

Excess of
Apparel
restrain'd.

In these days, a wondrous Excess in Apparel had spread itself all over England; and the Habit of our own Country, thro' a peculiar Vice incident to our Nation, of imitating foreign Fashions, grew into such Contempt, that Men, by their new-fashion'd Garments, and too gaudy Apparel, discover'd a certain Deformity and Arrogance of Mind; whilst they jetted up and down in their Silks glittering with Gold and Silver, either embroider'd or laced. The Queen observing that to maintain this Excess, a great quantity of Money was carry'd yearly out of the Land, to buy Silks, and other outlandish Wares, to the impoverishing of the Commonwealth; and that many of the Nobility, who might be of great Service to the Commonwealth, and others that they might seem of noble Extraction, did, to their own undoing, not only waste their Estates, but also run so far in Debt, that of necessity they came within Danger of the Law thereby; and attempted to raise Troubles and Commotions, when they had wasted their own Patrimonies; although she might have proceeded against them, by the Laws of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, and thereby have fin'd them in great Sums of Money; yet she chose rather to deal with them by way of Command. She commanded therefore, by Proclamation, that every Man should, within fourteen days, conform himself, for Apparel, to a certain prescribed Fashion, lest they otherwise incur'd the Severity of the Laws: and she began the Conformity herself in her own Court. But, thro' the Untowardness of the Times, both this Proclamation, and the Laws also gave way, by little and little, to this Excess of Pride, which grew daily more and more unreasonable: And with it crept in riotous Banqueting, and prodigal Bravery in Building. For now there began more Noblemen and private Mens Houses to be built here and there thro' England; and those neat, large and sumptuous Edifices; than in any other Age before: and verily to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but to as great Decay of the glorious Hospitality of the Nation.

England
beautify'd
with
Buildings.

Of the Englishmen who serv'd in Holland, under Edward Chester, and Gainsford, some this Year

wanted Valour, and some good Success. For, those that lay in Garrison at Valkenbourg quitted their Post, and after yielded themselves to the Enemy: who notwithstanding were pardon'd, lest Queen Elizabeth should deny Harbour to the Spanish Fleet, that was now passing through the British Sea, to the Low-Countries. Others of 'em at the Sluce of Gouda, after they had endur'd a smart Skirmish with the Spaniards, and had beaten them back, were surprized unawares, by the Enemy swimming the River, and forced from their Hold; 200 of them being slain, and three Colours taken.

I know not whether it be worth while to mention such small Matters as these; to wit, the devout Credulity of certain London-Ministers, deluded this Year by a Maid, who counterfeited herself to be possess'd by the Devil: a monstrous Whale left on the dry Shoar, upon the Coast of the Isle of Thanet; whose Length was measured to be twenty of our Ells, the Breadth from the Belly to the Back-bone thirteen Foot, and the space between the Eyes eleven Foot: that the Thames ebb'd and flow'd twice in an hour: that the Clouds flam'd with Fire in the Month of November, streaming from the North towards the South; and the next Night the Heaven seem'd to burn, the Flames arising from the Horizon round about, and meeting in the Vertical Point. Blame me not for mentioning these things in a short Digression, considering that the gravest Historians have recorded such like Matters more at large.

The Eighteenth Year of her Reign.

Henry III. King of France, being return'd out of Poland, and inaugurated at Rheims, made it his first and chiefest Care to confirm by his Oath and Subscription, the Confederacy of Blois, enter'd into in the Year 1572. betwixt his Brother Charles and Queen Elizabeth, and to deliver the same to Valentine Dale, her Ordinary Ambassador: which she in like manner ratify'd, at Saint James's near Westminster. Howbeit, within a while after, he mov'd this Question by a Letter, Whether or no the mutual Defence against all Men, mention'd in the said League, did comprehend the Cause of Religion? Whereunto when she had answer'd plainly, that it did, and that she would be ready for a mutual Defence against all Men, even in the Cause of Religion, if it were required, according to the Condition of the League; he prepared himself to war against the Protestants: and Alençon being engaged to the adverse Party, there follow'd thereupon a deep and long Silence concerning his Marriage. Nevertheless, for Alençon's sake, Queen Elizabeth furnish'd a great Sum of Money to Casimir, for the bringing of certain German Horsemen into France, against the Disturbers of the publick Peace.

While her Mind was taken up with these French matters, in the mean time the Netherlandish Affairs stood thus. Don Lewis Zuniga de Requesens, who succeeded the Duke of Alva, bent himself wholly to recover (if it were possible) the Sea-Coasts, which the Duke of Alva had, by a notable Oversight in so great a Captain, neglected; whereby the Low-Country-War was so many Years prolong'd. But in regard he was unprovided of Shipping, (for the Spanish Ships, which, by the Help of the English, were brought into Flanders a little before, for that purpose, had miscarry'd, being miserably torn and weather-beaten) he sent Boischoet into England, to levy, with the Queen's Consent, Ships and Seamen, against the Hollanders and Zealanders. But he

Requesens
craves
shipping
out of
England,
but in
vain.

1575. Ann. 18. *Other Re-quests deny'd him.* he prevail'd not: for the Queen would not hazard her Ships and Seamen in another Man's Quarrel; and she publickly commanded, that no Man should set out Ships of War, without Licence first obtain'd from her; and that no English Seamen should serve under other Princes. *Boisshot* therefore desired, that she would not be offended, if the English Exiles in the Netherlands serv'd at Sea, under the Spaniard, against the Hollanders; and that they might have free Access to the Ports of England, and buy Victuals for their Money. She in no wise allow'd, that those English Rebels (for so she call'd those, whom he term'd Exiles) should serve under the Spaniard; nay, she hoped *Requesens* would not shew them any Countenance, and pray'd him not to do it; particularly naming *Thomas Copley*, (whom the Spaniards purpos'd to set out to Sea, to make Prize both of the English and Netherlanders, having dignify'd him with the Titles of Great Master of the Maese, Lord of Gatten and Roughy) And to give Liberty of her Ports to Rebels and sworn Enemies, were nothing else but the Height of Madness. *Boisshot*, that he might obtain something reasonable of her, required, in the King of Spain's Name, that the Netherland Rebels against the Spaniard might be expell'd out of England. She deny'd it, forasmuch as those whom he call'd Rebels were Men of no Note, poor and silly Wretches, who had attempted no Disturbances, but had fled into England, for fear of the War, despoil'd of their Country and Inheritance, whom to deliver into the Tormenter's Hands, were a piece of Inhumanity, and against the Laws of Hospitality. And she put him in mind how prejudicial it had been to the Spanish Affairs in the Netherlands, when at the Duke of *Alva's* Request, she commanded the Netherlanders to depart out of England, in the Year 1572. For the Count *Van-der-Mark* and others, being commanded to be gone out of England, thereupon took the *Briel*, and gave Beginning to that War. But yet, that she might not seem to forget or neglect the ancient League with the House of Burgundy, (which notwithstanding the Spaniard had refus'd to confirm with her) she commanded by publick Proclamation, that the Netherlanders Ships of War should not stir out of the Havens of England, and that those Netherlanders who had taken up Arms against the Spaniard, should not be admitted into the Havens of England; and by Name, the Prince of Orange, and those of his House, the Earls of *Culenbourg*, *Berg*, *Van-der-Mark*, and fifty others, the most remarkable Men of that Faction. And this she did the more willingly, because *Requesens* had, at the Intercession of *William* the English Ambassador, remov'd the Earl of *Westmoreland* and other Englishmen, out of the Netherland Provinces of the Spaniard, and had dissolv'd the English Seminary at *Doway*. Instead whereof, the *Guises*, by the Procurement of Pope *Gregory XIII.* erected another at *Rheims*.

Q. forbids the Confederate Netherlanders Entrance into her Ports. The Prince of Orange, finding himself too weak to withstand the Force of the Spaniard, and hoping for no Good out of England, enter'd into Consultation with his Friends, to whose Protection they might best betake themselves. And when Queen Elizabeth understood that he cast his Eyes and Mind upon the French King, she first sent *Daniel Rogers* to dissuade him: which when *Rogers* could not do, (for he had dealt before, concerning the matter, with *Coligny* Admiral of France, and the French King) she sent *Henry Cobham*, the Lord *Cobham's* Brother, to the Spaniard, to inform him, of how dangerous Consequence it would be, if Holland and Zealand should revolt from him to the French King; and to persuade him, by the best Reasons he could,

to change War for Peace: who seem'd to listen to the Motion. And withal, she signify'd the same things to *Requesens*, by *Robert Corbet*. Neither ceas'd she to divert the Prince of Orange from his purpose, by *J. Hastings*: but by means of the Opposition of *Vilers*, a French Preacher, he effected nothing. This *Vilers* (I speak it upon my own Knowledge) came formerly into England, a poor needy Fellow, in a thread-bare Cloak; and grew rich, by a common Collection made him for reading a Divinity-Lecture. He, fearing lest the Prince of Orange should look towards the English, amongst other things, affirm'd, that Queen Elizabeth had never a Martial Man, to whose Valour and Fidelity she could entrust an Army, but *Suffex*; and he not much favouring the Protestant Religion. He also buzz'd abroad, what he had heard of *Coligny*, that the English, if they once set Footing in the Netherlands, would resume their ancient Hatred against the French.

But the Civil-Wars among the French cut off from the Prince of Orange, and the Netherlanders, all Hope of Aid out of France. Whereupon, they enter'd into a new Consultation, whom they should fly to, for Succour and Protection. The Princes of Germany, they knew, were already averse enough, in their Hearts, from the Spaniards; but they did not unite their Counsels together, for the Common Good; they were sparing of laying out Money; they agreed not in all Points, with the Netherlanders, in Religion; and the Emperor, being ally'd in Blood to the Spaniard, would cast Rubs in their Way. The French (they saw) were embroil'd with Civil-War at home, in such sort as they could not tell when it would have an End. Besides, there were inveterate Grudges and Heart-burnings betwixt the Netherlanders and the French; and those of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the People bordering upon the French, would oppose them all they could. The Government of the French was no less rigid than that of the Spaniards: the Ports of France not very commodious for the Netherlanders Navigation. But as for the English, they were (as being under the same Parallel) of the same Temper and Disposition with them; their Religion the very same, their Language not much differing, their Country near at hand, full of Havens commodious for Navigation, and abounding with Merchandize: the Queen was very powerful both by Sea and Land, courteous, bountiful, one that would maintain their Privileges; her Government would be gentle, and not burdensome by Exactions. Thus they argu'd.

Into England therefore are sent *Philip* of *Marnix* *Sieur* of *Saint Aldegonde*, *Janus Douza* of *Nordwick*, *William* of *Nirville*, *Paul Buys*, Advocate for the States of Holland, and *Dr. Melsen*, a Lawyer; who, by an honourable Embassy, and in an eloquent Oration, offer to the Queen, either the Possession or Protection of Holland and Zealand, she being a Princess descended from the Princes of Holland, by *Philippa* Wife to *Edward III.* and Daughter to *William III.* of *Bavaria*, Earl of *Hainault* and *Holland*; by whose other Sister the hereditary Title of those Provinces was descended to the Spaniard.

These things the Queen gave a ready and attentive Ear to. And first she weigh'd in her Mind seriously, the Cause which they maintain'd against their King and Lord; the Enmity of the Spaniard against her; the Jealousies of the French King; and the great Expences and doubtful Chances of War; and also how great Offence the Novelty of such an Example might give. Then she question'd, whether she had any just Title to Holland and Zealand, by the House of *Bavaria*,

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1575. Ann. 18. *Barbarian*, and whether she might lawfully enter into Covenant with another Prince's Subjects to protect them; as also whether they might lawfully do it without the Emperor's consent, who was *Supreme Lord of the Fee*. Next, she gave no Credit to what some would make her believe, that those Countries came to the *Spaniards* Ancestors by Election of the Subjects, not by Right of Inheritance. Finally, upon mature Deliberation of the Matter, after she had thanked the Prince of Orange and them for their apparent Good-will towards her, she answer'd, *That she esteem'd nothing more glorious, than to deal with Faith and Honour, and as becometh a Prince. That she was not yet satisfy'd how she might with her Honour and a safe Conscience take those Provinces upon their Proffer into her Protection, much less Possession. But she would deal seriously with the Spaniard, to procure them an happy Peace.*

Campaign At the same time came *John Perenott*, Lord of *Champigny*, the Cardinal of *Granvill's* Brother, from *Requesens* to *Queen Elizabeth*; who modestly put her in mind of observing the League betwixt *England* and *Burgundy*, and besought her, that she would not intermeddle in the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. She, tho' the *Spaniard* had refus'd to confirm the said League, yet promis'd to observe it. Nevertheless she would provide (she said) for her own Honour and Safety, in case the ancient Form of the *Burgundian* Government were chang'd, and foreign Soldiers receiv'd daily in so great Numbers into the Neighbouring Province to her.

Death of Before such time as *Champigny* was return'd home, *Requesens* was dead, and presently the Affairs of the *Netherlands* were in a confus'd Condition, the Soldiers harassing all places with Fire and Sword, and the Estates of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, &c. reassuming their former Authority in governing the State: Which the *Spaniard* also was forced to confirm unto them till the coming of *Don John of Austria*, whom he had appointed to be their Governor. To these Estates *Queen Elizabeth* sent *William Davison*, to exhort them effectually to bend their Minds to Peace, being very careful that the *Spaniard* might receive no Damage, and to preserve unto him, as far as lay in her power, the *Netherland* Provinces whole and safe. But the *Spanish* Soldiers mutinying and growing outrageous, nothing was effected.

The Q. In *England* there was all this Year a quiet Calm, saving that in the *Middle-March* towards *Scotland* there happen'd a sudden Bickering in the Month of *July* betwixt the Borderers, upon this Occasion. *Sir John Forster* Kt. Warden of the *Middle-March*, and at this time Governor also of *Berwick*, had condescended beneath his Quality to a Parley at *Red-Square-Hill* with *J. Carmichell*, Warden of *Liddesdale* in *Scotland*. For Governors were not wont to meet but with Governors, and Wardens with Wardens, as Equals in Dignity. Both of them, besides certain Gentlemen attending them, were accompany'd with an armed Rabble of Thieves and Malefactors belonging to both Borders, most of them bearing an inveterate and deadly Fend one against the other. These, after their wonted manner, turning their Horses to grazing in the next Fields, encompassed the Governor and the Warden on all sides: Whom when they heard, fall to hot Words about delivering up of Raparees, and mistrusted that themselves (who had no Livelihood but by their Weapons) were the Men that should be deliver'd up, every one of them having a guilty Conscience, they began to quarrel about a Spur that was taken up, and presently betook themselves to their Weapons, every Man falling upon his particular Enemy whom he hated, or else to the

taking of Horses as Booty. Whether the *Scots* or the *English* began first is uncertain. At the first Shock the *English* beat back the *Scots*, and took *Carmichell* Prisoner: But when they fell carelessly to Pillaging, and to rising of certain Pedlars, a Company of *Scots* came upon them from *Fedburgh*, by means whereof *Carmichell* escap'd, the *English* were put to flight, and *Sir George Heron* Kt. Warden of *Tindale* and *Rhodesdale*, and others, were slain. *Forster* himself the Governor, *Francis Russel* the Earl of *Bedford's* Son, and Son-in-law to *Forster*, *Cuthbert Collingwood*, *James Ogilvie*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others were taken Prisoners, and carry'd into *Scotland* as far as *Dalkeith*, where the Regent lay; who entertain'd them with all Civility, but detain'd them a little while, fearing lest, if they were presently dismissed, while their Blood was hot for the loss of their Friends, they might attempt a Revenge, and raise Combuitions and War betwixt the two Kingdoms. Neither did he at last let them go, but upon Faith given under their Hands to appear in *Scotland* at a set Day.

As soon as *Queen Elizabeth* had intelligence hereof, now if ever she was filled with Anger and Indignation, taking it in high scorn, that the *Scots*, who (as she said) did owe their Liberty and Tranquillity to her and the *English*, had broken the Peace, invaded the *English* in *England*, slain some of them, taken Prisoner the Warden of the *Middle-March*, who was also Governor of *Berwick*, with divers others, carried them away captive into *Scotland*, and not dismiss'd them till they had given Assurance under their Hands for their Return. All these Things she took as done wrongfully and injuriously, in Disgrace of the *English* Nation, and of her own Honour. And the rather, because the Regent had appointed the Hearing of this Matter to be within the Limits of *Scotland*; and had also propounded whether or no the Commissioners should meet armed. For this latter seem'd a point of Hostility; that other of Ambition, namely, that the Regent of *Scotland* should now prescribe a Place of Meeting to the *Queen of England*, whereas she not long before had appointed *Murray* the Regent his Place of Meeting at *York*. Neither could the Regent, now terrify'd at her Threats, satisfy her, till such time as he came unarm'd to *Bondevood*, on the Borders of both Kingdoms; and there met the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the *English* Commissioner, and with complimentary Words, promis'd to close this Wound by the best Offices he could, and (to repair the Honour of the *English* Nation) sent *Carmichell*, his intimate Friend, into *England*, who was kept a while at *York* a Prisoner at large, but afterwards sent back with Honour and certain Presents. For it was found that the Fault lay in *Forster*, whilst he too obstinately took the Part of a notorious Malefactor. Thus was Amity renew'd betwixt the *Queen* and the Regent. And after that time he never fail'd to shew himself her constant Friend, restraining the Raparees of the Borders, to his own great Commendations, and to the general Good of both Kingdoms.

There died this Year no Man of any great Note in *England*, but in *Scotland* a most noble Person, namely *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Chastel-Herauld*, and Earl of *Arran*; who, being Great Grandson to *James II.* King of *Scots* by his Daughter, was appointed Tutor to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and Governor and Heir-apparent of the Kingdom during her Minority. After, when he had deliver'd her to the *French*, he was made Duke of *Chastel-Herauld* in *France*; and was after that constituted by *Queen Mary* (being then a Prisoner) the first of the three Lieutenants of *Scotland*. Whose Cause

1575. Cause whilst he most constantly maintain'd, being an open-hearted Man, and of a mild Disposition, he was perpetually tossed and turmoiled by the vexatious Contrivances of turbulent Persons.

1576. In Ireland the Earl of Essex being laid in wait for by Turlough and the Baron of Dungannon, and wrestling with many Difficulties out of England, hearing now that there was a Consultation about his calling home, bewail'd himself for the Miseries into which he was wrongfully fallen, complain'd of the undoing of himself and his Friends, lamented the Condition of Ireland, which he persuaded himself might be brought into Order with Two thousand Men; and very earnestly intreated that he might compound Matters with Turlough, to his Honour. And when he had now resign'd up his Command in Ulster to the Lord-Deputy, because he was not able with that small Power of Men which the Lord-Deputy had assign'd him to prosecute his Enterprize, he was commanded to take it again. But scarce had he taken it and march'd against Turlough, when Letters came, that he should absolutely desist from War, and make as honourable a Peace as he could. Which being soon made, he march'd against the Hebridian Scots, who had seiz'd upon Clondeboy, drove them into the Lurking-places, and by the Conduct of Norris attempted the Isle of Rathlin, put Four hundred of the Islanders to the Sword, forced the Castle, and put a Garison therein. And now, in the midst of his course of Victory, he was again, beyond his expectation, commanded to resign his Authority; and as an ordinary Captain had the Command of 300 Men given him; and through Leicester's cunning Dealing nothing was omitted, whereby to break his mild Spirit with continual Crosses one in the neck of another.

Sidney the third time made Deputy of Ireland. Diverse Rebels submit themselves. Now was Sir Henry Sidney sent the third time Lord-Deputy into Ireland, whenas the Pestilence consum'd the People of the Isle far and near. He notwithstanding goeth into Ulster, and many came in to him, falling upon their Knees, and craving his Protection, namely Mac-Mahon, Mac-Guire, Turlough Leinigh, and others. In Leinster in like manner did the O-Conors and O-Moors, two rebellious Families, who by Force and Arms had seiz'd upon their ancient Inheritances in Leife and Ophalie, out of which they had been thrown by the Law. Being come into Munster, he assist-ed as a close Mourner to honour the Funeral of Sir Peter Carew, a very noble Knight, and of approved Valour; who being Heir to Fitz-Stephen and Raymund the Gros, the first Conquerors of Ireland, and to the Barony of Ydrone, had recover'd a part of his Inheritance which had been lost a long time. The Earl of Desmond coming to see him at Cork, offer'd him his best Service, and Obedience with all Submission. From thence going into Connaught, he receiv'd into his Protection the Earl of Clan-Richard's Son, who had rebell'd, but now most submissively crav'd Pardon in the Church of Galway: And he govern'd the Country with great Commendation.

1576.

The Nineteenth Year of her Reign.

French propound a Marriage to Q. Eliz. In the beginning of the new Year those two Marriage-Brokers, Mota Fenellon and Porte, began again to tickle Queen Elizabeth's Ears with Love-Stories about her Marriage with Alenzon. To whom answer was made, That that Business was now out of season, for Alenzon could not come over, France being embroil'd with Civil Wars, and Alenzon deeply engag'd therein. Yet were there one or two Messengers sent into France, to renew Brotherly-love betwixt the King and Alen-

zon, and to dissuade them from meddling with the Affairs of the Netherlands, lest the Spaniard should endeavour to raise new Combustions in France. And the more to deter the French King from it, she put him in mind how easie a matter it would be for the Spaniard, who was now thoroughly furnish'd with all Provision for War in Italy, either to seize upon Saluzes, or to land his Forces in Provence, and make himself Master of the Coast of the Mediterranean-Sea, France being so exhausted of its Wealth: And other like matters she put him in mind of.

For the Prince of Orange, for his own private Ends, and in hopes to retain the Principality of Orange, which is situate in France, ceased not to invite the French into the Netherlands, and permitted the Zelanders and Hollanders (who infested the Seas round about with their Privateers, being Men as it were born in the Sea) to rob the English Merchants Ships, whom they accus'd to carry Victuals to their Enemies the Dunkirkers, and to transport the Merchandize of the Antwerp and others into Spain, under counterfeit Names, which they were wont themselves to export formerly to their own Advantage, but now durst not, as being conscious to themselves of their revolt. For restraining of these, Hol-flock, being sent forth again with Men of War, took above 200 Pirates, and put 'em in Prisons all along the Sea-coast. But to demand Restitution of the Goods they had taken, there were sent into Zeland Sir William Winter Kt. and Robert Beal Clerk of the Council, to consider of the Value of the Things in controversie, and agree about Restitution, upon certain Conditions. But by reason of the Avarice of the English Merchants, and the Insolency of the Zelanders, the Quarrel broke out again, which was shortly after compounded with loss to both Nations.

All things were now in the utmost Confusion in the Netherlands, whilst the Spaniards without any Authority, thrust certain Counsellors of the Estates into Prison, and committed such Outrages in the Country, rifling their Goods, and doing them all kinds of Injuries, that the Estates were driven of necessity to take up Arms. And forthwith they dispatch'd their Messengers into all Countries; and by Obigny signified to Queen Elizabeth how they were abus'd, and the Causes of their taking up Arms. The Queen by Dr. Wilson earnestly exhorteth both the States and the Spaniards to lay down Arms, and enquireth diligently for what reason the States Counsellors were committed. In the mean time the most beautiful City of Antwerp, which hardly yielded to any the most flourishing Mart-Towns of all Europe, was miserably sack'd by the Spaniards, the Houses of the English Merchants plunder'd and rifl'd, and they themselves (tho' free from all Blame) constrain'd to pay the Soldiers a great sum of Gold for their Ransom. Obigny, laying hold on this Opportunity, importunately desir'd to borrow a great sum of Money of Q. Elizabeth, in the Name of the States, to restrain this Insolency of the Spaniards. The Queen, having receiv'd certain Intelligence that they had before desir'd Money of the French King, denied them, but promis'd to make earnest Intercession with the Spaniard for a Peace. And to that purpose she sent into Spain Sir John Smith, Cousin-German to King Edward VI. a Man of Spanish Comportment, and very well known to the Spaniard; who was most graciously Entertain'd by the King, and retorted with such Discretion the disgraceful Injuries of Gaspar Quiroga Archbishop of Toledo against the Queen in hatred of her Religion, and of the Inquisitors of Sevil, who would not allow the Attribute of Defender of the Faith in the Queen's Title,

1576.

Ann. 19.

And from meddling in the Netherlands.

Zelanders infest the English.

They are restrain'd by the Q.

Confusion in the Netherlands.

Antwerp sack'd.

Q. Eliz. labours to compound the Netherlands Troubles.

1576. Title, that the King gave him Thanks for it, and was displeased with the Archbishop, desiring the Ambassador to conceal the Matter from the Queen, and expressly commanded the said Title to be allow'd her. For he knew the Queen's Advice was expedient for this Affair, tho' he follow'd it not, the Fate of the Netherlands (if I may so say) inforcing him to take another Course.

Don John of Austria came into the Netherlands with Supreme Power to Govern the same, who was the base or natural Son of the Emperor Charles V. To whom the Queen likewise sent Sir Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, to congratulate his Entrance, and to offer him Assistance in case the States should call in the French to the Netherlands. But *Svevingham* making most importunate suit in behalf of the States, she sent them over Twenty thousand Pounds of English Money, upon condition they should never change their Religion nor their Prince, nor receive the French into the Netherlands, nor refuse a Peace, if Don John of Austria would condescend to reasonable Conditions: And that if he did come to a Peace, the Spanish Soldiers should be satisfy'd with the said Money, who now mutiny'd for lack of Pay. So careful was she to retain the wavering Provinces in their Fidelity and Obedience to the Spaniard, that she omitted no Opportunity of deserving well of him, and preserving Peace.

In England there was at this time a pleasant Calm and Quiet, and the Trade betwixt the English and the Portugals was open'd again, which by the private Avarice of certain Persons had of late been obstructed: For the English were now permitted to Trade in Portugal, *Algarbia*, *Isles of Madera* and the *Azores*, and the Portugals in England and Ireland, for the space of three years; in which time the Differences about detaining of Merchandizes was to be debated. And this was publish'd by a Proclamation.

At this time some studious Heads, moved with a commendable Desire to discover the more remote Regions of the World, and the Secrets of the Ocean, put forward some well-mony'd Men, no less desirous to reap Profit by it, to discover whether there were any Strait in the North-part of America, through which Men might sail to the rich Country of Cathay, and so the Wealth of the East and West might be conjoin'd by a mutual Commerce. These learned Men argu'd, that probably there was some Strait open'd a Way in that Part; taking it for granted, that the nearer the Shore a Man cometh, the shallower the Waters are. But they who sail from the Western-Coast of *Island* find by experience the Sea to be deeper: So as it may probably seem to join with that Sea which the Mariners call *Mare del Sur*, on the other side of America. Then they argu'd, That whereas the Ocean is carried with the daily motion of the *Primum Mobile*, or the uppermost Heaven, being beaten back by the Opposition of America, it runneth Northward to *Cabo Fredo*, that is, the Cold Cape or Promontory, about which place it should be emptied thro' some Strait into the Sea *del Sur*; otherwise it would be beaten back with the like violence upon *Lapland* and *Finmark*, as it is in the South Part of the World beaten back from the Strait of *Magellan* (a Strait full of Isles, and by reason of the narrowness of the Strait, being so full of Isles, incapable of so great a quantity of Waters) along the Eastern-Coast of America to *Cabo Fredo*. For Testimony they bring *Ant. Jenkinson* an Englishman, than whom no Man had more perfect knowledge of the North Part of the World; who hath demonstrated, that an huge quantity of Waters must needs be poured forth out of the

Cronian or Frozen Sea into the Sea *del Sur*: Also *Bernard le Torr*, a Spaniard, who affirmeth, That returning from the Isles of the *Molucca's* into America, he was driven back again to the *Molucca's* by force of Waters rushing against his Ship from the North, when he was above the Equator Northwards: And other things they alledg'd for proof hereof. Herewith these money'd Men being persuaded, they sent *Martin Frobisher* with three Pinnaces to discover this Strait; who setting out from *Harwich* the 18th of June, enter'd, on the 9th of August, into a Bay or Strait, under the Latitude of 63 Degrees; where he found Men with black Hair, broad Faces, flat Noses, swarthy Colour'd, Apparell'd in Sealves Skins; the Women painted about the Eyes and Balls of the Cheeks with a blue Colour, like the ancient Britains. But all being so frozen up with Ice in the Month of August that he could not hold on his Voyage, he return'd, and arriv'd in England the 24th of September, having lost five Seamen, whom the Barbarians had intercepted. Nevertheless the two Years next following he failed to the same Coasts to perfect his Enterprize; but being encounter'd every where with heaps of Ice like Mountains, he was kept from entering any farther into the Bay. Being therefore tossed up and down with foul Weather, Snows, and unconstant Winds, he gather'd a great quantity of Stones, which he thought to be Minerals, and so return'd Homewards. Which Stones, when neither Gold nor Silver, nor any other Metal could be extracted from them, we have seen cast forth to mend the High-Ways. But these matters are publish'd at large, and every where to be sold.

About this time died *Maximilian* the Emperor, a Prince both prudent, just, profitable and advantageous to the Empire, and one that had well deserv'd of Queen Elizabeth and the English. As soon as Queen Elizabeth heard the Certainty of his Death, she was very much troubled at it, and sent Sir Philip Sidney, as her Ambassador to *Rodolph* King of the Romans, officiously to signify both her Grief for his Father's Death, and her Joy for his Succession: and also in his way, to condole with the Elector Palatine's Sons, the Death of their Father *Frederick III.* as likewise, to put Count *Casimir* in mind, by the by, of the Money she had disburs'd in the French War. For by that War was Peace restor'd to France, *Alençon* had settl'd upon him, in *Apenmage*, as they term it, the Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Tours*, and *Berry*; *Casimir* was promis'd Eleven Millions of Franks, for Pay for his German Horsemen, and some of the French Queen's Jewels were pawn'd for three hundred thousand Crowns. But nothing at all was paid back again to Queen Elizabeth, who notwithstanding held herself fully satisfy'd, that it was well bestow'd in a good Cause. *Casimir* answer'd ingenuously, and in his German Sincerity, that the French King had not kept his Word, and that 'twas not long of him, that the Money was not repaid.

As in Germany, the Loss of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Elector Palatine, Princes of Christian Vertue, was very great, in regard of their singular Moderation: so in England and Ireland, was that as great of *Walter D'Evereux* Earl of *Essex*; tho' he were in degree far inferior to them. A very excellent Man certainly he was, in whom Honesty of Carriage vy'd with Nobility of Birth: both which notwithstanding could not prevail against Envy. For after he was constrain'd to give over his laudable Enterprize in Ireland, he return'd into England, having much wasted his Estate; where openly threatening *Leicester*, whom he suspected to have done him Injuries,

Don John of Austria cometh into the Netherlands.

Q. Eliz. relieves the States with Money, to keep the Netherlands in Obedience to their K.

Commerce restor'd betwixt the English and the Portugals.

A Passage sought to Cathay by the Western Ocean.

With what probability.

Also Bernard le Torr, a Spaniard, who affirmeth, That returning from the Isles of the Molucca's into America, he was driven back again to the Molucca's by force of Waters rushing against his Ship from the North, when he was above the Equator Northwards: And other things they alledg'd for proof hereof.

Death of Maximilian the Emperor.

And the Elector Palatine.

Death of Walter D'Evereux Earl of Essex.

juries, he was by his cunning Court-tricks, who stood in fear of him, and by a peculiar Court-Mystery of wounding and overthrowing Men by Honours, sent back again into Ireland, with the insignificant Title of *Earl-Marshal of Ireland*. Where pining away with Grief and Sorrow, he piously rendred his Soul to Christ, dying of a Bloody-flux, in the midst of grievous Torments; after he had desir'd the Standers-by, to admonish his Son, who was then scarce ten Years old, to have always before his Eyes the six and thirtieth Year of his Age, as the utmost Term of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had pass'd: and which this Son never attain'd to, as we will shew in its proper place. The Death of this Nobleman carry'd with it a Suspicion of Poison among the vulgar sort, (who always suspect them to be poison'd, whom they esteem and love) altho' *Sidney* Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent Inquisition made, wrote to the Council in *England*, that the Earl, upon his first taking his Bed, said many times, that this was a thing usual and ordinary with him, that whensoever he was troubled and perplex'd in mind, he fell into the Bloody-flux; and that he suspected nothing at all of Poison; and that his Body retain'd the same Colour in his Sickness, which it had in his perfect Health, no Spot, no Infection, no Shedding of the Hair or Nails, and being embowell'd no Sign at all of Poison appear'd; that tho' the Physicians differ'd in their Judgments, yet they apply'd nothing against the force of Poison; and that his Cup-bearer was falsely accus'd of infusing something in Water, and mixing it with his Wine. Yet have we seen the same Man openly pointed at for a Poisoner. The Suspicion was increas'd by *Leicester's* presently putting away *Douglasse Sheffield* with Money and fair Promises, (whether his Mistress, or his Wife, I cannot say) on whom he had begotten a Son, and now more openly making Love to *Lettice, Essex's* Widow, to whom afterwards he join'd himself in a double Matrimony. For tho' it were reported, that he had already privately marry'd her; yet *Sir Francis Knolles*, Father to *Lettice*, who was acquainted with *Leicester's* Rambling and Inconstancy in his Love, would not believe it, (fearing lest he should put a Trick upon his Daughter) unless he might see the Marriage perform'd in his own Presence, with some Witnesses by, and a publick Notary. But these things were done a Year or two after.

At this time ended his Life in *England* *Sir Anthony Cook* Knight, a Man of seventy Years of Age, of severe Gravity, and great Learning; having been School-Master to King *Edward VI.* in his Childhood; a Man happy in his Daughters, whom having brought up in Learning, both *Greek* and *Latin*, above their Sex, he marry'd to Men of good Account; namely, to *Sir William Cecil*, who was Treasurer of *England*, *Sir Nicolas Bacon*, Lord-Keeper, and *Sir Thomas Hoby*, who died Ambassador in *France*, *Sir Ralph Roulet*, and *Sir Henry Killegrew*.

Before *Essex's* Death, (to return a little back) the Earl of *Clan-Richard's* Sons, who scarce two Months before had obtain'd of the Lord-Deputy a Pardon for their Rebellion, gather'd together again a Rabble of lewd Fellows, and outrageously practis'd their Robberies and Depredations all over *Connaught*. The Town of *Askenry*, which the Inhabitants were now repairing, they burnt, and put the Workmen to the Sword, out of a barbarous hatred against the Inhabitants, because they begun to conform themselves to the Laws, and live civilly. But upon the Lord-Deputy's coming, their thieving Troops were dispers'd, and

fled, after their wonted manner, into their Lurking-holes; and their Father the Earl of *Clan-Richard* himself was cast into Prison at *Dublin*, as accessary to their Crimes. The Lord-Deputy being return'd back, they crept out of their Holes again, and in vain besieged *Balla-Reagh-Castle*, with Loss of Men, being their Father's chief Seat, wherein a Garrison had been put, under the Command of *Thomas Strange*. The Lands of *Mac-William Eughter*, that is, the younger, they wait'd; joining to them the *Island-Scotts*. But at the coming of the Lord-Deputy, they vanish'd again, hiding themselves in their Holes, as before.

Sir W. Drury, who was lately Marshal of *Berwick*, being now newly made President of *Munster*, by his Wisdom and Valour, brought the whole Country into Subjection, and Obedience to the Laws; except the *Peninsula* and Country-Palatine of *Kerry*; whether, as into a Sink, many Malefactors, Thieves, Men in Debt, and suspected of capital Crimes, had resorted, and grew insolent, as presuming upon a kind of Impunity; by reason of the Privilege of the Place. For, King *Edward III.* had granted to the Earl of *Desmond*, all the Royalties which the Kings of *England* had in that County, except Firing, Rapes, Forestalling and Treasure-trove. The President notwithstanding, judging that those Royalties were granted for the Preservation of Justice, and not for Impunity to Offenders, enter'd into it, valiantly put to Flight the choicest Companies of those Rogues, whom *Desmond* had plac'd in Ambush, and hunted out the Malefactors all over *Kerry*, and severely punish'd many of them; while *Desmond* fretted, and made a most heavy Complaint to the Lord-Deputy against *Drury*, both of this, and about the Payment which they call *Ceas*. This Payment is an Exaction of Victuals, at a certain Rate or Price, (such as *Canon Glebe* was among the Ancients; that is, a Custom of paying Corn yearly) for the Maintenance of the Lord-Deputy's Household, and the Garrison-Soldiers. Hereof, not only he, but also in *Leinster*, the more civilized part of *Ireland*, the Lord Viscount *Baltinglass*, the Barons *Delvin*, *Hotb*, and *Trimleston*, and all the better sort of the Nobility and Gentry, complain'd; refusing to pay it, as not to be demanded but by Authority of Parliament. Those which were sent, in this behalf, by them, into *England*, were first heard by the Council, and then committed to Prison; as in like manner were those in *Ireland*, which sent them, till they submitted themselves: forasmuch as it appear'd, by the Records of the Kingdom, that it had been an ancient Institution, and that it was a Privilege of the Crown, (otherwise call'd a *Royal Prerogative*) which is not subject to the Laws, and yet is not repugnant to the Laws, as the learned in the Laws have judg'd. But the Queen commanded the Lord-Deputy to use a Moderation in such Exactions, saying, according to the old Proverb, that she would have her Subjects, whilst they were poll'd, not to be slay'd. And 'tis reported, that she should say, "Ah! how do I fear, lest it be objected to us, concerning the *Irish*, which was objected in old time to *Tiberius*, by *Cato*, concerning the *Dalmatian* Commotions; You, you it is that are in Fault, who have committed your Flocks, not to Shepherds, but to Wolves."

The Twentieth Year of her Reign.

Don John of *Austria*, when he found himself too weak for the States of the *Netherlands*, who were very strong in themselves, and back'd also with the Amity of their neighbouring Princes; Vol. II. N n n sent

1576.
Ann. 19.

Sir Will.
Drury
President
of Mun-
ster

Clear
Kerry of
Rogues.

A Ceas,
what it is.

Irishcom-
plain of
exactions.

Q. moder-
ates 'em.

1577

1577.
Ann. 20.
Don John
of Austria
inclines to
Peace.
Q. Eliz.
persuades
him to it.

sent *Gastelle* to Queen *Elizabeth*, to thank her for the Assistance offer'd him against the *French*, and to profess to her his ready Inclination to Peace. She, by Sir *Edward Horsey*, who was now sent thither the second time, commends his Inclination to Peace; and withal, treats with him about restoring the *Englishmens* Goods, which were seiz'd at *Antwerp*.

Prince of
Orange
diverts
her.
Don John
projects to
marry the
Queen of
Scots.

A slow Answer was return'd hereto, in regard he was much hinder'd (as he pretended) by other Cares, being wholly taken up about a perpetual *Edict of Peace*, (as he call'd it) which notwithstanding scarce lasted a Year. Q. *Elizabeth* being seriously desirous of a Peace, sent Sir *Tho. Leighton* to the Prince of *Orange*, to persuade him to attempt nothing in an hostile Way, till Sir *Thomas Smith's* Return, who was sent to the *Spaniard*, to procure a Peace. The Prince of *Orange*, condemning from his Heart that perpetual *Edict*, had opportunely learn'd, that Don *John* was projecting to marry with the Queen of *Scots*: which he gladly laid hold on, and by *Favonius* presently acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* therewith, to divert her Mind from the Peace. Yet she, as if she understood nothing of it, congratulated Don *John*, by *Daniel Rogers*, about the perpetual *Edict of Peace*, tho' she were now ascertain'd, that Don *John*, thro' the Persuasion of the Earl of *Westmoreland*, and the *English* Fugitives, and being much forwarded and favour'd therein, by the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Guises*, had already swallow'd the said Marriage in hope, and withal the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; and had now determin'd to seize upon the Isle of *Man* in the *Irish* Sea, as commodious for invading *England*, from *Ireland*, and the Western Coast of *Scotland*, where the Queen of *Scots* had very many devoted to her; as also in the opposite part of *England*; namely, *North-Wales*, and the Counties of *Cumberland*, *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*; where the generality of the People were very much addicted to the Popish Religion.

And by
her to get
the King-
dom of
England.

His Deal-
ing with
the Pope
about it.

Copley
made a
Baron by
the Fr. K.

And certainly Don *John*, (as we have learn'd from *Perez*, who was Secretary to the *Spaniard*) having been formerly transported with Ambition, when he found himself disappointed of his Hope of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, had privately dealt with the Pope, about deposing Queen *Elizabeth*, marrying the Queen of *Scots*, and conquering of *England*; and had so far prevail'd, without once acquainting King *Philip*; that the Pope, as it were out of a Desire of the publick Good, excited King *Philip* to War against *England*: and Don *John* himself, being ready to depart from the *Netherlands*, prosecuted the same himself in *Spain*; and afterwards made Suit by *Escovedo*, whom he sent out of the *Netherlands*, that some Port-Town might be granted him in *Biscay*, from whence he might invade *England* with a Fleet. But King *Philip*, disliking these Projects, began to neglect the Man as too ambitious. And these things Queen *Elizabeth* never perfectly understood, till (as I said) the Prince of *Orange* inform'd her thereof.

There arose also a new Suspicion from *Tho. Copley* (one of the prime Men among the *English* Fugitives) his being recommended to the *French* King by *Vaux*, Don *John's* Secretary, and receiving from him the Dignity of Knighthood, and Title of Baron. Yet *Copley* labour'd to clear himself of all Suspicion, protesting his Obedience towards his Princess, and that he had accepted that Title, with no other intent, but that the greater Honour might come to his Wife, the Companion of his Exile, and the larger Pension to himself, from the *Spaniard*; forasmuch as Noblemen, that are dignify'd with Titles, are in better Esteem among the *Spaniards*: and the

Title of *Baron* he thought did belong to him of Right, whose Grand-mother was eldest Daughter to the Lord *Hoo*, and his Great-grand-mother eldest of the Heirs of the Lord *Wills*.

Don *John*, in the mean time, secretly prosecuted the said Marriage; and withal, to blind the Queen's Eyes, sent the Viscount of *Gaunt* on an Embassy to Queen *Elizabeth*, to acquaint her with the Conditions of the Peace, and to request a longer time for the Payment of the Money which the States had borrow'd. To this latter she willingly agreed, and dealt with him again by *Wilson*, about Recompence for the Damages done to the *English* Merchants, at the Sacking of *Antwerp*. But he only deluded her, and while he seem'd to be intent upon the perpetual *Edict of Peace*, brake forth into War, surprized Towns and Castles by Craft, and wrote to the *Spaniard*, that the best Course was to fall upon the Islands of *Zealand*, before he set upon the inner Provinces: and feeding his own Hopes, he endeavour'd to persuade him by *Escovedo*, his Secretary, that *England* might easilier be won, than *Zealand*.

Hereupon, when all things in the *Netherlands* now tended to War, the States sent the Marquis of *Haurée* and *Adolph Metkerk*, Ambassadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, to borrow of her one hundred thousand Pound Sterling, for eight Months. To which she answer'd, 'That if they could borrow it any where else, she and the City of *London* would very willingly give Security for it, upon Condition, that certain Towns in the *Netherlands*, which she should name, would become bound to repay the Money within a Year. A League also was contracted with the States, of mutual Aid by Sea and Land, upon these Conditions.

'The Queen shall assist the States with 1000 Horse, and 5000 Foot, whose Pay and Charges the States shall defray at *London*, the third Month after they take Shipping: and after the War ended, they shall send them back at their Charges into *England*. The General or Commander of this Army, being by Nation an *Englishman*, shall be admitted into the Council of the States. Nothing shall be determin'd concerning War or Peace, without acquainting the Queen or him therewith. They shall enter into no League with any whosoever, without her Approbation: and in the same, if she will, she shall be comprehended. If any Prince do attempt Hostility against the Queen or Kingdom, under any Pretence whatsoever, the States shall to their Power oppose him, and shall send the Queen the same number of Succours; and upon the same Conditions. If any Discord arise among the States, it shall be referr'd to the Queen's Arbitration. If any Fleet be to be rigg'd and prepar'd, by the Queen against her Enemies, the States shall furnish out 40 Ships of reasonable Burden, with Seamen and all Necessaries, which shall be under the Command of the Admiral of *England*, and shall serve under the Queen's Pay. The States shall by no means receive into the *Netherlands* such *Englishmen* as the Queen shall proclaim Rebels. If they make Peace with the *Spaniard*, they shall procure the Confirmation of these Articles, either jointly, or apart by themselves, at the Queen's Choice.

Presently after this League was made, the Queen lest she should be slander'd, as a Supporter of the Rebellion in the *Netherlands*, sent *Thomas Wilks* to the *Spaniard*, to inform him as follows: 'That forasmuch as there were not lacking some ill-disposed Persons, who sought, by cunning Artifices, to break off Amities between Princes, and

1577. Ann. 20. and by their unjust Backbitings, to stain her Reputation, as if she blew the Fire of the Netherlandish Combustions: First, she prays the King, and the Governors of the Netherlands, to call to mind, how often and how earnestly she had long since friendly forewarn'd them of the Mischiefs hanging over the Netherlands: And then when they first design'd to revolt, how carefully she endeavour'd, by frequent Messages to the Prince of Orange and the States, to keep them within their Duty and Obedience to the King; yea, when those rich and wealthy Provinces were offer'd her for Possession, how sincerely she would not so much as take them into her Protection: And lastly, when all things were in a most desperate and deplorable State, how largely she supply'd Money, that the States might not be, for want thereof, necessitated to subject themselves under another Prince, and break the Design for Peace lately set on foot. And when she heard that the Prince of Orange refus'd to embrace the Peace that was made, she not only advis'd him to embrace it, but also (as she religiously protests) did by Threats, in a manner command him. Whether these be things unbecoming a Christian Princess, that is affected to Peace, and most desirous to deserve well of her Confederate the Spaniard, let the Spaniard himself, and all Christian Princes, judg. And now, that the Wars may cease, and he may have the Netherlands at his Devotion, she advises him to receive his afflicted People into former Grace and Favour, to restore their Privileges, to observe the Conditions of the last Peace, and to appoint them another Governor, of his own Family. Which things could not (as she signify'd) be effected, unless Don John were remov'd; whom the States distrust- ed, and hated with a deadly and implacable Hatred; and whom she herself knew for certain, by his secret Practices with the Queen of Scots, to be her most mortal Enemy; in- so-much as she could expect nothing from the Netherlands, but assur'd Danger, as long as he was Governor there. But now, when she saw what great Forces Don John had rais'd, and how many Auxiliary-Companies of French were in a Readiness, she professes, that to pre- serve the Netherlands to the Spaniard, and to di- vert the Danger from England, she had prom- is'd Assistance to the States; who had reci- procally promis'd, that they would continue in the King's Obedience, and alter nothing in Religion. But if she perceiv'd that the King would not accept of these Proposals, but re- solv'd to break asunder the Bars of their Pri- vileges and Rights, and to bring these miserable Provinces into Slavery, as taken by Right of War; she could not neglect, both to defend her Neighbours, and to provide for her own Security. But if the States should shake off their Allegiance towards their King, and at- tempt any thing contrary to what they have promis'd, she would forthwith turn her Forces against them.

Spaniard
hears 'em
patiently.

These things he was not very willing to hear. But yet, because he knew that Queen Elizabeth was able to do much, either to compose or dis- turb the Affairs of the Netherlands, and under- stood also for certain, that there was a Plot laid by Don John against her, he dissembled the mat- ter, and withal pray'd her to continue her En- deavours for making a Peace, and not rashly to credit every false Rumour spread abroad; or be- lieve that he attempted any thing unbecoming a Prince in Amity with her.

1577. Ann. 20. Whilst Wilkes manag'd these Affairs in Spain, Don John of Austria lends Gastelle to Queen Elizabeth, (whom he both fear'd, and whose Con- fusion he wish'd) heavily accusing the States, laying foul Crimes and Accusations to their Charge; and withal, declaring the Causes at large, why he arm'd his Men again. Thus far she as an heroical Princess and Umpire betwixt the Spaniards, the French, and the States; so as she might well have us'd that Saying of her Fa- ther, *Cui adhæreo, præest*, that is, *The Party to which I adhere, gets the upper hand*. And true it was, which one has written, *That France and England Spain are, as it were, the Scales, in the Balance of Europe, and England the Tongue, or Holder of the Balance.*

England
holds the
Balance of
Europe.

About this time, while the Judges of Assizes sat at Oxford, and one Rowland Fenkes, a sawcy foul-mouth'd Bookseller, was indicted for scan- dalous Words against his Princess; the greatest part of those who were there present, whether through a poisonous and pestilent Vapour, or the Stink of the Prisoners, or Damp of the Ground, were taken in such a manner, that they died almost every one of them, within forty days or thereabouts, except the Women and Children; and none else were touch'd with the Contagion. Amongst those that died, were Robert Bell, Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, a sage and grave Man, and famous for his Knowledge in the Law, Sir Robert D'Oiley and Sir William Babington Knights, D'Oiley Sheriff of Oxfordshire, Harcourt, Weneman, Fettiplace, Men of great Note in those parts, Barham an excellent Lawyer, almost all the Jury, (as they call 'em) and others to the Number of 300, or there- abouts.

A stink at
an Assizes
causes a
pestilent
sickness.

Hitherto fair and calm Weather shone upon the Papiists in England, who by a merciful Con- nivance enjoy'd their own Service of God, in their private Houses, in a manner, without any Pu- nishment; although it were prohibited by the Law, by which a pecuniary Mulct was to be in- flicted on them: neither did the Queen think fit that Violence should be offer'd to their Consci- ences. But after that Thunderbolt of Excom- munication was shot from Rome against the Q. this fair Weather turn'd by little and little into Clouds and Tempests, and caus'd a Law in the Year 1571. against those who should bring into the Realm any such Bulls, *Agnus Dei's*, or conse- crated Grains, as private Tokens of Papal Obe- dience, or should reconcile any Man to the Church of Rome. Yet was there no Man, in six Years time, proceeded against upon that Law, tho' some were apprehended, who had offended against it. The first that was convicted by this Law, was one Cuthbert Maine a Priest, who be- ing an obstinate Maintainer of the Pope's Power against his Prince, was put to death at St. Ste- phen's Lane (commonly call'd Launston) in Corn- wal; and Trugion, a Gentleman that had har- bour'd him, had his Estate confiscated, and was himself condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment. But these and such like Ecclesiastical Matters, I will touch but lightly; because others are in hand with the Ecclesiastical History of these Times, and, I hope, with sincere Faithfulness; a thing yet scarce to be hop'd for, whilst Mens Minds are so full of Rancour and Prejudice, up- on the account of Difference in Religion.

Maine
a Priest e-
xecuted.

This Year the Title of Lord Latimer, after it had flourish'd with great Honour and Wealth, in the Family of the Nevils, from the days of King Henry VI. was extinct in John Nevil; who, having no Heir-male, left a large Inheritance to four Daughters; whereof the first was marry'd to Henry Earl of Northumberland; the second to

The death
of Lord
Latimer.

1577. Ann. 20. Thomas Cecil, who was afterward Earl of Exeter; the third to Sir William Cornwallis; and the fourth to Sir John Davers: from which Daughters has issu'd a numerous Progeny.

Secretary
Smith
dies.

Sir Thomas Smith also, one of the Queen's Secretaries, died this Year (being his Climacterical Year) of a Consumption: A Man worthy to be remember'd for his great Learning, and his Wisdom shew'd in many Embassies. He was born of honest Parentage at Saffron-Walden in Essex, brought up in Queen Margaret's College in Cambridge, and at riper Years made choice of to be sent into Italy, at the Queen's Charges. (For even till our days, certain young Men of promising Hopes, out of both Universities, have been maintain'd in foreign Countries, at the King's Charge, for the more complete polishing of their Parts and Studies.) From thence he return'd with the Title of Doctor of the Civil-Law, and found such Favour with the D. of Somerset, Protector to King Edward VI. that he was made one of the King's Secretaries, (Cecil being the other) Steward of the Stannaries, Dean of Carlisle, and Provost of Eton-College, whereof he had very well merited. Queen Mary deprived him of these Dignities, assigning him 100 l. a Year Pension during Life, howbeit on Condition that he should not depart the Realm. As soon as Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, he was call'd again to the Service of the Commonwealth, and was present with the Divines, at the correcting of the English Liturgy; and afterwards, with great Commendations, perform'd those Embassies which I have mention'd in their proper places. In the Year 1571. being made one of the Queen's Secretaries, he sent his base Son, which was all the Sons he had, to carry over a Colony into Ardes, a Peninsula in Ireland, who died there unfortunately, as I have before said. He was very beneficial to the Commonwealth of Learning in England, by procuring the Law concerning Corn for the Colleges of Students: and indeed more beneficial than by his Writings, although he left behind him a Work unfinish'd, concerning the Commonwealth of England, a special Book of the Orthography of the English Tongue, another of the Pronunciation of the Greek, and an exact Commentary concerning Money, (or, *De re Nummaria*) very well worth the publishing. In the Place of Secretary to the Queen, he was succeeded by Thomas Wilson Doctor of Law, Master of St. Katharine's near London, who departed this Life within four Years.

Rebellion
in Ireland.

Rory Oge.

In Ireland the O-Moors and O-Conors, and others whose Ancestors Sussex, Lord-Deputy, had, in the Reign of Queen Mary, depriv'd of their Patrimonies in Leife and Ophalie, for their Misdemeanors, and had assign'd 'em no other place to live in; brake forth into Rebellion, Rory Oge, that is, Roderick the younger, being their Ring-leader: the Town of Naas they hir'd; Lachlin they assaulted, but being repuls'd by the Valour of George Carew the Governor, they treacherously intercepted Henry Harrington and Alexander Cosbey at a Parley; whom when Harpoole, a Captain of a Company, undertook to rescue, and to that end assaulted the Cottage in the Night, wherein Rory was, and those Gentlemen bound to a Post; Rory, awakening with the Uproar, wounded Harrington and Cosbey, with several Blows, in the dark; and made a desperate Escape, by the favour of the Night, through the midst of the Soldiers, which had beset him. But a few days after, laying a Trap for the Baron of the upper Ossory, he was intercepted himself, and cut in pieces; freeing thereby the Neighbouring People from farther Fears.

The One and twentieth Year of her Reign.

Although the Spaniards were not very well pleas'd, to hear those things which Wilks propounded, and dissembled the matter, (as I said a little before) yet Queen Elizabeth seriously pitying the Netherlanders, whose Provinces, by the great Commodiousness of their Situation and mutual Friendship, had adhered to England for many Ages, as if they had been conjoin'd with it in a Matrimonial Knot; and therefore not enduring that the French, by undertaking their Protection, should get them into his Possession; sent the same Wilks, at his Return out of Spain, to Don John of Austria, to give him secret Notice, that the Duke of Anjou (for so he was now call'd, who before was Duke of Alençon) was invited by the States, with an Army of French; and therefore it was his safest course to yield to a Truce; lest he expos'd the Provinces to present Hazard. But he, being a Man of a fiery and martial Spirit, and puff'd up with Pride, at his Success in a Battle fought against the Estates at Gemblours, answer'd in one Word, *That he neither intended a Truce, nor fear'd the French.* Nevertheless Queen Elizabeth, respecting her own Good, and the Good of the Netherlands, sent Sir Edward Stafford into France, to learn whether there were any Preparations on the Frontiers of France, toward the Netherlands, and what Levies of Men they were making.

Out of England had now transported themselves John North, the L. North's eldest Son; John Norris, the L. Norris's second Son; Henry Cavendish and Tho. Morgan, Colonels; with many Volunteers, to learn the Rudiments of Military Discipline. Casimire also, the Elector-Palatine's Son, brought down an Army of German Horse and Foot into the Netherlands, to the great Charge of Queen Elizabeth. Don John, having a great desire to assault the States Camp at Rimenant, or to provoke them to Battel, before all their Succours were come together out of France and Germany, posted thither sooner than was expected; and the Horsemen that stood Centinel presently retreating, he pursu'd 'em with an hot and furious Charge, as if he were sure of the Victory. But they taking fresh Courage, soon repuls'd Don John's Men. Who wheeling off, endeavour'd to break through certain Hedges and Covers where the English and Scottish Volunteers were disposed, but could not, meeting a warm Reception from the English and the Scots; who, throwing off their Cloaths by reason of the hot Weather, fought in their Shirts tied up between their Thighs. Norris, the General of the English, fighting stoutly, had three Horses slain under him, and got great Commendations in this Battel for his Martial Valour; as did also Stuart a Scottishman, Bingham Lieutenant to Cavendish, and William Markham.

To comfort and relieve these Netherland Provinces embroil'd with Civil War, there came from the Emperor the Count of Swartzenberg from the French King Monsieur Pompon de Belieure, and from Queen Elizabeth the Lord Cobham and Sir Francis Walsingham, to find out some way for making a Peace. But they all return'd without effecting any thing, since Don John would by no means admit of the reform'd Religion, and the Prince of Orange flatly refus'd to return into Holland.

About this time Egremont Ratcliffe, Son to Henry Earl of Sussex by his second Wife, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and one of the Chief in the Northern Rebellion, who serv'd under Don John, was accus'd by the English Fugitives, as if he had been

1578.

Ann. 21.

Queen's
Care for
the Netherlands.

Several
English
go over
into the
Netherlands.

Don John
repuls'd.

English
fight
manfully.

A fruitless
Embassy
to the Netherlands
for Peace.

Ratcliffe
and his
Companion
executed by
Don John.

been sent over underhand to murder Don John, 1578. and was taken in the Camp at Namur with one Ann. 21. Grey an Englishman, as accessory to the Plot, and they were both of 'em executed. The Spaniards give out, that Ratcliffe at his Death confess'd voluntarily, that he was set at Liberty out of the Tower of London purposely, and encourag'd by Walsingham with great Promises to commit the Fact. The English that were there present deny that he made any such Confession, tho' it's true the Fugitives did what they could to extort such a Confession from him. But Persons whose Minds differ in Religion do too-too much, obscure the Light of Honesty and Truth on both sides: And who knoweth not that Fugitives do devise many things out of meer Hatred, and a desire to slander and backbite others?

At that very instant Don John, in the flower of his Age, laid aside his fond Ambition, together with his Life, by the Pestilence; or, as some say, out of very Grief, because he found himself neglected by the King his Brother, after he had gaped first after the Kingdom of Tunis, whereby Guleta or Golotta in Africa was lost, and then after the Kingdom of England; and had secretly enter'd into a Confederacy with the Guises, without the privity of the French King and the Spaniard, for the defence of both Crowns.

The Duke of Anjou in the mean time, tho' his Mind were set upon the Netherland War, yet, to shew that he could attend both Military and Love matters at once, prosecuted his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth, which he had begun to sue for whilst he was Duke of Alençon. And first Bachelville, being sent for this purpose, came to the Queen (in her Progress) at Melford, Cordall's House, in Suffolk. Shortly after came Rambolette from the French King. And lastly, after a Month more, came Simier from Anjou, a Man of Wit and Parts, and one thoroughly versed in Love-fancies, pleasant Conceits and other Gallantries, accompany'd with many of the Nobility of

France: Whom the Queen entertain'd at Richmond so kindly, that Leicester rag'd, being now quite frustrate of his long hoped-for Marriage. And indeed, a little before, when Astley, one of the Queen's Bed-chamber, covertly commended Leicester unto her for an Husband, she answer'd in a Passion: *Dost thou think me so unlike myself, and so unmindful of my Royal Majesty, that I would prefer my Servant, whom I myself have rais'd, before the greatest Princes of Christendom, in my choosing of an Husband?*

Much about this time Margaret Douglass, Countess of Lenox, Niece to King Henry VIII. by his eldest Sister, Widow of Matthew Earl of Lenox, and Grandmother to James King of Great Britain, having survived eight Children which she had been Mother of, pass'd to her heavenly Country in her Climacterical Year, and was bury'd at Westminster with a stately Funeral at the Queen's Charges. She was a Matron of singular Piety, Patience and Modesty; who was thrice cast into the Tower, (as I have heard her say herself) not for any crime of Treason, but for Love-matters. First, when Thomas Howard, Son of Thomas Howard the first Duke of Norfolk of that Name, falling in love with her, died in the Tower of London: Then for the love of Henry Lord Darly, her Son, to Mary Queen of Scots: And lastly, for the love of Charles her younger Son, to Elizabeth Candish, Mother to the Lady Arbella, with whom the Queen of Scots was accus'd to have made up the Match, as I have said before.

Now to give a touch of Scottish Matters. About the beginning of this Year, Thomas Ran-

dolph was sent by Queen Elizabeth into Scotland to learn in what Condition the Affairs of Scotland stood; to congratulate the King concerning his Proficiency in Learning, (which, by reason of his singular Towardness and most excellent Memory, was certainly very great, even above his Age) and to knit his Mind firmly unto the English, by recounting the Queen's Kindnesses towards him, and the motherly Affection she bare him; to deal with Argyle, that the Hebridian or Wild Scots might not assist the Rebels in Ireland; as also to persuade Morton the Regent to lay aside with all speed his Enmity to Argyle, Athol, and others, lest he got himself the Hatred of the Nobility, and quite alienated the Queen's Mind from him. He was now privately accus'd to have stain'd the Reputation of his former Wisdom and Prowess by his Covetousness and Avarice; and in short time grew into such a general Hatred, that by joint consent of the States, the Government was translated from him to the King, tho' in respect of his Age not so capable thereof, (for he was then scarce twelve Years old) and twelve of the chief of the Nobility named to be assistant to the King with their Counsel, every three Months three of them by turns: Amongst which was Morton himself, that they might seem to lead him down, not to throw him down from his former Dignity.

The King having taken upon him the Government, forthwith by Dunfermelin made a grateful acknowledgment of the Civilities of Queen Elizabeth towards him, as proceeding not so much from nearness of Blood, as from their common Profession of the true Religion. The Confederacy of Edinburgh made between both Kingdoms in the Year 1559, he dur'd might be ratified, the better to restrain the Robberies of the Borderers, and prevent the Designs of the Adversaries of the true Religion; that Justice might be administer'd indifferently between the People of both Kingdoms; that full Restitution might be made of all Goods taken by Piracy; and that his ancient Patrimony in England (that is, the Lands and Possessions granted to Matthew and Margaret his Grandfather and Grandmother) might be put into his Hands as next Heir, for now (the Revenues of the Kingdom of Scotland being much diminish'd) he wanted Money to provide for his Household, and to maintain a Guard answerable to his Royal Dignity.

The first Request the Queen readily granted: But for that concerning his Patrimony, she was not so easily intreated. And yet she would not give ear to those who affirm'd, that the Lady Arbella, Daughter to Charles the King's Uncle, and born in England, was next Heir to the Lands in England: Neither yet would she hear the Ambassador, who shew'd out of former Histories, that the Kings of Scotland, born in Scotland, had in ancient Times succeeded, without any Controversy, by Hereditary Right, to Lands in England in the County of Huntingdon; and earnestly besought her, that she would not deny a Prince, her nearest Kinsman, the Privilege of Citizens, which she had often granted to Foreigners and Strangers. But she commanded the Rents of those Lands to be sequester'd by the Lord Burghly, Master of the Wards; and signify'd to the Ambassador, that the King should satisfy his Grandmother's Creditors out of the Earl of Lenox his Lands in Scotland. For she took it not well that the King, after the death of Charles his Uncle, had revok'd the Infeoffment of the Earldom of Lenox made to his Uncle and his Heirs, and that to the Prejudice (as was suggested) of the Lady Arbella; tho', by the Privilege of the Scots, it was

1578.
Ann. 21.
Queen Elizabeth
sent into
Scotland
withundry
instructions

Morton
the Regent
removed
from his
Place and
the King
takes the
Government

The King
sends an
Ambassador
into
England.

The effect
of his
Embassy.

Queen's
answer.

Scottish
Matters.

was still lawful for them to revoke all such Grants and Donations as were Prejudicial to the Realm, and made in their Minority.

The Council of England were of opinion, that the Confederacy of *Edinburgh* needed no Confirmation, as that which was already firm and in full force. They requir'd the Ambassador to propound somewhat which might at least in part recompense the Queen's Courtesies towards the King, (who had not spared her *Englishmens* Blood in his Defence) and might confirm the Amity betwixt 'em. Hereupon, according to his Instructions, he propounded that a League might be made, not of Offence, but of Defence, and mutual Assistance against the Bishop of Rome and his Confederates, upon certain Conditions, and against the Invaders of both Kingdoms, and the Rebels thereof upon account of Religion. Over and above this, the *English* thought it reason, that seeing the Queen neither had omitted nor would omit any thing for the King's Preservation, and for that reason had incur'd the great Displeasure of many, the Estates of the Realm of Scotland should give her Security, that the King should not, during his Minority, make or renew any Confederacy with any other whomsoever, contract Marriage, or be sent any where out of Scotland, without the knowledge of the Queen. But these things, as being Matters of great Importance, were by the Scots put off to another Time, to be exactly and deliberately consider'd of.

Morton resumeth the Government.

The Nobility rise against him.

The death of the Earl of Arbol.

A design of the Pope and Spaniard to invade England.

In the mean while Morton, presuming upon his own Wit, (which certainly was very quick and sharp) and upon his long Experience, and the Number of his Adherents, while he thought nothing to be well done which he did not himself, and could not endure not to be the Man he was, resum'd unto himself the Government, neglecting his Collegues, and slighting the prescrib'd Form of Government. The King he kept in his own power within the Castle of *Sterlin*, and at his own pleasure either excluded or admitted whom he list'd. Whereupon the Nobility being incens'd, chose the Earl of *Arbol* for their Head, and made Proclamation in the King's Name, That all that were above Fourteen Years of Age, and under Threescore, should meet together with Weapons, and Victuals for fifteen Days, to set the King at Liberty. And meet they did in great Numbers, and marched with Banners display'd to *Fawcirk*, where Morton with his Forces appear'd against them. But Sir Robert *Poyntz*, the *English* Ambassador, by his Mediation, and proposing of reasonable Conditions, stay'd them from Fighting. And Morton soon after, as if he were weary of publick Employments, withdrew himself to his own House: Not long after which died the Earl of *Arbol*, not without suspicion of Poison. Which some Men incens'd against Morton laid hold on; amongst other things, as a Means to bring him into Hatred, and ceased not to prosecute him (as we shall shew) till they had quite overthrown him.

In Ireland there happen'd this Year no memorable Matter. But for invading of Ireland and England both at once, and deposing of Queen Elizabeth, who was the strongest Bulwark of the reform'd Religion, both the Spaniard, and Gregory the thirteenth Bishop of Rome, had their secret Consultations and Designs, carrying on their own private Ends under the pretence of restoring Religion. The Pope, that he might get the Kingdom of Ireland for his Son *James Boncompagni*, whom he had made Marquis of *Vineola*: The Spaniard, that he might privately and underhand relieve the Irish Rebels, as Queen Elizabeth had succour'd the Netherlanders; whilst Amity in

Words was in the mean while maintain'd on both sides: As also, that he might (if it were possible) by the Pope's Authority possess himself of the Kingdom of England, and thereby the easier reduce the Netherland Confederates into Order; whereof he had no hopes, unless he were Master of the Sea; and this he saw could not be, unless he was first Master of England. And there is no doubt but as he oweth the Kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Navarre, to the Bounty of the Popes; so would he also very gladly have holden England of him as an Homager.

These two, who knew that the greatest Strength of England consisted in the Navy-Royal and the Merchants Ships, which were both built and furnish'd for Sea-service, thought it good that the Italian and Low-Country Merchants should upon some Pretence or other, hire the greatest part of these Merchants Ships for long Voyages, and while they were abroad, the Navy-Royal should be surpriz'd and overpower'd by a greater Fleet; and that at the same time, *Thomas Stukely*, an English Fugitive, of whom I have spoken before in the Year 1570, should with a Body of Men join with the Rebels in Ireland. He, like a subtil old Fox, had by his vapouring Brags of himself, and by promising the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope's base Son, wrought himself into such Favour with that ambitious old Man, that he honour'd him with the Titles of Marquis of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlaugh*, Viscount *Morough*, and Baron of *Ros*, (which are places of good Note in Ireland) and gave him the command of 800 Italians, levied at the Spaniard's Charge and Pay for the Irish War. With these putting to Sea from *Civita Vecchia*, he arriv'd at length in Portugal, at the Mouth of the River *Tagus* or *Teyo*; where, by the operation of the Divine Providence, these Designs against England and Ireland were disappointed.

For Sebastian King of Portugal, who was to have the principal Command and Managing of this Expedition into England, (since being puff'd up with youthful Heat and Ambition, he had not long before promis'd his utmost Help and Assistance to the Bishop of Rome against the Mahometans and the Protestants) was with great Promises drawn to the War of Africa by Mahomet the Son of Abdalla King of Fez, and dealt with Stukely to accompany him first with those Italians into Mauritania. Stukely was easily perswaded, (and the Spaniard disdaining that the Pope's Son was design'd King of Ireland, was not unwilling to it) and went with Don Sebastian into Mauritania; and in that memorable Battel, wherein three Kings, Sebastian aforesaid, Mahomet and Abdal Melech, were slain, he finish'd the Interlude of a loose Life with an honest Catastrophe or Conclusion.

Had not this fatal End of Don Sebastian diverted the Spaniards Mind from the Invasion of England, to the hopes of the Kingdom of Portugal, a great Storm of War (if any Credit may be given to the English Fugitives) had fallen upon England. For they write, That those vast Forces which the Spaniard had begun to levy in Italy, and were to be poured into England, were employ'd for the Conquest of Portugal. Neither could he be perswaded (being wholly bent upon the Conquest of that Kingdom) so much as once to think of England, tho' the English Fugitives with great importunity urged him thereunto, and the Bishop of Rome promis'd him a consecrated Banner or Cross for this, as for an Holy War. But when certain Intelligence came, that Stukely and his Italians were slain in Mauritania, and that the Spaniard set his Mind upon nothing but Portugal, the English Fleet which waited for

Stukely

1578. *Stukely* upon the Coast of Ireland was called home: And Sir *William Drury* President of *Munster*, when he had now at several times been Lord-Deputy about eleven Years; and when he was ready to take Ship, he bade Ireland farewell, with that Verse out of the *Psalms*, *When Israel departed out of Egypt, and the House of Jacob from amongst a barbarous People*. A singular Man he was, and one of the most commendable Deputies of Ireland, to whose Wisdom and Valour Ireland cannot but acknowledge itself very much indebted, tho' for the most part it uses to complain of its Deputies.

1579. The Two and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

John Casimire, Son to *Frederick* the third Elector-Palatine, who had the last Year (tho' somewhat too late) brought a strong Army of Germans into the Netherlands, at a vast Charge to the States and Queen Elizabeth, and had done no Service with them, being now drawn by the mutinous Inhabitants of *Gaunt* to take their part, came into England in the Month of January, in a sharp and snowy Winter, to excuse himself about the Miscarriage of his Expedition, laying the whole blame upon the French. He was most honourably received, and conducted with great Pomp into London, with Torches lighted, by the Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen and Citizens, and to the Court by the chief of the Nobility; where he was entertain'd with Tilting, Barriers, and costly Banquets, and honour'd with the Order of St. George, the Queen herself buckling on the Garter about his Leg: And after the settling of a yearly Pension on him, and many rich Presents made him, he return'd in the middle of February into the Netherlands, being transported in one of the Queen's Ships; where he found that mercenary Army disbanded. For when *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of Parma, who was by the Spaniards made Governor of the Netherlands, was ready to fall upon the Germans, and they wanted their Pay, after a small Skirmish, and loss of some Men, they demanded Money of him to depart out of the Netherlands. He on the contrary demanding (imperiously, but pleasantly) Money of them, that they might depart safely with their Lives, they were content with his Passport, and made haste Home, not without Dishonour to themselves, and greater Damage to the States. Queen Elizabeth notwithstanding failed not the States, but furnish'd 'em with a great Sum of Money: For which *William Davison* (who was sent a little before to quiet the Distempers of those of *Gaunt*, which were violent against Churches and Churchmen) brought into England the ancient Jewels and rich Plate of the House of Burgundy, mortgaged by *Matthias* of Austria and the States.

In the mean while, *Simier* ceased not amorously to woo Queen Elizabeth in Anjou's behalf. And altho' she stilly excus'd herself a long time, yet he brought her to that pass, that *Leicester*, (who from his Heart was against the Marriage) and others, spread Rumours abroad, that by Love-Potions and unlawful Arts he had insinuated into the Queen's Affection, and induc'd her to the love of Anjou. *Simier*, on the other side, left no Means unessay'd to remove *Leicester* out of his Place and Favour with the Queen; revealing to her his Marriage with *Essex's* Widow: Whereat the Queen grew into such a Passion, that she commanded *Leicester* not to stir out of the Castle of Greenwich, and intended to have committed him to the Tower of London, which his Enemies much desir'd. But *Suffex*, tho' his greatest and deadliest Adversary, and one that earnestly en-

deavour'd to promote the Marriage with Anjou, dissuaded her, whilst out of a solid Judgment, and the innate Generosity of his noble Mind, he was of opinion that no Man was to be troubled for lawful Marriage, which amongst all Men hath ever been had in Honour and Esteem. Yet glad he was that by this Marriage he was now put beside all hope of marrying with the Queen. Nevertheless *Leicester* was so incens'd hereat, that he bent himself to revenge the Wrong he had receiv'd. And there wanted not some who accus'd him, as if he had suborned one *Teuder* of the Queen's Guard, a Bravo, to take away *Simier's* Life. Certainly the Queen commanded by publick Proclamation, that no Man should offer any Affront to *Simier*, his Attendants or Servants, either by Word or Deed. About this time it happen'd, that while the Queen for her Pleasure was rowed in her Barge upon the Thames near Greenwich, attended by *Simier*, the Earl of Lincoln, and *Hatton* her Vice-Chamberlain, a young Man discharged a Piece out of a Boat, and shot one of the Barge-men in the Queen's Barge through both his Arms; who was presently apprehended, and led to the Gallows for a terror to him: But he solemnly protesting that he did it unwittingly, and thought no harm, was soon discharg'd. Neither would the Queen believe what some buzzed in her Ears, that he was purposely set on, to mischief either her or *Simier*. So far was she from giving way to any Suspicion against her People, that she was many times wont to say, *That she could believe nothing of her People which Parents would not believe of their Children*.

Some few Days after, the Duke of Anjou himself arriv'd privately in England with one or two only in his company; and came to the Queen unexpectedly at her Court at Greenwich; where they had some private Discourse together, all By-standers being remov'd, which I list not to search into, (for the Secrets of Princes are an inextricable Labyrinth): Which done, he return'd, having been seen but by very few. But after a Month or two, she commanded that *Burghley* Lord-Treasurer, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, after serious Consideration of the Dangers and Advantages which might arise from her Marriage with him, should consult with *Simier* about the Writings and Contract of the Marriage. The Dangers seem'd to be: Left he should attempt any thing against the receiv'd Religion: Left he should either endeavour to get the Possession of the Kingdom for himself by the Pope's Donation, or betray it into the Hands of the Queen of Scots, and marry her after the Queen's death; or else after his Brother's death return into France, and appoint a Viceroy over England, which the English would by no means endure. Moreover; lest he should engage the English in foreign Quarrels: Left the Scots, presuming upon their ancient League with the French, should take greater heart and courage against the English: Left the Spaniards should engage himself against so great and united a Power. And lastly, Left the People, being burden'd with Payments for the Maintenance of his Greatness and State, should break out into Rebellion. The Advantages seem'd to be these: That a firm Agreement would be establish'd with the French: That the Rebellions of the Papists (if any should be) would be the easier suppress'd: That all hopes would be cut off from the Queen of Scots, and from those who fought to her for Marriage, or who any way favour'd her: That the Spaniards would be brought to compound Matters in the Netherlands, and confirm the League of Burgundy: And that England might at length enjoy a sound

A Gun discharged at the Queen's Barge.

Anjou comes into Engl.

A Consultation about the Marriage.

The dangers if accepted.

The advantages by it.

1579. a sound and joyful Security, by means of the Queen's Children, a thing so often wish'd for. But if this Marriage should be neglected, they fear'd lest the French would be incens'd, and the Scots alienated: that *Anjou* would contract a Marriage with the *Spaniard's* Daughter, with whom he might receive the *Netherland* Provinces in Dowry: that the French King and the *Spaniard* would aid the Queen of Scots, draw the King of Scots to their Party, provide him a Wife for their own turn, and utterly abolish the Re-form'd Religion: and that the English, when they saw no Hopes of Children by the Queen, would adore the Rising-Sun. Which things could not but be a great Torment and Anguish to her Mind.

In these days, as some English fear'd an Alteration of Religion by means of the Duke of *Anjou*; so also did the Scots by means of another Frenchman, viz. *Amate* or *Esme Stuart D'Aubigny*, who came about this time into Scotland, to visit the King his Cousin. (For he was Son to *John Stuart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather; and was surnam'd *D'Aubigny* of *Aubigny* in *Berry*, which *Charles VII.* King of France gave in times past, to *John Stuart* of the House of *Lenox*; who, being Constable or General of an Army of Scots in France, defeated the English at *Beauge*, and was afterward slain by them in the Battle of *Havrans*; and ever since this Title has belong'd to the younger Brothers of that House.) This *D'Aubigny* the King embrac'd with singular Kindness, gave him very fair Lands and Possessions, admitted him to his inwardest Counsels, made him Chamberlain of Scotland, Captain of the Castle of *Dunbriton*, and (having first in an Assembly of the Estates formally revoked the Letters-Patents, whereby he had in his Minority created *Robert*, Bishop of *Cathness*, his Grandfather's third Brother, Earl of *Lenox*, and recompens'd the said *Robert* with the Earldom of *March*) created him first Earl, then Duke, of *Lenox*. This extraordinary Favour of his with the King, procur'd him Envy from many, who secretly mutter'd, that he, being a Man most devoted to the *Guises* and the *Romish* Religion, was sent into Scotland, to subvert the true Religion. This increas'd the Suspicion, because he apply'd himself to *Morton's* Adversaries, and made Intercession for calling home *Thomas Carre* of *Ferniburgh*, a Man of all others most in the Interest of the Queen of Scots, while *Morton* in vain oppos'd the same, whose Power now manifestly declined, (tho' he seem'd to have highly merited, as having defeated the *Hamiltons*, and taken the Castle of *Hamilton*, and *Duffrane*.) Some there were who at this time wrought the *Hamiltons* into great Disfavour with the King; making use of their Name as a Scare-Crow to him, and molesting them in such sort, that for their own necessary Defence, they held those Castles against the King: but they were forced to surrender them, and being convict, by Parliament, of the Murder of the Regents, as well *Murray* as *Lenox*, they were proscribed. Of these *Hamiltons*, some fled into England, for whom Queen Elizabeth earnestly interceded by *Erington*, as well in point of Honour as of Justice, forasmuch as she in the Year 1573. for establishing Peace, had engaged, that they should not be call'd in question for those Matters, but with her Consent.

Original of the Turkey-Company.

About this time also, through her Intercession, in another part of the World, the Grand Signior *Amurath Cham*, upon Treaty berwixt *William Harbourn* an Englishman, and *Mustapha Beg* a Turkish Bassa, granted that the English Merchants might freely traffick throughout his whole Empire, in

like manner as the French, the Venetians, the *Polonians*, the King of the Germans, and other neighbouring Nations did. Whereupon, they, by the Queen's Authority and Privilege, grew into a Society or Company; which, being call'd the Turkey-Company, have ever since found a very gainful Trade to *Constantinople*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petraxzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and elsewhere in Asia, for Spices, Cottons, raw Silk, Tapestries, Indian Dye, Grapes of *Corinth*, or Currants; Soap, &c.

The execrable Impiety of *Matthew Hamont*, Famous for about this time he openly, at *Norwich*, pour'd out, against God and his Christ, and is (I hope) extinct with his burning alive, is rather to be bury'd in Oblivion, than to be remember'd. And for my part, I am not of their mind, who think it expedient for the publick Good, that all manner of Villanies, Poisonings, and Impieties, should be made known and publish'd: for he that relates such things, does as good as teach them.

This was the last Year of *Sir Nicolas Bacon*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England, under which Title he exercis'd and enjoy'd, by an Ordinance of Parliament, the Honour and Authority of Chancellor of England. A Man exceeding gross-body'd, sharp-witted, of singular Wisdom, rare Eloquence, excellent Memory, and the Life, as it were, of the Privy-Council. In whose Room succeeded *Thomas Bromley*, with the Title of Lord-Chancellor of England.

After *Bacon*, follow'd *Sir Thomas Gresham*, Knt. Citizen of London, the Queen's Merchant, Son of *Sir Richard Gresham*, Knight; who, for an Ornament to his Country, and the Use of Merchants, built a very fair Walking-place in London, which Queen Elizabeth nam'd *The Royal-Exchange*; and gave a large and spacious House he had in the City, to the Promotion of Learning; founding therein Lectures of Divinity, Civil-Law, Physick, Astronomy, Geometry, Rhetorick, and Musick, with competent Stipends.

In *Munster*, a Province of Ireland, *James Fitz-Morris* rais'd a new Rebellion; the same *James*, who a while before, falling upon his Knees before *Perott*, President of *Munster*, had with great Lamentations and humble Intreaties, begg'd his Pardon, and most religiously vow'd his Fidelity and Obedience to the Queen. This Man, I say, (who was never well but in Troubles) had withdrawn himself into France, promising the King, that if he would assist him, he would unite all Ireland to the Scepter of France, and restore the *Romish* Religion in that Isle. But being weary'd out with Delays, and in the end laugh'd at, he went from France into Spain, and made the same Promises to the Catholick King. The King sent him over to the Pope; from whom having (at the earnest Solicitation of *Sanders* an English Priest, and *Allen* an Irish one, both of 'em Doctors in Divinity) gotten a little Money, the Authority of a Legate granted to *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Recommendation to the *Spaniard*, he return'd into Spain, and from thence arriv'd, about the first day of July, with those two Divines, three Ships, and a small Party of Men, at *St. Mary Wick* (which the Irish contractedly call *Smerwick*) in *Kerry*, a Peninsula of Ireland; where, in a place solemnly consecrated by the Priests, he erected a Fort, and drew up his Ships close under it: which Ships *Thomas Courtney* an English Gentleman, who lay by chance at Anchor with a Man of War, in a Road hard-by, soon after set upon, took and carry'd away, and depriv'd the *Spaniards* of the Benefit of the Sea. *John* and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathering together a few Irish

Irish, join themselves forthwith with their Cousins *Fitz-Morris*: But the Earl himself, who wish'd well to their Design, gather'd his Friends together, as if he meant to oppose them, having cunningly shifted off the Earl of *Clancarty*, who was coming to him with a select Body of Men, to assist him against the Enemies and Rebels.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy had certain Intelligence, that the Enemies were landed, he commanded the Earl of *Desmond* and his Brothers jointly, by *Henry Davill*, an English Gentleman, and a stout Soldier, and very familiar with the *Desmonds*, that they should forthwith assault the Fort: Which when they shifted off, and refus'd to do, as a thing full of Danger, *Davill* departed, and *John Desmond* follow'd after him. At *Trally*, a small Town, he overtook him at his Inn, and in the dead of the Night, having corrupted his Host, broke into his Chamber with certain Cut-throats having their Swords drawn, where *Davill* slept securely with *Arthur Carter*, Lieutenant to the Marshal of *Munster*, a stout old Soldier: but being awaken'd with the Noise, when he saw *John Desmond* in the Chamber with his Sword drawn, he rais'd himself up, saying, *What is the matter, my Son?* (for so he was wont familiarly to call him) *I will be no longer thy Son, (said he) nor shalt thou be my Father: Thou shalt die.* And with that they slew both him and *Carter* that lay with him, stabbing them in many places, after that *Davill's* Lacquey, by interposing his naked Body, had done the best he could, for a while, to defend his Master, and had receiv'd some Wounds. Then he slew all *Davill's* Servants, one after another, who were lodg'd here and there in several Chambers; and so returning all begoat'd with Blood, he boasted among the *Spaniards*, of the Murder: And let this (said he) be a Pledge to you, of my Faithfulness towards you, and the Cause you are engaged in. This Fact *Sanders* commended, as a sweet Sacrifice in the Sight of God. *James Fitz-Morris* disliked the Manner of the Murder; and wish'd rather it had been done upon the Way, than in his Bed. The Earl, when he heard it, condemn'd the Fact, detesting it with all his heart.

The *Spaniards*, when they saw so small a Number of *Irish* join with them, and those unarm'd and pitiful Fellows, contrary to what *Fitz-Morris* had promis'd them; began to despair of themselves, and to cry out they were undone, and to bewail their Condition; for they saw no Way to escape either by Sea or Land. *Fitz-Morris* exhorts them to wait patiently, assuring them that there were great Forces coming to their Aid, and feignedly takes a Journey to *St. Croix* in *Tipperary*, under pretence of performing a Vow he had made in *Spain*; but indeed to gather together seditious Fellows out of *Connaught* and *Ulster*.

Whilst he, with a few Horsemen and twelve Footmen, took his Journey through the Lands of *William a Burgh* his Kinsman, (who in the former Rebellion was engaged with him) his Horses tiring, he took some out of the Plough near the High-way: the Plough-men, making an Out-cry, call together the Neighbourhood, to recover their Horses; amongst whom the Sons of *William a Burgh*, being courageous young Men, took Horse, and pursu'd him so hard, that they overtook him. *Fitz-Morris* seeing *Theobald a Burgh* and his Brethren, who not long since had been Rebels with him, spake to them friendly in this manner, *Cousins, (says he) let us not fall out for a Jade or two. I doubt not but, when ye understand the Cause of my Returning into Ireland, ye will join your Party with me. Theobald* answer'd, *Of our former Rebellion, both myself, my Father and my Friends do*

greatly repent us: Our Fidelity and Obedience we have sworn to our most gracious Princess, who has pardon'd us our Lives; and to her we will keep our Allegiance. Therefore restore us our Horses, or I will make you restore them. And withal, charging him with his Lance, he ran at him. They fought a while, and *Theobald* and one of his Brothers, with some of his Party, were slain: and withal, *Fitz-Morris* himself fell down dead, being run through with a Lance, and shot in the Head with a leaden Bullet; and most of his Men were slain. His Head was cut from his Body, his Body quarter'd, his Quarters set upon Poles at the Gates of *Kilmallock*, where he had formerly (as I said before) with solemn Protestations, sworn Allegiance to his Prince, in the Church, before *Perrott*. The Queen, by her Letters mixt with Grief and Love, comforted *William a Burgh* for the Loss of his Sons, honour'd him with the Title of Baron of *Castle-Conell*, and gave him a yearly Pension: whereat the old Man being fill'd and overcome with sudden Joy, died shortly after.

Now was *Drury* Lord-Deputy come near to *Kilmallock*, and sent for the Earl of *Desmond*, who appear'd before him, promis'd his Fidelity and Obedience to his Princess, and bound himself by Oath, that both himself in person and his would serve her against the Rebels. Whereupon he was dismiss'd, to gather his Men together, and return to the Lord-Deputy. *John Desmond*, the Earl's Brother, who was put in *Fitz-Morris's* Room among the Rebels, by an Ambush surpriz'd and slew *Herbert* and *Prise*, two English Captains, with their Companies; and was hurt himself in the Face. But the Companies were made up again, with six hundred Men out of *Devonshire*: and *Perrott* was sent out of *England* with six Men of War, to defend the Coast.

At which time the Lord-Deputy, being daily more and more afflicted with Sicknefs, was fain to retire to *Waterford*, for Recovery of his Health, and committed both the Managing of the War, and the Presidentship of *Munster*, to *Nicolas Malbey* Governor of *Connaught*, an experienced old Soldier. As he was departing, *Desmond's* Wife fell upon her Knees, and offer'd him her only Son and Heir in Hostage for his Father. For after he was departed from *Kilmallock*, he appear'd no more: tho' *Malbey* now and then by Letters put him in mind of his Duty and Promise. *Malbey*, supposing it not good to delay any time, marches into *Conilo*, a wild and woody Country, against the Rebels; where *John Desmond* encounter'd him in a pitch'd Field, with the Pope's hallow'd Banner display'd: and they fought smartly on both sides. At length, Fortune favouring the Valour of the English, *John* first betook himself to Flight, and left his Men to the Slaughter; amongst whom was found that *Allen* the Divine, who had encouraged them to the Engagement, promising them assured Victory.

That Night the Earl of *Desmond*, who had stood a Spectator from an Hill hard-by, dissimblingly by Letters congratulated the President concerning his Victory, and under pretence of Friendship, advis'd him to remove his Camp from thence. *Malbey* sent back the Messenger, and by his Letter commanded the Earl to come and join his Forces with his: whom when he had in vain expected the space of Four days, he march'd forward to *Rekel*, a small Town of *Desmond*. Now *Desmond*, who had in Shew and Words, so long and so egregiously play'd the Dissembler, ceases longer to act that Part, and openly discovers his rebellious Spirit. The same Night the Rebels charged *Malbey's* Camp, in the dark; which notwithstanding they found so strongly fortify'd, that they retired without effect.

1579.
Ann. 22.

Fitz-Morris with most of his men slain.

William a Burgh made a Baron, dies for Joy.

Desmond's feign'd submission.

John Desmond defeats the English.

Malbey President of Munster.

He defeats the Rebels.

Desmond openly rebels.

1579. Ann. 22.
 thing any thing. The President, in regard the Place seem'd commodious to divide the Rebels Forces, put a Garrison into it, and march'd from thence towards *Asketten*, a Castle of the Earl's, upon a Rock, compass'd about with the River *Asketten*, and kept by a Party of Soldiers. Yet before he would assault the same, he wrote again to *Desmond*, and exhorted him not to incur the Stain of Rebellion, but to return to his Duty; laying before him, the Queen's Clemency, the ancient Dignity of the House of *Desmond*, the Glory of his Ancestors, and his own Infamy with Posterity. He on the contrary both continu'd obstinate in his Resolution, and strengthen'd his Camp all the Ways he could, both with the lately-arriv'd *Spaniards*, and with *Irish*. At this time, in the beginning of October, *Drury* the Lord-Deputy died at *Waterford*; a Man certainly of approv'd Vertue, and bred up in the Wars, from his very Youth, in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Death of
L. Deputy
Drury.

Rebels en-
couraged
thereby.

Pelham
made Ju-
sticer of
Ireland.

He puts
Desmond
in mind of
his duty.

Proclaims
him Trai-
tor.

Youghall
taken by
the Rebels.
Ormond
pursues
them.

The Lord-Deputy being dead, *Malbey's* Authority in *Munster* died also; therefore, putting his Soldiers into Garrison-towns, he retired into *Connaught*, his own Government. By the Lord-Deputy's death the Rebels take Courage, and consult how to free themselves from their Subjection to the *English*. The best Course (they thought) was, to block up the Garrisons round on all sides, and so to famish them. *James Desmond* therefore besieged *Adar*, where *William Stanley* and *George Carew* had their Quarters: but the Garrison fearing Hunger, the worst of all Evils, weary'd the Besiegers with such frequent Sallies, that they broke up the Siege, and left the Besieged at liberty to fetch in Booty out of the Country adjoining; which they valorously and stoutly perform'd, wounding *James* himself.

In the mean time, the Council of *Ireland* chose Sir *William Pelham* for Justicer of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Lord-Deputy, till a Lord-Deputy should be created; and the Earl of *Ormond* they made President of *Munster*, who sent the Earl of *Desmond's* Son, whom he had in Hostage, to *Dublin*, to be there kept. *Pelham* Lord-Justicer went into *Munster*, and sent for the Earl of *Desmond*: but he, by Letters sent by his Wife excus'd himself. *Ormond* therefore was sent to command him to deliver up *Sanders* the Divine, the foreign Soldiers, and the Castles of *Carigo-Foyle* and *Asketten*, into the Lord-Justicer's hands, to submit himself absolutely, and use his Forces against his Brothers and the rest of the Rebels: which if he did, he might obtain Pardon of his Rebellion; otherwise he should be proclaim'd a Traitor and Enemy to his Country. When he still shifted and avoided to do it, he was, in the beginning of November, proclaim'd Traitor and guilty of High-Treason, for having dealt with foreign Princes, for the Conquest and Destruction of his Native Country, reliev'd *Sanders* and *James Fitz-Morris* Rebels, harbour'd the *Spaniards* who escaped out of the Fort at *Smerwick*, hang'd up divers faithful Subjects, display'd the Pope's Banner against the Q. and brought Foreigners into the Realm. This being proclaim'd, the Lord-Justicer committed the Prosecution of the War to *Ormond*. *Desmond* turn'd himself against another part of *Munster*, surpriz'd and sack'd *Youghall*, a Port-town strongly fortify'd, where he found no Resistance. *Ormond* lays all waste far and near, quite through *Conilo*, the Rebels only Refuge, drives away their Cattle, and gives them for Booty to his Men. The Mayor of *Youghall* he commanded to be hang'd before his own Door, for refusing to receive in an *English* Garrison; and puts a Garrison into the Town. Then he prepares to besiege the *Spaniards* in *Sranganicallia*: but they had before withdrawn themselves out of Danger; yet the

English pursuing them, put them every Man to the Sword, and miserably harass'd the Rebels all over *Munster*. But *Desmond* and his Brethren, tho' lurking and hiding their Heads, signify'd to the Lord-Justicer, in a long Letter, that they had undertaken the Protection of the Catholick Faith in *Ireland*, and that by Authority from the Pope, and Direction of the Catholick King: and therefore they kindly advise him to join with them in so pious and meritorious a Cause, for the Salvation of his own Soul.

The Three and twentieth Year of her Reign.

1580.

The Lord-Justicer smiling and jesting hereat, return'd into *Munster*, assembled the Gentlemen, and wisely kept them with him, not suffering them to depart, but upon Hostages given, and Promise made to do their best Service with him and *Ormond* against the Rebels: who soon after, dividing their Forces, hunt after the Rebels. The Baron of *Lixnaw* they force to yield himself; then besiege the Castle of *Carigo-Foyle*, which *Julio* an Italian with a few *Spaniards* defended: and having made a Breach in the Walls, by means of their great Ordnance, they enter'd it by force, and put the Garrison either to the Sword or the Gallows, and with them *Julio* himself. Then was the Castle of *Ballilough* fir'd and abandon'd by the Garrison, as soon as they saw the *English* come on; as was also *Asketten*, the Keeping whereof was committed to Sir *Peter Carew* and *George* his Brother, with a new Garrison of *Englishmen*. The Territory of *Mac-Auley* was harass'd: and from thence the Lord-Justicer enter'd into *Kerry*, over the boggy Hill of *Slewlongher*, drove away a great Number of Cattle, and slew very many of the Rebels. *James Desmond*, the Earl's Brother, having spoil'd the little Country of *Muskeroy*, belonging to *Cormac Mac-Teg*, (whom the Lord-Justicer had dismiss'd, upon condition he should do his Country good Service against the Rebels) happen'd upon *Donell*, *Cormac's* Brother, who put many of his Men to the Sword, recover'd the Booty, took *James*, who was mortally wounded, and deliver'd him to *Warham St. Desmond Leiger*, Marshal of *Munster*, and to *Walter Raleigh* (who then first had any Command of Forces.) They brought him to his Trial, and, having found him guilty of High-Treason, put him to the usual Death of Traitors, setting up his Head for a Spectacle upon *Cork-Gate*. *Desmond* himself being distress'd with all kind of Miseries, and no where safe, shifted from place to place, sent his Wife to the L. Justicer to beg his Pardon, and by his Friends earnestly dealt with *Winter*, (who then waited for the *Spaniards*, upon that Coast, with a well-order'd Fleet) that he might be convey'd over into *England*, to beg the Queen's Mercy.

The Lord-Justicer being now advertis'd, that *Arthur Lord Grey*, appointed to be Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, was arrived in *Ireland*, committed the Care of the Army in *Munster* to *George Bourchier*, Son to *John* the second Earl of *Bath*, and return'd himself, by easie Journeys, to *Dublin*, to deliver up his Charge to his Successor. No sooner was the Lord *Grey* arriv'd, but, before he had receiv'd the Sword and Ensigns of his Command, hearing that certain Rebels, under the Leading of *Fitz-Eustace*, and *Pheog Mac-Hugh*, the Head of the powerful Family of the *O-brines*, did commit Thefts and Robberies, and had their Refuge in *Glandilough*, 25 Miles from *Dublin* Southward, that he might both gain to himself a Reputation, and by a severe Beginning strike a Terror into them, he order'd the Captains and Commanders, which came from all places to salute him, to gather their Forces together, and to march with him

L. Justicer
& *Ormond*
prosecute
the Rebels

Several
places
taken, &
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Desmond
distress'd

*Arthur L.
Grey* Deputy
of *Ireland*

Marches
against the
Rebels.

him against the Rebels; who presently retired to *Glandilough*. This *Glandilough* is a grassy Valley, fit for fatning of Cattle, and a great part of it somewhat wet, beset round about with craggy Rocks and a steep Downfall, and with Trees and Thickets of Wood, the Paths and Cross-ways whereof are scarce known to the Dwellers thereabouts. When they were come to the place, *Cosbey*, Captain of the *Irish* light Footmen, (whom they call *Kerns*) who knew the places perfectly well, acquainted the rest, how dangerous it was to enter into that Valley, being so commodious for Ambushes: yet he persuaded them to venture courageously, and himself, being above threescore Years of Age, led the way before 'em, and the rest follow'd after. As soon as they were descended into the Valley, they were charg'd from the Hedges with small Shot, as it were with a Storm of Hail, by the Rebels from all parts round about, whom yet they could not see. The greatest part of 'em by far were slain; the rest with much ado climbing up the Rocks, through cumberfom and difficult Ways, escaped to the Lord-Deputy, who upon a Hill attended the Success with the Earl of *Kildare*, and *James Wingfield* Master of the Ordnance; who, not ignorant of the Danger, stay'd *George Carew* (one of his Nephews) with him against his Will, being reserv'd for greater Honour. There were slain *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audley*, and *Cosbey* himself, Men of great Repute for Martial Affairs.

Within a short time after, arrived at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, about 700 *Italians* and *Spaniards*, under the Command of *San-Josepho* an *Italian*, sent from the Pope and the *Spaniard*, under pretence of restoring the *Romish* Religion, but indeed to distract *Queen Elizabeth's* Forces, and to divert her Mind from the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. They landed without Resistance: for *Winter*, who had waited for 'em a good while, upon that Coast, with several Men of War, was return'd into *England*, the Autumnal Equinox being now past. The Enemy strengthen'd the Place with Fortifications, and nam'd it the *Fort del Or*. But as soon as News was brought 'em, that *Ormond*, President of *Munster*, approach'd, they abandon'd the Fort by the Persuasion of the *Irish*, and withdrew themselves into the Valley of *Glaningelly*, environ'd with steep Hills and Woods. Some of 'em the President took, who being examin'd of their Number and Intent, confess'd, That they came but 700 strong, but brought Arms sufficient for 5000, and that they expected more Men daily out of *Spain*. That the Pope and the *Spaniard* had resolv'd to drive the *English* out of *Ireland*, and had sent a great Sum of Money to that purpose, which they had deliver'd into the Hands of *Sanders* the Pope's Nuntio, the Earl of *Desmond*, and *John* his Brother. The same Night the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, not knowing which way to turn themselves, (for they were not used to lurking in Holes) return'd in the dark to the Fort; and hard-by 'em encamp'd the Earl of *Ormond*. But being unprovided of Ordnance and other Necessaries for an Assault, he stay'd for the Lord-Deputy's Coming; who came shortly after, accompany'd by *Zouch*, *Raleigh*, *Deny*, *Mackworth*, *Achin*, and other Commanders. At the same time also was *Winter* return'd out of *England*, with the Men of War; not without a Check for his departing.

The Lord-Deputy sent a Trumpet to the Fort, to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, who sent them, and why they had built a Fort in *Queen Elizabeth's* Kingdom, and withal, to command 'em to depart with all speed. They answer'd, they were sent, some from the most Holy Father the Pope, and some from the

Catholick King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope had given *Ireland*, since *Queen Elizabeth* had justly forfeited her Title to it, for Heresie. They would therefore hold what they had gotten, and get more also, if they could. When the Lord-Deputy and *Winter* had consulted together, about the managing of the Siege, the Seamen, in the dead of the Night, brought certain Culverins out of the Ships, and having rais'd a Battery near the Shoar, drew them up the next way, and planted them. The Soldiers in like manner on the other side levell'd their great Pieces for Battery, and both of 'em at once play'd for four days together against the Fort. The *Spaniards* made one or two Sallies, but to their own Loss. Of the *English* not one Man was slain, but *John Cheek*, a comely and courageous young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a very learned Knight.

San-Josepho, who had the Command of the Fort, being a faint-hearted Man, and terrify'd with the continual playing of the Ordnance, began presently to think of yielding the Place: and when *Hercules Pisannus* and other Commanders earnestly dissuaded him from it, as a thing dishonorable to a Soldier, and urged him to prepare for a vigorous Defence, lest they should by their Cowardice discourage the *Irish*, who were now ready to relieve them; he by his Agents, such was his cowardly Spirit, tamper'd with the common Soldiers, and wrought them to consent to a Surrender, seditiously offering Violence to their Leaders. Hereupon, when they saw no Relief come, either out of *Spain*, or from *Desmond*, they hung out a white Flag the Fifth Day, and beat a Parley. Which was deny'd 'em, because they had join'd themselves with the Rebels, with whom it was not lawful to have any Parley. Then they crav'd that they might depart with Bag and Baggage: but neither was this granted. Afterwards it was desired that this might be granted to their General and certain principal Men amongst them: neither would this be allow'd 'em, tho' they sued very earnestly for it. And the Lord-Deputy (inveighing very bitterly against the Pope) commanded them to yield themselves upon Discretion. When they could obtain no other Terms, they set up their white Flag again, and cry'd *Misericordia, misericordia*, and absolutely submitted themselves to the Lord-Deputy's Mercy: who presently advis'd with his Officers, what should be done with them. But in regard those who yielded, equall'd the *English* in Number, and some Danger threatned from the Rebels, who were above 1500 strong, hard-by; and the *English* were so destitute of Victuals and Apparel, that they were like to mutiny, unless they were reliev'd out of the Fort, by the Spoil of the Enemy, and Shipping was wanting to carry the Enemies away; it was concluded, (against the Mind of the Lord-Deputy, who shed Tears at the Determination) that the Commanders should be saved, and the rest promiscuously put to the Sword for a Terror; and that the *Irish* should be hang'd up: which was presently put in Execution. Yet the Queen wish'd it had not been done, detesting from her Heart such Cruelty, tho' seemingly then necessary, against these Persons who had yielded themselves; and hardly did she allow of the Reasons for the Slaughter committed. Thus much of Matters in *Ireland*, which I have mention'd all together, that the Series of the Story might not be interrupted, tho' other things fell out in the meanwhile, which in respect of their time should have been mention'd first.

In *England*, in the beginning of this Year, the Neck-attire, which we call *Ruffs*, being unreasonably large, and with huge wide Plaits,

1580.

Ann. 22.

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1580. and Cloaks reaching down almost to the Ancles, no less uncomely than expensive, were restrain'd by Proclamation. Swords also were reduc'd to the length of three Foot, Daggers to twelve Inches besides the Handle, and the Pikes in the Bosse of Bucklers to two Inches. In like manner, in regard that great multitudes of People resorted from all Parts to London, whereby the City and Suburbs were now much enlarg'd with Buildings, (while the rest of the Cities and Towns of England ran to Decay) that unless it were timely prevented, neither the ordinary Magistrates would suffice to govern the Multitude, nor the Countries round about to feed them, and the Contagion of Pestilence, if any should happen, would spread itself farther and more dangerously by means of the Houses standing so thick together, and being pester'd with numbers of Inhabitants; the Q. by Proclamation prohibited any new Dwelling-houses to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City, upon pain of Imprisonment, and loss of the Materials provided for the Building: And order'd that no more than one Family should dwell in one House.

Mechlin taken. In the Netherlands, Sir John Norris, General of the English Forces, and Oliver Temple, with some Companies of *Netherlanders*, scaled the Walls of *Mechlin*, a rich City of *Brabant*, early one Morning, and, with great slaughter of the Townsmen and religious People, took it; with some Commendation indeed for their Valour, had not they stain'd it with the odious Blur of their Rapine and Sacrilege: For they not only plunder'd the Citizens Goods with all Insolency imaginable, but exercis'd their Rage also against the very Churches, sacred Things and Monuments, offering Violence to the Dead. For we saw (which I am ashamed to speak) several Tomb-stones sent over from thence into England, and openly set to sale, that there might not want Proofs of their Impiety.

Earth-quakes in England. Let it not seem beside the purpose to mention the Earthquakes which happen'd in these Days, seeing they are Things that happen very rarely in England; and those that do, are rather to be call'd Tremblings of the Earth, than violent Shakings. The 6th Day of April, at six of the Clock in the Evening, the Air being clear and calm, England on this side *York*, and the Netherlands almost as high as *Cologne*, in a moment as it were, fell a trembling in such a manner, that in some places Stones fell down from Buildings, the Bells in Steeples struck against the Clappers, and the very Sea, which then was very calm, was vehemently toss'd and mov'd to and fro. The Night following the Ground in *Kent* trembled two or three times; and the like again on the 1st of May, in the dead-time of the Night. Whether this happen'd by means of Winds gotten into the hollow places of the Earth, or of Waters flowing under the Earth, or from any other Cause, let the Natural Philosophers determine: But immediately upon it there ensu'd some Trouble to the Papists in England; yet none but what was caus'd by themselves, upon the following Occasions.

The beginning of the Papists Troubles. The English Priests which had fled into the Netherlands assembl'd themselves at *Doway* in the Year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an Oxford-man, the most Learned amongst them, and fram'd themselves a common Discipline after the manner of a College; to whom the Bishop of *Rome* assign'd a yearly Pension. When afterwards the Troubles in the Netherlands encreas'd, and the English Fugitives were banish'd thence by command of *Don Lewis de Requesens*, another Seminary was erected at *Rheims* by the *Guises*, the Queen of Scots Kinsmen, and another at *Rome*

by *Gregory XIII.* which as Time consum'd the Popish Priests in England, might still supply new, to sow the Seeds of the Romish Religion in England. Whereupon they were call'd *Seminaries*; and those that were there bred up in them were commonly call'd *Seminary-Priests*.

In these Colleges, or Seminaries, (whilst among other things Disputations were held concerning the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Power) Zeal to the Pope their Founder, Hatred against the Queen, and Hope of restoring the Romish Religion by the Queen of Scots, carried some of them so far, that they really perswaded themselves, and so maintain'd, that the Bishop of *Rome* hath by divine Right full power over the whole World, as well in Ecclesiastical as Temporal Causes; and that he, according to that absolute Power, may excommunicate Kings, and having so done, dethrone 'em, and absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. Hereupon was that Bull declaratory of *Pius V.* publish'd in the Year 1569; and upon that Bull brake forth the Rebellion in the North Parts of England, and this also in Ireland whereof I spake a little before; and many withdrew themselves from the establish'd Worship of God, which before they had frequented without any scruple. *Hanse, Nelson and Maine*, Priests, and *Sherwood*, peremptorily taught the Queen was a Schismatick and an Heretick, and therefore to be deposed; for which they were put to death.

Out of these Seminaries were sent forth into divers Parts of England and Ireland at first a few young Men, and afterwards more, as they grew up, who were entred over-hastily into Holy Orders, and instructed in the above-mention'd Principles. They pretended only to administer the Sacraments of the Romish Religion, and to preach to Papists: But the Queen and her Council soon found that they were sent underhand to seduce the Subjects from their Allegiance and Obedience due to their Prince, to oblige them by Reconciliation to perform the Pope's Commands, to stir up intestine Rebellions under the Seal of Confession, and indeed to execute the Sentence of *Pius V.* against the Queen, to the end that way might be made for the Pope and the Spaniard, who had of late design'd the Conquest of England.

To these Seminaries were sent daily out of *England* by the Papists, in contempt and despite of the Laws, great numbers of Boys and young Men of all sorts, and admitted into the same, making a Vow to return into England: Others also crept secretly from thence into the Land, and more were daily expected with the Jesuits, who at this time first came into England. Hereupon there came forth a Proclamation in the Month of June, "That whosoever had any Children, Wards, Kinsmen, or other Relations in the Parts beyond the Seas, should after ten Days give in their Names to the Ordinary, and within four Months call them home again; and when they were return'd, should forthwith give notice of the same to the said Ordinary. That they should not directly or indirectly supply such as refus'd to return with any Money. That no Man should entertain in his House, or harbour any Priests sent forth out of the aforesaid Seminaries, or Jesuits, or cherish and relieve them. And that whosoever did to the contrary, should be accounted a favourer of Rebels and seditious Persons, and be proceeded against according to the Laws of the Land."

Before such time as this was proclaim'd the Papists pretended that they were sensible too late of the Inconveniences by the said Bull, and that they

they were ill pleased that ever it came forth. A Defence of the same, written by *Nicolas Sanders*, they cunningly (as the Event shew'd) suppress'd; and prohibited the Question concerning the Power of the Bishop of *Rome* in excommunicating and deposing of Princes to be publickly disputed; which notwithstanding (such is the Nature of Man, to be still prone and forward to whatever is forbidden) brake forth every Day hotter and hotter amongst them. *Robert Parsons* also, and *Edmund Campian*, *Englishmen*, and of the Society of *Jesuits*, being now ready to come over to advance the *Romish* Affairs in *England*, obtain'd Power from *Gregory* the thirteenth Bishop of *Rome*, for moderating the said Bull, and that in these Words: Let there be humbly prayed of our most holy Lord an Explanation of the Bull declaratory set forth by *Pius V.* against *Elizabeth* and her Adherents. Which Bull the Catholics do desire may be understood in this manner: That it may always bind her and the Hereticks, but in no way the Catholics, as matters now stand; but only hereafter, when publick execution of the said Bull may be had. These Graces aforesaid the chief Bishop hath granted to *Father Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian*, who are now to take their Journey into *England* the 14th Day of April 1580, in the presence of *Father Oliver Manarco*, Assistant.

This *Parsons* was of *Somersetshire*, a violent fierce-natur'd Man, and of a rough Behaviour. *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a sweet Disposition, and a well-bred Man. Both of 'em were by Education *Oxford-men*, whom I myself knew, being of their standing in the University. *Campian*, being of *St. John's College*, bare the Office of Proctor of the University in the Year 1568; and being made Deacon, made a shew of the Protestant Religion, till he withdrew himself out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Balliol College*, wherein he openly profess'd the Protestant Religion, until he was for his loose Carriage expell'd with Disgrace, and went over to the Papists. These two coming privately into *England*, travell'd up and down through the Country, and to Popish Gentlemens Houses, covertly and in the disguised Habits sometimes of Soldiers, sometimes of Gentlemen, sometimes of Ministers of the Word, and sometimes of Apparitors, diligently performing what they had in charge, both by Word and Writing. *Parsons*, who was constituted Superior, being a Man of a seditious and turbulent Spirit, and armed with a confident Boldness, tamper'd so far with the Papists about deposing the Queen, that some of 'em (I speak upon their own Credit) thought to have deliver'd him into the Magistrate's Hands. *Campian*, tho' more modest, yet by a written Paper challeng'd the Ministers of the *English Church* to a Disputation, and publish'd a neat well-penn'd Book in *Latin*, call'd, *Ten Reasons* in Defence of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: And *Parsons* put out another virulent Book in *English* against *Chark*, who had soberly written against *Campian's* Challenge. But to *Campian's* Reasons, *Whitaker* gave a solid Answer. *Campian* himself was taken a Year after, and put to the Rack; and afterwards being brought forth to dispute, he scarcely answer'd the expectation rais'd of him.

Neither wanted there others also of the Popish Faction (for Religion was grown into Faction) who labour'd Tooth and Nail at *Rome*, and elsewhere in Princes Courts, to raise War against their own Country: Yea, they publish'd also in print, That the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* had conspir'd together to conquer *England*, and expose it for a Spoil and Prey: And this they did of purpose to give Courage to their own Party,

and to terrifie others from their Allegiance to their Prince and Country. The Queen being now openly thus assail'd, both by the Arms and cunning Practices of the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, set forth a Manifesto, wherein (after acknowledgment of the Goodness of God towards her) she declar'd, That she had attempted nothing against any Prince, but for preservation of her own Kingdom; nor had she invaded the Provinces of any other, tho' she had sundry times been thereunto both provoked by Injuries, and invited by Opportunities. If any Prince go about to attempt ought against her, she doubteth not but to be able (by the blessing of God) to defend her People; and to that purpose, she had muster'd her Forces both by Sea and Land, and had 'em now in readiness against any hostile Invasion. Her faithful Subjects she exhorteth to continue immovable in their Allegiance and Duty towards God, and their Prince the Minister of God. The rest, who had shaken off their Love to their Country, and their Obedience to their Prince, she commandeth to carry themselves modestly and peaceably, and not provoke the severity of Justice against themselves; for she would no longer be so imprudent, as by sparing the bad to prove cruel to herself and her good Subjects.

And not only these perfidious Subjects, but also Foreigners out of *Holland*, (a Country fruitful of Hereticks) began at this time to trouble the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth of *England*, who under a shew of singular Integrity and Sanctity, intimated themselves into the Affections of the ignorant common People, and then instill'd into their Minds several damnable Heresies manifestly repugnant to the Christian Faith, using uncouth and strange kind of Expressions, contrary to the Christian Profession, which Men might rather admire than understand. These named themselves of the Family of Love, or House of Charity. They persuaded their Followers, "That those only were elected, and should be saved, who were admitted into that Family, and all the rest Reprobates, and to be damn'd: And that it was lawful for them to deny upon their Oath before a Magistrate whatsoever they pleased, or before any other who was not of their Family. Of this fanatical Vanity they disperfed Books amongst their Followers, translated out of the Dutch Tongue into *English*, which they entitl'd, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*; *Documental Sentences*; *The Prophecy of the Spirit of Love*; *The publishing of Peace upon Earth*. The Author *H. N.* they could by no means be persuaded to reveal; yet was it found afterward to be *Henry Nicholas* of *Leiden*, who with a blasphemous Mouth gave out, that he did partake of God, and God of his Humanity. For the timely suppressing of these by Law, the Queen, considering that Religion ought to be the chiefest care of Princes, commanded by Proclamation that the Civil Magistrate should be assitent to the Ecclesiastical, and that the Books should be publickly burnt.

About this time return'd into *England*, *Francis Drake*, abounding with great Wealth, and greater Renown, having prosperously sailed round about the World; being, if not the first of all which could challenge this Glory, yet questionless the first but *Magellan*, whom Death cut off in the midst of his Voyage. This *Drake* (to relate no more than what I have heard from himself) was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, and had *Francis Russel* (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his Godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian Name. Whilst he was yet a Child, his Father, embracing the Protestant Doctrine, was call'd in question by the Law of the Six Articles, made by *Henry VIII.* against the

1580.
Ann. 23.

An Edit.
against
them.

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Holland.

Fami'y of
Love.

Their fa-
natical
Writings.

Proclama-
tion a-
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His Pa-
rentage.

1580.
Ann. 23.

Parsons &
Campian
the Jesuits
come into
England.

An Indul-
gence
granted to
Papists.

Parsons &
Campian
describ'd.

Fugitives
excite
Foreigners
against
their
Country.

1580. the Protestants, fled his Country, and withdrew himself into Kent. After the death of K. Henry, he got a Place among the Seamen in the King's Navy, to read Prayers to 'em; and soon after he was ordain'd Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of *Upore* upon the River *Medway*, (the Road where the Fleet usually anchoreth). But by reason of his Poverty, he put his Son to the Master of a Bark, his Neighbour, who held him hard to his Business in the Bark, with which he used to coast along the Shore, and sometimes to carry Merchandize into *Zeland* and *France*. The Youth being painful and diligent, so pleased the old Man by his Industry, that being a Batchellor, at his death he bequeath'd the Bark unto him by Will and Testament. Wherewith when he had got together a little Money, and heard that Sir *John Hawkins* was rigging certain Ships at *Plimouth*, and purpos'd a Voyage to *America*, which they call'd the *new World*, he sold his Bark, and going thither out of *Kent* with some other stout Seamen, in the Year 1567, he employ'd both his Pains and Fortunes unsuccessfully in that Voyage under *Hawkins*. For the *English* (as I have formerly said) being vanquish'd in the Haven of *Saint John de Ullua* by the *Spaniards*, he hardly escap'd with the loss of what he had. Five Years after, to wit, in the Year 1572, when he had gotten pretty store of Money by playing the Seaman and the Pirate, he, to lick himself whole of the Damage he had receiv'd of the *Spaniards*, (which a Divine belonging to the Fleet had easily persuaded him to be lawful) set sail again with a Man of War which was call'd the *Dragon*, and two Pinnaces, for *America*, acquainting his Companions only with his Purpose. *Nemibre de Dios*, a Town in the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, he took, and soon after lost it again. Afterwards being advertis'd by certain fugitive *Negroes*, (*Cimarons* they call 'em) that there was a great quantity of Gold and Silver to be brought on Mules from *Panama*, he robb'd 'em by the way, brought the Gold to his Ships, but the Silver, because he could not well carry it over the Mountains he left behind, and some he hid under Ground. Then he fired a rich Store-house of Merchandize upon the River *Chirage*, called the *Cross*. And roving for a time up and down in the Parts adjoining, he descry'd from the Mountains the *South Sea*. Hereupon the Man being inflamed with ambition of Glory and hopes of Wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that Sea, that falling down there upon his Knees, he implor'd the Divine Assistance, that he might at some time or other sail thither, and make a perfect Discovery of the same: And hereunto he bound himself with a Vow. From that time forward his Mind was pricked on continually Night and Day to perform his Vow.

Oxenham sailth into America. He being now grown very Rich, and brooding in his Mind privately upon this Design, *John Oxenham*, who had serv'd under him in his former Voyages, as a Soldier, a Sailor and a Cook, having gotten amongst the Seamen the Name of a Captain for his Valour, and privately scrap'd together good store of Money, to anticipate *Drake* both in his robbing the *Muletters*, and in navigating the *South Sea*, made a Voyage to the same Parts in the Year 1575, with one Ship and 70 Seamen: And consulting with the *Negroes*, when he understood that the *Muletters* were now bringing their Treasure from *Panama* with a Convoy of Soldiers, he drew up his Ship to Land in a private woody corner, and cover'd it with green Boughs which he had cut down; his great Ordnance and Provision of Victuals he buried under Ground; and with all his Men, and six

Negroes for Guides, went forward to a River which runneth into the *South Sea*. There he cut down Trees, and building a Galliot, crossed over to an Island in the *South Sea*, called, *Isla de Perlas*, situate not far from the Land. In which Isle having tarried ten Days expecting the coming of Ships from *Peru*, he took one with sixty Pound weight of Gold, and another with an hundred Pound weight of Silver, and returned to the River with the Ships he had taken. The matter being now noised abroad by the *Spaniards* whom he had let go, *John Ortega* a *Spaniard* with 100 Men pursu'd after him. And whereas the River had three Mouths or Out-lets, he made a stop, doubting which of 'em to follow, till the Feathers of the Fowls which the *Englishmen* had eaten came swimming down the Stream, and shew'd 'em the way. The *Spaniards* taking this way, found the Gold amongst the Thickets, and the *Englishmen* at variance among themselves about dividing their Prey: Who notwithstanding join'd together for their common Safety, and made Head against the *Spaniards*, tho' far more in Number than they. But many of them were slain, and the rest taken, amongst whom *Oxenham* himself: Who being carried to *Lima*, and demanded whether he had the Queen's Authority for entering into the King of *Spain's* Dominions; when he could shew no such Authority, he was put to death as a Pirate and common Enemy of Mankind, together with the Master of the Ship, and some others; and so miscarried in this great and memorable Adventure.

Drake's second Voyage. *Drake*, not knowing what *Oxenham* had done, set sail from *Plimouth* the 13th Day of December, in the Year 1577, to navigate the *South Sea*, which still ran in his Mind, and to try his Fortune, with five Ships and 163 Seamen, of whom scarce any knew what he intended to do; which secret carriage in all Expeditions is the safest course. The 25th Day he came against *Cantia* a Cape of *Barbary*: And proceeding from thence, he refresh'd himself in the Isle of *Mayo*, being a pleasant Isle, and abounding with the sweetest Grapes. At *St. Jago* he took a *Portugal* Ship laden with Wine; and letting the Seamen go, carried the Vessel away, with *Nonnis de Silva* the Pilot, who might be of use to him for the Harbours and Watering-places on the Coast of *Brazil*, which he knew exactly well. From thence he sailed by the Isle of *Fuogo*, which casteth forth sulphurous Flames; and *Brava*, near which the Mariners report the Sea to be very deep. And now drawing near the Equator, *Drake*, being very careful of his Mens Health, let every one of 'em Blood with his own Hands; and there meeting with a great Calm, with much Thunder and Lightning, in almost three Weeks time he got little or nothing forward, and for 55 Days saw no Land, till *Brazil* presented itself to his view.

On the 26th of April, entering into the Mouth of the River of *Plate*, he saw an infinite Number of Sea-Calves. From thence sailing into the Haven of *St. Julian*, he found a Gibbet, set up (as is thought) by *Magellan*, for the Punishment of certain Mutiners. In this very place, *John Doughty*, an industrious and stout Man, and the next unto *Drake*, was called to his Tryal for raising a Mutiny in the Fleet, found Guilty by twelve Men, after the *English* manner, and condemn'd to death, which he suffer'd undauntedly, being beheaded, having first receiv'd the Holy Communion with *Drake*. And indeed the most impartial Persons in the Fleet were of opinion, that he had acted seditiously; and that *Drake* cut him off as an Emulator of his Glory, and one that regarded not so much who he himself excell'd

1580.
Ann. 23.

His Education.

His first Voyage into America

Exploits.

Oxenham sailth into America.

1580.
Ann. 23.
Isla de Perlas, or the Isle of Pearls.

He is pursued by the Spaniards

Taken and executed as a Pirate

Drake's second Voyage.

He puts Doughty to death

cell'd in Commendations for Sea-matters, as who
 1580. he thought might equal him. Yet wanted
 Ann. 23. there not some who, pretending to under-
 stand things better than others, gave out that
 Drake had in charge from *Leicester* to take off
 Doughty upon any pretence whatsoever, because
 he had reported abroad, that the Earl of *Essex*
 was made away by the cunning Practices of
Leicester.

On the 20th Day of *August*, he came with
 three Ships (for his two lesser he had before turn'd
 adrift, shipping the Men and Munition into the
 rest) to the Strait of *Magellan*, (as they call it)
 being a Sea thick set with Islands, and inclosed
 with high Cliffs or Mountains, the Air being
 extreme Cold, with Snow and Frost. On the
 6th of *September*, having pass'd the Strait, he en-
 ter'd into the open *South Sea*, (which they call
 the *Pacifick* or *Calm-Sea*) but found it rough and
 turbulent above measure; and a terrible Tempest
 carried the Fleet about 100 Leagues Westward,
 and separated them. Here he observ'd an Eclipse
 of the Moon on the 15th of *September*, at Six of
 the Clock in the Afternoon, (which I Note for
 the *Mathematicians* sakes). He observ'd also,
 contrary to what some had written, that that
 part of the Heaven next to the *Southern Pole*, was
 bedeck'd with but few Stars, and those of a smal-
 ler Magnitude; and that there were but only
 three of any remarkable Bigness to be seen in
 that Hemisphere which *England* hath not beheld.
 But two small Clouds he observ'd, of the same
 colour with *Via lactea*, not far distant from
 the Pole, which our Men called *Magellan's*
Clouds.

He pass'd
 the Strait
 of *Magel-
 lan*.

Observes
 an Eclipse
 of the
 Moon,
 and the
 Southern
 Stars,

and *Ma-
 gellan's*
Clouds.

7. *Winter*
 the first
 that ever
 returned
 thro' the
 Strait.

Of those Ships that were carried away with
 the Tempest, one (whereof *John Winter* was Cap-
 tain) came back through the Strait, and return'd
 safe into *England*, and was the first that ever re-
 turn'd through the said Strait. *Drake* himself,
 being now cast with one only Ship to the 55th
 Degree of *Southern Latitude*, having with much
 ado gotten up to the Latitude of the Strait, coas-
 ted along the Shore, and found those Coasts
 bending much more Eastward than they were
 before described in the Maps.

On the last of *September* he came to *Mouch*, an
 Island near the Shore; where one or two of his
 Seamen, whom he had sent out for fresh Water,
 were intercepted by the People of the Country.
 Setting sail from hence, he lighted upon a *Bar-
 barian* Fishing in a small Boat, who, supposing
 our Men to be *Spaniards*, gave 'em notice, that
 a great *Spanish* Ship laden rode at Anchor at *Villa*
Parizo, and directed 'em thither. The *Spanish*
 Mariners seeing the *Englishmen* coming, and sup-
 posing 'em to be their own Countrymen, rung
 a Bell, drew Wine of *Chili*, and drank full Cups
 to 'em. But they clapping the Ship aboard,
 thrust the *Spaniards* presently under Hatches, and
 sacked the Town of *St. Fago* hard by, together
 with the Chapel; the Prey whereof fell to *Flet-
 cher*, a Sea-Chaplain. The *Spaniards* being set on
 Land, who were not above eight in Number
 with two *Negroes*) he carried away with him the
 Master, being by Nation a *Grecian*, and the Ship,
 wherein was 400 Pound weight of *Baldivian* Gold,
 so called of the Place, which was exceeding fine
 and pure.

Drake
 meets with
 Purchase
 by Sea and
 Land.

He acci-
 dentally
 lights on
 such Prizes.

Then went he on Land at *Taurapasa*, where he
 found a *Spaniard* sleeping securely upon the Shore,
 and by him thirty Bars or Wedges of Silver, to
 the value of 400000 Ducats; which he com-
 manded to be carried away, not so much as once
 waking the Man. Afterwards entering into the
 Haven of *Arica*, he found there three Ships with-
 out Mariners, and in them, besides other Mer-

chandizes, 57 Wedges of Silver, every one of
 which weighed 20 Pounds. From hence he sail-
 ed to *Lima*, where he found twelve Ships riding
 at Anchor, their Munition being all drawn on
 Land, and in them good store of Silks, and a
 Chest full of Money ready coin'd; but not so
 much as a Boy aboard. So great Security was
 there on that Coast, that they stood in no fear at
 all of Pirates, by reason of the great Remoteness of
 those Places, and the Unknownness of that Sea.
 And certainly never any Man after *Magellan*,
 before *Drake*, had navigated that Sea, except the
Spaniards, who built there all the Ships which
 they had on that Coast. Having sent away these
 Ships to Sea, with all the sail he could make he
 gave chase to *Cacofoga*, a very rich Ship, which
 he understood had set sail from thence towards
Panama. By the way he met a small *Brigantine*
 unarm'd, out of which he took fourscore Pounds
 weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, some Eme-
 ralds of a Finger's length, and some Munition.
 On the first of *March* he overtook the *Cacofoga*; and
 having shot down her Fore-mast with the
 Shot of a Piece of Ordnance, he set upon her,
 and soon took her; and in her, besides Pearls
 and Precious Stones, fourscore Pounds weight of
 Gold, thirteen Chests full of Silver coin'd, and
 so great a quantity of other Silver, as would suf-
 fice to ballast a Ship. All which when he had
 taken into his own Ship, he let the *Cacofoga* go:
 The Master whereof is reported to have bidden
 him thus merrily farewell, saying, *We resign the*
Name of our Ship to yours: Yours now may be call'd
the Cacofoga, that is, *Shite-fire*; and ours the *Ca-
 coplata*, that is, *Shite-plate*. After this he met
 with no rich Booty. His *China* Dishes, with an
 Eagle of Gold, and a fair *Negroess*, given him for
 a Present by a *Spaniard* whose Ship he had spared,
 and the sacking a small Town call'd *Aquatulco*, I
 purposely omit.

1585.
 Ann. 23.

Takes the
Cacofoga.

Provides
 rich'd, and sufficiently satisfied for the private
 Injury done him by the *Spaniards* at the Haven of
St John de Ullua, he began to think of returning.
 To return by the Strait of *Magellan* seem'd very
 dangerous, both by reason of the frequent Tem-
 pests, and the uncertain Shelves and Shallows;
 as also for fear the *Spaniards* should there lay wait
 for him against his coming back. And indeed
Don Francisco de Toledo, Viceroy of *Peru*, had sent
 thither *Peter Sarmiento* with two Ships to inter-
 cept him as he return'd, and to fortifie such nar-
 row Places of the Strait as he found. He held
 on this Course therefore Northward to the Lati-
 tude of 42 Degrees, to discover if there were
 any Strait on that side, by which he might re-
 turn the next way home. But when he saw no-
 thing but thick Clouds, sharp Cold, and naked
 Shores, cover'd only with Snow, he descended to
 38 Degrees, and meeting with a Commodious
 Harbour, staid there a while. The People in-
 habiting there, were Naked, Pleasantly-disposed,
 Dancing daily in a Ring, offering Sacrifices,
 and, as it seem'd by the Signs they made, wil-
 ling to chuse *Drake*, by a long Oration to be
 their King: Neither could he conjecture that the
Spaniards had ever gone so far. This Country,
 being a fruitful Soil, and very full of Deer and
 Conies, it pleas'd him to name *New Albion*, set-
 ting up an Inscription upon a Post, which noti-
 fied the Year of our Lord, the Name of Queen
Elizabeth, and their arrival there; and putting
 under it some of Queen *Elizabeth's* Coin.

Discovers
*New-
 Albion*.

Comes to
 the *Moluccas*.

From this Coast he set sail and came in the
 Month of *November* to the Isles of the *Moluccas*,
 being kindly entertain'd by the King of the Isle
 of *Ternate*. From thence sailing forward in that
 Sea

1580. Sea thick bespread with Isles and Rocks, on the 9th of January his Ship struck upon a Rock which was hid under Water, and there stuck for the space of 27 Hours, and was given for lost by all the Company, who now fell devoutly to their Prayers, as if they should assuredly be cast away with all the Wealth which they had gotten with so great Labour and Hazard. But when they had laid their Hands to work, and thrown eight great Guns and some Merchandize over into the Sea, there came a bearing Gale of Wind on the one side, as if it were sent from Heaven, and clear'd the Ship of the Rock. Afterwards he arriv'd at *Java Major*, which was then grievously afflicted with the *French Disease*, which they cure by sitting in the open Air against the warm Sun to dry up that malignant Humour: where having receiv'd great Civility at the Hands of that petty King, he held on his Course to the *Cape of Good Hope*; which the *English* Mariners, who had never seen it before, commended for the fairest Promontory they ever saw. On the West-side thereof he landed for fresh Water, but could find no Spring. And now he had been distressed for lack of fresh Water, had he not providentially kept Rain-water before-hand in Vessels. But this Want he supplied at length at *Riogrande*. From whence he return'd with a prosperous Gale into *England* the 3d of November, in the Year 1580, arriving at the Haven of *Plimouth*, from whence he first set forth, having sailed round about the World in the space of three Years, or thereabouts, to the great Admiration of all Men, and without any Crime laid to his charge by his Adversaries, but only that he had put *Doughty* to death, that he had left a *Portuguese*, whom he had taken upon the Coast of *Africa*, to the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* at *Aquasulco*, and had inhumanely set that *Negro-Maid* before-mention'd on shore in an Island, after she was gotten with Child in his Ship.

The Queen receiv'd him graciously, and laid up the Treasure he brought by way of Sequestration, that it might be forth-coming if the *Spaniard* should demand it. His Ship she caused to be drawn up in a little Creek near *Deptford* upon the *Thames*, as a Monument of his so lucky sailing round the World, (where the *Carkas* thereof is to be seen). And having as it were consecrated it for a Memorial with great Ceremony, she was Banquetted in it, and confer'd on *Drake* the Honour of Knighthood. At this time a Bridge of Planks by which they came aboard the Ship, sunk under the crowd of People, and fell down with an hundred Men upon it, who notwithstanding had none of them any Harm. So as that Ship may seem to have been built under a lucky Planet.

In praise of *Drake* these Verses, amongst others, were set up the same Day upon the Main-mast, written by the Scholars of *Winchester-School*.

Verses in his praise. Plus ultra, *Herculeis* inscribas, *Drace*, *Columnis*, Et, *Magno*, dicas, *Hercule major* ero.

On *Hercles* Pillars, *Drake*, thou may'st Plus ultra write full well, And say, I will, in Greatness, that Great *Hercules* excel.

Drace, pererrati novit quem terminus Orbis, Quémque semel Mundi vidit uterque Polus, Si taceant homines, facient te Sidera notum: Sol nescit Comitum non memor esse sui.

Great *Drake*, whom well the World's End knows, Which thou didst compass round, And whom both Poles of Heaven once saw, Which North and South do bound; The Stars above will make thee known, If Men here silent were: The Sun himself cannot forget His Fellow-traveller.

Digna Ratis quæ stet radiantibus inclita Stellis; Supremo Cæli Vertice digna Ratis.

Amongst the radiant Stars to stand Thy Ship well worthy were; Well worthy on the highest top Of Heav'n a place to bear.

But these Things may seem too light, and to proceed from an idle Brain, and not befitting the Gravity of an History.

Drake being now return'd, nothing troubled him more than that some of the chief Men at Court refus'd to accept the Gold which he offer'd them, as gotten by Piracy. Nevertheless the common sort of People admired and highly commended him, as judging it no less Honourable to have enlarg'd the Bounds of the *English* Name and Glory, than of their Empire.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, storming hereat, very earnestly demanded the Goods again of the Queen, complaining of the *English* for failing in the *Indian Ocean*. To whom this Answer was given: That the *Spaniards* by their hard Dealing with the *English*, whom they had prohibited Commerce, contrary to the Law of Nations, had drawn these Mischiefs upon themselves. That *Drake* should be forth-coming, to answer according to Law, if he were convicted by good Evidence and Testimony to have committed any thing against Law and Right. That those Goods were laid by purposely that Satisfaction might be made to the *Spaniard*, tho' the Queen had spent a greater sum of Money than *Drake* had brought in, against those Rebels whom the *Spaniard* had rais'd and encourag'd against her both in *Ireland* and *England*. Moreover, she understood not why her or any other Prince's Subjects should be debar'd from the *Indies*, which she could not persuade herself the *Spaniard* had any just Title to by the *Bishop* of *Rome*'s Donation, (in whom she acknowledg'd no Prerogative, much less Authority, in such cases, so as to lay any Tie upon Princes which could him no Obedience or Observance, or as it were to infeeble the *Spaniard* in that new World, and invest him with the possession thereof) nor yet by any other Claim, than as they had touch'd here and there upon the Coasts, built Cottages, and given Names to a River or a Cape; which things cannot entitle them to a Propriety. So that this Donation of that which is another Man's, which is of no validity in Law; and this imaginary Propriety, cannot hinder other Princes from trading into those Countries, and, without breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting Colonies into those Parts thereof where the *Spaniards* inhabit not, (forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is little worth) neither from freely navigating that vast Ocean, seeing the use of the Sea and Air is common to all. Neither can a Title to the Ocean belong to any People or private Persons; forasmuch as neither Nature nor publick Use and Custom permiteth any possession thereof.

Notwithstanding all this, a great sum of Money was afterwards paid to *Pedro Sebur* a *Spaniard*, (who pretended himself an Agent for retrieving the Gold and Silver, tho' he had no Letters of Credence or Commission so to do) which he never repaid to the right Owners, but employ'd it against the Queen, and converted it to the Pay of the *Spaniards* that serv'd in the *Netherlands*, as was at length, when 'twas too late, understood.

Whilst

1580. Whilst Drake was thus prosperously sailing round about the World, Jackman and Pett, two famous Pilots, being set out by the Londoners with two Ships, fought as unprosperously to discover a nearer way to the East-Indies by the Cronian or Frozen Sea. For having passed a few Leagues beyond the Isles call'd Waigatz, they met with such uncertain Tides, so many Shelves, and such Heaps of Ice piled together, that they could get no farther forward, and very much ado they had to return home.

The death of the Earl of Arundel, who first brought the use of Coaches into Engl. About the beginning of this Year, Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of Arundel render'd his Soul to God, in whom was extinct the Surname of this most noble Family, which had flourish'd with great Honour for 300 Years and more, from the time of Richard Fitz-Allen, who being descended from the Albeneys, ancient Earls of Arundel and Suffex, in the Reign of Edward I. receiv'd the Title of Earl without any Creation, in regard of his being possessor of the Castle and Lordship of Arundel. This Henry, enjoying many Honours, was of the Privy-Council to all the Kings under whom he liv'd, and went through the highest Offices. Under Henry VIII. he was Governor of Calais, Marshal of the Army at the Siege of Boulogne, and Lord-Chamberlain. To K. Edward VI. he was Lord-High-Marshal of England at his Coronation. To Q. Mary likewise at her Coronation he was Lord-High-Constable, and afterward Steward of the Queen's Household, and President of the Queen's Council. And to Q. Elizabeth he was likewise Steward of her Household, with whom he fought to marry in his declining Years. He was in less favour after he had intermeddled in the Duke of Norfolk's Business, and when he afterwards openly oppos'd her Marriage with the Duke of Anjou. For, being a plain-dealing Man, he profess'd flatly, that he liked not the French, saying many times, That he had been taught by his Father, who was born in Suffex, a County neighbouring upon France, not to trust the French. By his Wife Katharine, Daughter to Thomas Grey Marquis of Dorset, he had three Children, and out-liv'd 'em all: Henry, a young Gentleman of great hopes, who died at Brussels; Joan, Wife to the L. Lumly; and Mary, married to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, to whom she bare Philip Earl of Arundel, of whom in his proper place.

L. Grey suppresses the Rebels in Ireland. Crusheth a Conspiracy. Nogen executed. Innocency a true Comfort. Arthur L. Grey, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, marching against the O-Conors, who attempted to raise new Troubles in Ophalie, put O-Moloy, a seditious-minded Man, to death by Law, quieted that Country, as also the Country of the Magobigans and O-Carol, and crush'd a dangerous Conspiracy in the very bud. For divers of noble Families in Leinster, most of 'em descended of English Blood, partly out of Affection to the Romish Religion, and partly out of Hatred against the new-come English, (who many times, contrary to the intent of the Law, excluded 'em as mere Irish from Offices of Government and Magistracy) had conspir'd together to seize on the Lord-Deputy with his Household, to take the Castle of Dublin by surprize, (where all the Provision for War lay) and to put the English in Ireland every Man to the Sword: And so close they were in carrying on their Conspiracy, that they never confer'd or discours'd about it more than two and two together. But amongst so many who were privy to it, it came at last to light, and was by the Execution of a few timely extinguish'd: The most remarkable of whom was J. Nogen, Baron of the Exchequer, a Man of a singular good Life and Reputation, who was merely circumvented (as the Irish report) by the Cunning of his Adversaries. He, relying upon the conscience of his own Innocency, when the Lord-Deputy faith-

fully promis'd him his Life if he would confess himself guilty, chose rather, being guiltless, to undergo an infamous Death, than by betraying his own Innocency to lead an infamous Life. Howsoever the truth were in this matter, certainly the Lord Grey incur'd great Displeasure with the Queen for putting these Men to death; which Displeasure was rais'd against him by Suffex his Adversary, (for rare it is to see great Captains love one another) who suggested as if by his Cruelty of late towards the Spaniards which had yielded themselves, and now towards her own Subjects, he had both eclips'd his Prince's Glory, and encreas'd the number of her Enemies. Nevertheless the Lord-Deputy by the terror hereof drew Turlogh-Leinigh to terms of Peace, who had now begun to raise Disturbances in Ulster. By this means also the O-Brines, the O-Moors and Cavenaghs, Rebels in Leinster, in all Humility and Submission craved Peace, offering Hostages. These Irish matters, tho' in time somewhat distantly acted, I have thought good to mention together, that they might the better be remember'd.

The Scots envy the Duke of Lenox. They accuse him in Engl. In Scotland, some Ministers of God's Word and certain Noblemen, observing that the Duke of Lenox, formerly mention'd, was in great Favour with the King, they first rais'd an Emulation in James Stuart of the House of Ochiltrey against him, who was Captain of the Guard and Earl of Arran, (for this Title he had usurp'd upon I know not what Resignation of James Hamilton E. of Arran, to whom being Lunatick he was appointed Guardian). But the Queen soon made 'em Friends again. When this succeeded not, they both wrought him what Hatred they could at home, and heavily Accus'd him to the Q. of England, as sent under-hand by the Guises to subvert Religion, to procure the captive Queen's Liberty, and to dissolve the Amity betwixt the Kingdoms of England and Scotland. These Men were easily credited, and a serious Consultation was held in England about the matter; tho' the Duke clear'd himself by his Letters to the Queen, and openly profess'd himself of the Protestant Religion.

Consultation against him. Rumours scatter'd to his prejudice. For the Council of England fearing lest he should oppress those Scots that maintain'd close Friendship with the English, favour Excursions upon the Borders, and entice the King of Scots to a Marriage in France or elsewhere, unknown to the English. Upon the confidence of which Marriage the young King might put England to Trouble, and when he came to riper Years, assume to himself the Title of the Kingdom of England, as his Mother had already done. Which if it should come to pass, greater Danger threatned from him than from his Mother; forasmuch as being born to an assured hope of both Kingdoms, he would procure himself many Favourers; and the Scots, being bred up in the Wars both at home and in the Netherlands, were now train'd up to the use of their Arms and Military Knowledge. Hereupon it was resolv'd, by all means to lessen Lenox's Favour and Authority with the King, or to drive him out of Scotland, and that without all delay: Forasmuch as Rumours were spread abroad, that he, to suppress Morton, had sent for Balfour out of France, (who had gotten I know not what Writing under Morton's Hand, whereby it was hop'd that Morton might be found guilty of the Murder of the King's Father) and also had obtain'd the Government of the Castle of Dunbri-ton, to no other intent but to let in forein Forces into Britain, or else to convey the King of Scots into France. It was reported also, that he persuaded the King to resign the Kingdom to his Mother, as if she had been unjustly, and by a very bad and dangerous Precedent, depos'd by her

her Subjects, upon promise by her given, that he should immediately receive it back again from her by a lawful Resignation; by which means he should both strongly confirm the Kingdom to himself, and should be acknowledg'd of all Men for lawful King, and all Factions be utterly extinguish'd.

Sir Robert Bowes sent to accuse him.

Hereupon Sir Robert Bowes, Treasurer of the Garison of Berwick, was sent into Scotland to charge Lenox with these Matters before the King and Council, and to warn the King of the Mischiefs hanging over his Head. As soon as he came to Audience, he desir'd that Lenox might for the time withdraw from the place. This the Council flatly denied, for that it was a strange and unheard-of thing, that a Counsellor of the King should be remov'd from the Council without cause shewn. They question'd also whether he had any such express charge from the Queen, and willed him to shew his Instructions for the more credit. He refus'd to shew them to any but the King, and one or two others. Whereupon he was soon after call'd home again without being heard, and took his leave of the King when he little expected it, complaining of the rejecting the wholsom Admonitions and Advices of a Queen who had so well deserv'd of him.

Scots excuse themselves. Their Ambassador not admitted.

Shortly after, Alexander Humes was sent from Scotland to excuse the business, and to learn what those Mischiefs were which hung over the King's Head. But he was not admitted to the Queen's Prefence, but remitted to Burghly Lord-Treasurer, who in a grave and short Speech, suitable to his

Age, told him, That it was not the Queen's pleasure to admit him to her Prefence; not that she slighted him, whom she had found to be very well affected to the true Religion, his Prince and Country, and to the Peace of both Kingdoms; but out of a just Resentment that her Majesty was so neglected, and the Credit of her Ambassador contemn'd and despis'd, who had kept himself within the prescrib'd Limits of his Embassy, and yet (which was a thing without example) was commanded to shew the Instructions of his Embassy. He laid all the blame upon the new and ill-advised Counsellors, excused the King by reason of his Age, which had not yet taught him Experience, and wished that he would hearken to the sound and wholsom Advice of the Queen, who bare a true motherly Affection towards him, and not neglect her for his French Cousin, a Subject of the French King's, and engag'd in Marriage with a French Woman, a Man zealously addicted to the Popish Religion, and who haply aspir'd (the Hamiltons being now banish'd) to be declar'd Heir-apparent next after the King. Let the King remember (saith he) that there is no Passion more violent than Ambition; and let the Scots remember what Troubles the French had caused in Scotland, had not the Queen by her Wisdom and Power prevented 'em.

Thus was Humes sent back into Scotland; and all this was done on purpose to strike a Terror into the King, and to make him believe that Lenox was engag'd in a dangerous Design against the King and Realm. Nevertheless, not long after, Morton, a Man most addicted to the English, was accus'd by Arran of Treason, and cast into Prison.

The End of the Second BOOK.

ELI-

ELIZABETH,

Anno 1581.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The Twenty fourth Year of her Reign.

1581.
Ann. 24.
Randolph
sent to in-
tercede for
Morton,
& against
Lenox.

Hereupon, Mr. Thomas Randolph, chief Post-Master, was sent in the beginning of January, into Scotland, with Instructions, that, for Preservation of Religion, and Amity with the English, he should leave no means untry'd to procure that no violent Course might be taken against Morton, that Lenox might be removed out of Scotland, and that the Noblemen of the English Party might be encouraged. Randolph shew'd himself a good Intercessor for Morton, alledging the Man's Deserts with the King, Queen Elizabeth's Honour, (lest she, to whom the King and Realm was so much beholden, should suffer a Repulse in so just a matter) and the Malice of his Accusers. The King answer'd, That he could not but according to his Kingly Office leave the Man to his Trial, as being charged with High-Treason. The Queen's approved Kindness he acknowledg'd, and would do nothing (he said) which might any way give her just Offence.

Randolph having afterwards Audience in an Assembly of the States, reckon'd up Queen Elizabeth's Good Offices towards Scotland, and towards the King himself. Namely, 'That she had deliver'd their Kingdom from the French, with the Expence of the Blood of Englishmen: 'That she had defended their Religion and their King: That she never had so much as a Thought of conveying him out of the Land, (as was falsely reported) or of seizing upon so much as an Acre of Land in Scotland; whereas notwithstanding she had not wanted Opportunities to have conquer'd all Scotland, while the King lay crying in his Cradle, his Mother was a Prisoner in England, and the Nobility at Variance amongst themselves. But on the contrary, she had used all Care to preserve the King and his Kingdom in Safety, he being nearly ally'd to her in the strictest Bands of Blood, Neighbourhood, and Religion; of whose Love, as also of the Love of all the Regents, she was most assured, till such time as that Aubigny Duke of Lenox came into Scotland. For from that time he had carry'd a kind of commanding hand over the King, averted his Mind from Amity with the English to the French, (who yet had not to this day acknowledg'd him for King) removed the King's faithfullest Subjects, prefer'd others less faithful, dealt with Foreigners by his Letters (which Randolph produced) for the Invasion of England, stirr'd up the King to hate

the Ministers of God's Word, as turbulent and railing Fellows, and taken no care for due administration of Justice betwixt the Borderers. Which things Queen Elizabeth could not but take very ill, when she saw a Prince of so great Vertue, and so strictly link'd to her in Friendship, alienated and estranged from her by cunning Practices. Yet was there nothing then done, either for Morton, or against Lenox, most Men suspecting that the Crimes alledg'd against him were false, and the Letters counterfeit.

Randolph therefore betook himself to other Artifices. Amongst Lenox's Adversaries and Morton's Friends, he bewails the unhappy Condition of Scotland; lays before 'em the Dangers that threaten the King, the Commonwealth, and them; complains that the Queen of England's Intercession was ungratefully slighted; and privily advises 'em to attempt by Arms, what they could not effect by other means, promising both Men and Money out of England. And by this means he had drawn to his Party Argyle, Montrose, Angus, Morton's Brother's Son, Marre, Glencarne, Ruthuen, Lindsey, and divers others. But they shortly after disagreeing among themselves, when they saw that the King wholly inclin'd to favour Lenox, and was not terrify'd with the English Forces upon the Borders, but had drawn up his own against them; most of them, reverencing the Royal Majesty, even in so young a Prince, attempted nothing against Lenox, and thought their Pity was all that Morton could claim. Yet Angus and Marre continued their secret Designs with Randolph for Morton, and against Lenox. Whereof when the King was advertis'd by Wittingham, Angus was commanded to withdraw himself beyond the River Spey, and Marre forthwith to surrender Sterlin-Castle into the King's Hands. Randolph, fearing the worst, retired secretly to Berwick, advis'd Angus and Marre, Matters being now grown desperate, to shift for themselves, either by procuring the King's Favour, or flying to the Protection of the Queen of England. And now were the English Forces call'd home from the Borders: and not long after was Morton found accessary to the Murder of the King's Father, and beheaded. For he confess'd, (as they report) that Bothwell and Archibald Douglass, acquainted him with the Plot for making away the King; and that he in so dangerous a time durst not reveal it. Neither could he deny, but that, after the Murder was committed, he esteem'd Douglass, who murder'd the King, amongst his intimate Friends; and that he had given his Faith

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In vain.
Endea-
vours to
set 'em
together
by the ears

In vain
allo.

Retires
out of
Scotland.

Morton
beheaded.

under his hand, to defend *Bothwell*, if any Man should accuse him of the Murder of the King. 1581. *Ann. 24.* *Angus* and the rest who favour'd *Morton*, fled presently into *England*.

In the *Low-Country-Provinces* the Confederate States sent Colonel *Norris* with the *English* and other Forces, against the Count of *Reneberg*, who victoriously carry'd all before him for the *Spaniard*, and closely block'd up *Steenwick*, a Town of *Friesland*. When *Norris* gallantly and successfully brought Provisions into the Town twice, put *Reneberg's* Men to Flight, and rais'd the Siege. But afterwards joining Battle with *Verdugo* a *Spaniard* at *Northorn*, when the Victory was now as good as in his Hands, the Enemy's Troops being defeated by Sir *Roger Williams*, the Chance of War suddenly turn'd, he himself was wounded, and many of his Men slain; and amongst them (not to name others) *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Bishop*, stout Captains. How Captain *Thomas*, a Captain of the *Epirots*, at this time challenged General *Norris* to a single Combat, and Sir *Roger Williams*, his Lieutenant, accepted the Challenge, (because he, being General, might not accept it, by the Law of Arms) I know not whether it be worth the mentioning, considering that after they had try'd their Skill a little while, in the View of both Armies, and neither of them receiv'd a Wound, they drank a hearty Cup together, and so parted Friends. Yet this is not to be omitted, that the *English*, who of all the Northern Nations, had been till now the moderatest Drinkers, and most commended for their Sobriety, learn'd in these *Netherland-Wars*, first to drown themselves with immoderate Drinking, and by drinking others Healths to impair their own. And ever since, the Vice of Drunkenness has so diffus'd itself over the whole Nation, that in our days first, it was fain to be restrain'd by severe Laws.

While the States and the *Spaniard* contended in the *Netherlands* for petty Towns, the *Spaniard* seiz'd into his Hands the rich Kingdom of *Portugal*. For *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying the last Year an old Man, many Competitors laid Claim to the Crown, and amongst them *Philip* King of *Spain*, King *Henry's* eldest Sister's Son, who was, if not in Right, yet in Might the strongest. And yet he wanted not some Shew of Right: for of all the Competitors, he was nearest of kin to the deceased King, and of the Male Sex, and therefore (as he and his Friends thought) to be prefer'd in the Succession to the Crown, before the Females, who were both younger, and in Kindred more remote. The *Savoyard* was excluded, because he was born of the younger Sister; and *Raimutio Farnuze*, the Prince of *Parma's* Son, who was born of the eldest Daughter of *Edward* King *Henry's* Brother, and *Catharina* Duchess of *Braganza*, the other Daughter of the said *Edward*, because they grounded their Title only upon a Representation, as they call it; which being nothing but a Fiction, the *Spaniards* maintain'd, that it could not overthrow the true Right. As for *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, the Son of *Lewis* another Brother of King *Henry*, he was utterly rejected as illegitimate. However, the *Spaniard* offer'd these things several times to be discuss'd, both by Divines and Lawyers. And when they all with one Consent affirm'd his Title to be good, he sent the Duke of *Alva*, invaded the Kingdom, put *Don Antonio* to Flight, who was elected by the People; and in seventy days subdued all *Portugal*. But the Title which *Katharine de Medicis* Queen of *France* laid to *Portugal*, which was derived from *Alphonso* III. by the Earls of *Bononia*, above 320 Years before, was in a manner exploded both by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, as an antiquated Title, not only now worn out,

but injurious to as many Kings of *Portugal*, as had since reign'd; as if they had unjustly possess'd the Crown. Whereat being moved with Anger, and looking with a jealous Eye upon the growing Power of the *Spaniard*, which was far and wide extended hereby, and enrich'd with the Addition of *Portugal*, *East-India*, and many Isles, and mis-doubting the Condition of herself and her Posterity, she advis'd both other Princes and Queen *Elizabeth*, to curb his Ambition betimes, and restrain his too extensive Power within some reasonable Limits. And indeed Queen *Elizabeth* being carefully provident for herself and her Subjects, willingly hearkned to her, foreseeing how dangerous the over-swelling Power of her neighbouring Princes might be. But for *Don Antonio*, who was driven out of *Portugal* into *France*, and from thence sent over with Recommendations into *England*, she bountifully reliev'd him: which she thought she might do without Offence, in regard she acknowledg'd him her Kinsman, as descended of the Blood-Royal of *England*, and of the House of *Lancaster*; neither was there ever such a Proviso put into any League betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *English*, that the *Portuguese* should not be receiv'd into *England*.

And withal, the said Queen of *France*, and the King her Son, for a Foundation of a stricter Amity with Queen *Elizabeth*, urged more earnestly than ever before, the Marriage with her Son the Duke of *Anjou*. For the effecting whereof, there were sent into *England*, on a very honourable Embassy, *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dauphiny*, *Arthur* Cesse Earl of *Segondin*, Marshal of *France*, *Lewis* of *Lusignan* of *St. Gelasse*, Seigneur of *Lansac*, *Tanerge* Venator of *Corconge*, *Bertrand* *Salignac* a *Mota-Fenellon*, *Michael* a *Chasteau-neuf* Seigneur *Mauvaisier*, *Bernard* *Brissonius* a *Grenela* President of the Parliament of *Paris*, (a Man of most excellent Learning) *Claudius* *Pinarte* first Baron of *Valois*, *Pierre* *Claude* Seigneur of *Curats* and *Marchemont*, and *Jaques* *Vray* Secretary of the Duke of *Anjou's* Treasury. These Honourable Persons were as honourably entertain'd, being nobly banquetted in a large Edifice built at *Westminster*, in all Haste, for this very purpose, richly and royally furnish'd; and after entertain'd with Tiltings, perform'd at a vast Expence by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Lord *Windsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, who challenged all Comers: besides many other Courtly Sports and Pastimes, which are not so proper for an Historian to relate.

The Commissioners appointed to confer with them about the Marriage, were *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord Admiral of *England*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, *Francis Russell* Earl of *Bedford*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary. Betwixt these Commissioners Articles of Marriage were agreed upon to the following purpose.

'The Duke of *Anjou* and the Queen of *England* shall, within Six Weeks after the ratifying of these Articles, contract Marriage de presenti in *England*. The Duke and his Retinue, provided they be not Native Subjects of *England*, may freely exercise their Religion, in some certain place to be appointed within his Court, without Lett or Hindrance. He shall alter nothing in the Religion now receiv'd in *England*. After the Marriage consummated, he shall enjoy the Title and Honour of King, but shall leave the Management of Affairs wholly and solely to the Queen. Whereas he has demand'd, that presently after the Marriage he may be crown'd King, and enjoy that Honour, as well

Norris
beats the
Spaniards
in Friesland.

Himself is
wounded.

A ridiculous
Duel.

Drunkennes
brought
from the
Low-
Countries
into En-
gland.

Spaniard
seiz'd
Portugal.

By what
Title.

The Com-
petitors.

French
Queen's
Title ex-
ploded.

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1581. well while the Marriage lasts, as when it shall
 Ann. 24. be dissolv'd, during his Government of the
 Kingdom in the Minority of their Children;
 the Queen promises to communicate his De-
 mand to the Estates of the Realm in the first
 Parliament, which she will call within fifteen
 days after the Ratification, and to promote it
 as far as shall lie in her Power. Letters Patents,
 &c. shall run in both their Names, as in the
 time of Philip and Mary. The Queen shall as-
 sign the Duke a yearly Pension, by Authority
 of Parliament; but how large it shall be, shall
 be left to her Pleasure; and she shall procure
 the Parliament to assign him a considerable Sum
 of Money yearly, if he survive the Queen.
 He shall make the Queen a Dowry to the year-
 ly Value of 40000 Crowns *de Soleil*, out of his
 Dukedom of Berry, and shall presently put her
 in Possession thereof. What shall be concluded
 concerning their Children, in the Parliament
 of England, shall be ratified and confirm'd in the
 Parliaments of France, to this effect. The
 Males or Females shall succeed their Mother in
 the Inheritance of England. If there be two
 Males, the eldest shall succeed in the Kingdom
 of France, and the second in his Mother's Right
 to England. If there be but one Male, and he
 come to enjoy both Crowns, he shall reside in
 England eight Months in every two Years.
 And if the Duke never come to the Title of
 King of France, their Children shall succeed in
 his Appenage. If he out-live the Queen, he
 shall have the Guardianship of the Children;
 provided the Males be not above eighteen Years
 of Age, and the Females fifteen. If the Duke
 die before, their Guardianship shall be left to
 the Authority and Pleasure of the Parliament.
 The Duke shall prefer no Foreiner to any Of-
 fice in England. He shall alter nothing in the
 Law, but shall maintain all the Customs of the
 Land. He shall not convey the Queen nor her
 Children out of the Realm of England, but by
 her own Consent, and the Consent of the Peers
 of the Realm. If the Queen die without Chil-
 dren, the Duke shall claim no Propriety in the
 Kingdom of England. He shall not transport the
 Crown-Jewels out of the Realm. He shall leave
 all the Places in the Kingdom in the Hands of
 Native Englishmen; neither shall he remove from
 thence any Warlike Stores. He shall not en-
 gage England in any forein War. He shall
 maintain the Peace betwixt England and other
 Kingdoms. The Queen alone shall bear the
 Superiority, and no Title shall accrue to the
 Duke as *Tenant by the Custom* of England. The
 Duke intends not by this Marriage to prejudice
 his Title in the Succession to the Crown of
 France. This present Contract shall be read,
 proclaim'd, and recorded in all the Courts of
 France and England, six Months after the Day
 of Marriage; and the Authority of the most
 Christian King shall be had for the Ratifica-
 tion of these Articles. There shall be a particu-
 lar Treaty concerning a Confederacy and
 League betwixt England and France. All these
 things shall be ratified within two Months on
 the French King's part, upon his Faith and Oath,
 for him and his Heirs, &c. and as soon as may
 be he shall deliver Writings of Ratification, by
 which Assurance shall be given, that the things
 here concluded shall be observ'd *bond fide*.
 A Reservation also was added apart by itself,
 sign'd with the Hands of all the Commissioners,
 in these Words; 'But Queen Elizabeth is not
 bound to consummate the Marriage, till she
 and the Duke shall thoroughly satisfy one ano-
 ther in certain Points, and shall thereof certify
 the French K. in Writing, within six Weeks.

Before such time as those six Weeks were ex-
 pired, John Somers, Clerk of the Council, was
 sent into France, about this matter. The King
 refuses to hear him, and presses that the Marriage
 already contracted may be solemniz'd out of
 hand, for that now there remain'd nothing else
 to be done. Somers shews to the contrary, by
 the Writings, that there was first a League de-
 fensive and offensive to be enter'd into. The
 French King denies it. Walsingham is dispatch'd
 to make up these Differences, who jointly with
 Henry Lord Cobham, Ambassador in France, and
 Somers, was to inform him of these things fol-
 lowing, and some others of like nature.

That altho' the vulgar sort did rashly censure
 the delaying of the Marriage, yet did Queen
 Elizabeth at first incline to Marriage, upon no
 other Account, than to satisfy the Desires of her
 People, who importunately perswaded her to
 marry, that there might be an establish'd and
 certain Succession by her Children. And the
 Duke of Anjou, who fought to her for Mar-
 riage, she deservedly preferr'd before all others
 in her Love, both for his own Vertue, and his
 Noble and Royal Descent; which Love she still
 professes to be very great towards him. Never-
 theless, she as yet forbears to give her Assent
 to the contracting of the Marriage, till she may
 perceive whether it be a thing pleasing to her
 People, lest she might seem after to repent too
 late. That at present many Impediments and
 Obstructions were in the way: namely, the
 Civil-War in France, and the Duke of Anjou's
 forlorn Condition, who had undeservedly lost
 the King's Favour. In England the Minds of
 the best Men were averse from the Marriage,
 which had been a means of delaying it so long;
 yet notwithstanding the Queen's Affection was
 still constant towards him. That the French
 King press'd the Consummation of the Mar-
 riage unseasonably at the present, whilst the
 Duke of Anjou was engaged in a War against
 the Spaniard, which he could not give over,
 without a Slur to his Honour, and great Dis-
 advantage to both the Kingdoms of England and
 France, and the utter Undoing of the Nether-
 lands, whilst the Spaniard's Power daily increas'd
 more than was convenient. Moreover, where-
 as the People of England desired nothing more
 than that by this Marriage the Realm might be
 preserv'd in Peace and Tranquillity, it would
 be by this means precipitated from a most se-
 rene and happy Peace, into a most dangerous
 War, considering that the Queen must of ne-
 cessity be engaged in her Husband's Quarrel.
 Wherefore she would have no more treating of
 the Marriage, till the Duke of Anjou were dis-
 engaged from the War he had undertaken, and
 the League of mutual Defence and Offence
 were concluded betwixt England and France.
 Which in reality Queen Elizabeth desired above
 all things. The French King promis'd with all
 his Heart to enter into a League of Defence;
 but as for a League offensive, he flatly refused to
 hear any more thereof before the Marriage were
 solemnized.

Not long after the Duke of Anjou came him-
 self into England, (who was now chosen Gover-
 nor of the Netherlands by the States) after he had
 by the Help of Queen Elizabeth's Money happily
 rais'd the Siege of Cambray. For she had private-
 ly supply'd him with a great Sum of Money by
 Henry Seymour, Palatvicini, and Rexie a Frenchman.
 He had a strong Hope, that if he did not com-
 plete the Marriage while he stay'd here, yet at
 least he should gain thus much, that, being sup-
 ported with Queen Elizabeth's Favour, he should
 be the more welcome to the Netherlanders, who
 honour'd

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Fr. King earnestly presses the Marriage.

Q. Elizabeth desires it for these Reasons.

Duke of Anjou comes again into England.

A Reservation added

honour'd her as their tutelar Saint. He was receiv'd with as great Respect as he could hope for, and no Demonstration could there be given of Honour and Affection which she did not shew him to the full. Infomuch that in the Month of November, as soon as she had with great Pomp celebrated her Coronation-Day, the force of modest Love in the midst of amorous Discourse carried her so far, that she drew off a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke of Anjou's, upon certain Conditions betwixt them two. The Strangers-by took it, that the Marriage was now contracted by Promise: Amongst whom Aldegond Governor of the City of Antwerp, dispatched Letters presently away into the Netherlands to signify as much; and Antwerp testified her publick Joy thereat by Bonfires and Peals of Ordnance. At home the Courtiers Minds were diversly affected; some leap'd for Joy, some were seiz'd with Admiration, and others were dejected with Sorrow. Leicester, who had lately plotted and contrived to cross the Marriage; Hatton Vice-Chamberlain, and Walsingham, storm'd at it, as if the Queen, the Realm and Religion were now quite undone. The Queen's Gentlemen, with whom she used to be familiar, lamented and bewailed, and did so terrifie and vex her Mind, that she spent the Night in Doubts and Cares without Sleep amongst her weeping and lamenting Servants. The next Day she sent for the Duke of Anjou; and they two, all By-standers being remov'd, had a long Discourse together. He at length withdrew himself to his Chamber; and throwing the Ring from him, a while after took it again, taxing the Lightness of Women, and the Inconstancy of Islanders, with two or three biting and smart Scoffs.

The Queen pondering in her troubled Mind what Burghly and Suffex had told her: 'That unless she married the Duke of Anjou, no League offensive could be hoped for from the French King: That she of herself alone was too weak to withstand the Greatness and Power of the Spaniard, who if he should profer his Daughter in Marriage to the King of Scots, would easily draw to the Scottish King's Party all the Papists in England, all the Fugitives, all the Rebels, all that were weary of the present Government, and all of desperate Fortunes, of whom there were every where great Numbers. That the hopes of all good Men, who expected Issue from the Queen by this Marriage, would be frustrate; so that now, neglecting her, they would cast their Eyes upon some of the Competitors. Besides, she herself could not but incur very great Displeasure with the French King and the Duke of Anjou, who after having spent so long time in so many Consultations, sent such honourable Embassies, and disburs'd so much Money, would take it very hardly to be thus deluded, however they might dissemblingly conceal their Displeasure a while for their own Advantage, thereby to procure either Money at present for the D. of Anjou towards the Low-Country Wars, or a yearly Pension for the time to come. Neither did less Scruple stick in her Mind, if the Duke of Anjou, being thus neglected, should take a Wife out of Spain; (which some whisper'd into her Ears) for then she foresaw that Danger would threaten her both from France and Spain too.

In the midst of these perplexing Cogitations concerning Marriage, into which the consideration of the Times did necessarily ever and anon cast her, some were of opinion, that she was fully resolv'd in her Mind, that she should better provide both for the Commonwealth and her own Glory by an unmarried Life than by Mar-

riage; as foreseeing that if she married a Subject she should disparage herself by the inequality of the Match, and give occasion to domestick Heart-burnings, private Grudges and Commotions; if a Stranger, she then should subject both herself and her People to a forein Yoke, and endanger Religion: Having not forgotten how unhappy the Marriage of her Sister Queen Mary with King Philip a Foreiner had been; also how unfortunate that Marriage of her Great Grandfather Edward IV. had prov'd, who was the first of all the Kings of England since the Norman Conquest, that ever took one of his Subjects to Wife. Her Glory also, which whilst she continu'd unmarried she retain'd entire to herself and uneclips'd, she feared would by Marriage be transfer'd to her Husband. And besides, the Perils by Conception and Child-bearing, objected by the Physicians and her Gentlemen for some private Reasons, did many times run in her Mind, and very much deter her from thoughts of marrying.

She was also much incens'd at a Book which was written and publish'd against the Marriage in a smart satyrical Stile, (out of a fear lest Religion should be changed) entitl'd, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallow'd by the French Marriage*. In which Book those of the Council who favour'd the Marriage are taxed as ungrateful to their Prince and Country; the Queen herself (in the midst of several flattering Expressions) is glanced at as unlike herself; the Duke of Anjou slander'd with unworthy Reproaches; the French Nation odiously defamed; and the Marriage itself, in regard of the difference of Religion, (as of the Daughter of God with a Son of Antichrist) with virulent Words condemn'd, as profane, dangerous to the Church, and destructive to the Commonwealth; and this proved out of the holy Scriptures, miserably wrested. Neither would the Queen be perswaded that the Author of the Book had any other intent but to procure the Hatred of her Subjects against her, (who had always no less regard of the Love of her People than she had of her own Authority, and (as Princes use to do) made it her chief Care to preserve her Reputation) and privately to open a Gap for some prodigious Innovation; considering that the Writer had not so much as mention'd the Security of the Queen and Realm, or prevention of Dangers to either, and that the States of the Realm had before with all Earnestness besought her to marry, as the most assured Remedy against the threatening Mischiefs. These things she declar'd by publick Proclamation; wherein, having condemn'd the Author of the Book as a publisher of Sedition, she highly commended the Duke of Anjou's good Affection towards her and the Protestant Religion, and express'd her Resentment that so great an Injury should be offer'd to so Noble a Prince, and one that had so well deserv'd, who had desir'd nothing to be alter'd either in the Commonwealth or Religion: And withal, she commended Simier, the Duke of Anjou's Agent, for his Wisdom and Discretion, whom some had loaden with Calumnies and Slanders. She also advertis'd the People, that the said Book was nothing else but a Fiction of some Traytors, to raise Envy abroad, and Sedition at home; and commanded it to be burnt before the Magistrate's Face.

From this time forward she began to be a little more incens'd against the Puritans, or Innovators, from whom she easily believ'd these kind of things proceeded. And indeed, within a few Days after, John Stubbs of *Lincolns-Inn*, a furious hot-headed Professor of Religion, (whose Sister Thomas Cartwright, a Ringleader amongst the Puritans,

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He is highly entertained.

Queen gives him a Ring.

The Courtiers Minds diversly affected.

Queen weaves

Sheweighs the Inconveniences of neglecting the Marriage.

Why she prefer'd a single before a married Life.

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A Book set forth against this Marriage.

Queen's opinion of it.

A Proclamation against it.

1581. Puritans, had married) the Author of this Book, William Page who disperfed the Copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended. Against whom Sentence was given, that their right Hands should be cut off, according to an Act of Philip and Mary, against the Authors and Publishers of seditious Writings. Tho' some Lawyers mutter'd that the Sentence was erroneous and void by reason of the false noting of the Time wherein the Law was made; and that that Act was only temporary, and died with Queen Mary. Of this number was Dalton, who often bawl'd it out openly, and was committed to the Tower; and Monson, a Judge in the Court of Common-Pleas, was so sharply reprehended, that he resign'd his Place: Forasmuch as Wray, Lord-Chief-Justice of England, made it appear, that there was no Mistake in noting the Time; and proved by the Words of the Act, that the Act was made against those who should abuse the King by seditious Writings, and that the King of England never dieth; yea, that that Act was renewed *anno primo Elizabethæ*, to be in force during the life of her and the Heirs of her Body. Hereupon Stubbs and Page had their right Hands cut off with a Clever, driven through the Wrist by the force of a Mallet, upon a Scaffold in the Market-place at Westminster. The Printer was pardon'd. I remember (being there present) that Stubbs, after his right Hand was cut off, put off his Hat with his left, and said with a loud Voice, *God save the Queen*; the Multitude standing about was deeply silent; either out of an horror of this new and unwonted kind of Punishment; or else out of commiseration towards the Man, as being of an honest and unblamable Repute; or else out of hatred of the Marriage, which most Men presag'd would be the overthrow of Religion.

These things were done presently after the Duke of Anjou's coming into England. During his stay here, the Queen, to take away the fear which had possess'd many Mens Minds, that Religion would be alter'd, and Popery tolerated, being overcome by importunate Entreaties, permitted that Edm. Campian afore said, of the Society of Jesus, Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby and Alex Briant, Priests, should be arraign'd. Who being indicted upon the Act for Treason made in the 25th of Edward III. and charg'd to have compassed and imagined the destruction of the Queen and Realm, to have adher'd to the Bishop of Rome, the Queen's Enemy; to have come into England to disturb the Peace and Quiet of the Realm, and to have rais'd Forces to that end, were condemn'd to die, and, persisting obstinately to defend the Pope's Authority against the Queen, were executed. For Campian, after he was condemn'd, being ask'd, first, Whether Queen Elizabeth were a right and lawful Queen? refused to answer: Then, Whether he would take part with the Queen or the Pope, if he should send Forces against the Queen? he openly profess'd and testified under his Hand, that he would stand for the Pope. Afterwards some others also were executed for the same reasons; whereas in full ten Years time after the Rebellion, there had been no more than five Papists put to death. But these things I leave to the Writer of the Ecclesiastical History: Yet let me, by his leave, give a brief touch here of some few things which are linked with matters that concern the Commonwealth. Such now were the Times, that the Queen (who never was of opinion that Mens Consciences were to be forced) complain'd manytimes, that she was driven of necessity to take these Courses, unless she would suffer the ruin of herself and her Subjects upon some Mens pretence of Conscience and the Catholick Religion. Yet for the greater part of these silly Priests, she did

not at all believe them guilty of plotting the Destruction of their Country; but the Superiours were they she held to be the Instruments of this Villany; for these inferiour Emisaries committed the full and free disposure of themselves to their Superiours. For when those that were now and afterwards taken were asked, 'Whether by Authority of the Bull of Pius V. Bishop of Rome, the Subjects were so absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance towards the Queen, that they might take up Arms against their Prince: Whether they thought her to be a lawful Queen: Whether they would subscribe to Sander's and Bristow's Opinion, concerning the Authority of that Bull: Whether if the Bishop of Rome should wage War against the Queen, they would join with her or him? They answer'd some of 'em so ambiguously, some so resolutely, and some by prevarication and silence shifting off the Questions in such a manner, that divers ingenuous Catholick began to suspect they were engag'd in traitorous Designs; and J. Bishop, a Man otherwise devoted to the Bishop of Rome, wrote against 'em, and solidly prov'd, That that Constitution obruded under the Name of the Lateran Council, upon which the whole Authority of absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, and deposing Princes, is founded, is no other than a Decree of Pope Innocent III. and was never admitted in England; yea, that the said Council was no Council at all, nor was any thing at all there decreed by the Fathers.

Suspitions also were daily encreas'd by the great numbers of Priests creeping more and more into England, who privately try'd the Minds of Men, spread abroad, that Princes excommunicate were to be deposed, and whisper'd in corners, that such Princes as profess'd not the Romish Religion, had forfeited their regal Title and Authority: That those who had taken holy Orders were, by a certain Ecclesiastical Privilege, exempted from all Jurisdiction of Princes, and not bound by their Laws, nor ought they to reverence or regard their Majesty: That the Bishop of Rome hath supreme Authority and absolute Power over the whole World, yea even in Temporal Matters: That the Magistrates of England were no lawful Magistrates, and therefore not to be accounted such; yea, That whatsoever was done by the Q.'s Authority since the time that the Bull declaratory of Pius V. was publish'd against her, was by the Laws of God and Man altogether void, and to be esteem'd of no validity. And some of 'em were not asham'd to own, that they were return'd into England with no other intent, than by reconciling Men at Confession, to absolve every one particularly from all his Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience to the Queen, just as the said Bull did absolve them all at once and in general. And this seem'd the easier to be effected, because they promis'd wical absolution from all mortal Sin; and the safer, because it was perform'd more closely, and under the Seal of Confession.

The Five and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

1582.

These things and the like extorted from the States of the Realm, which were assembl'd in the Month of January at Westminster, new and more severe Laws against the Papists, wherein they are declar'd guilty of High-Treason, 'whoever shall dissuade the Subjects from their Obedience to their Prince, and from the Religion establish'd in England, or shall reconcile them to the Church of Rome; as also, those who shall be so dissuaded or reconciled. Those also who shall say Mass are fin'd in 200 Marks, and Imprisonment for a Year, or longer, till they

1581.

Ann. 24.

Suspicion encreased against them.

by their Tergiversation.

and by their sowing dangerous Opinions.

New Laws against the Papists.

1582. they have paid the Money: they who shall wittingly and willingly be present at Mass are fined in 100 Marks, and Imprisonment likewise for a Year: and they who refuse to frequent Divine Service in their Parish-Churches, are fined in 20 Pounds a Month. This the Papists exclaim'd was unjustly interpreted of Lunar Months, who had hitherto redeem'd their Absence upon Sundays and Holidays for a Shilling to the Use of the Poor. But these things let the Ecclesiastical Historians handle more at large.

Anjou returns into the Low-Countries.

The Duke of Anjou, having stay'd in England full three Months, began his Journey toward the Netherlands in the Month of February. The Queen herself, to do him Honour, accompany'd him as far as Canterbury, and commanded the Earl of Leicester, Charles Howard, Hunsdon, Willoughby, Windsor, and Sheffield, Barons, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Russell, Sir George Bouchier, and some other eminent Knights, to wait upon him as far as

Is made D. of Brabant, &c.

Antwerp; where he was made Duke of Brabant, Limburgh, Lorrain, &c. For the States of the Confederate Netherlands had before declared the Spaniard to have forfeited his Sovereignty, by violating their Laws; broken his Seals in pieces, thrown down his Arms in all places, and absolv'd the People from their Oath of Allegiance; so that they were at liberty to choose themselves another Prince. The Duke granted the Exercise of the Romish Religion to all that would swear Allegiance to him, and abjure the Spaniard. Then he earnestly apply'd himself to the War, lost Oudenard, and took Alost. Six hundred English, under the Leading of Thomas Norris, Barney, Cornish, and Gibson, revolted from him to the Spaniards, laying the Cause thereof upon the imperious Severity of Norris. These Men being expos'd to all dangerous Brunts, and slightly and contemptuously used, suffer'd condign Punishment for their Treachery, and too late repented of it, after they had undergone infinite Miseries. However

Some English revolt from him.

Norris, with 300 Horse and the Remainder of his Companies, gain'd singular Commendations amongst all Men, for his Valour and Military Skill. For he courageously receiv'd the Prince of Parma, who furiously charged him with great Forces, and made a discreet and orderly Retreat to the Walls of Ghent, while Anjou and the Prince of Orange from the Walls admired his martial Valour. But why do I dwell upon these things? The Duke of Anjou, having now spent in the Netherlands a great Mass of Money, that he receiv'd out of England, and that without Success, and found that they bestow'd upon him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilst the Government and Management of Affairs remain'd wholly in the States Hands, attempted rashly and unadvisedly to force Antwerp and other Cities, but all in vain, and not without great Loss of his own Men; and shortly after left the Netherlands with Dishonour, as having achiev'd nothing memorable.

Anjou leaves the Netherlands with dishonour.

Let it suffice just to mention, in a Word only, a Comet or Blazing-star, seen in the Month of May, in the 12th. degree of Gemini, near the Star call'd the little Goat, with a radiant Tail streaming above and beyond the right Shoulder of Erichonius: as also an hideous Tempest in Norfolk, with much Lightning, Thunder, violent Force of Winds, and a great Storm of Hail, the Stones whereof were three Inches in Thickness, and fashion'd like the Rowels of Spurs.

Queen Elizabeth, to strengthen herself abroad against the Spaniard, whom she knew to be exasperated by that Supply of Money sent to the Duke of Anjou, chose Frederick II. King of Denmark, whom she had a long time respected as her loving Friend, into the Society of the Order of

St. George; and sent Peregrine Bertie, (whom she, as being very sparing in conferring of Honours, with much ado had admitted to the Title of Baron Willoughby of Eresby, before such time as he had given Proof of his Vertue, albeit his Mother were the only Daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, and Heir to the Lord Willoughby) to invest him with the Ensigns of that Order. The King of Denmark gladly suffer'd the Chain or Collar of Roses to be put about his Neck, and the Garter to be ty'd about his Leg: the rest of the Ensigns he receiv'd to lay up and keep, but refused to put them on, because they were outlandish; and to take the Oath he absolutely deny'd, because he had done the same before, when he was admitted by the French King into the Order of St. Michael. Whilst Willoughby remain'd in Denmark, he represented to the King the Grievances of the English Merchants; who complain'd heavily, that the Customs were too much rais'd, whereas in times past they paid in passing the Danish Strait or the Sound, for every Ship but a Rose-Noble, that is, the fourth part of an Ounce of Gold, and as much for their Lading or Merchandize, with some small Allowance towards Fires by Night to direct their Course safely, and Barrels or Buoys to shew the Shelves and Rocks. He treated with him also in behalf of the Merchants, to release the Payment of Last gels, whereby was exacted the thirtieth part of all their Merchandize, by Way of Loan, during the Heat of the War betwixt the Kings of Denmark and Swedeland, with Promise of Repayment when the War ended. But these things, as being matters of great Weight, were put off to another time. For scarce do Princes ever abate of the Customs which they have once impos'd, judging that such Royalties (as they call 'em) belong as Rights and Privileges to every Kingdom, and are not subject to any foreign Abatement.

Queen Elizabeth also, for her better Security at home, purpos'd to compound matters with the Queen of Scots, by Sir Walter Mildmay. But finding that the Duke of Guise plotted secretly with certain English Fugitives, for her Delivery, and levy'd Forces, under pretence that they should serve under the Duke of Anjou in the Low-Countries, but indeed to be transported over into England, from Ayr or Ewe, an obscure Port-Town in Normandy, belonging to the Duke of Guise; (whereof the French King gave her the first Notice, and out of his Love to Queen Elizabeth prevented it) the matter was put off to another time, and she was neglected.

But yet to prevent the Duke of Guise's Attempts in Scotland, who was thought to use Lenox's Assistance to avert the King of Scots's Affection from the English, William Ruthven, whom the King had very lately created Earl of Gowry, rais'd some Troubles. This William, (not to degenerate from his Father, who bore a deadly Hatred against the King's Mother) with other Conspirators, employ'd all their Wits to remove Lenox and Arran from the King, pretending to provide for the Security of Religion, the King's Safety, and the Amity with England. And thus they went to work. Lenox, who was now made Chamberlain of Scotland, was perswaded to exercise with Rigour the old worn out Jurisdiction of Chamberlain; and this to no other intent, but that he might thereby (unawares and never dreaming of any such thing) incur the Hatred of the People; which Hatred the Clergy should more inflame by declaiming against him publicly out of the Pulpit, as a Papist, a Guisian, and a rigorous Executor of his Authority, and should openly prophesie his Destruction. When Lenox therefore was gone from Perth (where the King then lay) to

Edin-

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Edin-

1582. *Edinburgh*, to exercise the aforesaid Jurisdiction, and *Arran* was out of the Way, *Goury*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and others, taking the Opportunity, invited the King to *Ruthven-Castle*, and there detain'd him against his Will, and terrify'd him so that he durst not stir abroad. All his faithfullest Servants they remov'd from him, *Arran* they carry'd to Prison, constrain'd the King to call home the Earl of *Angus* from Banishment, (at the Intercession of the Queen of *England*, who was acquainted with their Plot) and to send *Lenox* back again into *France*: who, being a Man of a very mild Spirit, did for the pulick Quiet sake surrender up *Dunbriton*, which he might easily have defended, and refused not to return into *France*; and this he did at the King's seeming Persuasion, which they had forced him to use with him. And not content with all this, they compell'd the King, against his Will, to approve of this their seizing of him, in his Letters to the Queen of *England*, and to declare an Assembly of the States summon'd by them to be just and legal. Yet could they not draw *Buchanan* to approve of this Fact of theirs, either by their Declaration, or by Messengers sent to persuade him; who now with Sorrow repented that he had formerly maintain'd the Cause of factious People against their Princes, and soon after died. A Man born, as he himself has written in a Poem, *nec celo, nec solo, nec seculo erudito*, that is, neither in a Climate, nor Countrey, nor Age of Learning; yet happily arriving himself at the Top and Perfection of Poetical Skill, so as he may deservedly be reckon'd Prince of the Poets of this Age.

Force the King to countermand their doings. *Buchanan* disapproves them.

When the French King had certain Intelligence hereof, he dispatch'd away *Mota-Fenellon* through *England*, and *Maningville* by Sea, into *Scotland*, with one and the same Instructions, to wit, That they should take some course or other for procuring the King's Liberty: That they should confirm and encourage the French Faction, draw the King's Mind to embrace Amity with the French, and congratulate him upon this account, that the Queen his Mother, out of her motherly Piety, granted him the Royal Title, and very willingly admitted him into the Participation of the Kingdom, to wit, that he should be own'd for true and lawful King, by the Princes of *Christendom*, and all the People in *Scotland*, and that all Factions should be for the future taken away. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean time having her Mind full of Cares and Doubts, being overcome with Miseries, and languishing with the Calamity of a long Imprisonment without all Hope of Liberty, deplored her hard Destiny, with the sad Condition of her Son, in a long Letter written in *French*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, which her motherly Love and the Anguish of her Mind wrung from her, to this purpose, as I have abbreviated the same out of the very Original.

French K. sends Agents to procure the King's Liberty.

Whereas I have been certainly advertised that my Son is surprized by Rebels, (as I myself also was some Years since) out of a just Fear lest he should undergo the same common Condition of Infelicity with myself, I cannot but make my woful Complaints, and imprint the same (if it may be) in your Conscience, that so my Innocence may appear to Posterity, and their Ignominy by whose unjust Dealings I am most undeservedly brought into these Miseries. But seeing their cunning Practices and Devices (tho' never so wicked) have hitherto been of more Credit with you than my most just Complaints, and your Might may seem to overcome Right, and Force to oppress and bear down Truth among Men; I will appeal to the everliving God, in whom only I acknowledge a Power and Dominion over us that are Princes of equal Jurisdiction, Degree and Authority. And upon

Q. of Scots Letter to Q. Eliz.

him will I call, (with whom there will be no place for Craft nor Fraud) that in the last day he will reward us according to our Deserts one towards another, howsoever my Adversaries know in the mean time how to cloak their treacherous Dealings before Men, (and haply before you.) In his Name therefore, and as it were before his Tribunal-Seat, I call to your Remembrance, by what cunning Artifices some who were employ'd in your Name drew the Scots, my Subjects, into Rebellion against me, whilst I liv'd in *Scotland*, and gave Rise to all those Mischiefs which have happen'd there ever since. Which (to omit other Proofs) is certainly known by evident Testimonies to be produced, and by Confession out of *Morton's* own Mouth, who was on that account advanced to * Honour. Against whom if I had proceeded according to Law and Justice, and you had not aided my Rebels, they could not have stood out long against me and my Friends. Whilst I was kept in Prison at *Lough-Levin*, Sir *Nicolas Throckmorton* was a means to persuade me in your Name to set my Hand to a Writing, and resign the Kingdom; which Writing he affirm'd would be invalid, and so the whole World has taken it to be, till you assisted the Authors of the said Instrument readily with your Favour and Countenance, as also with an arm'd Power. And tell me *bonâ fide*, would you acknowledge such an Authority and Power of your Subjects over you? Yet thereby was my Regal Authority taken from me, and that by your Advice and Assistance; and my Kingdom translated to my Son, who was then in respect of his Age uncapable thereof. And when I myself was not long since determin'd to confirm the Kingdom to him lawfully, he was forcibly seiz'd on by certain Traitors, who without question purposed to deprive him (as they had done me) of the Kingdom, if not of his Life also.

1582. Ann. 25.

After I had made an Escape out of *Lough-Levin*, and was now ready to give the Rebels Battle, I craved your Aid, sending back that Diamond which I had formerly receiv'd from you in pledge of your Love, with large Promises of Assistance against my Rebels, time after time renew'd; giving me also then your faithful Word, that if I would betake myself to you, you would come to the Borders, and assist me in your own Person. I, relying upon this your Promise so often repeated, (tho' those you employ'd had many times deceiv'd me with fair Words) resolv'd to fly to you in my Adversity, as to a sacred Anchor. And certainly so I had, had I found as easie Access to you, as my Rebels against me have always had. But before I could come to you, I was seiz'd upon, clapt into Custody, shut up in strong Holds, and have ever since endured Afflictions more bitter than Death itself.

* made Regent upon Q. Elizabeth's Recommendation.

I know you will hit me in the Teeth with what pass'd betwixt me and the Duke of *Norfolk*; yet I deny that that was any way prejudicial to you or your Kingdom. For it was approved of by the chief Counsellors of the Realm of *England*, and confirm'd by their Subscriptions, which may be produced, who also gave an assured Promise of your Consent. And how (I pray you) could Men of that Quality promise your Consent to that which would deprive you of Life, Honour, and your Diadem? yet would you have these things believ'd by all Men.

But when some of my said Rebels repented when it was too late, and perceiv'd more palpably, by the Conference between our Commissioners

1582. *Ann. 25.* *Liding-
son and
Grange.* missioners at *Tork*, how injuriously I was dealt
withal, they were presently besieged by your
Forces in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and * two
of the chief of 'em were miserably bereav'd of
their Lives; one by Poison, the other by the
Gallows. And this, after I had, at your Re-
quest, caus'd them more than once to lay down
their Arms, in hopes of Peace, which God
knows whether my Adversaries ever intended.

From that time forward I determined with
myself to try whether I could by my Patience
mitigate others Rigor, by bearing quietly all
things which should be inflicted on a Captive-
Queen: yet have I now for this whole Year
been quite debarr'd from all Intercourse with
my Son, either by Letters or Messengers; that
so, if it were possible, the Son might be rent
and divided from his Mother, by a sad and wo-
ful Alienation of Affections.

Conditions of Peace and Concord to be made
betwixt us I have often propounded. At *Cha-
tesworth*, eleven Years since, with your Com-
missioners, and with yourself by the Ambassa-
dors of the most Christian King and my own,
and the last Winter with *Beale*, have I dealt
therein sincerely. But those Conditions have
been always rejected, Delays sought and inter-
posed, my Actions and Endeavours miscon-
strued, and the sincere Affections of my Mind
still condemn'd. And of my long Patience I
have reap'd no other Fruit, than that by a cer-
tain Prescription it grew to a Custom, that I
was every day more roughly handled than o-
ther. These things verily I am no longer able
to endure: and howsoever it fall out, if I die,
I will make known the Authors of my Death;
and if I live, I shall, I hope, cause all wicked
Contrivances and Calumnies against me to
cease, that I may pass the rest of my Life in
greater Quiet and Tranquillity.

Wherefore, to take away all Misunderstand-
ings betwixt us, let the Testimonies of the
Spaniards that were lately taken Prisoners in
Ireland, be produced against me; let the Exa-
mination of the *Jesuites* be brought forth; let
every Man have liberty to accuse me publicly;
so as I in like manner may have liberty allow'd
me to defend myself, and not be condemn'd un-
heard. The basest Malefactors and Prisoners
are allow'd their Defence, and their Accusers
brought before them Face to Face. And why
am not I so dealt withal, who am an anointed
Q. in Blood most nearly ally'd to you, and next
to you the lawful Heir to the Crown? And
this last is what above all vexes and troubles my
Adversaries, who labour to set us two at Vari-
ance. Alas! there is no Reason this should
trouble them. I call God and my own Honour
to witness, that I have for this long time thought
of no other Kingdom but that of Heaven. Yet
are you bound in Conscience, and obliged both
in regard of your Duty and Justice, not to pre-
judice my Son's undoubted Title after my death,
nor to further the secret Contrivances of those,
who, both in *England* and *Scotland*, labour tooth
and nail the Destruction of me and my Son;
as is more than too apparent, by the Carriage
of your Messengers in *Scotland*, who have be-
haved themselves seditiously enough, (unknown
to you, no doubt, tho' *Huntington* has busily be-
stirr'd himself therein.)

Is this Reason, that I, who am a Mother,
should be prohibited, not only to advise my op-
press'd Son, but so much as to understand in
what Condition he is? Had those Messengers
been sent for my Son's Good, haply, if they
had taken my Advice along with them, they
might have been more welcome to him for my

fake; certainly you had obliged me the more
closely to you. Neither was there any Reason
why you should so carefully conceal their Send-
ing, or quite take from me at that time all Use
of my Liberty. But, to speak freely, I beseech
you to employ no more such Ministers in Scot-
tish matters. For tho' † *Cary* (I think) would † Lord
undertake nothing unbeseeming himself and his
Honour; yet can I promise myself no Good of
Huntington, by reason of his bad Behaviour to-
wards me.

Therefore I do earnestly intreat you, by the
near Kindred that is betwixt us, to have a seri-
ous Care in my Son's Safety, to intermeddle no
more in *Scottish* matters, without acquainting me
or the *French King*; and to esteem those for no
better than Traitors, who detain my Son in Cu-
stody, and constrain him, against his Will, to
do what they list. In brief, I beseech you by
the Cross and Passion of Christ our Redeemer,
that I may now, after so many Years Restraint,
be restor'd to my Liberty upon reasonable Con-
ditions, and may, for the small Remainder of
my Life, refresh my decay'd Body, somewhere
out of *England*, after so long Grief and Lan-
guishing in Prison. So shall you oblige me and
mine, and especially my Son, to you for ever.
And this I will never cease to beg of you with
all Earnestness, till you grant it me: and that
which moves me so earnestly to crave it, is the
afflicted State of my Body and Health. Take
Order therefore, that I may hereafter be more
courteously used; otherwise, in plain terms,
I shall not be able to endure it: and put me not
off to any other Doom or Sentence than your
own. Whatsoever hereafter shall befall me,
Good or Ill, I shall take it to come from your-
self alone. Vouchsafe me this Favour, that I
may understand your Mind from yourself, ei-
ther by a short Letter, or by the *French* Ambas-
sador. I cannot rest satisfy'd with those things
which the Earl of *Shrewsbury* tells me, consider-
ing that they are alter'd every day. When I
wrote of late to your Council, you wish'd me
to acquaint yourself only with my Business.
(But there was no reason for you to grant them
so large an Authority over me, to trouble and
afflict me.) Yet I cannot but fear that some
of them who are my Adversaries have procured
this, lest the rest, when they should have heard
my just Complaints, should oppose them, in
regard as well of your Honour, as of their own
Duty towards you. Now it remains that I
make this special Request to you, that my Mind
being taken up with the Thoughts of another
Life, I may have some Reverend Catholick
Priest allow'd me, who may direct me in my
Religion, for my Soul's Health. This last Of-
fice is not to be deny'd to the poorest Wretches
of the meanest Condition. To foreign Princes
Ambassadors you allow the Exercise of their
Religion, and I freely granted it to my Subjects
of a different Religion. If this be deny'd me,
(I hope) I shall be excused before God, but
my Adversaries (I fear) will not escape unpun-
ish'd. Certainly it will be a Precedent for o-
ther Princes of Christendom to use the like Se-
verity towards their Subjects of a different Re-
ligion, if this Rigor be shew'd to me, who am
an absolute Princess, and your nearest Kinswo-
man. For so I am, and so I shall be as long as
I live, whether my Adversaries will or no, and
tho' they be never so ill pleas'd and satisfy'd at
it. To have my Household increas'd I desire not,
but I am necessitated to desire you that I may
have two Waiting-Women allow'd me, whom I
shall have need of in this my weak Condition:
and let not my Enemies satisfy their Malice
and

1582. and Cruelty; in hindring me of so small a
Ann. 25. Courtessie. Whereas I am privately accused, by
the Earl of Shrewsbury, that, contrary to what
I promis'd to Beale, I have dealt with my Son,
about conveying my Title in Scotland to him,
without your Privity; I beseech you believe
not Beale's Suggestions: I promis'd nothing but
on certain Conditions, to which I am not at all
ty'd, unless those on your part be perform'd by
you. Since that time I have receiv'd no Answer,
and a deep Silence has ensued touching those
matters: but the Practices and Contrivances in
Scotland, to the Destruction of me and my Son,
have been continued. This so long a Silence
I could not construe any thing else but a flat
Denial, which I signify'd to you and your
Council by Letters. What the French King
and his Mother imparted to me, I have truly
and ingenuously acquainted you withal, and
ask'd your Counsel in it; but I have not heard
so much as a Word from you. To submit my-
self to your Advice touching my Affairs and
my Country, before I knew what manner of
Advice it would be, I never intended: for this
might seem a piece of extreme Folly. How
my Adversaries in Scotland triumph over me and
my Captive-Son, is not unknown to you. For
my part, I have attempted nothing there which
may prejudice you: what I have done has been
for procuring a solid Peace in that Kingdom;
whereof, sure, I should have as great a Care as
your Council; for I am far more interest'd
therein than they. I desired with all my heart
to gratify my Son, by confirming to him the
Title of King, and to bury all Discords in Ob-
livion. Is this to snatch away the Diadem from
my Son? But my Adversaries and the Adver-
saries of my Family would not have it confirm'd
to him. This they envy him, whilst they car-
ry a Witness against themselves in their own
Breast, and by reason of their guilty Consci-
ence mistrust their own Condition.
Let not these and others my Adversaries so
far blind your Eyes, as that, while you live and
see it, they bring your nearest Kindred to their
Graves, and undermine both Crowns: for to
that purpose certainly do they carry on their
wicked Practices against me, against my Son,
and perhaps against yourself too. Can it be any
Advantage or Credit to you, that by their
means I and my Son, and you and I ourselves,
are so long deprived of one another? Recal-
yourself to your innate Mildness and Lenity,
resume your natural Disposition, and, as you
are a Princess, soften your Spirit, and dispose
it to lay aside all Displeasure towards me a Prin-
cess so nearly related to you in Blood, and so
loving to you; that these matters being com-
pounded betwixt us, I may the more quietly
depart this Life, and the Groans and Sighs of
my afflicted Soul may not ascend up to God.
To whose Majesty I offer up my daily Prayers,
beseeching him that these my just Complaints
and woful Lamentations may now at length
find Regard with you. At Sheffield, Nov. 8.
1582.

Subscribed,

Votre tres-desolée plus proche parente,
& affectionnée sœur,
MARIE R.

That is,

Your most disconsolate nearest Kinswoman,
& affectionate Sister,
MARY Queen.

The Six and twentieth Year of her Reign.

1582.
Ann. 26

With this Letter Queen Elizabeth was variously
affected, and (having first permitted Mota-Fenel-
lon the French Ambassador, to go with Davison her
own Ambassador into Scotland, watching the time
on purpose that he might at unawares meet Le-
nox, as he return'd out of Scotland; and having
herself after graciously receiv'd the said Lenox,
and gently blamed him for the Errors he had
committed in Scottish matters) sent Robert Beale,
Clerk of the Council, a morose, ill-temper'd
Man, to the Queen of Scots, to expostulate with
her roundly about these Letters of Complaint, and
together with the Earl of Shrewsbury, to treat
with her about her Liberty, in regard she had
very lately by other Letters earnestly requested,
that, upon Security given to Queen Elizabeth,
she might at length enjoy the same, and be asso-
ciated with her Son, in the Government of Scot-
land.

Lenox re-
turns to
France by
England.

Concerning these things a serious Consultati-
on was holden in the Council-Chamber of En-
gland; and most of the Council were satisfy'd
that she might be set at liberty upon these Con-
ditions: 'If she and her Son would promise to
'attempt nothing which might be prejudicial to
'Queen Elizabeth, or the Realm of England. If
'she would acknowledge that whatever was done
'by her Husband Francis II. King of France, a-
'gainst Queen Elizabeth, was done against her
'Will, and would utterly disclaim the same as
'unjust; confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh, and
'condemn all unfair Attempts ever since, by in-
'geniously renouncing them. If she would be
'bound to contrive or act nothing directly or in-
'directly against the Government of the King-
'dom of England, in either Ecclesiastical or Civil
'Matters, but oppose all such as should any ways
'attempt the same, as publick Enemies. If she
'would forbear to claim any Right to the King-
'dom of England, during Queen Elizabeth's Life;
'and afterwards be content to refer the Title of
'Succession to the Judgment of the Parliament
'of England. If (to the end there might be no
'place left for Prevarication, and that she might
'not hereafter alledge, that she condescended to
'these Conditions, being a Prisoner and con-
'strain'd thereto) she would not only swear to
'these Conditions herself, but would also pro-
'cure the Estates of Scotland to confirm them by
'publick Authority, and the King to ratify them
'by Oath and Writing, and Hostages to be gi-
'ven for the Performance of them. As for her
being join'd with her Son in the Government, it
was not thought meet that the Queen of England
should be concern'd with it: but this they refer'd
to the King of Scots himself, and the Estates of
Scotland. And if they were so associated toge-
ther, they should be dealt withal jointly about
the League; if not, severally.

Consulta-
tion about
setting the
Q of Scots
at liberty.
Upon
what Con-
ditions.

These things were deliberated and consulted
of, but without Success; for the Scots of the En-
glish Faction utterly rejected the Conditions, cry-
ing out that some Scots, which were mortal Ene-
mies to the English Nation, were, by the Advice
of the Queen of Scots, call'd home out of France;
and that Holt, an Englishman, of the Society of
Jesus, was sent privately into Scotland, to con-
trive a way for invading England.

Scots of
the Engl.
Faction
oppose it.

There was now much striving in Scotland be-
twixt Mota-Fenellon and Maningville the French Am-
bassadors, and Bowes and Davison Ambassadors of
England, which of them should by deeper Insu-
nation allure the King's Mind to the love of
their Nation, and who should draw most Men to
their Party. Whilst they diligently countermined

English
& French
court the
K. of Scots.

1583. King carried himself evenly and indifferently betwixt them both, and intermeddled not in those factious Stirs which he labour'd rather to compose, well knowing how to temper and mix what was profitable with what was just and honest, and in the mean time not to be wanting to Religion or the Commonwealth. But the Clergy in Scotland were so inflam'd with a kind of Zeal against the French, that the same Day that Mota-Fenellon was feasted by the Citizens of Edinburgh, they appointed a Fast, and all the Day long rail'd upon the French King, the Duke of Guise, and the Ambassadors, out of their Pulpits; and had almost proceeded to excommunicate all the Guests that dined there. As these Ministers did thus openly, so also some Noblemen of the English Faction ceased not more closely to persecute and disturb the French Ambassadors, till first Mota-Fenellon, and afterwards Maningville, left the Court and departed, having notwithstanding first cunningly sown the Seeds of Dissention betwixt those who had got the King in their power.

Zeal of the Scottish Preachers against the French.

English prevail.

The King applies himself to Q. Elizabeth.

Lenox's death.

The King frees himself out of Custody.

He deals gently with those that seiz'd him.

Recalls his Friends to Court.

As soon as they were gone, the King profer'd all Kindness and Respect to the Queen of England by Colonel William Stuart and John Colvill, and ask'd her Counsel and Advice for composing the present Commotions, and his contracting of Marriage. And now they which had possess'd themselves of the King took heart and courage when the French Ambassadors were remov'd out of Scotland, and more a while after, when they heard of Lenox's death. For he, having found but cold Comfort from the French King, who was embroil'd in Civil Wars, and now secretly applying himself to work into the Favour of Queen Elizabeth, died at Paris, and at the point of death openly profess'd (as he had done before) the Protestant Religion, confuting thereby the Malice of those who had falsly defamed him to be a Papist.

While the Surprizers of the King were triumphing for the Duke's death, as thinking themselves now sure and certain to keep the King in their power, the King, when they little thought of it, tho' he were scarce eighteen Years of Age, disdain'd (seeing he was an absolute King) to be under the Tutelage of three Earls, as he had before wisely yielded to the Time, so now, having got a fit Opportunity, he wrought his own Liberty, and withdrew himself with a few trusty Friends into the Castle of St. Andrews; taking occasion from a Rumour spread abroad that the Noblemen, bearing a deadly Feud and Hatred one against the other, were drawing together Bands of armed Men to attend them at the Convention which they had summon'd; and therefore he had cause to fear lest his Person should be expos'd to Danger amongst their tumultuous Scuffles. And to this purpose he wrote Letters to Queen Elizabeth, wherein also he promis'd that he would constantly maintain Amity with her, and follow her Counsel in settling of his Affairs. But this Accident (he said) happen'd so unexpectedly, that he could by no means ask her Counsel in it. Afterwards with good Words and a gracious Countenance he advis'd some of those Men by whom he was seiz'd upon to depart the Court for prevention of Disturbances, and promis'd 'em Pardon if they would ask it. But of them all Goury only ask'd it, and submitted himself, using this distinction, that that he had offended, not in matter, but in form. Then called he home Arran to the Court, whom he used in his most secret Counsels; and in the next place he seriously set himself to procure a good Agreement betwixt his Nobility, and to

clear his Realm and Court from Civil Disorders.

Whilst he busied himself about these Matters, Sir Francis Walsingham arriv'd, sent from the Queen of England out of her great Care lest he should by corrupt Counsels now in his flexible Years be alienated from the amity of the English, to the damage of both Kingdoms. Walsingham found the King attended with the flower of his Nobility, and another manner of face and appearance of things in Scotland than he expected. At his Audience, he advis'd him at large the same things which the Queen had before by her Letters put him in mind of out of Isocrates, (namely, That it was the part of a Ruler to be so true and just in his Dealings, that more credit might be given to his Word than to others Oaths) And that he would have a great care of bad Counsellors, and be constant to himself. The King answer'd wisely and freely: That if he had written otherwise than he thought, he had done it unwillingly, against his Mind, and by constraint of those that compell'd him to it. That he, being a free Prince, was not to be reduc'd to such Streights that others must impose Counsellors upon him whom he liked not. That he had done nothing but what stood with his Honour, and was for his Security. That he had long since vow'd the First-fruits of his Friendship to his dearest Sister the Queen of England, and now he offer'd them gladly and deservedly; and more full demonstrations of his Friendship he should be able to give, when all his Nobility should be obedient to him, than when he himself was forced to obey one or two of them, and rul'd as it were but at their Will and Pleasure.

Afterwards Walsingham wish'd him not to impute to Queen Elizabeth those things which had lately fallen out in Scotland; then he shew'd him how advantageous to him and to both Kingdoms amity with England had been heretofore, and might be hereafter, if it were not neglected; and which he said would be firmly establish'd if the Differences betwixt the Nobility of Scotland were by Authority of Parliament buried in Oblivion, if those Noblemen that were remov'd from Court might be receiv'd again into Favour, Religion maintain'd inviolate, and a firm League betwixt both Kingdoms established. The King modestly answer'd, That he would maintain amity with England: That he would be wanting in no good Offices towards the Queen, and constantly defend the receiv'd Religion. And altho' he suspected Walsingham to be ill affected both towards him and his Mother, yet he graciously dismissed him; and being prudently mindful and careful of his Affairs beyond what his Age could promise, with great commendation for his Clemency, he offer'd a general Pardon to all that had surpriz'd and seiz'd upon him, if they would ask it within a time prescrib'd. But so far were they from asking it, that they secretly plotted to intercept and surprize him anew. Whereupon they were commanded to depart the Realm within a time prefix'd; of whom Marre, Glames, the Commendators of Driborough, Paslet, and some others, betook themselves to Ireland; Boyd, Zester-Wemes, Lochelvine, to the Low-Countries; and Dunfermelin into France. The Earl of Angus was confin'd within certain Bounds in Angus. Only Goury, hatching new Mischief, stay'd beyond the prefixed time, to his own Ruin, as we shall shew anon.

Thus they who expell'd Lenox against his will, were themselves, before the Year came about, expell'd against their wills out of Scotland. The King, as he loved Lenox whilst he lived, so being dead

1583. Ann. 26. Walsingham into Court.

His advice to the K.

King's answer.

The King offers pardon to those who seiz'd him if they'd ask it.

Those that refused commanded to depart the Realm.

1583.
Ann. 26.
Restores
Lewis's
Reputati-
on, and
calls home
his Son
into Scotl.
Clergy
oppose
the King.
Q. Eliz.
obtains a
Peace of
the Mus-
covite for
Sweden.
Muscovite
desires a
Wife out
of Engl.
and an
absolute
League.
Bowes sent
Ambassa-
dor to him.
The death
of the
Muscovite
Machlis
a Beast.

dead he had him in grateful Remembrance, and restor'd his good Name and Repute, which had by his Enemies been blemish'd and stain'd, suppressing certain infamous Libels against him. His Children he sent for out of France; his Son Lewis he made Successor in his Father's Honour, and his Daughters he match'd some time after to the Earls of Huntley and Marre. And to shew himself a King, and give early Proof how he could exercise his Kingly Authority, whereas the said Conspirators had in a Convention call'd by their own Authority, decreed their seizing of the King's Person to have been just, and had entred the same in the publick Records; he, on the contrary, in a full Assembly of the States, declar'd the same to have been traiterous: Tho' the Clergy, as if they were supreme Judges in the Kingdom, in an Assembly convoked by their own Authority, pronounced it to be most just, and thought them to deserve Excommunication who approv'd not of it.

It is not here to be forgot, how in these Days War growing hot betwixt the Muscovite and the Swede in the Northern Climate, John King of Sweden, unable to resist the Power of so great an Emperor, sent Eric of Wisimbrug, his Kinsman, Andreas Riche one of his Council, and Raschy his Secretary, on a noble Embassy to Queen Elizabeth, and by his Letters entreated her to mediate a Peace by her Ambassador: Which she did without delay, and persuaded the Muscovite to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. For he dealt now afresh with the Queen about the League before-mention'd, and about his Refuge in England if any Disaster should befall him; and made suit also for a Wife out of England. Touching these matters, Sir Hierom Bowes Kt. was sent Ambassador thither, but could hardly satisfy him, for that the Muscovite with much importunity requir'd an absolute League written in his own Words; and would by no means hear that it was not the part of a Christian, nor allowable by the Law of Nations, to exercise Hostility without first denouncing War, or to come to Blows before such time as he that offer'd the Wrong were requir'd to give Satisfaction, and to abstain from doing farther Injury. The Queen design'd him for a Wife the Lady Anne, Sister to the Earl of Huntingdon. But when she certainly understood that he might, by the Laws of his Country, put away his Wives at his pleasure; she excus'd it again by the Lady's Indisposition of Health, and the tender Affection of her Mother, who could not endure the absence of her Daughter in a Country so far distant, and that she had no power to give the Daughters of her Subjects in Marriage without the consent of their Parents. Nevertheless the Ambassador prevail'd with him to confirm the Merchants Privileges; but his death ensuing the Year following, the Trade of the English in Russia withal decay'd by little and little, and the Ambassador was sent back, who returning not without danger of his Life, was receiv'd by the Queen with Favour and Commendations. He was the first (if an Historian may have leave to mention so trivial a matter) who brought into England the beast call'd a Machlis, never before seen here: It is like an Elk, in Latin *Alce*, having no Joints in the Legs, and yet wonderful swift. He brought also certain Fallow-Deer of admirable Swiftnes, which being yok'd together, would draw a Man sitting in a Sled with incredible speed.

Theodore Joannides, the Son of John Basilides, (to continue our relation of the Affairs of Muscovy) succeeded in that vast Empire; a Prince of a duller Spirit, but yet one that would hearken to them that gave him good Counsel. This

Theodore granted to all Merchants of what Nation soever free access into Russia: And being oftentimes solicited by the Queen to confirm the Privileges granted by his Father to the Muscovia-Company of English Merchants, to wit, that only Englishmen of that Company should come in to or trade in the North Parts of Russia, and that Custom-free, in regard they were the first that discover'd the Passage thither by Sea. He thereupon desir'd her to give liberty to all the English to trade into Russia; for to permit some, and deny others, was Injustice. Princes, he said, must carry an indifferent hand betwixt their Subjects, and not convert Trade (which by the Law of Nations ought to be common to all) into a Monopoly to the private Gain of a few. As for his Customs, he promis'd to exact less by the one half of that Company than of the rest, because they first discover'd the Passage thither by Sea. In other matters he confirm'd their former Privileges, and added some few more out of his respect to the Queen, and not for any desert, as he said, of the Company, many of whom he found had dealt fallly with his People. And other answer than this could Giles Fletcher, Doctor of Law, who was afterwards sent Ambassador on the same account, get none. This Fletcher set forth a Book of the Russian Polity or Tyranny, wherein are many things worthy of observation. Which Book notwithstanding was quickly suppress'd, lest it might give offence to a Prince in amity with England.

Out of Polonia, a Country bordering upon Russia, came this Summer into England to see the Queen, Albert Alasco, Palatine of Siradia, a learned Man, well shap'd, with a long Beard, and very comely and decent Apparel: Who being graciously welcomed by her, and entertain'd by the Nobility with great Respect and Feasting, as also by the University at Oxford with learned Diversifements and several Comedies, after 4 Months stay here, withdrew himself privately, being run far in Debt.

In the County of Dorset there happen'd this Year no less strange a sight than did in Herefordshire in the Year 1571. For a piece of Ground of three Acres in Blackmore remov'd out of its place, with Trees and Hedges, and pass'd over other Land, leaving a great Pit, and stopping up an High-way which led to Cerne. Whether this happen'd thro' some such boisterous Wind under Ground, wherewith Seneca writeth that the Heads of the Gods were turned backward in Jupiter's great Couch; or by reason of much Moisture, the Springs there bubbling up in great abundance, considering that the Ground lay upon a shelving Hill; let others examine.

This was the last Year of Thomas Ratcliffe, the third Earl of Sussex of that Family; a Man of singular Fidelity to his Country, and of a very noble Extraction, his Mother being the Duke of Norfolk's Daughter, and his Grandmother Daughter to Henry Duke of Buckingham, Constable of England. Who having pass'd thro' the highest Honours, (having been sent Ambassador into Germany by Queen Mary to the Emperor Char. V. about the Marriage to be contracted with Prince Philip; and afterwards into Spain to the said Prince Philip about ratifying the Covenants thereof, and to the Emperor Maximilian about Queen Elizabeth's Marriage with Charles of Austria; having been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord-President of the North-parts of England beyond the River of Trent, renown'd for his Victories against the Hebrilians, and the Scots who infested the Borders) at length, worn out with a tedious Sickness, died at London without Issue, (tho' he had had

1583.

Ann. 26.

Theodore

the Mus-

covite

mislikes

the Eng-

lishmen's

Monopoly

in Russia.

He cor-

firm some

Privileges,

and grant-

eth new.

Fletcher's

History of

Russia.

A Alasco

a Polonian

comes in-

to Engl.

An Earth-

quake.

The death

of the E.

of Sussex.

1583. had two Wives, Elizabeth Wriothesley and Frances Sidney) and left his Brother Henry his Heir and Successor.

This Year also died Henry Wriothesley Earl of Southampton, a Man as much devoted to the Romish Religion and the Queen of Scots as any, for which he incur'd his Prince's Displeasure, and endur'd Imprisonment in the Tower. He was Son to Thomas Wriothesley, (whom for his singular Vertue King Henry VIII. advanc'd to the Dignity of Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield, to the Order of the Garter, and to the high Honour of Chancellor of England, and made him one of the Overseers of his last Will and Testament; afterwards by Edward VI. raised to the Honour of Earl of Southampton). This Henry left by his Wife, the Daughter of Anthony Viscount Montacute, Henry his only Son and Successor, and a Daughter married to Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour.

Sir Hum. Gilbert. Near the same time was swallow'd by the Ocean Sir Humphrey Gilbert Kt. a quick and lively-spirited Man, famous for his knowledge in matters relating both to War and Peace, in his return from the North-part of America, which we call Newfoundland, whether he had set sail a little before with five Ships, having sold his Patrimony in hopes to plant a Colony there. But after he had by an Herald or Crier proclaim'd that Country to belong to the English Jurisdiction, (for Sebastian Cabot was the first that discover'd it, in the Year 1497, being employ'd therein by Henry VII.) and had assign'd Lands to every particular Man of his Company; he suffer'd so much by Shipwrecks and want of necessary Provision, that he was constrain'd to give over his Enterprize, learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficult thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countries upon private Mens Purfes, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had persuaded themselves, to their own Cost and Detriment.

His design at Newfoundland frustrate.

Colonies are hardly planted in far Countries by private Men.

Death of Grindal Archbishop of Canterbury.

Tamarisk first bro't into Engl.

Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury.

About that time died also Edmund Grindall Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, being Blind and above sixty Years of Age; a religious and grave Man, who returning from his Banishment under Queen Mary, was made first Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, and lastly Archbishop of Canterbury, and flourished in great Grace with the Queen, till by the cunning Artifices of his Adversaries, he quite lost her Favour, under pretence that he had countenanced the Conventicles of some turbulent and hot-spirited Ministers, and their Prophecies, (as they call'd them) but in truth, because he had condemn'd the unlawful Marriage of Julio an Italian Physician with another Man's Wife, while Leicester in vain oppos'd his Proceedings therein. That little Wealth which he had gather'd he bestow'd upon the founding of a School at St. Bee's in Cumberland, where he was born, and towards the advancement of Learning in both the Universities. And to his care (if I may mention so small a matter) are the Englishmen beholden for Tamarisk, which, having found it by experience to be exceeding good to ease the hard Distemper of the Spleen, he first of all brought into England.

In his room succeeded John Whitgift, being translated to Canterbury from the See of Worcester; an excellent and very learned Man, who gain'd singular Commendation both by his Justice in the Vice-presidentship of Wales, and by maintaining the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England: Which Commendation he farther merited by his Fortitude, Prudence and Patience. Him the Queen (who, as in Civil matters, so also in Laws Ecclesiastical, was of opinion that no loose Remissness was to be us'd)

gave in Charge, that he should take special care to restore the Discipline of the Church of England, and the Uniformity in the Service of God establish'd by Authority of Parliament, which thro' the Connivance of the Prelates, the Obstinacy of the Puritans, and the Power of some Noblemen, was neglected; while some of the Clergy closely impugn'd the Queen's Authority in Ecclesiastical matters, separated the Administration of the Sacraments from the preaching of the Word, us'd new Rites and Ceremonies at their pleasure in private Houses, utterly condemn'd the Liturgy and the Administration of the Sacraments establish'd, as contrary in some things to the holy Scriptures, as also the Order of Bishops, and therefore refused to come to Church, and made a downright Schism; while the Papists stood laughing at it, and drew many daily over to their Party, as if there were no Unity in the Church of England. To take away these Inconveniences, and restore Unity, he propounded these Articles to be subscrib'd to by the Ministers.

First, That the Queen had the chief and supreme Power over all Persons born within her Dominions of what Condition soever they were; and that no foreign Prince or Prelate had, or ought to have, any Power, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms or Dominions.

Secondly, That the Book of Common-Prayer, and another Book of Ordaining Bishops and Priests, contain'd nothing in them contrary to God's Word, but might lawfully be us'd; and that they should use that, and no other Form, either of Prayer, or Administration of the Sacraments.

Thirdly, That they approved the Articles of the Synod at London, publish'd by the Queen's Authority in the Year 1562, and believed the same to be consonant to God's Word.

On this occasion incredible it is what Controversies and Disputations arose, what Hatred, and reproachful Speeches he endur'd at the Hands of factious Ministers, and what Troubles, yea and Injuries also, from some Noblemen, who by promoting unfit and undeserving Men, caus'd distraction in the Church, or else gaped after the Revenues and Livings of the Church. Nevertheless thro' Constancy, Fortitude and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties at last, and restor'd Peace to the Church: So that not without good reason he may seem to have have chosen that Motto, Vincit qui patitur; that is, He overcometh who suffereth with patience.

And not only did these Men trouble the Church at home, but also some others, who sprung from these, did the like abroad; namely, Robert Brown a Cambridge-man, a young Student in Divinity, of whom the new Sectaries were call'd Brownists; and Richard Harrison, a petty Schoolmaster. For these two, presuming by their own private Spirit to judge of matters of Religion, did by Books set forth at this time in Zeland, and disperfed all over England, condemn the Church of England as no Church, and entangled many in the Snares of their new Schism; notwithstanding that their Books were suppress'd by the Queen's command, and solidly confuted by learned Men, and that two or three of the Sectaries were executed at St. Edmundsbury.

On the other side, the Writings of certain Papists against the Queen and other excommunicated Princes, drew some Men, who had the Pope's Power in great esteem, from their Obedience; and amongst others, they so distracted

1583.
Ann. 26.
Somervill's attempt against the Q.
Strangles himself.
Ardern hang'd.
one Somervill, a Gentleman, that in all haste he took a Journey privately to the Queen's Court, and breathing nothing but Blood against the Protestants, furiously set upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he confest that he would have kill'd the Queen with his own Hands. Whereupon he, and upon his Impeachment Edward Ardern, his Wife's Father, a Man of a very ancient Family in the County of Warwick, Ardern's Wife, their Daughter Somervill, and Hall a Priest, as Accessaries, were arraign'd and condemn'd. Three Days after, Somervill was found strangled in Prison. Ardern was condemn'd, and the next Day after hang'd and quarter'd. The Women and the Priest were spared. This woful End of this Gentleman, who was drawn in by the cunning of the Priest, and cast by his Evidence, was generally imputed to Leicester's Malice. Certain it is that he had incur'd Leicester's heavy Displeasure; and not without cause, for he had rashly oppos'd him in all he could, reproaching him as an Adulterer, and defaming him as a new Upstart.

English betray Alost to the Spaniards.
Unhappy end of Traytors.
Thus went Affairs at home: But abroad, the English which lay in Garison at Alost, a Town in Flanders, being neglected, and having neither Pay nor Victuals, were the last Month of this Year driven to those Extremities, that Pigott who had the Command of them, and the rest of the Captains, breaking their Oath of Fidelity, betray'd the Town for a sum of Money to the Spaniards; and fearing the Disgrace thereof among their own Countrymen, join'd themselves with the Prince of Parma: From whom notwithstanding, when they found he kept not his Word with them, they slunk away by degrees. But the Authors of this Treachery came every one of them to unfortunate Ends. Pigott went into Spain in hope of Reward; but being slighted and laugh'd at, he return'd again into the Low-Countries, where he was taken by his own Country-men, and sent into England, and there died miserably in Prison. Dalton, of a Traytor becoming a Pirate was hang'd in England, and Vincent in Brabant. Tailour was stabb'd by the Earl of Westmoreland; and Walsh, after he had been tossed with a thousand Miseries, was slain in France. Thus God's Vengeance followeth Traytors at the heels; as Ireland this Year saw by more apparent Examples.

The E. of Desmond slain.
For that infamous Rebel and Traytor to his Country, Gerald Fitz-Gerald, or Geraldides, the eleventh Earl of Desmond of his Family, when his Men were spent with Famine and Sword, (and had barbarously vowed to forswear God before they would forsake him) and when he had scap'd the Hands of the victorious English for almost two Years, by lurking here and there in Corners, was now by a common Soldier found out in a little Cottage, tho' unknown to him, till having his Arm almost cut off he discover'd himself, and was slain by being run through the Body in many places. His Head was sent over into England, and set upon a Pole upon London-Bridge.

His Defeat, vast Estate and Relations.
Such was the End of this powerful Man in Ireland, who deriv'd his Pedigree from Maurice Fitz-Gerald of Windsor, an Englishman, and of great Renown amongst the first Conquerors of Ireland in the Year 1170. He had very fair Lands and Possessions, yea whole Provinces, with Kerry a County-Palatine, many Castles, a number of Vassals and Dependents, and of his own Kindred and Surname he had about 500 Gentlemen at his Devotion. Of all which, as well as of his Life also, he was bereft within three Years, very few of his Family being left, after he had once

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Sander's famili'd to death.
forfeited his Allegiance to his Prince, through the Persuasion of certain Priests. The principal of whom was Nicolas Sanders, an Englishman, who very near the same time was miserably famili'd to death, when forsaken of all, and troubled in mind for the bad success of the Rebellion, he wander'd up and down amongst Woods, Forests and Mountains, and found no Comfort or Relief. In his Pouch were found several Speeches and Letters made and written to confirm the Rebels, stuff'd with large Promises from the Pope and the Spaniard. Thus the Divine Justice (if a Man may judge) stop't that Mouth with Hunger which had been always open to encourage Rebellions, and to belch forth malicious Lies and Slanders. For (to omit other things) he was the first Man that broached that abominable Lye concerning the Birth of Queen Elizabeth's Mother, which no Man in those Days (tho' the Hatred and Malice of the Papists was then fresh against her, and might remember it) ever knew, England in full forty Years after never heard of, the computation of Time doth egregiously convince of Falshood and Vanity; and he, forgetting himself, (which a Lyar should not do) doth himself plainly confute. Yet are there some ill-disposed People who blush not at this Day to besur their Writings with this so impudent a Lye.

Baltin-glass the out of Ireland.
James Fitz-Eustace; that is, the Son of Eustace, Viscount Baltin-glass, a Man of great Interest amongst the Lords of Ireland, being terrified with the unhappy Fate of these Men, fled into Spain, where he miserably pined away with Sorrow. He had a little before, out of Zeal to the Romish Religion, taken up Arms with the Rebels against his Prince, and writing a short obscure Letter to the Earl of Ormond his Neighbour, (who deriveth his Descent from St. Thomas of Canterbury's Sister) amongst other things he with this piece of Wit exhorted him to do the like for the Romish Religion, Had not blessed Thomas of Canterbury died for the Church of Rome, thou hadst never been Earl of Ormond. For, to expiate the Murder of the said Thomas, King Henry II. had in former time given to his Ancestors large Possessions in Ormond.

Perott Lord Deputy of Ireland.
Husbandmen sent into Munster.
Perott's good Service.
Sir John Perott Kt. who had born the Office of President of Munster with Commendation, being this Year made Viceroy or Lord-Deputy of Ireland, as soon as he had receiv'd the Sword, summon'd the States of the Realm to a Parliament, wherein several Laws were enacted, and Desmond, who was lately slain, was condemn'd of High-Treason, and all his Lands and those of the other Rebels in Munster confiscated. Which when the Queen was resolv'd to lease out at a very easie rate, thereby to invite Husbandmen thither, that so those fruitful Fields might not lie untill'd, (for the Rebellion had brought a miserable Devastation) some of those who were employ'd to enquire after the Estates of the Rebels, and others who took their Lands, began to turn the faithful and loyal Subjects out of their Possessions with violence and force, so that the Queen was fain to restrain them by Proclamation, lest the injurious Avarice of some private Persons should kindle a new Fire of Rebellion. Wherein the Lord-Deputy did good Service, tho he were now and then blamed by the English, as too favourable to the Irish, and too rigid to the English. But he, by administering Justice indifferently, and shewing equal Favour to the Irish and the English, restor'd the Country by little and little to a happy Peace and Tranquillity, and by fair and peaceable means reduc'd the fiercest and rudest of the Inhabitants under the power of the Laws. The Hebridian Scots, who had made an Irruption

1583. Irruption into Ireland out of the Isles, he sufficiently plagued. Donell Gormi, that is, the Blue, Ann. 26. and his Brother Agne Mac-Conell, who had seiz'd upon the small Country of Glimes, and Surley Boy, that is, the Tawney, their Uncle, who had invaded Rout, a neighbouring Tract, near the Isle of Ricnea, now Rachlin, he drove to those Straits, having by the Valour of Captain Meriman slain many of their Family, that they swore Allegiance to the Queen, and receiv'd from her, upon their Intreaty and Petition, certain Lands in that Corner of the Country; upon Condition, that they should serve the Kings of England only, in their Wars, and none else without their Leave; that they should find so many Horse and Foot in all Expeditions, and pay such a Number of Beeves and Hawks every Year. And thus went things in Ireland.

1584. The Seven and twentieth Year of her Reign.

New Stirr
in Scot-
land.

In the beginning of the Spring, certain Scots came privately home out of Ireland, according as they had before laid their Design with Goury, who was now upon new Projects with some others, for seizing upon the King's Person again. These Men gave out openly, that they aim'd at no other thing than the Glory of God, the Purity of Religion, the Security of the King and Kingdom, and the maintaining of Amity with the English, against those who by their cunning Artifices and Devices drew the King, whilst he was yet in his tender Years, to the Ruin of all. The King hearing hereof, forthwith commanded Colonel Stuart, with all possible speed, to seize Goury, the Contriver of the Conspiracy, who had already withdrawn himself to the Haven of Dundee, pretending as if he would depart the Realm. Goury, being guilty in his own Conscience, contentin'd the King's Authority, made an obstinate Resistance, and fought desperately to defend the House he was in; but within an Hour or two, he was taken and carry'd to Prison.

Goury
taken.

Conspira-
tors take
Sterlin,
and quit
it again.

The Conspirators in the mean time took Sterlin, taking the Town by Surprize, and the Castle after, by Composition; but presently quitted them again, as well because the King had drawn forth his Army into the Field, and was ready in Person to advance against them, as because the Forces which were met, were far less than Goury had promis'd, and they had in vain expected Assistance out of England. And whilst every Man for Fear now shifted for himself, Marre, Glames, and Angus, (who had join'd with them) with some others, fled, and coasted the Country into England, beseeching the Queen to relieve them in their forlorn Condition, and to make Intercession for them to the King, in regard they had lost their Estates and the King's Favour for no other Reason, than because they stood for his Good and the Good of England. The King on the contrary accused them to the Queen of high Misdemeanours, and required to have them deliver'd into his Hands, according to the League. But there were in the Court those that persuaded the Queen, that they were Men dutiful and obedient to their King, and highly careful of his Safety, in regard they attempted nothing against him, while they had him in their Hands. And as for that Article for delivering up of Rebels, usually express'd in Leagues, it was long since grown out of use among Princes. These Men also went about to persuade the King of Scots to deal favourably with them, being so many in Number, and so considerable for Quality; lest they should by Despair be driven to worse Undertakings; alledging that Terror and Violence are but weak and unsuccessful Supports of Power,

They are
dispers'd.

Q. Eliz.
relieves
some of
them.

King de-
mands'em
by the
League.

But in
vain.

producing several sad Examples out of the Scottish History; and commending his Mother, and her Husband King Francis, that when the Civil-War began in France, they wink'd at the Miscarriages and Offences of the great ones.

When Walsingham, who extremely favour'd the Fugitives, sent his Letters, commanded that, for their Security, they should be receiv'd into Lincolne, or the Holy Isle; Hunsdon, who was of all Men the greatest Friend to the King of Scots, oppos'd it, judging that that Isle, being a place so strongly fortify'd, was not to be put in the Possession of those Scots, who might possibly prove Enemies, nor the Secretary to be satisfy'd herein, unless the Queen expressly commanded it by her own Letters; for that the Jurisdiction of the place did of right belong to him, as Warden of the East-March.

Hereupon grew a Dispute, whether the Secretary might not by his own Authority, without the Prince's special Warrant, and without acquainting the Governors of Places, direct and execute the Prince's Business upon all occasions. What was determin'd herein I find not: but certain it is, they were not admitted into the Isle. Yet was it thought good to shew them Favour, that they might be made use of against the contrary Faction in Scotland: for now the Clergy spread abroad Rumours in all places, that the King was ready to fall off from the Reform'd Religion; and this upon no other probable Argument, (tho' they pretended many) but because his filial Love and Obedience inclin'd him wholly towards his Mother, and because he receiv'd those into his closer Friendship, whom he knew to be most devoted to her.

In the mean time, Goury was try'd by his Peers at Sterlin. The principal Articles he was charg'd withal, were these. That whereas the King had rais'd him to his high Honours, Wealth, and Offices, and had reputed him as his Kinsman, he had notwithstanding enter'd into a new Conspiracy against his Person, whom he had before kept Prisoner in his House. That he had held Conspiracies by Night with Angus's Servants, for the possessing himself of Perth and Sterlin; had by Force and Arms resisted the King's Authority at Dundee; had conceal'd a Conspiracy on foot, for the Destruction of the King and his Mother; and lastly, had conspired with one Maclean a Witch. He, protesting his Innocence, and his sincere Affection towards the King, acknowledg'd his Favours, sharply tax'd the Earl of Arran as his Adversary, and a bloody-minded Man, complain'd that he was apprehended, through his subtil Contrivance, just as he was ready to depart the Land, and fraudulently persuaded, by the Hopes of Life and Pardon offer'd him, to confess the things objected against him, which therefore in Equity ought not now to be laid to his Charge, seeing they had been deceitfully extorted from him. The Reason why he made Resistance (he said) was, because he thought the Warrant for his Apprehension written with Arran's Hand, to be of less force than the Letters of Protection which he had under the King's broad Seal. And whereas he did for a short time conceal the Conspiracy against the King and his Mother, he was not so much to be blamed for that, as to be commended for revealing the same afterwards. Lastly, protesting that he hated and detested, from his Heart, all Magicians and Witches; he said openly, that if there were any such, he thought them to be for the most part in Princes Courts. But his Peers, after they had duly sworn that they had been no Instigators of the King's Advocate to accuse him, pronounc'd him guilty of High-Treason; and the same

1584. same Evening he was beheaded. His Head was presently sew'd to his Body by his Friends, which was afterwards bury'd.

Ann. 27. While the Scots with such ill Success enterprized these things against their King, for Queen Elizabeth's sake, (as they pretended) at the same time some Englishmen attempted no less matters, and with no better Success, against their own Q. for the Queen of Scots sake. Of whom the principal Man was Francis Throckmorton, eldest Son of John Throckmorton, a Justice of Peace in Cheshire (who not long before had, by Leicester's Policy, been turn'd out of the Commission, and fined, for having (if I be not mistaken in the Lawyers terms) supply'd or fill'd up some Words in a Fine or Judicial Instrument, transcribed out of an old worm-eaten original Copy, and had not produced it with all the Defects that were in it at first.) This Francis came into Suspicion, by means of a Letter to the Queen of Scots, which was intercepted. No sooner was he committed to Custody, and had confess'd some things, but Thomas Lord Paget, and Charles Arundel a Courtier, privately fled the Land, and withdrew themselves into France; where, with others devoted to the Romish Religion, they heavily bewail'd and complain'd amongst themselves, That the Queen was, without any Fault or Desert of theirs, alienated from them, by the subtil Artifices of Leicester and Walsingham: That they were unworthily disgraced, and ignominiously used: That strange kind of Tricks and Cheats were invented, and secret Snares so closely laid, that they must whether they would or no, and before they were aware, be involv'd in the Guilt of High-Treason; and that there was at home no hope at all of any Safety. And indeed there were at this time some subtil ways taken, to try how Men stood affected. Counterfeit Letters were privately sent in the Name of the Queen of Scots and the Fugitives, and left in Papists Houses: Spies were sent abroad up and down the Country to take notice of People's Discourse, and lay hold of their Words: Reporters of vain and idle Stories were countenanced and credited. Hereupon many were brought into Suspicion, and amongst the rest Henry Earl of Northumberland: his Son, Philip Earl of Arundel, was confined to his own House; his Wife committed to Sir Thomas Sherley's Custody. William Howard, the Earl's Brother, and Henry Howard, their Uncle, the Duke of Norfolk's Brother, were several times examin'd about Letters from the Queen of Scots, and from Charles Paget; and about one Mope, then unknown; and their Prudence and Innocence could hardly protect them. Neither yet are such ways for Discovery and so easie giving Credit to be esteem'd altogether vain, where there is a Fear for the Prince's Safety. Certain it is, at this time an horrid piece of Popish Malice against the Queen discover'd itself: for they set forth Books, wherein they exhorted the Queen's Gentlemen to act the like against the Queen, as Judith had done, with Applause and Commendations, against Holofernes. The Author was never discover'd, but the Suspicion lighted upon Gregory Martin an Oxford-Man, one very learned in the Greek and Latin Tongues. Carter a Book-seller was executed, who procured them to be printed.

Throckmorton's Treason. L. Paget fled into France. Complaint of the Catholics. Counterfeit Letters, Spies abroad, &c. Many suspected.

And whereas the Papists usually traduced the Queen as rigid and cruel, she (who was always very careful to leave a good Name and Memorial behind her) was highly offended with the Inquisitors that were to examine and discover Papists, as inhumanely cruel towards them, and injurious to her Honour. Insomuch as they thought it necessary to excuse themselves by a publick Writing; wherein they protested, That the Priests

Her Mercifulness to them.

were more favourably dealt withal than they deserved: That they were never once question'd for their Religion, but only for dangerous Contrivances against their Prince and Country; and that upon vehement Suspicion, and probable Arguments and Evidence: That Campian was never rack'd so, but that he was presently able to walk, and subscribe his Confession: but Briant obstinately refusing to speak or write who it was that penn'd those obscure Papers found about him, was indeed deny'd Food, till such time as he ask'd it in Writing. But these things did not satisfy the Queen, who commanded the Inquisitors to forbear Tortures, and the Judges to refrain from putting to death. And not long after, she commanded 70 Priests, some of which were condemn'd, and others in danger of the Law, to be transported out of England: amongst whom those of chiefest Note were, Gaspar Heywood, Son to that famous Epigrammatist, who was the first of all the Jesuites that came into England; James Bosgrave, of the Society of Jesus also; John Heart, the most learned of them all; and Edward Rishon, that impious ungrateful Man to his Prince, to whom tho' he ow'd his Life, yet he soon after set forth a Book, wherein he vomited out the Poison of his Malice against her.

The Lord Paget and Arundel being come into France, Sir Edward Stafford, the Queen's Ambassador there, diligently observ'd them; yet could by no means discover what they were contriving. He dealt nevertheless with the French King, that they, Morgan, and other Englishmen, who were plotting against their Prince and Country, might be remov'd out of France. But he receiv'd no other Answer than this: 'That if they attempted any thing in France, the King would punish them according to Law; but if they had attempted any thing in England, the King could not take Cognizance thereof, nor proceed against them by Law. That all Kingdoms were free for Fugitives; and that it concern'd every King to maintain the Privileges of his own Kingdom: yea, that Queen Elizabeth herself had not long since receiv'd and harbour'd in her Kingdom, Montgomery, the Prince of Conde, and others of the French Nation; and that Seneguire, the King of Navarre's Ambassador, lay in England at this very time, hatching new Troubles against the French King.

In the mean time, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish the Spaniards Ambassador in England, secretly cross'd the Sea into France, in a great Rage and Fury, as if he had been thrust out of England, contrary to the Privilege of an Ambassador; whereas indeed, being a Man of a violent and turbulent Spirit, and abusing the sacred Privilege of his Embassy, by fostering and encouraging of Treason, he was commanded to depart the Land only, altho' by the ancient Rigour and Severity in such cases, he was to be prosecuted (as many thought) with Fire and Sword. For he had his Hand in these wicked Designs with Throckmorton and others, for bringing in of Foreigners into England, and deposing the Queen. And being gently reprimanded for the same, he was so far from clearing himself of the things objected against him, by any modest Answer, that he charged the Queen and Council, by way of Recrimination, with detaining the Genoeses Money, with assisting the States of the Low-Countries, the Duke of Anjou, and Don Antonio, and with the Depredations of Drake. But yet, lest the Spaniards should think that Mendoza's Misdemeanors were not hereby punish'd, but the Privileges of his Ambassador violated, William Waad, Clerk of the Council, was sent into Spain, to inform the Spaniards, plainly how ill he had perform'd the Duty of an Ambassador; and with-

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Priests order'd to be transported.

French King required to remove the Engl. Fugitives. He denies it.

Spanish Ambassador commanded out of England.

Waad sent into Spain but not admitted to Audience.

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al to let him know, (lest the Queen by thus commanding him away might seem to renounce the ancient Amity that had been betwixt both Kingdoms) that all Offices of Kindness should by her be still shew'd, if he would send any other Person who should seem desirous to preserve Friendship, provided the like Kindness might be shew'd to her Ambassador in Spain. But the Spaniard not vouchsafing to give *Waad* Audience, but referring him to his Council; he, taking it in Disdain, boldly declared, That it was a thing usual and customary, even in the Heat of War, for Ambassadors to be admitted into the Presence even of a Prince an Enemy; and that the Emperor *Charles V.* the Spaniard's Father, admitted an Herald to his Presence, who declared War against him from the French King: and therefore he flatly refused to impart the Contents of his Embassy to his Council. And when *Idiacio*, the Spaniard's Secretary, could not, by all the Wit he had, learn from him what his Errand was, at length he understood the whole matter from *Mendoza*, who lay lurking in France. Then, laying aside his publick Quality, he in familiar Discourse told *Waad*, 'That he was sorry there were some that cunningly went about to break off the Amity that was betwixt both Princes, and to beget Misunderstandings. That Injury had been done to the Catholick King himself, rather than to his Ambassadors, to *Dispey* heretofore, and now to *Mendoza*: neither was there any Reason why he should accuse *Mendoza* farther to the King, who had already sufficiently smarted for his Fault, (if he were in any) by his disgraceful Expulsion from England; or that he should complain he was not admitted to Audience. For the Catholick King had but requited like for like, considering that *Mendoza* was dismiss'd by the Queen, without a Hearing; and as she had remitted *Mendoza* to her Council, so did the King in like manner refer him to Cardinal *Granvel*. And though *Waad* answer'd, that there was a great Difference betwixt him, who had never done any thing against the Catholick King, and *Mendoza*, who notoriously offended the Queen, insolently refusing for a long time to come at her, and having done things unbeseeming an Ambassador; yet could he not be admitted, but return'd home unheard. The greatest part of the Crimes which he would have charged upon *Mendoza*, were taken out of *Throckmorton's* Confession.

For when *Throckmorton* was to be apprehended, he had secretly sent away a Cabinet of private Papers to *Mendoza*. The rest of his Coffers being searched, there were found two Catalogues, in one whereof were written the Names of the Ports in England, that were convenient to land Forces at; in the other, the Names of those Gentlemen all over England, that embraced the Romish Religion. As soon as he saw these two Catalogues produced, he cry'd out that they were counterfeit, never seen by him before, and foisted in purposely for his Ruin: and this he said while he was upon the Rack. But being brought again to the Rack, he refused not to answer to his Knowledge what Questions were demanded of him. And being then ask'd touching those Catalogues, and to what intent they were written, he devised this Story. 'That going some few Years before to the *Spaw*, he had consulted with *Jeney* and Sir *Francis Inglefield*, how England might be best attempted by Foreigners, and the Form of Government alter'd: and to that end he had taken those Notes of the Havens, and the Gentlemens Names. That *Morgan* had given him to understand, by Letters out of France, that the Catholick Princes were

now resolv'd, that England should be invaded, and the Q. of Scots set at liberty, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, who now wanted nothing but Money, and an auxiliary Army to be ready in England. That to procure these things *Charles Paget* was sent privily into *Sussex*, under the counterfeit Name of *Mope*, where the Duke of *Guise* purpos'd to land. That he had imparted the Matter to *Mendoza*, and shew'd him the Names of the Havens, and of the Gentlemen, who had already been made acquainted with them by the Conspirators. He deny'd not but he had promis'd his Assistance; and withal had told *Mendoza* what Gentlemen he might safely treat withal about these things, as being a publick Person, which he, being a private Man, could not do without Danger: and that he concluded with him of a way, how certain principal Men of the Catholicks might, as soon as the foreign Forces should arrive, raise Men, in the Queen's Name, to join with the Foreigners. These things he voluntarily then confess'd.

Nevertheless, being charged with these matters, at the Bar in *Guildbal*, London, he stiffly deny'd every particular, and affirm'd that they were vain Fictions of his own, purposely utter'd that he might not be put again to the Rack; and openly accused the Queen of Cruelty, and his Examiners of false dealing: imagining he should escape, by reason of the distance of time, between the Crime committed and his bringing to Trial. For in the Thirteenth Year of Queen Elizabeth, several Crimes were reckon'd up as High-Treason, for which yet no Man was to be call'd in question, unless the Delinquent were charg'd therewith, within six Months after the Fact committed, and the thing were prov'd by the Witness and Oath of two Men, or by the Party's voluntary Confession, without Constraint or Violence. But this time was long since expired, and therefore (he said) he was not to be call'd in question. But the Judges shew'd, that the matters objected against him were not of that sort there mention'd, but that he was indicted upon an ancient Statute of High-Treason, made in the Reign of *Edw. III.* which admitted of no Circumscription of Time or Proof. And according to this Law was Sentence of Death pronounced against him. Being afterwards perswaded, he cast himself upon the Queen's Mercy, and in Writing confess'd again at large all those things in a manner which he had done before: which yet (such was his Inconstancy) he again began to deny at the Gallows, but in vain.

William Waad, being return'd out of Spain, was sent about this time to the Queen of Scots, about a Treaty to be holden betwixt her and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which was propounded two Years before, and interrupted, as I have said formerly. To whom she protested, with many Asseverations, how sincerely she had dealt concerning this Treaty, and withal vow'd herself and her whole Ability to the Queen, and promis'd to depend wholly upon her, if she would vouchsafe to shew her so much Love and Honour. Moreover she religiously promis'd, if this Treaty did proceed, to mediate, yea to engage, that her Son should receive *Angus* and the rest of the Scottish Noblemen into Favour; as also that the Bishops of *Ross* and *Glasgow*, her Agents in France, should attempt nothing to the Prejudice of the Queen or the Realm of England; and that they should from thenceforth have nothing to do with the English Rebels and Fugitives.

These things Queen Elizabeth was glad to hear: and whereas at very near the same time *Angus*, *Marre*, *J. Hamilton*, and *Glames* were fled into England,

1584. England, she, laying hold on the Opportunity, sent Beale to the Queen of Scots, in concert with the Earl of Shrewsbury, to let her know, that if she continued in the same Mind which she had express'd to Waad, Mildmay should come shortly to her, and treat with her about her setting at liberty: and farther, to persuade her in the mean time, to mediate with her Son, for the Restoring of the Scottish Fugitives, and inform her that they had design'd nothing against the King, but only against certain violent Counsellors, who had seduced him by their evil Advice: and, lastly, that he might learn from her, as near as might be, the Attempts and Designs of the Duke of Guise. She very prudently answer'd, 'That she much desired the Treaty might proceed, and this she earnestly crav'd of Queen Elizabeth, as of her elder Sister, to whom she tender'd all Respect and Honour. That she had propounded nothing to Waad but what was limited with Conditions; and that he could say no other, whom she took to be an upright, honest Man. That to the Restoring of the Fugitive Scots, her helping Hand would be very necessary, and thereof they should not fail, if she could certainly find that any Advantage would come thereby to her and her Son; provided they would humbly submit themselves to the King, and become obedient to him: otherwise she would not appear for them, but assist her Son to bring them to their Duty. Further, she deny'd not but that, when she found herself grow sickly, she committed herself and her Son to the Protection of the Duke of Guise, her dearest Kinsman: That she understood nothing of his Attempts; neither, if she did, would she discover it, unless she had good Assurance given her of her Deliverance: for it were no point of Wisdom, to forsake certain Friends upon uncertain Hopes. She pray'd that she might be no more hardly dealt withal, (being a free Princess) than Queen Mary dealt in times past with Queen Elizabeth, being then her Subject and Prisoner; or than the French King dealt of late with the King of Navarre, his Subject also, and up in Arms against him. She pray'd also, that the Treaty might be completed before any Commissioner were appointed in Scotland, touching that matter. And whereas the most Christian King had acknowledg'd her Ordinary Ambassador, and Seton, who was sent from her Son into France, as Ambassadors from Princes of the same Authority, and associate in the Government, she offer'd the Queen the Honor to publish this Association of her and her Son in Scotland, and besought her that she would no ways prejudice the same. These things had a Hearing, but were soon laid aside, and the whole Business defeated, by means of certain Fears cast in the way by those who knew how to increase Suspensions between Women that were already displeas'd with one another; but principally by the Discovery of certain Papers which Chreighton a Scottishman, of the Society of Jesus, passing into Scotland, and being taken by some Netherland Pirates, had torn in pieces: the torn Pieces whereof being thrown over-board, were, by the Wind, blown back again, and fell by Chance into the Ship, not without a Miracle, (as Chreighton himself said.) These being put together by Waad, with much Pains and singular Dexterity, discover'd new Designs of the Pope, the Spaniard, and the Guises, for invading England.

Hereupon, as also upon occasion of Rumours from all parts, that great Dangers were at hand and threatned, to prevent the wicked Designs and treacherous Practices of Seditious People,

and to provide for the Queen's Safety, upon which the Welfare both of the Realm and Religion depended, many Men of all Degrees and Conditions throughout England, by Leicester's means, and out of their own publick Care and Love, whilst they stood not in Fear of her, but were full of Fear for her, bound themselves in an Association, by mutual Vows, Subscriptions, and Seals, to prosecute to the death, as far as lay in their power, all those that should attempt any thing against the Queen.

The Queen of Scots, who easily perceiv'd that her Destruction was aim'd at by this Association, being weary of her long Misery, and fearing harder Measure, propounded these things following to the Queen and Council by Name her Secretary. That if her Liberty might be granted her, and she might be assured of Queen Elizabeth's sincere Affection and Love towards her, she would enter into a closer Amity with the Queen, affectionately love and observe her above all other Princes in Christendom, forget all by-past Displeasures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightful Queen of England, forbear to pretend or lay Claim to the Crown of England during her Life, attempt nothing against her directly or indirectly, flarty renounce the Title and Arms of England, which she had usurp'd by the Command of King Francis her Husband, as likewise the Pope's Bull for her Deposing; yea and enter also into the aforesaid Association for the Queen's Security, and into a League defensive, (so far as might stand with the ancient League betwixt France and Scotland) provided that nothing should be done during the Queen's Life, or after her Death, which might prejudice her, her Son, and their Heirs, in the Succession, before such time as they were heard by the Parliament of England. That for Confirmation hereof, she herself would stay a while in England, as an Hostage: and if she were permitted to depart out of England, she would deliver other Hostages. Moreover, that she would alter nothing in Scotland, provided she and her Family might be allow'd the Exercise of their Religion. That she would also bury in Oblivion all Injuries done to her in Scotland, (howbeit upon the Condition, that whatsoever had been enacted to her Disgrace and Disparagement, might be repeal'd.) That she would recommend such Counsellors to the King, as were well-affected to Peace with England; and reconcile unto him, as far as lay in her Power, such of his Nobility as were fled, if they would submissively acknowledg their Fault, and that Queen Elizabeth would pass her Word and Promise to aid the King against them, if at any time they should fly off from their Duty and Obedience. That she would do nothing about her Son's Marriage, without acquainting the Queen: and as she would do nothing without the Advice of her Son, so she desired that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that so it might be the more strongly and solidly confirm'd. She doubts not but the King of France would be her Surety in the Business, and pass his Word, together with the Princes of the House of Lorain, for Performance of Covenants. She pray'd that a speedy Answer might be return'd hereto, lest any Inconveniences should fall out in the mean time. And lastly, she besought that she might be kept in freer Custody, that thereby the Queen's Love towards her might be more plainly discern'd.

These things, as favouring of much Respect and Honour, Queen Elizabeth seem'd to take great Pleasure and Contentment in; and it was believ'd she was then really purpos'd to set her at Liberty, tho' there wanted not some in England, who, by laying new Fears before her, deterr'd her from it. But the Business, which was as good as concluded, was quite hinder'd and dash'd by the Scots of the contrary Faction, who cry'd out, 'That there was no Hope of Queen Elizabeth's Safety, if she were set at Liberty;

1584.
Ann. 27.
Propositions made to her.

Her Answer.

She desires to share the Kingdom with her Son.

Fears and Jealousies break off the treaty.

Ann. 27.
An Association enter'd into in England.

Hereupon Propositions are made by the Q. of Scots.

Q. Eliz. inclined to set her at Liberty.

Scots of the Engl. Faction oppose it.

1584. Ann. 27. That both Kingdoms were undone, if she were admitted to be Partner with her Son in the Kingdom; that the true Religion in Britain was ruin'd, if the Exercise of the Romish Religion were allow'd her, tho' it were but within the Court-Walls.

The Infancy of the Scottish Ministers,

against the Laws.

Ecclesiastical Laws in Scotland.

Buchanan's Writings disallow'd.

Scottish Ministers fly into England.

A Conference on the Borders.

And not content with this, some Ministers in Scotland bitterly inveigh'd against the Queen, and loaded her with unworthy Calumnies, both from the Pulpit, and in their ordinary Meetings; and withal notoriously bespatter'd the King and his Council; for which being commanded to appear before them, they refused with a disdainful Contempt, as if the Pulpits were exempted from the Authority of Kings, and Churchmen were not subject to the command of the Prince, but to the Presbytery; flatly contrary to the Laws made this Year in an Assembly of the States, whereby the King's Authority over all his Subjects, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, was establish'd for ever. By which Laws the King and his Council were made competent Judges in all Causes; and those who declined their Judgment, were to be reputed guilty of High-Treason: The Assemblies of the Presbyteries, (as also the Conventions of Laymen) as well general as particular, were prohibited, which had assumed and arrogated to themselves a boundless Authority, both to assemble at their pleasure without the King's Consent, and to prescribe Laws to the King himself and the whole Realm: The popular Equality also of Ministers was taken away, and Bishops restor'd to their Dignity and Jurisdiction, whose Order the Presbyters had condemn'd as Antichristian: Also scandalous and defamatory Writings against the King, the King's Mother, and his Council, and particularly George Buchanan's History, and a Dialogue of the Right and Privilege of the Scottish Kingdom, were prohibited and suppress'd, as containing in them many scandalous Passages not fit to be read.

These things some of the Ministers took so heinously, that they voluntarily departed the Land, and filled all England with their Clamors and Complaints, as if the true Religion of Christ were now quite driven out of Scotland. But Queen Elizabeth hearken'd not to them, but neglected them as Innovators and Men given to change, neither suffer'd she them to Preach in England; yet now and then she us'd their help, lest Religion in Scotland should receive any Prejudice. And when Arran, who was in high Trust and Favour with the King, officiously offer'd his Service with all Respect to maintain Amity with the English, she thought it a fit time to make use thereof, that neither the Scottish Fugitives might be proscrib'd in the Parliament of Scotland now at hand, nor the King's Mind alienated from the Friendship of the English. Whereupon a Conference was appointed between Arran, and Hunsdon Governor of Berwick, upon the Borders of both Kingdoms. But before this Conference came to be held, the Fugitives and all those that were present at the Attempt upon Sterlin (the meeting of the Parliament being hasten'd) were proscrib'd: And at the Conference, which follow'd presently upon it, Arran charg'd them with great and weighty Crimes; and amongst other things, That they had very lately plotted the Destruction of the King. But he promis'd most religiously, that he would be wanting in nothing whereby he might give the Queen Satisfaction; and that he would not do any thing which might prejudice her, as long as he was in Grace and Credit with the King. Notwithstanding within a Month the Scottish Borderers, through the secret Wiles of the Spaniard, (who

labour'd all he could to divert Queen Elizabeth from the Low-Country War) invaded Rhedefdale, using all manner of Hostility; and not long after the English Borderers sharply revenged the Wrong they had receiv'd by Fire and Sword all over Liddefdale.

Now came Ambassador from Scotland, Patrick Grey, Heir of that Family, a quaint young Gentleman, and one that thought himself able for the weightiest Business, if not more. The chief Heads of this Embassy were, about restraining of Incursions on both sides; about restoring of Goods taken by Piracy; and about either sending back the Scottish Fugitives, according to the League, or removing them farther from the Borders of Scotland, they with others in Scotland daily plotting new Treasons against the K. For the more easie obtaining of these things, and to win the Queen's Affection more fully to the King, he made her believe he would reveal some secret Conspiracies against her. To the first and second Points he receiv'd the Answers he desir'd. As for sending back the Scots, the Queen answer'd, That she was verily persuaded that those Gentlemen had not so much as imagined the least Mischief in their Hearts. That those things which fell out of late in Scotland, proceeded not from any ill-will of theirs towards the King, but from mutual Differences arising amongst the Nobility always in the Minority of their Kings, which it concern'd their King to make up with all speed, and to bind his Subjects to him in one common Band of Obedience, and suppress all Factions amongst them. Nevertheless, in some part to satisfy the King's just Request, and that she might come to know what were those secret Practices which he spake of, she commanded that the Scottish Fugitives should remove farther from the Borders. What Discovery soever he made, the Queen made shew as if she understood it all before; and many Men accus'd Grey, as if, corrupted with Money, he had blabbed forth somewhat to the prejudice of the King and his Mother, and had hinder'd the accepting of those so reasonable Conditions which were propounded by Narve from the King's Mother.

Whereupon she, whose Patience had now for a long time been abused, began to fall into great Sorrow and Indignation, and, out of a desire of her Liberty, to open both her Heart and her Ears as well to the treacherous Counsels of her Adversaries, as to the dangerous Advices of her Friends. And the rather, because, as she had persuaded herself that the late Association was made for her Ruin and Undoing, so now she had heard that she was (through the crafty Contrivance of some) to be remov'd from the Custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, (who was a down-right honest Man, and favour'd not their Attempts) and committed to new Keepers. Which that it might be done the more handsomly, and the Fidelity of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which had been thoroughly tried and approved, might not seem to be suspected, (for it was not thought good openly to blemish so great a Man's Reputation, which notwithstanding they had stained secretly by Calumnies ground'd upon the false Accusations of his ill-condition'd Wife) Suspicions were laid hold on, as if there were a Plot already laid to set her at Liberty; and those rais'd upon occasion of certain Emblems sent unto her. The Emblems were these: Argus with many Eyes lull'd asleep by Mercury sweetly piping, with this short Sentence, *Eloquium tot lumina claudit*; that is, *So many Eyes hath Eloquence fast clos'd*: Mercury cutting off Argus's Head, who was Io's Keeper: A Scion grafted into a Stock, and bound about with Bands, yet budding forth fresh, and thus written about, *Per Vincula cresco*; that

1584. Ann. 27.

Incursions between Scots and English.

P. Grey's Embassy to the Queen.

Her answer.

Gray's double-dealing.

Queen's Patience abus'd.

Suspicions laid hold on against her.

that is to say, *By Bands I grow*: A Palm-Tree pressed down, but rising up again, with this Sentence, *Ponderibus innata Virtus resistit*; that is, *'Gainst Weights doth inbred Virtue strive*. This Anagram also, *Veritas armata*; that is, *Truth armed*, according to her Name *Maria Stuarta*, the Letters being transposed, was taken in an ill sense. There were also Letters produced, as if they had been intercepted; wherein the Friends of the captive Queen complain'd, that all hope of delivering her was quite cut off, if she were once committed to the *Puritans* Keeping. Under pretence hereof she was remov'd from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had many times earnestly desired the same, and committed to the Custody of *Sir Amias Poulet* and *Sir Drue Drury*, and that purposely, (as some thought) that, being thereby driven to Despair, she might be apt to take rash Counsels and Resolutions, and be the more subject to be ensnared. For the Earl of *Shrewsbury* had kept her for fifteen Years with such Wariness and Circumspection, that he had prevented all possible ways of attempting any thing either for or against her. But now not only the with importunity solicited the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard* by *Sir Francis Inglesfield* to hasten what they had in hand with all speed, whatever should become of her; but also *Leicester* (who, as People thought, contrived and studied how to prevent her lawful Succession) privately sent certain cut-throat Murderers (as some report) to take away her Life. But *Drury*, being a sincere honest Man, and detesting from his Heart so foul a Deed, denied them access to her. Nevertheless there were some employ'd underhand to her, and several Letters secretly sent her, as well counterfeit as true ones, whereby her weak Sex might be thrust forward to her own Destruction, as we shall shew afterwards.

To alienate Queen *Elizabeth* wholly from her, it was whisper'd in her Ears, that *Allen* for the *Romish* Churchmen of *England*, *Inglesfield* for the *Laiety*, and the Bishop of *Ross* for the Queen of *Scots*, had with unanimous consent resolv'd, with the assent also of the Bishop of *Rome* and the *Spaniard*, 'That Queen *Elizabeth* should be depriv'd of her Crown, the King of *Scots* disinherited of the Kingdom of *England*, as being both of 'em notorious Hereticks; and the Queen of *Scots* married to some *English* Catholick Nobleman: That this Nobleman should be elected King of *England* by the *English* Catholicks, and the Election confirm'd by the Bishop of *Rome*: That his Children by the Queen of *Scots* should be proclaim'd lawful Successors to the Crown. And all this was taken upon the credit of *Hart* a Priest. But who this *Englishman* should be, *Walsingham* enquir'd with all imaginable diligence, but could never find out. But the Suspicion lighted upon *Henry Howard*, the Duke of *Norfolk's* Brother, who was a Man of noble Blood, a Batchellor, a furious Catholick, and therefore in very great Credit and Repute amongst the Papists.

Within the compass of this Year *Charles Nevil*, that traitorous Rebel against his Prince and Country, the last Earl of *Westmorland* of this House, ended his Life obscurely in a miserable Exile. From this Family, fruitful in Nobility, there sprung (besides six Earls of *Westmorland*) two Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquis *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, a Baron *Ferrers* of *Ousley*, Barons *Latimers*, Barons *Abergavenny*, one Queen, five Dutcheses; to omit Countesses and Baronesses, an Archbishop of *York*, and a great number of inferior Gentlemen.

In *England* died this Year *Edmund Plowden*, than whom no Man is more worthy to be remembered; who as he was singularly well learned in the common Laws of *England*, whereof he deserved well by his Writings; so for Integrity of Life he was second to no Man of his Profession.

And in *France* died *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of Sickness which he contracted through Grief and Trouble of Mind. And in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherously shot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*.

For the sad loss of these two, Queen *Elizabeth* was very much troubled, and sent *B.* into *France*, to let the King understand how heavily she took the Duke of *Anjou's* Death, whom she had alway found to be a most faithful and dear Friend to her; and withal to put him in mind what a sad Condition the *Netherlanders* now were in, the Prince of *Orange* being slain, and how formidable the growing Power of the *Spaniard* was; for all the Princes in *Italy* were at his beck, the Bishop of *Rome* was wholly addicted and engaged to him, the Cardinals were as it were his Vassals, all the ablest Persons for matters both of War and Peace were his Pensioners; in *Germany* the House of *Austria*, an House extending and branching far and wide, and other Houses allied to the same by Marriages, did as it were attend upon him and his Service; his Wealth also and Strength were so much encreased, both by Sea and Land, since the late addition of *Portugal* and *East-India*, that he was far more Powerful and Formidable than ever his Father *Charles V.* was; and if he should once reduce the *Netherlanders* under his Power, there was nothing to hinder but that the rest of the Princes of *Christendom* must of necessity stoop to his Greatness, unless it were timely prevented.

The Eight and Twentieth Year of her Reign. 1585.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might bind the French King to her in the firmer Tie of Amity, having the last Year chosen him into the Order of the Garter, now sent *Henry* Earl of *Derby* with the Robes and Ensigns of that Order into *France*, solemnly to invest him therewith. The King receiv'd them with great Respect and Esteem, being invested at Even-song, (the *English* refusing to be present at Mass) and religiously promis'd to observe the Laws of the said Order, which were not repugnant to the Laws of the Holy Ghost and *St. Michael*, to which he was before formally sworn.

At this time a Parliament was holden, and *William Parry*, by Nation a *Welshman*, born of obscure Parentage, and of mean Estate, by Title a Doctor of the Law, (though but indifferently learned) a Man neat, spruce, and very proud; when a Bill was prefer'd in the Lower-House against the *Jesuits*, was the only Man that stood up to speak for them, pleading that the said Law was cruel, bloody, desperate, and of pernicious Consequence to the *English Nation*. Being desir'd to shew his Reasons, he obstinately refused, unless it were before the Queen's Council; whereupon he was committed to Custody: But his Reasons being after heard, and submission made, he was admitted again into the House. Shortly after, the same *Parry* was accused by *Edmund Nevil* (who claim'd the Inheritance of the *Nevils* Earls of *Westmorland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer* as next Heir-Male) to have been engaged in a secret Design for taking away the Queen's Life.

This

1585.
Ann. 28.
This Parry, (to search the matter a little higher) returning out of Italy above two Years since, had, to win Favour and Credit with the Queen, privately reveal'd what Morgan and other Fugitives had wickedly plotted and agreed on, for the taking away of her Life; pretending that he had gone along with them for no other intent, but only for the Queen's Safety. Hereupon she did not lightly give Credit to Nevil's Information; yet commanded the Walsingham to ask Parry, Whether he had dealt about this matter with any malecontented and suspected Person, to feel his Inclination in the Business. He flatly deny'd that he had; and being otherwise a Man quick-sighted enough, yet saw he not the Evasion which the Queen's Lenity had laid before him. For if he had but given the least inkling that he had dealt with Nevil to feel him, whom he had already told the Queen to be a suspected and malecontented Man, he had without doubt avoided the Danger. But a wicked Deed once resolv'd upon does many times infatuate the sharpest Wits. Then whereas Nevil had no Witnes to make good his Accusation, Parry was brought to confront him; when after some tart biting Words against one another, Parry began to relent a little, and, being sent to the Tower of London, voluntarily confess'd these things, which I shall briefly relate.

He sees not a fair Evasion when offer'd.
His Confession.
In the Year (says he) 1570. I was sworn one of the Queen's Servants, and continued entirely devoted to her Majesty, till the Year 1580. at what time I came into Danger of losing my Life with great Disgrace. (For he had broken into Hugh Hare's Chamber, in whose Debt he was, and had wounded him; for which he was by the Law condemn'd, but had his Life saved by the Queen's gracious Pardon.) From that time I continued troubled in my Mind, and, having procured a Licence, withdrew myself into France; not with any intention to return hither again, for I had devoted myself to the Catholick Religion. At Paris I was reconciled to the Church of Rome. At Venice I had Conference with Benedict Palmio a Jesuite concerning the distress'd Catholicks in England; and I gave him some Hint that I had found out a way to relieve them, if the Pope or any learned Divines would justify it to be lawful. Palmio extoll'd this as a pious Design, and me he recommended to the Pope's Nuncio at Venice, whose Name was Campeius, and Campeius recommended me to the Pope. I besought by Letters that I might come to Rome with a safe Conduct. Letters of safe Conduct were sent me from the Cardinal of Como, but not large enough: afterwards others were sent me more large and full: but then I was return'd to Paris. There I lighted upon Morgan, who told me, that it was expected by divers, that I should do some notable Service for God and the Catholick Church. I answer'd, that I was ready to kill the greatest Subject of England. But (said he) why not the Queen herself? And this (said I) might easily be done, if it might appear to be lawful. For Wattes a Priest (with whom I had Conference about it, concealing Persons Names) affirm'd flatly, it was not lawful. (And Chreighton also, the Scottish Jesuite, avouch'd the same; teaching, That Evil was not to be done that Good might come of it: That God was better pleas'd with Adverbs than with Nouns; and more approv'd what was done well and lawfully, than what was otherwise Good: and, That many Souls were not to be redeem'd with the Destruction of any one, without the express Command of God.) Notwithstanding I, having engaged myself both by Letters and Promises, while I was in Italy,

thought it an heinous Sin to give over my Enterprize, in case the Pope should approve it by his Letters, and grant me a plenary Pardon, which I begg'd of him by Letters I sent to him by Ragazonio his Nuncio in France, who highly commended my Design, and sent my Letters to Rome. Being return'd into England, I procured Access to the Queen, to whom, in private, I discover'd the whole Conspiracy, howbeit cloak'd with the best Art I could. She heard me without being daunted: I departed not without being terrify'd; and cannot now forget what she then said, That no Catholicks should be call'd in question merely for Religion or the Pope's Supremacy, so that they shew'd themselves good Subjects. In the mean time, whilst I was a daily Suitor in the Court for the Mastership of Saint Katharine's, I receiv'd Letters from the Cardinal of Como, wherein my Enterprize was commended, and myself absolv'd in the Pope's Name. These Letters I imparted to the Queen. What Effect they wrought with her I know not; to me certainly they added Courage, and took away all Scruple. Yet was I not minded to offer her any Violence, if she could by any means be perswaded to deal more favourably with the Catholicks. And therefore, left I should commit the Murder, I laid away my Dagger still as often as I had Access to her. When I seriously consider'd her and her truly royal Vertues, I was distracted with doubtful Thoughts; for my Vows were recorded in Heaven, my Letters and Promises amongst Men. These things I often ponder'd with an unquiet Mind: I was never much beholden to her for any thing: my Life indeed she once pardon'd me; but to have taken it away upon that Occasion had been cruel and tyrannical. Hereupon I departed from the Court much unsatisfy'd with my Condition. I lighted upon Dr. Allen's Book against the Justice of Britain, where he taught that Princes excommunicate for Heresie were to be deprived of Kingdom and Life, which Book did strongly encourage me to prosecute my Attempt. This Book I read to Nevil (whom I sometimes invited to my Table) six whole Months before he accus'd me. Afterwards he came to me and said, Let us venture upon somewhat, since we can get nothing from the Queen: and he propounded several things about the Delivery of the Queen of Scots. But I have (said I) greater Business in my Mind, and of more Advantage for the Catholick Church. The next day, he came and swore upon the Bible, that he would conceal and constantly pursue any thing that should be for the Good of the Catholick Religion: and I swore the like. We then resolv'd with ten Horsemen to set upon the Queen, as she rode abroad to take the Air, and to kill her. All which Nevil conceal'd till now. But having heard that the Earl of Westmoreland was dead, whose Estate he had already swallow'd in Hopes, he presently broke his Oath, and accus'd me of these things. All this he confess'd before the Lord Hunston, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, all three of the Privy-Council. He acknowledg'd also his Fault, and begg'd Pardon for the same by his Letters to the Queen, to Burleigh Lord-Treasurer, and to Leicester.

Some few days after he was arraign'd at the King's-Bench-Bar in Westminster-Hall: where the Articles of his Indictment being read, he confess'd himself guilty. And when his Confession was recorded, and Judgment demanded against him, Hatton thought it necessary, for the Peoples Satisfaction there present, that his Crime should be clearly and fully represented, out of his own Con-

Confession, which Parry acknowledg'd to be voluntary, and pray'd the Judges that he might read it himself. But the Clerk of the Crown read both it, and also the Cardinal of Como's Letters, and Parry's own to the Queen, to Burleigh, and to Leicester; which he confess'd to be the very Letters themselves. Yet did he deny that ever he was resolv'd to kill the Queen. Being now commanded to speak, if he had any thing to say, why Judgment should not be given against him, he gave a confused Answer, as if he were troubled in Conscience for the foul Fact he had undertaken, *I see I must die, because I have not been constant to myself.* Being will'd to declare more plainly what he meant, *My Blood* (said he) *be amongst you.* Sentence of Death being pronounced, he in a Fury cited the Queen to the Judgment-Seat of God. The fifth day after, he was laid upon an Hurdle, and drawn through the midst of the City to Westminster. At the Gallows, when he had made his Boasts how faithful a Preserver and Keeper of the Queen he had been, he said he was never fully resolv'd in his Mind to take away the Queen's Life. Thus this vain-glorious Man, not so much as in the least commending himself to God, suffer'd the Death of a Traitor, by the Law, in the Court-yard of the great Palace at Westminster, where was then a full Assembly of the Estates of the Realm, met in Parliament.

In this Parliament some there were, who, out of a Desire either of Innovation or Reformation, struck deeply at the Ecclesiastical Order, (tho' the Queen had forbid it) by bringing in of Bills for Restraining the Episcopal Jurisdiction in granting of Faculties, in conferring of Holy Orders, in Ecclesiastical Censures, and in the Oath *ex officio*; and Proposing a new Oath to be taken by the Bishops, in the Chancery and the King's-Bench, viz. that they should act nothing contrary to the Common-Law of England: also requiring Residence from the Clergy, that every Minister should be resident at his own Cure; and exclaiming as if the Church of England were destitute of able and learned Pastors, which without doubt had more learned Pastors at this present than any other Age, or any other Reform'd Church, could shew. But the Queen, who had a high Esteem of moderate Church-men, and disliked Innovators, as always changing for the worse, * utterly rejected these Attempts, as tending to overthrow her Prerogative, and the supreme Authority granted to her in Ecclesiastical matters. But the Association which I mention'd before was now confirm'd by the general Consent and Approbation of all. And it was Enacted, 'That twenty four or more, of the Privy-Council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the Queen's Commission, should make Inquisition after all such as should invade the Kingdom, raise Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the Queen's Person, for or by whomsoever employ'd, that might lay Claim to the Crown of England. And that he for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly incapable of the Crown of England, deprived wholly of all Right and Title to it, and prosecuted to Death by all faithful Subjects, if he should be judg'd by those four and twenty Men, to be guilty of such Invasion, Rebellion, or treasonable Attempt, and by publick Proclamation so declared.

Laws also were made for Preservation of the Queen's Person against all Jesuites and Popish Priests who should ground any villanous Plots and Designs upon the Bull of *Pius Quintus*; to wit, 'That they should depart the Realm within forty days. That those who should afterward re-

turn into the Kingdom, should be guilty of High-Treason. That he who should wittingly and willingly harbour, relieve and maintain them, should be guilty of Felony. (So they call all Capital Crimes under the degree of Treason.) That those who were brought up in Seminaries, if they return'd not within six Months after Notice given, and submitted not themselves to the Queen, before a Bishop or two Justices, should be guilty of High-Treason. And if any so submitting themselves should within ten Years approach the Queen's Court, or come within ten Miles thereof, their Submission should be void. That those who should by any means whatsoever send or convey over any Money to Students in such Seminaries, should incur the Penalty of a *Premunire*, (that is, perpetual Exile, and Loss of all their Goods.) That if any of the Peers of the Realm, that is, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, or Barons of Parliament, should offend against these Laws, he should be brought to his Trial by his Peers. That if any should know of any such Jesuites or other Priests abovesaid, lurking within the Realm, and should not discover them within twelve days, he should be fined and imprison'd at the Queen's Pleasure. That if any Man should be suspected to be a Jesuite or Priest as aforesaid, and not submit himself to Examination, he should for his Contempt be imprison'd till he did submit himself. That he who should send his Children, or any others, to Seminaries and Colleges of the Popish Profession, should be fined in an hundred Pounds of English Money. And that those who were so sent thither, should not succeed as Heirs, nor enjoy any Estates, which should any way fall to them: the like for all such as should not return home from the said Seminaries within a Year, unless they did conform themselves to the Church of England. That if the Wardens or Officers of the Ports should permit any others besides Seamen and Merchants, to cross the Seas, without Licence of the Queen or six Privy-Counsellors, they should be put out of their Places, and the Masters of such Ships as carry'd 'em, should forfeit their Ships and Goods, and suffer Imprisonment for a whole Year.

With the Severity of these Laws (which notwithstanding seem'd necessary for the present time) the Papists in England were very much terrify'd; and amongst them Philip Howard Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Norfolk's eldest Son, in so much as he purpos'd to fly the Land, lest he should offend against them. This Philip had thro' the Queen's Grace and Favour been restored in Blood three Years before, and having soon after lost her Favour, through the secret Accusations of some great Persons, had privily reconciled himself to the Popish Religion, living likewise a very austere Life. Hereupon he was call'd once or twice before the Council, and clear'd himself of the matters objected against him; nevertheless he was confined to his own House. After about six Months, he had his Liberty again, and came to the Parliament: yet he withdrew himself the first day from the Assembly, while the Sermon was preaching. The Parliament rising, he, being now resolv'd to be gone, wrote a Letter to the Queen, (which notwithstanding he appointed to be deliver'd her after his Departure) wherein he made a long and sad Complaint of the Malice of his potent Adversaries, whereunto he was necessitated to give place, whilst they triumph'd over his Innocence. He recounted the fatal Ends of his Ancestors, namely, his Great-grand-father, who was condemn'd without being heard; his Grand-father,

He is executed.

Bills presented against Bishops.

and Non-Residents.

Rejected by the Q.

* See the Appendix.

Association formed.

Laws against Jesuites & Priests.

1585.

Ann 28.

Felony.

Premunire.

Arundel intends to fly.

Writes to the Q.

1585. *Ann. 28.* father, who was beheaded for light and trivial Matters; and his Father, who (as he said) was circumvented by his Adversaries, and never bare any hostile Mind against his Prince and Country. And added, That he for his part, left he should be the Heir of his Forefathers Infelicity, and that he might the better attend the Service of God, and provide for his Soul's good, hath quitted his Country, but not his Allegiance to his Prince. Before such time as this Letter was deliver'd, he was gone into *Sussex*; and being now ready to embark himself in an obscure Creek, he was apprehended through the treachery of his own Servants and the discovery of the Master of the Vessel, and thrown into the Tower of London.

The E. of Arundel apprehended, and sent to the Tower.

The E. of Northumberland found dead.

Causes of his Imprisonment.

In the same Tower was Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland at this time kept Prisoner, a Man of a lively and active Spirit and Courage, (Brother to Thomas who was beheaded at York) which Henry was suspected to have plotted secretly with Throckmorton, the Lord Paget and the Guises, for invading of England, and setting the Queen of Scots at Liberty, whom he always highly favoured. In the Month of June he was found dead in his Bed, shot with three Bullets near his left Pap, his Chamber-door being barr'd on the inside. The Coroner's Inquest from the Neighbourhood impannell'd and sworn, according to custom, and having view'd the Body, consider'd the Place, found the Pistol with Gunpowder in the Chamber, and examining his Man that bought the Pistol, and him that had sold it, gave their Verdict, that he had kill'd himself. The third Day after there was a full Meeting of the Peers of the Realm in the Star-Chamber, where Sir Thomas Bromley Lord-Chancellor of England briefly declared, that the Earl had been engag'd in traitorous Designs against his Prince and Country, which when he found once to be discover'd, he had laid violent Hands upon himself, being terrified with the guilty Conscience of his Offence. But to satisfy the Multitude, who are always prone to believe the worst in such cases, he commanded the Attorney-General and the Queen's Council, to shew plainly the Reasons why the Earl had been kept in Prison, and the manner of his Death. Hereupon Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, beginning at the Rebellion in the North, sixteen Years before, shew'd out of the publick Records, 'That he had been called to his Trial about that Rebellion, and the Design for the delivering the Queen of Scots; and that he had acknowledg'd his Fault, submitted himself to the Queen's mercy, and was fined 5000 Marks. But that the Queen (out of her Clemency) had not exacted one Farthing thereof; and after the Execution of his Brother for the same Crime, had confirm'd him in the Honour of Earl of Northumberland. That he, notwithstanding all this, had engag'd himself in new Designs for delivering the Queen of Scots, the conquering of England, and the destruction of Religion and the Queen. That Mendoza the Spaniard had given notice to Throckmorton, that Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mope, had secretly confer'd with him in *Sussex* about these Matters; and that the Lord Paget had signified the same things in a manner to Throckmorton. That the same also did appear by the Papers of Chreighton a Scottish Jesuit; and that Charles Paget had told the same things to William Shelley, at his return out of France.

Then Egerton, the Solicitor-General, argu'd notably from Circumstances, and the Earl's extraordinary care to conceal the Business, that he

was guilty thereof: Viz. 'That the Earl, when no Man in England could accuse him of these things but only the Lord Paget, (with whom Throckmorton was very familiar) within few Days after Throckmorton was taken, provided a Ship by Shelley's means for Paget, wherein he went over into France. That when Throckmorton had begun to confess some things, the Earl remov'd from London to *Perworth*, and, sending for Shelley, told him, that he was fallen into danger of his Life and Estate, and pray'd him to conceal all, and to send such out of the way as were privy to the Lord Paget's departure, and the coming of Charles Paget. Which was presently done; and he himself sent his Man aside whom he had employ'd to Charles Paget. The Solicitor added, 'That while he was in Prison, he had, by corrupting his Keepers, often dealt with Shelley to understand what he had confess'd. That after Shelley had let him know by a Woman, which was secretly employ'd as a Messenger betwixt them, that he could conceal things no longer; that their Conditions were not alike, for himself was to undergo the Rack, so was not the Earl in respect of his Place and Quality; and had sent him in Writing what Passages he had confess'd; the Earl fetch'd a Sigh, and forthwith said, (as Pantin who waited on him in his Chamber confess'd) That he was now undone by Shelley's Confession.

After all this the manner of his Death was related, from the Evidence of the Inquest, the Testimony of the Lieutenant of the Tower, some of the Warders, and Pantin his Servant: And thereupon it was concluded, that he had with his own Hands murder'd himself, out of a Fear lest his Family should be attainted and utterly ruin'd. Certainly many good Men were much affected that so great a Person died so miserable and lamentable a Death; as well because Men naturally favour Nobility, as that he had acquir'd singular Commendation for his Valour. What Suspicions the Fugitives mutter'd concerning one Bailiffe, that was one of Hatton's Servants, and a little before appointed to be the Earl's Keeper, I omit, as being a thing altogether unknown unto me, and I think it not meet to insert any thing upon mere Hearsays and Reports.

Whence the Seeds of these Mischiefs came which were sown in England, Queen Elizabeth was not ignorant, who had understood that the Guises had now openly entred into a dangerous Conspiracy against the Protestant Religion, the French King, and herself. She on the other side, to procure a League amongst the Protestants for defence of their Religion, sent Sir Thomas Bodley to the King of Denmark, the Elector-Palatine, the Dukes of Saxony, Wittenberg, Brunswick and Lunenburg, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse; and amongst other things gave him Instructions to put the King of Denmark in mind by the by, that it principally concern'd him to prevent the Attempts of the Guises, considering that they stuck not to challenge the Kingdom of Denmark for their Cousin the Duke of Lorain, as Grandson to Christiern II. King of Denmark by his Daughter. Neither did the Lorainer himself dissemble or disown the same, when not long since he was a Suitor to Q. Elizabeth for Marriage.

But into Scotland (lest any Danger should break in upon England from thence as it were by the back Door) she sent Sir Edward Wotton, to let the King know how acceptable his Kindness towards her was, which he had declared of late by Patrick

1585. *Ann. 28.*

1585. *Ann. 28.*

Manner of his Death.

Confidence en- deavour'd by the Q. with the Prince of Germany.

Likewise with the K. of Scots.

1585.
Ann. 28.
The King inclinable.
Ruffel's death hindered it.
How Ruffel was murdered.

trick Gray and the Justice-Clerk; and moreover to draw him to a League of mutual Offence and Defence, by shewing him the Dangers which now threaten'd the Protestant Religion; and to offer unto him, as if he were her Son, as large a yearly Pension as her Father had allow'd her; (for the Revenues of the Scottish Crown were much lessen'd through the Negligence of the Regents) and to recommend unto him a Marriage with the King of Denmark's Daughter; as also earnestly to intercede in the Queen's Name for the Scots that stood exil'd in England, who she promis'd should be presently sent back if she found them guilty of the least Crime against the King. Wotton found the King's Mind inclinable enough to such a League, (notwithstanding that Arran and some of the French Faction labour'd to hinder it) and the States of Scotland, that so Religion might be secur'd, gave their Assent under their Hands to a Treaty concerning such a League; provided the Queen would pass her Royal Word, That she would not prejudice the King's Title to the Succession in England as long as he continu'd firm in Amity with her. But this Business was delay'd and hinder'd by the Murder of Sir Francis Ruffel, Son to the Earl of Bedford, which Earl died himself also the next Day after.

Who were suspected for it.
Manner of Proof on the Borders

For when Sir John Foster and Thomas Carre of Ferniburgh, Wardens of the Middle Marches betwixt the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, had appointed a Meeting on the 27th of June about certain Goods unjustly taken away, and Security was given on both sides by Oath, according to custom, and Proclamation made, that no Man should harm other by Word, Deed, or Look, (as the Borderers speak) the Scots came to the place of Meeting armed, in Battel-array, with Ensigns displayed, and Drums beating, contrary to custom and beyond expectation, being in Number about Three thousand; whereas the English were not above Three hundred. Scarce were the Wardens sat to hear the Complaints, when on a sudden, upon a Englishman's being taken pilfering, there arose a Tumult, and the Scots discharging a volley of Shot, slew Ruffel with some others, put the English to flight, and eagerly pursuing them the space of four Miles into England, carried off some Prisoners. Who was the Author of this Slaughter was not certainly known. The English laid the fault upon Arran, now Chancellor of Scotland, and upon Ferniburgh. The Queen press'd both by her Letters and Commissioners to have the Murderers deliver'd into her Hands; inasmuch as Henry IV. King of England had formerly deliver'd up into the Hands of James IV. King of Scots, William Heron and seven Englishmen, for killing Robert Carre of Chesford upon a Day of Meeting; and Morton the late Regent sent Carmichel a Scot into England for killing George Heron. The King protested his own Innocency in the matter, and promis'd to send not only Ferniburgh immediately into England, but the Chancellor too, if they could be convicted by clear and lawful Proofs to have premeditatedly infringed the Security, or procured the Murder. Fenwick an Englishman accus'd Ferniburgh of the Fact to his Face: He avoided it by a flat denial, because the other could produce no Scottishman for a Witness. For in these Trials on the Borders, according to a certain Privilege and Custom agreed upon amongst the Borderers, none but a Scot is to be admitted for a Witness against a Scot, and none but an Englishman against an Englishman; insomuch that if all the Englishmen which were upon the Place had seen the Murder committed before their Eyes, yet their Testimony had been of no value, unless some Scot-

tishman also did witness the same. Nevertheless Arran was confined to his House, and Ferniburgh was committed to Custody at Dundee, where afterwards he died: A stout and able Warrior, ready for any great Attempts and Undertakings, and of an immoveable Fidelity to the Queen of Scots and the King her Son; having been once or twice turn'd out of all his Lands and Fortunes, and banish'd the sight of his Country and Children, which yet he endur'd patiently, and, after so many Crosses falling upon him together, persisted unshaken, and always like himself.

Whilst the enquiry after this Murder was protracted from Day to Day, and it was calmly debated, whether the yearly Money offer'd to the King under the Name of *Aurei*, was to be paid according to the English or French Account of Money, the Queen (who took with great Indignation Ruffel's Death and the breach of the Security, being persuaded by the Scots who were Arran's Adversaries, that he favour'd and cherish'd the Jesuits, and labour'd Tooth and Nail, both in France and Scotland, that the League might not be made with the English) suffer'd by way of Connivence, the Scottish Fugitives, viz. Angus, Scottish Fugitives sent home and assisted by the Queen, and those who by their common Condition of Banishment were reconcil'd and made Friends with him, namely John and Claudius Hamilton, and Marre, Glames, and the rest that were Exiles in England, to return into Scotland, supplying 'em with Money to suppress Arran.

The Earl Bothwell, the Lord Humes, Humes of Coldingknoll, and others in Scotland, had promis'd them their Assistance beforehand; but especially Maxwell, lately made Earl of Morton, who was in hope to escape Punishment for a Rebellion which he had rais'd in Anandale, if Arran were once suppress'd. Yea and in the King's Court also Patrick Gray, a sharp and bitter Adversary of Arran's, Belenden the Justice-Clerk, and Maitland Lord-Secretary, were drawn by Wotton's Policy to side against Arran.

The Exiles aforesaid upon their entring Scotland, set forth a large Proclamation, wherein they command all Men in the King's Name to lend their helping Hand for defence of the truth of the Gospel, for rescuing of the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining Amity with the English. Fawcirk was the place appointed for Rendezvous, where they muster'd Eight thousand Men.

Arran (who by the King's command had kept himself confined at Keneil upon suspicion of his murdering Ruffel) hearing hereof, posted to the King, and accus'd Gray as the Author of this Attempt, who fairly clear'd himself before the King. While Arran made all possible Preparation for defence of the Town, the Enemies were at hand ready to scale the Walls. He, knowing that his Head only was aim'd at, and suspecting the Fidelity of his own People, (for he began now to be hated by many) withdrew himself secretly with but one Man over the Bridge. The rest soon after abandon'd the Town, and retir'd into the Castle to the King. The Fugitives presently seize upon the Market-place, and make ready to attack the Castle. The King sent Gray to demand the reason of their coming. They answer, *To submit themselves, and most humbly to kiss the King's Hand.* He offers 'em restitution of all their Lands and Goods, if they would depart quietly. They send back word, that they little value their Goods and Lands in comparison of the King's Favour, and beseech him that they may be admitted to his Presence. The King consents upon these Conditions: *That they should attempt nothing against his Person, or the*

1585.
Ann. 28.
Ferniburgh his death.

Q. incensed at the Murder.

Scottish Fugitives sent home and assisted by the Queen.

Divers join with them.

They put forth a Proclamation.

Their Strength.

Arran flies.

They take Sterling.

K. treats with 'em.

Life of such as he should name; nor seek to alter any thing in the Government. They vow to spend their 1585. Lives for the King's Safety; and for alteration Ann. 28. of Government, they protest they never once thought of it. But they pray him that their Adversaries and the Places of Strength in the Kingdom may be put into their Hands for their Security. A whole Day was spent in Consultation about this matter: Yet Necessity compelling, considering there was so great a Multitude in the Castle, and Victuals were scarce, they were at length admitted to the King's Presence. Forthwith the Earls of Montrose, Crawford, and Rothes, Colonel Stuart, Downes, Arran's Brother, and others, are deliver'd into their Hands; Arran, who was fled into the Hebrides, is recall'd home; and themselves are pardon'd as good Subjects, and such as had deserv'd well of the King: Hamilton of Arbroth is made Governor of Dunbriton, Coldingknoll of Edinburgh-Castle, Angus of the Castle of Tantallon, Marre of Sterlin, and Glames is made Captain of the King's Guard.

They are reconcil'd to the K.

A general Pardon.

Maxwell causes Mass to be celebrated

Rebellion of the Bourke in Ireland.

Some of 'em executed.

Having now by their faithful Obedience cleared themselves to the King of all those things that were scandalously and suspiciously objected against them by their Adversaries, all the Proscriptions of all Persons whatsoever, and for what Causes soever, from the King's Inauguration to that very Day, were in an Assembly of the States decreed to be for ever forgotten, (except those for the Murder of the King's Father, and those that were issued against the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and the Bishop of Dunblane) and with general consent of all, the King had free Leave and Authority given him to enter into a League with the Queen of England, and to appoint Commissioners for that purpose. Only Maxwell abused this extraordinary Grace and Clemency of the King, who, having by the benefit of this general Pardon escap'd Punishment for a bloody Murder and Depredation committed against the Johnstons, was so bold and audacious, that, in contempt of the authority of the Laws, he commanded the Sacrifice of the Mass to be celebrated at Dunfreez, which had not been permitted in Scotland for these nineteen Years past. For which he afterwards suffer'd Imprisonment the space of three Months.

Neither was the neighbour Country of Ireland free in this turbulent Time from the Storms of Rebellion. For when the rest of the Provinces of this Isle enjoy'd a firm and perfect Peace, there brake forth a grand Rebellion in Connaught, the Western-part of Ireland, occasion'd by the restless and unquiet Disposition of that Nation, and their hatred against Sir Richard Bingham their Governor, who was (as they complain'd) over-sharp and rigid in his Government. He, when he saw the great Lords of Ireland exercise such heavy Tyranny over the silly People, that they durst acknowledge no other Prince but them, left nothing unessay'd that he might restrain this tyrannical Lordliness, and confirm the Queen's Authority amongst 'em, tho' he were every foot accus'd to the Queen and the Lord-Deputy, and render'd Odious for his Cruelty and Severity. Thomas Roe-Burk, of the noble English Family of Burgh, was the first that oppos'd him; and being summon'd to the Assizes in the County of Mayo, he refus'd to appear. The Governor dissembl'd the matter a while; but afterwards he commanded him and one or two turbulent Men more of that Family to be seiz'd on, lest they should break forth into Rebellion. Thomas died in fight before he would be taken; Meilery and Theobald a Burgh were taken and hanged. And the Rebellion had been now suppress'd in its very first breaking forth, had not some Englishmen who

were dissatisfy'd with the Governor, given secret Notice to the rest of that Family to beware of the Governor, and by no means to come near him. They, upon this Encouragement, persuaded the Foyes and Clandonels, who were Men powerful in Followers and Adherents in that Tract, that the Governor would deal no better with them, but by little and little weaken and take away their Power also. And they so handled the matter by their Friends, that the Lord-Deputy commanded the Governor to deal no more so roughly with that noble (tho' degenerate) Family, without his Knowledge and Approbation.

Mean while, during the Governor's absence in Twomond, (where he slew Mahon O-Brean, who was up in Commotion, and took his Castle) the Sons of Edmund a Burgh of Castle Barry, and Richard the Son of Richard, (who for his wicked Deeds was furnamed by the Irish, the Devil's Hook) gathering together a multitude of lewd Fellows, seiz'd upon two Castles in Lough-Mask, and fortify'd 'em: Out of which the Governor soon drove them into the Woods and Mountains, and commanded Richard a Burgh, Brother to Thomas, who came in and humbly submitted himself, to be hang'd up as a Spy and treacherous Person. And when he had so closely pursued the rest, who wander'd and straggled up and down the Woods, that scarce any of 'em appear'd, the Lord-Deputy commanded him to pursue 'em no longer, but take Hostages of 'em, and receive 'em into his Protection. Within a short time after, while the Governor lay at Dublin, and Levies of Men were making all over Ireland for the Low-Country War, they took up the Banner of Rebellion again, and many that refus'd to serve in the Low-Country Wars, as namely the Clangibbons, Clandonnells and Foyes, join'd themselves with 'em in great numbers. And being now increased both in Number and Strength, they openly gave out, that (according to their ancient custom) they would have their Mac-William, that is, a principal Lord of that House de Burgh chosen by a popular Election to govern the Country; or else they would send for some other Head and Ruler out of Spain: That they would not admit a Sheriff amongst 'em, nor appear at the Sessions or Assizes. Neither would they return to their Duty, tho' the Archbishop of Tuam, Birmingham Baron of Ashenry, and Dillon, being sent from the Governor, propounded reasonable Conditions to 'em; but began on a sudden to harass the Country Villages in the open Champaign Country, burning and plundering all before 'em, and razing the Forts and Strong-holds. To the Hebridian Scots they sent John Iseleave and Walter Kittagh a Burgh, to persuade and invite 'em to enter into Connaught with their auxiliary Forces, whilst there were now but few Garison-Soldiers left in the Country, promising them large Possessions if they would drive out the English, and assist the Rebels.

The Lord-Deputy hearing hereof, at length commanded the Governor to march against the Rebels, who, gathering his Forces together, sent the Earl of Clan-Richard, the principal Man of the House of a Burgh, and Birmingham, to treat with 'em about Peace: Which when they flatly refus'd to hear of, he put the Hostages to death, and without delay, (as knowing that nothing was more prejudicial to the English than a lingering War, and nothing more advantageous to the Irish) he and the Earl of Clan-Richard with the Horse protected the Champaign Country from the Depredations of the Rebels; and John Bingham the Governor's Brother entering the Woods with the Foot, hunted them so closely at the Heels from place

place to place, driving away about 5000 Head of Cattel, (the greatest part whereof was shared amongst the Soldiers Man by Man, according to the manner of the Country) that after forty Days or thereabouts, being grievously famish'd and spent for want of Food, they crept out of their lurking Holes, scarce knowing one another by their Faces, and humbly submitted themselves, giving fresh Hostages. Only the Sons of Edmund a Burgh of Castle Barry (whom they had determin'd to make their Mac-William) persisted in their Rebellion till their Father was taken and put to death, (having been found guilty by the Law for exciting his Children to Rebellion) and his Lands confiscated. And now the Governor had certain intelligence that 2000 Hebridian Scots, under the command of Kittagh and Iscleave a Burgh, were just ready to break into Connaught. These Scots, with an Army of Men hastily gather'd and pick'd up, and those Garison-Soldiers he had, he diligently chased and hunted Night and Day through By-ways and difficult Passages with indefatigable Labour, while they one while lurked in woody Forests near Lough Earne, and another while spent their time in marching forward and backward, winding this way and that way, and he at their Backs, in the Front, and on both Sides, constantly watch'd their Motions, waiting a fit Opportunity to engage 'em. At the last he dissimbl'd a Retreat, as if he were too weak for them; when they presently marching on more confidently towards Ardunar upon the River Moine, proclaim'd themselves Lords of the Country. He being by his Scouts soon advertis'd of their March, found 'em near Ardunar, where they put themselves in Battel-array, advanced their Banners, and founded their Bagpipes. He held them in play a while with light Skirmishes, still retreating till he had drawn 'em from the Bogs into the firm Land, and that all his Forces with great secrecy were come together. Then he charg'd 'em stoutly, and having slain many, made 'em give Ground. Shortly after his small Shot charg'd 'em in the Front, and he himself with his Horsemen set upon 'em so courageously in the Flank, that he routed their main Battel, and forc'd 'em to take the River, where they were all slain and drowned but fourscore, who swam over into Tiraul, and some who went the Day before another way to fetch in Booty, but were afterwards almost all slain by John Bingham and the Inhabitants of the County of Slego. There were slain about 3000 Men, and amongst 'em their principal Leaders, Donel Gormay and Alexander Carrogh, the Sons of James Mac-Connell, who had for a long time infested these Parts, as also those of the House of Burgh, which had drawn 'em to this unhappy Expedition. Of the English few were slain, but many wounded. This was doubtless a notable Victory, and of great Consequence both at present and to future Times, the Title of Mac-William in Connaught being hereby quite extinct, and the Insolency of the Island-Scots in Ireland suppress'd, which in former Times was so intolerable, that to harbour 'em in Ireland was accounted no less than High-Treason, and Perott, to restrain their Depredations, had formerly impos'd upon the great Lords of Ulster a certain number of Soldiers to be train'd up and exercis'd for War.

cient Enemies, should be strengthened and made more powerful by the addition of the Netherlands. * Pruney, the French Ambassador to the States, to divert 'em from applying to the English, aliedg'd, That the English were so remote and separated from them by means of the Ocean betwixt them, that they could not assist them upon every Occasion: That their way of Government was harsh and not to be endur'd, for which cause they were in former Times ejected out of France, and were now in danger of losing Ireland: That the Succession there was doubtful, and whether Mary Queen of Scots, or James her Son succeeded, the one, as well as the other, to establish and secure their own Affairs, would restore the Netherlands back to the Spaniards. But as for the French, their near Neighbourhood was convenient, their Government mild and gentle, and the Succession certain in the King of Navarre, a Prince of the same Profession with themselves.

They who favour'd the English argu'd the contrary: That the English were not at such a distance, but that they might conveniently enough relieve them, and no Man hinder them. What the Government of the French was in Times past in the Netherlands, may appear by Histories; and what it hath been of late, let Dixmuyd, Dunkirk and Dendermond speak, which were treacherously surpriz'd, as likewise Bruges, Alost, Newport and Antwerp, which were furiously and treacherously assaulted by them: And what their Fidelity hath been, which hath been so often oblig'd by Edicts, but still violated and broken, let their barbarous Massacres, committed in their Cities, witness. That the Succession in England was sure and certain in King James, a Prince very well affected to the true Religion. Besides, the English were of the same Religion, and exact observers of the ancient League with Burgundy; that their Traffick had brought infinite Wealth into the Netherlands, and their Havens were very convenient for the Netherlands. Nevertheless the States by an honourable Embassy crav'd Aid and Protection of the French King, by whom they were receiv'd with a kind of timorous Silence; and, as well out of Jealousy towards the English, as Hatred against the Spaniard, a long time put off with Delays; so that at length they return'd home without speeding; and the States having some hope upon account of the former Kindness of the Queen of England towards them, resolv'd to fly to her Protection.

Hereupon a Consultation was held in England, whether they were to be receiv'd into Protection. Some were of opinion, that they were forthwith to be receiv'd and assisted, lest the Spaniard, having subdu'd them, should from thence endanger England. There were also some who thought they were to be esteem'd as Rebels, and unworthy of Help, as having shaken off their Allegiance to their Prince. That the Spaniard had broken none of the Articles of his Joyful En-trance, which was the Pretence they had us'd for their Rebellion, and casting off their Prince. But if he had broken them, yet was he not liable therefore to lose his Principality. And tho' some think that Obedience is to be denied him for a time, till he have reform'd what hath been done amiss; yet others think that by the Law of God, to which the Law of Man must give place, Princes are to be obey'd merely for Conscience sake, as Powers ordain'd by God. That God hath given them the Authority of Commanding, and left to Subjects the Commendation of Obeying. That good Princes are to be wish'd for; but whofo-

1585. *Ann. 28.* ever they are, they are to be born withal. That those Provinces were devolv'd to the Spaniard, not by popular Election, but by Right of Inheritance from his Ancestors, and the Donation of Emperors. Moreover that the Netherlanders themselves had receiv'd all the Privileges which they enjoy from Princes; and had forfeited the same again by their Treason, in formerly taking up Arms against their present Prince. That they who now intended to crave Protection were not the States of the Netherlands, but most of them of the vulgar sort of Men, under the Pretence and Name of the States. These therefore held it the wisest course, for the Queen to intermeddle no farther in the Netherlandish Affairs, but to strengthen and fortify her own Kingdom, to engage all her good Subjects daily more strictly to her by her Bounty and Clemency, to restrain the bad, gather Money, furnish her Navy with all sort of Provision, provide the Borders toward Scotland, with strong Garrisons, and maintain the ancient military Discipline of England, (as if the same were of late corrupted and adulterated by the Low-Country-War.) So would England become impregnable, and she on every side be secure at home, and a Terror to her Enemies. That this was the best way for those who had too powerful Neighbours to avoid and prevent War. For no Man would willingly provoke those whom he saw to be provided of Money and Strength, back'd with the Love of their Subjects, and ready and prepared to take Revenge. Great Indiscretion therefore it were, to spend Money and Soldiers, which are, as it were, the vital Spirits of War, in a foreign Quarrel, in behalf of other Princes, or indigent States, (and those Subjects to another) who will always be expecting fresh Relief; or else out of Necessity or Ingratitude, will at length provide for their own State and Security, and neglect their first Helpers. Whereof the English had heretofore had Experience in France, to their Cost, in the Quarrel of the Burgundian, and not long since also in the Defence of the Protestants there. But they who were of this Opinion incurr'd great Displeasure and Ill-will among the Military sort of Men, as Persons inclining to the Spaniard's Party, degenerate, and faint-hearted Cowards.

Netherlanders offer themselves to the Q.

She promises 'em some Assistance.

Antwerp lost.

The Q. deliberates seriously of the matter.

The States Deputies, as soon as they had Access to the Queen, earnestly besought her that she would accept of the Government of the Confederate Provinces of the Netherlands, and receive the People thereof, who were most unjustly and unworthily oppress'd, into her Protection and perpetual Vassalage. The Queen heard 'em graciously, but refused both their Government and Protection. Nevertheless, for the raising of the Siege of Antwerp, which was then closely press'd by the Prince of Parma, she agreed to send 'em forthwith 4000 Men, for which *Sluis* with the Ordnance and Ammunition in it should be deliver'd into her Hands as Caution. But whilst this was doing, Antwerp was yielded up on Composition, the River of *Scheld* having been secured by such strong Works, that no Relief could be brought into the City.

After the Queen had seriously and carefully for some time consider'd of things, and had thoroughly weigh'd the barbarous Cruelty of the Spaniards towards her Neighbours the Netherlanders, and their Hatred against England, and the Religion which she embraced; (for the Spaniard was certainly perswaded, that the Netherlands could never be reduced to his Obedience, unless England were first conquer'd;) lest the War should be brought home to her own Doors, (Scot-

land yet wavering) and the Spaniard's Power should too far extend and increase in Countries so near adjoining to her, and for Situation so convenient both for translating the War into England, and for the Trade of Merchants, as well by Sea, as up and down the River *Rhine*; as also for prohibiting the carrying of all Provision for Shipping to the Enemy; which Countries were likewise provided of a strong Fleet, and stout and able Seamen, insomuch that if they were join'd with the English Fleet, she might easily become Mistress of the Sea, and withal so rich and strong, that they had for a long time curb'd their insulting Enemies, without foreign Assistance; as also, lest they should put themselves under the Protection of the French: she resolv'd, that it was both Christian Piety to relieve the afflicted Netherlanders, Embracers of the same Religion which she profess'd; and good Wisdom also to provide for the Safety of the People committed to her Charge, by preventing the pernicious Designs of her Enemies; and that not out of any Desire of Glory, but out of meer Necessity, for the Preservation of her own and her People's Security. Hereupon she openly undertook the Protection of the Netherlanders, whilst all the Princes of Christendom admired at such manly Fortitude in a Woman, which durst, as it were, declare War against so puissant a Monarch: insomuch as the King of Sweden said, *That Queen Elizabeth had now taken the Diadem from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

Between her and the Confederate States these Conditions were agreed upon. The Queen shall send the Confederate Provinces an auxiliary Force of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horse, under a Governor-General, an honourable Person, and shall find 'em Pay during the War, which the States shall repay when a Peace shall be concluded; namely, in the first Year of the Peace, the Expences disburs'd in the first Year of the War, and the rest in the four Years next following. In the mean time, *Flushing* and the Castle of *Rammekins* in *Walcheren*, and the Isle of *Briel*, with the City and two Forts, shall be deliver'd into the Queen's Hands for Caution. The Governors of these Places shall exercise no Authority over the Inhabitants, but only over the Garrison, who shall pay Excise and Impositions as well as the Inhabitants. The said Places, after the Money is repay'd, shall be restored again to the States, and not deliver'd to the Spaniard, or to any other Enemy whatsoever. The Governor-General, and two Englishmen whom the Queen shall name, shall be admitted into the Council of the States. The States shall make no League with any, without the Advice and Consent of the Queen; neither shall the Queen, without the Advice of the States. Ships for the common Defence shall be rigg'd and set forth, in equal Number, by both Parties, and at the common Charges, to be commanded by the Admiral of England. The Havens and Ports shall be open and free to both sides. With other Articles which are to be had in print.

In Memory hereof the Zealanders, transported with Joy, coin'd Money with the Arms of Zealand on one side, namely, a Lion rising out of the Waves, and this Inscription, *Luctor & emergo*, that is, I struggle and get above Water; and on the other side, with the Arms of the several Cities of Zealand, and this Motto, *Authore Deo, Ex-vente Regina*, that is, God being the Author, a Queen our Favourer. The Queen also hereupon set forth a Book, wherein she shew'd, that Leagues and Associations had been made in former times between the Kings of England and the Princes

Reasons of her so doing. See the Appendix.

Princes of the Netherlands, and the Cities thereof apart, for yielding one another mutual Protection and Assistance. Then she related the barbarous Cruelty of the Spaniards towards the miserable Netherlands, and their wicked Contrivances against her, who had study'd so much to make Peace betwixt them, and had been the principal means to hinder those People from an absolute and total Revolt. Neither had she any other Intention now in sending Forces to their Aid, but only that the Netherlands might peaceably enjoy their ancient Freedom, she and her Subjects their Security, and both Nations a free Trade and Commerce.

And withal, that she might not stay to expect the War at her own Doors, but give the Spaniard somewhat to do abroad, she sent Sir Francis Drake as Admiral, and Christopher Carlisle as General of the Land-Forces, to the West-Indies, with a Fleet of 21 Ships, whereon were embark'd 2300 Volunteers, besides Seamen; who unexpectedly surpriz'd the Town of S. Jago, in the Isle of S. Jago, near Cape Verd, the Town giving Name to the Island, and being situate in a low Valley: here with Peals of Ordnance they celebrated the day of the Queen's Inauguration, to wit, the seventeenth day of November. Having sack'd the Town, they found not the least Gold in it, but of Meal, Wine and Oil great Quantities. The 14th day after they departed from that Coast, and many of them who had lain abroad in the open Air, were taken with a violent Disease call'd a Calenture, and died thereof; which Disease is ordinary in that unwholsom Air to Strangers, that come thither, and lie abroad in the Evening. On the first of January they arriv'd at Hispaniola, and about ten Miles from the City of Santo Domingo the Soldiers were landed in a safe place, which was discover'd to them by a Spaniard whom they had taken; and there setting themselves in Battle-array, they march'd towards the City; and having beaten back 150 Spanish Horse which made head against them, and put certain Musqueteers to flight which lay in Ambush, they enter'd pell-mell with them into the City at two Gates which look Westward, and at the same time the Townsmen in great Fear ran all out of the City at the North-gate. The English march'd up in a Body to the Market-place near the great Church; and not being enough to defend so large a City, they fortify'd that part of it with Bulwarks, and afterwards possess themselves of other convenient Posts in it: and being now absolute Masters of the City, they stay'd there a full Month. And because the Townsmen offer'd but a small Sum of Money to redeem the Town, they began first to burn the Suburbs, and then to fire and demolish the fairest Buildings within the City itself, till such time as the Citizens redeem'd their houses with 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up amongst them. The Booty was not great, except Cannon, Meal and Sugar. For only brass Money, Glasses, and China-Dishes from the East-Indies, were in use and fashion there. In the Town-hall were to be seen, among other things, the K. of Spain's Arms, and under them a Globe of the World, out of which issu'd a Horse with his Fore-feet springing forward, with this Inscription, *Non sufficit Orbis*, that is, The World suffices not. Which was laugh'd at, and look'd upon as an Argument of the boundless Avarice and Ambition of the Spaniards, as if nothing could suffice them.

From hence they sail'd to the Continent of America, and landed five Miles from Carthagena: and while Drake with his Pinnaces and Boats well mann'd in vain attempted the Haven of the City,

which was defended by a Fort, and chain'd up, Carlisle, putting his Men in Battle-array, led 'em in the dead of the Night all along the Shoar. A Troop of Horse shew'd themselves only, and presently retreated: whom Carlisle pursu'd till he came to a narrow Neck of Land, between the inner Road of the Haven and the Ocean, fenced from side to side with a Stone-Wall, thro' which there was but one Passage, and that scarce broad enough for a Cart to pass, and defended with Barricadoes and five Pieces of large Cannon, which were several times discharg'd against the very Front of the Army, but in vain. Carlisle knowing well how to avoid that Danger, by the Help of the dark Night, and taking Advantage of the ebbing Water, led his Men somewhat lower, over the Sand, to the very Entrance of the Passage, which the English manfully brake through, notwithstanding that two Gallies constantly play'd upon the Flank of them with eleven great Guns, and three hundred Musqueteers from the said inner Road. Then they soon master'd the Palisadoes, which the Enemy were so careful as to set up at the Entrance of every Street, putting the Spaniards and the Indians, who shot poison'd and envenom'd Arrows at them, to Flight, and so became Masters of the Town; where they stay'd six Weeks, compounding at last to spare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were presently paid, and shared equally amongst the Seamen and Soldiers which had most need. Besides this they got but small Booty. For the Citizens, having Notice beforehand from Hispaniola, had convey'd away all their richest Treasure before their coming, to places more remote. The Calenture still raging amongst them, and daily lessening their Numbers, their Design for the taking of Nombre de Dios was laid aside, and they set sail homewards, by that Cape of the Isle of Cuba, which has its Name from Saint Antonio, where they took in fresh Rain-water out of the Ponds and Pits which they found.

Then coasting along the Shoar of Florida they seiz'd upon two Towns, S. Anthony's and S. Helen's, both of them quitted and forsaken by the Spanish Garrisons; and burnt them. Afterwards holding on their Course along a desolate Coast, they lighted upon certain Englishmen, who had planted themselves in Virginia, so nam'd in Honour of Q. Elizabeth a Virgin, whom Sir Walter Raleigh, who was in great Favour with Queen Elizabeth, had of late sent thither for a Colony; a Man never sufficiently to be commended for the great Pains he took to discover remote Countries, and to advance the Glory of the English Navigation. To Ralph Lane, their Captain, Drake offer'd all Kindness and Assistance, and a Ship or two with Provision of Victuals, also some Men, if he thought good to stay there, and prosecute his Enterprize; if not, he proffer'd to bring him back into England. But whilst they were shifting the Victuals into those Ships, a violent Storm carry'd them away, and so dispers'd the whole Fleet, that they met not again till they came into England. Hereupon Lane and those who were planted there, being in great Penury and Want, and out of all Hope of Provisions out of England, their Number also being much diminish'd, with one Voice besought Drake that he would carry them back again into their own Country, which he readily and willingly did.

And these Men, who were thus brought back, were the first that I know of, that brought into England that Indian Plant which they call *Tabacca* and *Nicotia*, or *Tobacco*, which they used against Crudities, being taught it by the Indians. Certainly from that time forward, it began to grow into great Request, and to be sold at an high Rate,

1585.
Ann. 28.

She sends out a fleet to direct the Spaniard.

Engl. take S. Jago.

They die of the Calenture.

Take S. Domingo

1585.
Ann. 28.

And Carthagena.

They burnt S. Anthony's and S. Helen's, Go to Virginia

And bring the Colony from thence.

Tobacco first bro't into England.

1585.
Ann. 28. Rate, whilst in a short time many Men every-where, some for Wantonness, some for Health sake, with insatiable Desire and Greediness suck'd in the stinking Smoke thereof through an earthen Pipe, which presently they blew out again at their Nostrils; insomuch that Tobacco-Shops are now as ordinary in most Towns as Tap-Houses and Taverns. So that the *Englishmens* Bodies (as one said wittily) which are so delighted with this Plant, seem as 'twere to be degenerated into the Nature of *Barbarians*, since they are delighted and think they may be cured with the same things which the *Barbarians* use. In this Voyage 700 Men were lost, and all of them almost of the Calenture. The Booty was valu'd at 60000 Pounds of *English* Money; 240 Brasse and Iron Canon were gotten from the Enemy and brought home.

Booty.

A new
Passage
sought to
the East-
Indies.

Whilst these things were doing in *America* under the Torrid Zone, *John Davis* with two Ships, set forth at the Charge of *William Sanderfon*, (one that hath well deserv'd of Geographical Learning by setting forth Globes) and other *Londoners*, searched for a Passage under the Frozen Zone, by the upper part of *America*, to the *East-Indies*. He held his Course Northward, and at 500 Leag. from the Southern Cape of *Ireland*, call'd *Missen-head*, got sight first of the Coast of *Greenland* and its high Mountains cover'd with Snow; the Island being compass'd about as it were with an icy Bulwark for the breadth of two Leagues from the Land, so that there was no access to it. Following therefore the Tract hereof, which winded first towards the West, and then towards the North, to the 64th Degree of Latitude; and having passed the Ice, he fell upon certain flourishing green Islands, and found there People of an indifferent Stature, with small Eyes, no Beards, and of a civiler Disposition than most of Northern People were. From hence he sail'd Northwestward, in a Sea without Ice, and at the 66th Degree of Latitude, discover'd a Land which by little and little extended itself to the West, with a Strait all the way of an equal Breadth; into which he entred, and sail'd about forty Leagues: But towards the end of *August* he set sail homeward, full of hope to perfect the Discovery. The next Year after, he entred again into the same Strait, sail'd eighty Leagues in it, and found that Sea every way full of scattering Islands, and in his return discover'd it to be very full of Fish. Hereupon this Voyage was undertaken the third time with two Ships to fish, and another to discover the Passage; wherewith having passed the 83d Degree in the same Strait, which he observ'd to be 40 Leagues wide, he return'd home.

A Procla-
mation
concern-
ing Wood.

In the mean time a Proclamation was set forth to restrain the Covetousness of some private Men in *England*, who converted arable Lands and the richest pasture Grounds to the sowing of the Herb *Isatis*, commonly call'd *Wood*, for the use of Dyers, to the great prejudice of Clothiers, and the Countrymen which fed on white Meats made of Milk. Whereupon they were forbidden to sow that Herb within eight Miles of any of the Queen's Houses, and within 4 Miles of Cities, Market-Towns, and all other Towns where Clothing was used.

Barbary
Company
of Mer-
chants.

And for the more advantageous and gainful vending of *English* Cloths, Licence was granted to *Ambrose* Earl of *Warwick*, and his Brother the Earl of *Leicester*, *Thomas Starkey*, *Gerard Gore*, and divers other Merchants of *London*, for the term of two Years, to trade with the *Moors* in the Eastern Parts of *Barbary*, to make good and repair the Losses they had before sustain'd in *Africa*; and all others were prohibited to trade upon those

Coasts. These Merchants *Muley Harnet* the Xeriff took into his Protection.

In the beginning of this Year died *Edward Clinton*, Lord-Admiral of *England*, who was created Earl of *Lincoln* by Queen *Elizabeth* in the Year 1572, and lies buried at *Windsor*, being fallily surnamed *Fiennes* in the Inscription of his Tomb. (Which I note, not to tax others, but lest I be taxed myself.) *Henry* his Son succeeded him in the Earldom; in his Command at Sea, *Charles* Lord *Effingham*, Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen. And in the place of Lord-Chamberlain succeeded the Lord *Hunsdon*, Governor of *Berwick*, substituted in that Government some few Years since in the room of *Francis Russell* Earl of *Bedford*. Which *Francis* (who was the second Earl of *Bedford* of this Family, and a true lover of Religion and Vertue) having surviv'd three of his Sons, *Edward*, *John* and *Francis*, so that there remain'd but only one Son, *William* Lord *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*, and three Daughters, married to the three Earls of *Warwick*, *Bath* and *Cumberland*, died of a Gangrene the next Day after his Son *Francis* was slain (as I said before) upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and lies entomb'd with his Father at *Cheimey* in the County of *Buckingham*. After him succeeded *Edward*, his Grandson by his third Son *Francis*, being under Age.

Amongst these, tho' he were of less note, we must not pass *Richard Caldwell* over in silence, who died this Year, being of *Brazen-Nose-College* in *Oxford*, and a Doctor of Physick. This Man merited well of the Commonwealth, by giving a Surgery-Lecture to the College of Physicians in *London*, (which College was first founded by *Thomas Linacre*) and endowing it with a handsome Allowance; the Lord *Lumley* being admitted into a share of the Honour. He was buried in *St. Bennet's* Church not far from the place, and his Tomb adorn'd with the Sculpture of several Implements used by Surgeons.

At the latter end of this Year, the Earl of *Leicester*, tickl'd with an ambitious desire of Command and Glory, and being easily perswaded by those who sought their own Security and Power at Court more than his Honour, crossed the Seas into *Holland*, with the Title of General of the Queen of *England's* auxiliary Forces, and with some kind of Command over the Admiral of *England* and the Queen's whole Fleet. He set out with great Preparation and a splendid Retinue, being accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, *Sir William Russell*, *Sir Thomas Shirley*, *Sir Arthur Bassett*, *Sir Walter Waller*, *Sir Gerwase Clifton*, and other Knights, and a select Troop of 500 Gentlemen. At his departure, the Queen gave him in charge amongst other things, that he should not so much as think of any thing which would not stand with her Honour, and the Quality of the Place he bare; and that he should diligently inform himself what Garisons the States maintain'd, and by what means they did it, what way they went in raising and talling the Rates of Money, (for herein they surpass and are skill'd above all other Men) that so the Soldiers might not receive their Pay at one rate, and spend it at another. She charg'd him to cut off and hinder all Supplies of Provision from the Enemy, to restrain and curb the Pirates of *Dunkirk*; and most passionately and heartily she recommended to his care the Noblemen of those Parts, more especially the Prince of *Orange* his Children.

The Nine and Twentieth Year of her Reign.

The Earl of *Leicester* arriving at *Flushing* was entertain'd by his Nephew *Sir Philip Sidney*, Governor

1586. verner of the Place, and afterwards by the Cities of Zeland and Holland, with all manner of Honour, hearty Acclamations, triumphal Arches, Feastings, and the like publick acknowledgments of their Deliverance. Being come to the Hague in Holland, in the Month of January, the chief Government and absolute Authority over the Confederate Provinces was given him by a Grant in Writing from the States-General, (as they call them) with the Title of Governor and Captain-General of Holland, Zeland, the United and Confederate Provinces. And now being attended with a noble Guard, saluted of all Men by the Title of Your Excellency, and sooth'd up with Flatteries, as seated in the highest and most illustrious Degree of Honour, he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect King. But the Queen, taking it very ill that the States had confer'd so large Honour on him, and that he had accepted it, check'd his Ambition, and on a sudden reprov'd his swelling Pride by this one short Letter.

Q takes it ill. She expostulates with him. 'How contemptuously you have carried your self towards us, you shall understand by this Messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought, that one whom we had rais'd out of the Dust, and prosecuted with such singular Favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our Commands in a matter of so great Consequence, and so highly concerning us and our Honour: Whereof tho' you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought by your Allegiance, yet think not that we are so careless of repairing thereof, that we can bury so great an Injury in silence and oblivion. We therefore command you, that, all Excuse set apart, you do forthwith, upon your Allegiance which you owe unto us, do whatsoever our Vice-Chamberlain Heneage shall make known to you in our Name, upon pain of farther Peril.

And with the States. In another Letter to the States-General she thus expostulates with 'em: 'That they had to her Disgrace, and without her Knowledge, confer'd the absolute Government of the Confederate Provinces upon Leicester, her Subject; whenas she had absolutely refus'd it herself, and by a publick Manifesto had declar'd to the whole World, that she intended only to relieve and succour her Neighbours in their Distress, and no ways to take upon her the Sovereignty over them. She admonishes them therefore to turn Leicester out of that absolute Authority, whose Commission she had limited; not that she thought their Cause unworthy to be favoured and assisted, but to provide for and secure her own Honour, which she esteem'd more dear to her than Life itself.

They excuse it. The States wrote back to her: 'That they were very sorry they had incur'd her Displeasure by granting absolute Authority to Leicester without her knowledge. They intreat her to be pacified, considering the necessity thereof; forasmuch as such an Authority was necessary to be granted to one or other, to avoid Troubles and Dissensions. Neither indeed was the Authority so great as the Word Absolute might seem to import, considering that the Principality itself, and the supreme Rule and Dignity of Dominion, remain'd wholly in the Peoples Hands. And to revoke the Authority already granted, were nothing else but to plunge the State of the Netherlands into extreme Dangers.

Q pacified. By these Letters of the States, and the sorrowful Lines of Leicester, who knew well enough how with Tears, and a pretended Trouble for

what had pass'd, to reconcile the Favour of his mild Princess to himself, her Displeasure by little and little vanish'd away, and was forgotten.

Leicester in the mean time receives all the Contributions of the Provinces, maketh Military Laws, and while he goeth about to impose new Payments upon all Traffick and Merchandize, procures himself great Hatred among the People. At this time the Prince of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands under the Spaniard, besieged Grave (a Town of Brabant upon the River Maes) for several Months by Charles Count Mansfield, who had rais'd Works round about it. To relieve this Town the Earl of Leicester sent Count Hohenlo or Hollack, a German, and Sir John Norris General of the English Foot: But as soon as they had begun to build a Fort as near the Town as they could, that from thence they might victual and relieve the Town, the Spaniards fell upon them, and beat them from their Work; but the English Companies coming presently in, they were themselves beaten back with great slaughter of their Men, seven of their Officers were slain; and of the English, Norris lightly hurt. Count Hollack shortly after cutting through the Bank, and letting out the Waters, reliev'd the Town with Victuals and a fresh Supply of Men by Boats. As soon as the Prince of Parma himself was come, and had thunder'd a while into the Town with his great Ordnance, Van Hemart, Governor of the Town, a young Man, raw and unskill'd in military Matters, not so much as expecting an Assault, compounded for his own and the Townsmens Lives, and surrender'd the Place; whilst in the mean time Leicester drove the Spaniards out of the Betuwe, (which is properly call'd Batavia) an Island made by two Rivers, the Rhyne and the Waal, and near the Tolbuys erected a strong Sconce. For the delivering up of Grave, Hemart afterward suffer'd Death, for an Example and Terror to others.

The Prince of Parma marched next into Gelderland, and encamped before Venlo; where Skerck a Frieslander and Sir Roger Williams a Welshman, two venturous Men, undertook a desperate Exploit, to break through the Enemy's Camp at Midnight, and enter into the City: And indeed, after the slaughter of some of their Enemies, they made their way as far as the Prince of Parma's own Tent. But being there repell'd, they retreated without effecting their Design, yet not without Commendations amongst martial Men for their bold Attempt: And Venlo was shortly after surrender'd.

In the mean while the Lord Willoughby, Governor of Bergenopzoom, intercepted the Enemy's Provision of Corn; whilst in other Parts Sir Philip Sidney, and Grave Maurice the Prince of Orange his Son, surpriz'd Axle, a Town of Flanders. Encourag'd with this Success, Sidney made an Attempt by Night upon Gravelin, being fed with hopes and drilled on by some of the Garison, but found himself deluded; and having lost some few of his Men, slain by La Motte Governor of the Town, who had contriv'd the Plot, he escap'd himself in safety with the rest. Sir William Pelham, General of the English Horse, the whilst ranged all over Brabant. From Venlo the Prince of Parma took his march to Berck, garrison'd by 1200 English under the Command of Colonel Morgan, and laid siege to it. To raise this Siege Leicester made haste thither: But when saw himself to be too weak in Men, ill provided of Victuals, no place of Retreat near, and the Enemy's Camp very strongly intrench'd and fortifi'd, to draw the Enemy from the siege of it, he besieged Doesburg; and after he had with his Ordnance

1586. Ann. 29.

Grave besieged by the Spaniard.

Leicester sends to relieve it.

Supplies put in it.

Surrender'd.

Leicester drives the Spaniards out of Betuwe.

A bold Adventure

Venlo lost

Axele taken, Gravelin attempted in vain.

Parma besieges Berck.

nance

1586. nance made a Breach in the Walls, and was ready to give an Assault, they came to a Parley, and the City was yielded into his Hands, before the Prince of Parma could be drawn from Berck to relieve it.

Leicester takes Doesburg. But the Prince of Parma, fearing the Loss of Zutphen, a Town hard-by, commanded a Supply of Victuals to be convey'd thither. A second Convoy being dispatch'd thither in foggy Weather, the English in the Fog lighted upon the Spaniards that had convoy'd it. Whereupon there happen'd a Skirmish. The English being charg'd with two or three Volleys of Shot one after another, from a strong place of Advantage, yet stood their Ground, overthrew a Troop of Horse under the Leading of George Cressiac an Albanois, and took him Prisoner after he had been unhors'd by the Lord Willoughby, Hannibal Gonzaga with many others being slain. Of the English few were missing: but Sidney, one of more Value than many others, having his Horse kill'd under him, was shot into the Thigh as he was mounting again, and died the 25th. day after, leaving behind him a great Mifs of him amongst good Men. He died in the very Flower of his Age, having outliv'd his Father scarce four Months: for whom Leicester, his Uncle, at his Return into England, made a splendid Funeral after the military Fashion, at Saint Paul's Church at London. James King of Scots honour'd him with an Epitaph; both the Universities consecrated their Tears, and New-College in Oxford set forth a most elegant Description of his noble Acts. These things, and far more than these, his great Vertue, excellent Wit, most exquisite Learning, and sweet Conditions, deservedly merited.

Sir Philip Sidney slain.

Zutphen attempted by Leicester.

Valour of Edward Stanley of the Stanleys of Elford.

Zutphen left blocked up.

The States complaints against Leicester.

Leicester, though full of Sorrow and Heaviness hereat, vigorously assaulted the Sconces near Zutphen: and the better to force the Town, he took the Island in the River, and in it the principal Fort. Then setting upon the lesser Fort, he took it through the Valour of Edward Stanley, who, catching hold of a Spaniard's Pike wherewith he charg'd him, held it so fast, that by the same he was drawn up into the Sconce: wherewith the Spaniards were terrify'd, and in great Haste and Fear quitted it. Leicester knighted Stanley for his Valour, gave him forty Pounds of English Money in hand, and a yearly Pension of one hundred Marks during his Life. The Night following, the Spaniards abandon'd the great Sconce, with all the Munition, and retired into Zutphen. Leicester thought it not good formally to besiege the same, which (it being now the Depth of Winter) he thought sufficiently block'd up by the Garrisons in the Towns round about it. For at Deventer, within six English Miles Northward, lay Sir William Stanley with 1200 Foot, English and Irish; in the Sconces of Zutphen next Deventer, lay Rowland York, with 800 Foot and 100 Horse; at Doesburg, within six Miles Southward, lay Sir John Boroughs with 800 Foot and 200 Horse; and to the Eastward were Garrisons put into Lochem, Sherenburg, and Dotecum.

Leicester, after he had quarter'd the rest of his Men in the Towns, and the Prince of Parma was departed farther off, return'd to the Hague, where he was receiv'd by the States, with these expository Complaints: That the Money was ill managed; That he listen'd to corrupt and destructive Counsels; That the English Companies were not full; That foreign Soldiers had been levy'd, without Consent of the States; That military Discipline was neglected, Wagons and Pioneers were taken up by Force, the Privileges of the Provinces disregarded and slighted, and new kinds of Contributions invented. These things they pray him that he will prudently remedy in time. He, being now minded to go over into England,

puts them in Hopes of Redress, and gives them fair Words. But when the Day came that he was to depart, he entrusted the Government of the Provinces to the Council of State; and the same day privately made another Act of Restriction, reserving to himself all the Authority over the Governors of Provinces, Cities and Forts; he also took from the Council of State and the Presidents of Provinces their wonted Jurisdictions; and so sail'd over into England the 3d. day of December. Thus went the English Affairs in home, the Netherlands all this Year.

But in England, Philip Earl of Arundel, who had now been Prisoner in the Tower a full Year, was accus'd in the Star-Chamber, That he had reliev'd several Priests, contrary to the Laws; That he held Correspondence, by Letters, with Allen and Parsons the Jesuite, the Queen's Enemies; That he had publicly in Writing question'd the Justice of the Kingdom; and, That he had Intentions of departing the Realm without Licence. The Earl protesting his Obedience to the Queen, and his Love to his Country, modestly excus'd himself, by his Affection to the Catholick Religion, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and, confessing his Fault, submitted himself to the Censure of the Bench; who fin'd him in ten thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure. But of these things I am to speak more fully in the Year 1589.

At this time came over into England, from Frederick II. King of Denmark, Henry Ramely, Chancellor for German Affairs, in a military Equipage, and attended with a Guard of Musqueteers; who made a large Declaration of the King's good Affection towards the Queen and the Peace of Christendom. For the procuring whereof with the Spaniard, he promis'd his best Assistance; left (as he said) the Enemy of Mankind should any longer water the Seed of War, which he had sown in the Netherlands, with the Blood of Men. The Queen heard him very graciously, had often Conference with him, entertaining the Man with singular Courtesie, and highly commended the King of Denmark's pious Affection. But she made him Answer by the Lord Burleigh Lord-Treasurer, Charles Howard Lord-Admiral, Henry Lord Hunsdon Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary, 'That she desired nothing more than to embrace a Peace with her Neighbour-Princes, provided there was no Fraud in it: but well understanding the Attempts of the Spaniard against her, she could not but provide for her own Safety, the Defence of the true Religion of Christ, and the preserving of the Privileges of her Confederate Neighbours inviolate. Much after the same rate also was Answer given to Bodellan, whom the Prince of Parma had privately sent into England, to try if he could procure a Peace.

In the mean time, she largely supply'd the King of Navarre with Money, by Sir Horatio Pallavicini, through whose Sides the Guisians struck at the Reform'd Religion in France. But there was nothing she was more careful and intent about, than to establish a firm and lasting Amity betwixt England and Scotland, and to join them in a League of mutual Defence and Offence, thereby to cut off all Hopes, not only from her foreign Enemies, but also from the Queen of Scots herself, of any Assistance out of Scotland. For she suspected that the said Queen, being vex'd in her Mind, did harbour dangerous Projects and Designs in her Breast, since the time that those Conditions which she had offer'd were rejected, the Association enter'd into, and she herself committed (as I said before) to the Custody of Sir Amias Poulet and Sir Drue Drury. And certain it is, as evidently

1586. Ann. 29. Fugitives & Jesuites differ in their Advice to the Queen. dently appears by the Adversaries own Writings, that the *Jesuites* on the one side, and the fugitive Noblemen on the other side, with different Affections and Purposes, suggested to her very dangerous Advice and Counsel. For the *Jesuites*, when they saw no hope remaining of restoring the *Romish* Religion, either by her or her Son, betook themselves to new Stratagems, and began to forge a new and pretended Title to the Succession of the Kingdom of *England* for the *Spaniard*, (whose Grandeur alone they labour'd to increase.) To this end they sent into *England*, (as *Pasquier* says) one *Samier*, (if the Name be not counterfeit) a Man of their Society, to draw Noblemen and Gentlemen to the *Spaniard's* Party, and thrust her forward to her own Danger, by telling her, that if she were troublesome, neither she nor her Son should reign; and by exciting the *Guises*, her Kinsmen, to new Attempts against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, that being engaged therein, they might not be at leisure to help her.

French oppose the League with the King of Scots. He would add to the former conditions. But to conclude the League which was begun by *Wotton*, (but interrupted by *Russel's* Death, and now endeavour'd to be hinder'd by *Desneval*, Ambassador from *France*, and *Corcellie*, a Man of a turbulent and unquiet Spirit, who had of late been disgracefully turn'd out of *England*) Mr. *Thomas Randolph* was sent into *Scotland*, whose Dexterity in *Scottish* matters was look'd upon as prudent and fortunate, tho' to the King he were not very acceptable, in regard of those Tumults which he had of late been the Author of in *Scotland*. *Randolph* propounded to the King the same Conditions of a League, which *Wotton* had propounded before. The King would have to be added to them, and set down in the Draught of the League, the Articles touching the annual Pension assign'd him, and about the not prejudicing him in his Title to the Crown of *England*. The Ambassador, according to his Instructions, promis'd that those two Points should be provided for in a particular Article by themselves, provided he would continue constant in maintaining Amity with *England*. The King also (out of his great Love to his Subjects) propounded farther, that the *Scots* might enjoy the same Privileges and Immunities in *England*, which the *English* themselves did. But when the Ambassador had shew'd him, that that could not be granted but by Act of Parliament, and that the Estates of *England* would not easily yield to it; he deliberately and particularly gave his Assent to the Articles propounded, and commanded the same to be imparted to the Nobility of his Realm, that they might be confirm'd by their Subscriptions also, altho' the *French* Ambassador endeavour'd to make him believe at first, that the Queen sought this League, not out of any Love or Respect to the King, but out of a just Fear, lest e'er long her Enemies which conspired against her should be too hard for her; and afterwards went about to terrify him with Threats, that the old Amity with the *French*, which had been so highly beneficial to the *Scots*, would be by this means dissolv'd; and lastly, besought him, that nothing might be done herein, without the Advice of the *French* King.

Is not terrified by the Fr. But he could work nothing upon the King, who knew these to be nought but vain Scarecrows, either to hinder or delay the matter. For he knew, that by the late Confederacy with the *Netherlanders*, the *English* were very much strengthen'd. He gave therefore this serious Answer, That he had put his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and not in the Amity and Friendship of those who were Enemies to God's Glory: and that it was as lawful for him to make

a League with the Queen, without acquainting the *French* King, as for the *French* King to have made a League with the Queen, of late, without acquainting him. And though the Queen, being somewhat sparing, sent him less Money than he expected, lest she might be thought to buy the League, and gave him no express Assurance concerning the Succession: yet he, out of his Zeal to Religion, and his singular Affection and Inclination towards both her and the publick Peace, commanded both the League to be concluded, and (to satisfy her) the *Carrs* also, who were suspected of *Russel's* Death, to be sent into *England*. But they fled away and escaped, the day before they were to be sent.

Shortly after, in the beginning of *June*, there met at *Berwick* *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers*, and Mr. *Thomas Randolph*, Commissioners sent by the Queen of *England*; and *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and *James* *Humes* of *Coldingknoll*, Commissioners appointed by the King of *Scots*: who concluded a League of stricter Amity, (as they term'd it, the Word offensive not so well pleasing the *Scots*) which follows in these Words.

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A League of stricter Amity concluded.

Articles thereof.

Whereas the Reign and Government of these Princes has fallen into such uncertain and dangerous times, wherein the Neighbour-Princes, who will needs be call'd *Catholicks*, acknowledging the Pope's Authority, do enter into mutual Leagues and Confederacies, for the rooting up and extirpating the true, pure and Evangelical Religion, not only out of their own Territories and Dominions, but also out of the Kingdoms of other Princes, and thereunto do bind themselves by faithful Vows and Promises: Lest those who profess the Evangelical Religion should seem to be less careful for the Defence and Protection thereof, than they who profess the *Romish* Religion are seriously labouring the Subversion of the same; the said Princes, for the greater Security of their own Persons, upon whose Safety depends the Safety of all their People, and for the Preservation of the true, ancient and Christian Religion, which they now profess, have thought meet that a stricter Alliance and mutual Confederacy be sincerely enter'd into, than ever hitherto has been between their Majesties Progenitors.

First therefore, to the end that this so necessary and pious a Purpose and Intention of both Princes, in this troublesome State of Affairs, may be brought to its wish'd Effect, for the publick Good and the Propagation of the Evangelical Truth, it is covenanted, agreed and concluded, That the said Princes shall, by this social and sacred League, provide for and endeavour the Defence and Preservation of the true, pure and Evangelical Religion, which they now profess, against all others whosoever, who shall enterprize, attempt or do any thing against either of them, in order to subverting the said Religion; and that they shall use their utmost Endeavour and Diligence, that the rest of the Princes who embrace the same true Religion, may be brought to associate with them in this so holy a Purpose and Confederacy, and with joint Forces maintain the true Worship of God in their Countries and Dominions, and defend and govern their People under the said ancient and Apostolical Religion.

Item, It is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That this social League for maintaining and upholding the Christian and Catholick Religion, which at this time is embraced by both Princes, and by God's Blessing receiv'd and countenanced through their Kingdoms and Dominions, shall be a League both of Defence

1586. and Offence against all men whatever, who shall hinder or any ways go about to hinder the free exercise thereof in their Kingdoms and Dominions; all Treaties, Alliances and Confederacies whatsoever formerly entered into betwixt either of them and the Disturbers or Adversaries of the said Religion, be they who they will, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Ann. 29. And if at any time it shall happen that any Prince or State whatsoever, of what Condition soever they be, shall invade or infest the Kingdoms, Dominions or Territories of either of the said Princes, or any Part thereof, or shall any way hurt or injure their Majesties Persons or their Subjects, or attempt the said things, or any of them, it is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That neither of these Princes, being certified from the Prince Invaded, or suffering such Injury or Hurt, shall at any time, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly, give or afford any Aid, Counsel or Favour to the said Invaders or Infesters, any Tie of Consanguinity or Affinity, Alliance of Amities or Confederacies formerly entered into, or hereafter to be entered into, notwithstanding: And this in what kind of Invasion soever it be, and by whomsoever it shall be made or attempted.

It is agreed, accorded and concluded, That the aforesaid Princes shall assist one another in manner as follows: That is to say, the King of Scots, in case the Realm of England be invaded or infested by a foreign Power in those Parts thereof that are remote from the Kingdom of Scotland, shall, after demand made by the Queen of England, without delay, send 2000 Horse and 5000 Foot, or any less number of Men, at the choice and demand of the said Queen; and shall cause the same to march, at the Queen's Charges, from the Borders of Scotland lying next unto England into any other Part of England whatsoever.

Item, It is covenanted, accorded and concluded, That if the Kingdom of England be invaded by any Man whatsoever in the Northern Parts, within 60 Miles of the Borders of Scotland, then the most illustrious King of Scots, being requested and called upon by the most Serene Queen of England, shall cause to be gathered, and shall without delay effectually gather, all the Power and Strength he can make, and shall join the same with the English Forces, and in hostile manner pursue and prosecute the Invaders of the Realm of England, and all their Abettors and Favourers whosoever, for the space of thirty Days together; and those Days being expired, if occasion or necessity require, of more, even for as long time as the Subjects of Scotland have anciently been accustomed, and at this Day in right are bound, to give their Service and Help for the Defence of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Item, That when the King of Scots shall be certified by the Queen of England of any Invasion or other Disturbance whatsoever in her Kingdom of Ireland, he shall not only forbid the Inhabitants of the County of Argyle, and the Isles and Places to the same adjoining, and of all other Parts of the Kingdom of Scotland whatsoever, to enter into the Kingdom of Ireland, and effectually hinder 'em from entering; but also, whensoever it shall hereafter happen that the Inhabitants of any Part of the Kingdom of Scotland shall enter, contrary to the meaning and intent of this Treaty, with any extraordinary or unusual number of Men, in an hostile manner, into any Part of the Kingdom of Ireland, the said King, being certified

by the Queen of such their Entrance, shall by publick Proclamation declare such Infesters and Disturbers who shall in an hostile manner harra's that Kingdom, to be Rebels, Disturbers of the publick Peace and Traitors, and shall accordingly prosecute 'em as such.

Item, That neither Prince shall for the time to come, aid, favour, succour or relieve any Trator, Rebel, or him that shall openly revolt from his Prince, or suffer them any way to be aided, succoured and relieved by others, or permit them openly or secretly to make their Abode in his or her Dominions; but shall each of them, from the time of notice or first demand made by the Prince from whom they have revolted, without delay or procrastination, deliver up, or cause to be deliver'd, the said Traitors or Rebels, according to the Agreements express'd in former Treaties betwixt us and our Predecessors, or at leastwise compel 'em to retire from the Frontiers and Borders of their Dominions: And moreover, as long as the said Rebels or Traitors shall make their Abode in their said Dominions, shall make just and due Satisfaction for all Injuries and Mischiefs which may be done by the said Rebels.

Item, That for compounding and adjusting of all and every the Injuries and Controversies which have happen'd and arisen on the Borders, upon account of the Borders, or amongst the Borderers, from the time that the most illustrious King of Scots first took the Government of the Realm into his own Hands, and for the space of four Years going next before the said term, the two Princes respectively shall within six Months after the concluding of this League, send able and fit Commissioners, well-affect'd to the Peace, furnish'd and empower'd with Instructions meet and sufficient for that purpose, to some convenient place on the Confines of both Kingdoms, who shall compound and determine all Causes and Controversies by an honourable and friendly Treaty and Agreement.

Item, That neither of the said Princes shall contract Amity, or enter into any League or Confederacy with any other Prince, State or Society of Men, to the prejudice of this present League and Union, without the express consent of the other Confederate Prince, by Letters of the said Prince, subscribed with his own Hand, or sealed with his Privy Seal, first had and obtain'd.

Item, That both Princes, when either of them shall be duly requir'd by the Ambassadors or Commissioners of the other Prince so to do, shall both by their Oath and under their Great Seal, approve, confirm and ratifie this sacred League and Alliance; and moreover for the better strengthening thereof, shall, within a certain time to be appointed by the mutual Consent of both Princes, deliver or cause to be deliver'd, their Royal Instrument or Letters- Patents to the same purpose.

Item, That all former Treaties of Amities, Contracts and Agreements, made betwixt the Predecessors of the aforesaid Princes and their Kingdoms and Dominions, tho' they may seem to be antiquated and out of Date, shall still continue in their strength, force and vigour. As likewise, that this present Treaty of mutual Confederacy and stricter Amity and Alliance, shall in no sort derogate from former Treaties and Confederacies entered into by the said Princes with other their Confederates, or in any respect weaken or lessen the force and authority thereof, (the defence of the purer Religion, which the said Princes do now maintain

and

1586. in which Sense and Latitude we understand and intend that this present League of Defence and Offence shall remain in its full strength, firm and inviolate.

Item, That the King of Scots shall, when he arrives at the full Age of 25 Years, as soon as conveniently may be, approve and confirm the present Treaty, and cause it to be approv'd and confirm'd by a publick Assembly of the States of his Realm. And the same also shall the Queen do and perform, and cause to be done and perform'd in Parliament, by the Nobility and other States of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland.

Conspiracy against Q. Eliz. The same Month that this League was ratified, a dangerous Conspiracy was discover'd against Q. Elizabeth; the Original and Progress whereof I will lay down as briefly as I can out of the voluntary Confessions of the Conspirators themselves. In the English Seminary at Rheims, some there were who most religiously admiring and reverencing the Omnipotency of the Pope, believ'd that the Bull of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth was dictated by the Holy Ghost. These Men perswaded themselves, and others that eagerly desired and itched after the Glory of Martyrdom, that it was a meritorious Act to kill such Princes as were excommunicated; and farther, that they were Martyrs who lost their Lives on that account. These things Gifford, a Doctor of Divinity, Gilbert Gifford and Hodgefon Priests, impress'd so deeply upon one John Savage, (a Bastard by report) a Man ready for any Undertaking, that he willingly and readily vowed to kill Queen Elizabeth. At the same time they wrote a Book, (and that only on purpose to lull the Queen and Council fairly asleep in Security, while they privately made way for their wicked Designs) wherein they admonish'd the Papists in England not to attempt any thing against their Princess, but to fight against their Adversaries only with the Weapons of Christians, viz. with Tears, spiritual Arguments, daily Prayers, Watchings and Fastings: And withal they spread a false Rumor abroad by their Tale-bearers, that George Gifford, one of the Band of the Queen's Gentlemen-Pensioners, had sworn the Queen's Death, and in that respect had drawn a considerable Sum of Money from the Duke of Guise.

Ballard goes from England to France. A Design to invade England. Ballard sent back to Engl. About Easter, John Ballard, a Priest of the Seminary of Rheims, who had been visiting many of the Papists in England and Scotland, and feeling their Pulses, return'd into France in company with one Maud, Walsingham's Spy, (a notable crafty Dissembler, who had egregiously deceiv'd the unwary Priest) and tamper'd with Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spaniard's Ordinary Ambassador then in France; and with Charles Paget, a Man thoroughly devoted to the Queen of Scots, about invading England; judging it to be now a very fit time, whilst the Soldiery of England were absent in the Netherlands; neither could they ever hope for a fairer Opportunity, forasmuch as the Pope, the Spaniard, the Duke of Guise, and the Prince of Parma, were all resolv'd to set upon England, thereby to divert the War from the Netherlands. And tho' Paget demonstrated clearly, that it was in vain to invade England as long as Queen Elizabeth liv'd; yet was Ballard sent back again into England, having first been engag'd by Oath to procure Assistance with all speed to join with the Invaders, and to effect the Q. of Scots Liberty.

At Whitstide arriv'd in England this filken Priest in Soldier's Habit, call'd commonly by the borrow'd Name of Capt. Foscu. At London he brake

the business to Anthony Babington of Dethick in Derbyshire, a young Gentleman of good Birth, and rich, a Man of a ready Wit, and Learning above most of his Years; who being devoted to the Romish Religion, had a little before gone over into France, unknown, without Licence, and grew familiarly acquainted with Thomas Morgan, one that retain'd to the Queen of Scots, and with the Bishop of Glasgow her Ambassador. These two, by their continual extolling the heroical Vertues of so great a Queen unto him, had put him into an assured hope of acquiring great Honours by her Service; which the ambitious young Gentleman soon laid hold on. They recommended him also, without his knowledge, by Letters, to the Queen of Scots. For when he was return'd into England, he wrote several kind and respectful Letters to him. And from that time Morgan made use of his help in conveying Letters to her, till such time as she was committed to Sir Amias Powlet's keeping; for then the young Gentleman, perceiving the danger, gave over. To this Babington (I say) Ballard brake the Business aforesaid. He was flatly of opinion, that the Invasion of England would signifie nothing so long as Queen Elizabeth lived. But when Ballard had told him, that she would not live long, for Savage was now come into England, who had vowed to kill her; Babington was not satisfied that so weighty a Business should be entrusted to Savage alone, lest he should fail of the Enterprize; but rather to fix stout Gentlemen, of which number he would have Savage to be one, that so he might not break his Vow. Babington therefore contriveth a new Project for Invading the Realm by Foreiners, concerning the Havens where they should land, the Aid that should join them, the Delivering of the Queen of Scots, and the tragical Execution of the Queen, as he term'd it.

Whilst his Mind was wholly intent upon this Business, he receiv'd Letters by an unknown Boy in a Cypher familiar betwixt the Queen of Scots and him, wherein she gently blamed him for his long Silence, and desir'd him to send her with all speed a Pacquet of Letters come from Morgan, and deliver'd by the French Ambassador's Secretary. Which he did, and withal by the same Messenger sent a Letter of his own unto her, wherein he excus'd his Silence, in regard he wanted Opportunities of sending any thing to her ever since she was committed to the Custody of Sir Amias Powlet, a Puritan, a meer Leicestrian, (as he call'd him) and a most bitter Enemy of the Catholick Faith. He relateth what Conference he had had with Ballard; informeth her that six Gentlemen were made choice of to commit the tragical Execution; and that he himself with an hundred more would at the same time set her at Liberty. He pray'd her that the heroical Actors in this Business (for so he term'd them) might have Rewards assign'd, or else their Posterity, if they happen'd to perish in the Attempt. To this Letter answer was made the 27th of July: 'Babington's most entire Affection to the Catholick Religion and to her is recommended and applauded: But he is advis'd to go circumspectly and wisely to work, viz. That the Association amongst them should be entred into upon pretence that they stood in fear of the Puritans. That there should be no Rising before such time as they were assur'd of foreign Assistance. That some Disturbance should be rais'd in Ireland while the Stroke was giving on this side. That Arundel and his Brothers, and the Earl of Northumberland, should be wrought over to her Party; and, That Westmorland, Pa-

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He meets with Babington.

Acquaints him with the design. He approves it, but not the way of carrying it on.

Q. of Scots writes to Babington.

His answer.

The reply.

1586. 'get, and others, should be privately called home. The way also for her delivery was thus laid, viz. 'Either by overthrowing a Cart in the Gate, or setting Fire on the Stables, or by intercepting her as she rode abroad for her Recreation in the Fields betwixt Chartley and Stafford. Lastly, Babington is commanded to pass his Word to the six Gentlemen and the rest, concerning their Reward for their Service.

Partners in the Conspiracy.

He had now associated to himself several Gentlemen who were very zealous for the Romish Religion; amongst whom those of most eminent Note were Edward Windfore, Brother to the Lord Windfore, a young Man of a softly Disposition; Thomas Salisbury, of a good Family in Denbighshire; Charles Tilney, a Gentleman of an ancient House, the only hopes of the Family, and one of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners to the Queen, whom Ballard had lately reconcil'd to the Romish Church, both of them young Gentlemen of comely Personage; Chidiock Tichburne of Southampton; Edward Abington, whose Father had been Under-Treasurer, or (as they commonly call him) Cofferer of the Queen's Household; Robert Gage of Surrey; John Travers and John Charnock of Lancashire; John Jones, whose Father was Yeoman or Keeper of the Wardrobe to Queen Mary; Savage, whom I have spoken of already; Barnwel, of a noble Family in Ireland; and Henry Dun, Clerk in the Office of First-fruits and Tenths. One Polly also insinuated himself into their company, a Man who perfectly understood the Affairs of the Queen of Scots, a cunning Counterfeit and Dissembler, who is thought to have revealed all their Consultations from Day to Day to Walsingham, and to have egged on the young Gentlemen in this desperate Undertaking, who were prone enough of themselves to what was bad; tho' Narwe, the Queen of Scots Secretary, had given them secret Warning to beware of him.

Every man's part assign'd him.

To these men Babington breaketh the Design, but not all parts of it to every one of them. To Ballard, Tichburn and Dun he sheweth his own Letters and the Scottish Queen's. Tilney and Tichburn he persuaded to be Executors of the Murder. They at first refuse to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Princess. Ballard and Babington labour to prove to 'em that it is lawful to kill Princes excommunicated; and if ever Equity and Justice be to be violated, it is to be done for the Promotion of the Catholick Religion. Being hereupon with much ado persuaded, they gave a kind of Consent. Abington, Barnwel, Charnock and Savage, took the Oath readily and cheerfully to commit the Murder. Salisbury could by no means be persuaded to have his Hand in killing the Queen, but voluntarily promis'd his Help for setting the Queen of Scots at Liberty. Over and above those before-named, Babington pitcheth upon one Tichenor to make up the Crew, of whose Fidelity and Boldness he was well satisfied; but he was at present absent a great way off. Babington chargeth them not to acquaint any Man with the business, but upon an Oath of Secrecy first taken. The Conspirators met ever and anon to confer about these matters, either in St. Giles's Fields, or St. Paul's Church, or in Taverns, where they every Day banquetted and feasted, being puffed up with Hope of great Honours; now and then commending the Valour of those Scottish Gentlemen who had not long before surpriz'd the King at Sterlin; and of Gerard the Burgundian, who murder'd the Pr. of Orange. And to such a height of foolish Vanity they proceeded, that they would needs have those men that were appointed to be the Assassines pictur'd

Conferences among them.

Their foolish Vanity.

to the Life, and Babington in the midst of them, with this Verse,

Hi mihi sunt Comites, quos ipsa Pericula ducunt.

'These Men are my Companions, whom very Dangers draw.

But forasmuch as this Verse pleas'd them not, as being too open and plain, they put instead of it,

Quorsum hæc aliò properantibus?

That is,

'To what end are these things to Men that hasten to another purpose?

These Pictures (they say) were begun and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by their Favour, save only Barnwel, who had often come to her about Business of the Earl of Kildare's, in whose Service he was employ'd; but being by other Tokens put in mind of him, she remember'd the Man very well. Sure it is, that when upon a time she walked abroad and saw Barnwel, she beheld him undauntedly, and turning herself to Hatton, Captain of the Guard, and others, she said, *Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?* For so Barnwel himself related to the rest of the Conspirators, and shew'd them how easily she might have been made away at that time, if the Conspirators had been there in readiness. Savage also affirm'd the same.

Nothing now more perplex'd Babington, than lest the promise made of foreign Aid should not be perform'd. Therefore to make sure thereof, he resolv'd himself to go over to France; and to that purpose to send Ballard privately before, for whom, by his Money, under a counterfeit Name, he had procur'd a Licence to travel. And that there might not be the least suspicion of himself, he insinuated into Walsingham by means of Polly, whom I spake of before, and earnestly besought him to procure him a Licence from the Queen to travel into France, promising to do her extraordinary good Service, in pumping out and discovering the secret Designs of the Fugitives in behalf of the Queen of Scots. Walsingham commended the young Gentleman's Purpose, and promis'd him not only a Licence to travel, but also many and great matters if he perform'd what he undertook. Yet did he linger and delay him, sitting out in the mean time, by his own and other mens Cunning and Diligence, the whole Plot, when they thought that the very Sun was a stranger to it: But this he did principally thro' the Discovery of Gilbert Gifford a Priest.

This Gifford was born of a good Family at Chillington in the County of Stafford, not far from Chartley, where the Queen of Scots was Prisoner; and was sent about this time into England by the Fugitives, under the counterfeit Name of Lufon, to put Savage in mind of his Vow, and privately to lurk here as a Messenger to convey Letters betwixt them and the Queen of Scots: For so dangerous was that Service, that they could draw neither the Countess of Arundel, nor the Lord Lumley, nor the Lord Henry Howard, nor yet George Shirley, to undertake it.

The Fugitives, to make trial whether Gifford would be faithful in the safe conveying of their Letters, sent at first several blank Papers, made up like Letters; which when they found, by the Answers they receiv'd, to have been deliver'd, they then grew more confident of him, and sent frequently other Letters written in Cyphers concerning

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Babington careful for foreign assistance. He intends to send Ballard to France about it. He insinuates into Walsingham.

Walsingham cunningly deceives the Deceiver.

Gifford reveals the Conspiracy.

He is intrusted to convey Letters betwixt the Fugitives and the Queen of Scots.

cerning their Business. But Gifford, whether
 1586. prick'd in Conscience, or formerly corrupted with
 Ann. 29. Money, or terrified with Fear, had before this
 come to *Walsingham* privately, informed what he
 was, and to what purpose sent into *England*, of-
 fering him his best Service in love to his Prince
 and Country, and promis'd to impart unto him
 all the Letters he should receive either from the
 Fugitives, or from the Queen of *Scots*. *Walsing-*
ham, laying hold on the Opportunity offer'd,
 entertain'd the Man kindly, sent him into *Staff-*
ordshire, and wrote to *Powlet*, that he should con-
 nive at the corrupting of one of his Men by *Gif-*
ford. *Powlet*, unwilling that any of his own Ser-
 vants should (as he said) become a Traitor by
 such dissembling, denied it; yet permitted him
 to corrupt a Brewer or some such Man who
 dwelt hard by. *Gifford* with a few pieces of
 Gold soon corrupted the Brewer, who privately
 put in the Letters, and receiv'd Answers of them,
 through an hole in the Wall, which was stopp'd
 with a loose Stone; which Letters forthwith
 came to *Walsingham's* Hands by Messengers ready
 on purpose to carry them. *Walsingham* open'd
 them, wrote them out, found out the Cyphers
 by the singular Art and Skill of *Thomas Philips*,
 and by the direction of *Arthur Gregory* sealed them
 up again so cunningly, that no Man could ever
 judge they had been open'd, and so sent them to
 those to whom they were directed by the Super-
 scriptions. Thus were intercepted those fore-
 mention'd Letters of the Queen of *Scots* to *Ba-*
bington, and his in answer to her, and another of
 hers to him, wherein was cunningly added (after
 opening) a Postscript in the same Characters,
 desiring him to set down the Names of the six
 Gentlemen, (and it's likely other things too) also
 the Letters which were written the same Day
 and Date to *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, to
Charles Paget, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbishop of
Glasgow, and Sir *Francis Inglesfield*; all which
 were first copied out, and then sent over
 Sea.

Queen *Elizabeth*, as soon as she understood by
 these Letters that so dreadful a Storm hung over
 her Head, on the one side from her own Sub-
 jects at home, and the other side from Strangers
 abroad, gave Command for the timely suppress-
 ing of the Conspiracy, that *Ballard* should forth-
 with be apprehended. Him therefore they seiz'd
 on before he was aware in *Babington's* House, at
 the very Moment when he was ready to set for-
 ward on his Journey for *France*. Hereupon *Ba-*
bington grew very much troubled and pensive,
 toss'd with a thousand Uncertainties of an un-
 resolv'd Mind: And while his Thoughts ran
 now this way now that way, at length he be-
 took himself to *Tichburn*, and advis'd with him,
 what was best to be done. *Tichburn's* Counsel
 was, That the Conspirators should forthwith
 disperse themselves and fly. But *Babington*
 thought it the best course to send *Savage* and
Charnock presently to execute the Murder. But first,
 that they might get the better access, he thought
 good to provide *Savage* of more handsom and
 courtly Apparel, and hereof he discours'd with
 them the same Day in *St. Paul's* Church. But
 presently his Mind alter'd, and, concealing the
 inward Anguish of his troubl'd Breast, he press'd
Walsingham (then absent at Court) by Letters and
 earnest Intreaties, that he might now at length
 have his Licence granted to travel into *France*; and
 withal solicited him for the delivery of *Bal-*
lard, who would be of special Use and Service
 to him in the Business he had undertaken. *Wal-*
singham feedeth him with fair Promises from Day
 to Day. That *Ballard* was apprehended, he lay-
 eth the blame upon *Young*, that subtle Discoverer

of Papists, and upon the Pursuivants; and, as it
 were out of Love and Friendship, warneth *Ba-*
bington to beware of that kind of Men: And now
 he easily persuades the young Gentleman to lodge
 in his House at *London* till the Queen had sign'd
 his Licence, and till himself could return to *Lon-*
don, that they might have the more secret and
 secure Conference about Matters of such Mo-
 ment and Consequence, and that there might no
 Suspicion arise of him amongst the Fugitives
 when he should come into *France*, upon account
 of his frequent repair to his House. In the mean
 time *Scudamore*, *Walsingham's* Man, was com-
 manded to have a diligent and watchful Eye up-
 on him, and to keep him company in all pla-
 ces, under pretence of securing him from Pur-
 suivants.

Thus far had *Walsingham* spun this Thread a-
 lone, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's
 Council; and longer he would have drawn it,
 but the Queen would not suffer it, Lest (as she
 said herself) by not heeding and preventing the Dan-
 ger while she might, she should seem rather to tempt
 God, than to trust in God. A Note was therefore
 sent from the Court from *Walsingham* to his Man,
 that he should more strictly observe *Babington*.
 This Note being unsealed, was deliver'd so to
 him, that *Babington*, sitting at the Board next
 him, read it along with him. Hereupon his Con-
 science accusing him, and suspecting that all was
 come to light, the next Night, when he and
Scudamore, and one or two more of *Walsingham's*
 Men had supped plentifully in a Tavern, he
 rose from the Board as if he intended to pay the
 Reckoning, and, leaving his Cloak and Sword
 behind him, made all the haste he could in the
 dark to *Westminster*, where *Gage* changed Cloaths
 with him, who presently stripped himself again
 in *Charnock's* Chamber, and put on *Charnock's*
 Cloaths; and immediately they withdrew into
St. John's Wood near the City, whither also *Barn-*
wel and *Dun* made their retreat. In the mean
 time they were publicly proclaim'd Traitors all
 over *England*. They were now fain to lurk in
 Woods and blind Corners; and having in vain
 tried to borrow Money of the French Ambassador,
 and Horses of *Tichburn*, cut off *Babington's* Hair,
 disguised and sullied the natural Beauty of his
 Face with the Rind of green Walnuts; and be-
 ing hardly put to it by Hunger, they went to an
 House of the *Bellamies* near *Harrow on the Hill*,
 which *Bellamies* were furiously bigotted to the
 Romish Religion. There were they hid in Barns,
 there were they fed, and clothed in rude Coun-
 try Habit. But the 10th Day after they were
 discover'd and brought to *London*, the City testi-
 fying their publick Joy by ringing of Bells, mak-
 ing Bonfires, and singing of Psalms; insomuch
 as the Citizens were highly commended and
 thanked by the Queen for these Testimonies of
 their good Affection.

The rest of the Conspirators were taken soon
 after, most of 'em in places near the City; *Sal-*
isbury in *Chester*, having his Horse run through
 by those that pursu'd him, and with him *Trevers*,
 after they had swam over the River *Wever*. *Jones*
 was taken in *Wales*, who, being privy to the de-
 sign'd Invasion, had conceal'd them in his House
 after he knew them to be proclaim'd Traitors;
 and had horsed *Salisbury* in his Flight, and chan-
 ged Cloaks with his Man, which was a Priest.
 Only *Windfore* was not to be found. Many Days
 were spent in examining of them, who cut one
 anothers Throats by their Confessions, and dis-
 cover'd the whole truth of the business.

All this while was the Queen of *Scots* and her
 Servants kept by *Powlet*, with so strict a Watch,
 and so closely observ'd, that she was utterly ig-
 norant

1586.
Ann. 29.

Watchful
Eye upon
Babington

He slinks
away.

He and o-
thers lurk
in Woods.

They are
taken.

The rest
taken.

They dis-
cover all,
and im-
peach one
another.

He sends
all the Let-
ters he re-
ceives to
Walsing-
ham.

They are
transcrib'd
and sent as
directed.

Ballard
apprehen-
ded.

Babington
perplexed.

He solicits
for *Bal-*
lard's
delivery.

Walsing-
ham's
Policy.

1586.
Ann. 29.

Q of Scots
led about
the Coun-
try.

Name &
Curle, her
Secretaries
seized.

Her Cab-
inets of
papers sent
to the Q.

Gifford
sent back
to France.

Where he
dies mis-
erably.

The Con-
spirators
arraign'd,

and exe-
cuted.

Behaviour
at their
Death.

ignorant of all these Occurrences, tho' they were commonly known and talk'd of all over England. But as soon as these Conspirators were apprehended, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent to give her a brief Account thereof: which News he surpriz'd her with, and that of set purpose, just as she had taken Horse to ride a hunting. Neither was she permitted to return to the place of her Custody, but was led about (under a Shew of doing her Honour) from one Gentleman's House to another's, dwelling thereabouts. In the mean time, Sir John Maners, Sir Edward Aston, Sir Richard Bagot, and Mr. William Waad, (who was lately sent into those parts, and wholly ignorant of the matter) by Authority granted them under the Queen's Warrant and Letters, committed Nawe and Curle, her two Secretaries, to several Keepers, that they might have no Conference either with one another, or with the Queen. And then breaking open the Doors of her private Closet, they sent all her Cabinets wherein her Papers were kept, seal'd up with their own Seals, to the Court. Then Powlet (as he was commanded) seiz'd upon all her Money, lest she should corrupt any body with Bribes, and pass'd his Word for the true restoring the same. Her Cabinets being search'd before Queen Elizabeth, there were found many Letters from Persons beyond Sea, as also Copies of Letters written to several, Breviaries, and about sixty Indexes or Tables of private Cyphers and Characters; Letters also from some English Noblemen to her, full of Expressions of Love and Respect. Which notwithstanding Queen Elizabeth dissembled and conceal'd in Silence, according to that Motto which she us'd, *Videō & taceo*, that is, I see, but say nothing. But they having got some sort of Knowledge thereof, began from that time to shew themselves deadly Adversaries to the Queen of Scots, lest they might seem to have favour'd her before.

Now Gifford, having acted his Part thus far in this Scene, was sent away back into France, as if he had been banish'd hence; but first he left behind him with the French Ambassador in England, an indented Paper, with Direction that he should deliver the Letters he receiv'd from the Queen of Scots, or from the Fugitives, to no other Person but him that should shew the Counterpart thereof; which Counterpart was privily sent by him to Walsingham. This Gifford, being return'd into France, was after some Months cast into Prison for incontinent and dishonest living; and being withal suspected there of these things, he died miserably, freely confessing most of the Passages already mention'd, which were also found penn'd down in some Papers he had by him in his Coffers.

On the 13th. of September, seven of the Conspirators were arraign'd, confessed themselves guilty, and were condemn'd of High-Treason. The next day but one after, seven others were in like manner arraign'd, pleaded Not guilty, and submitted themselves to be tried by God and the Country, as the manner is; who were all found guilty out of their own Confessions, and condemn'd. Pollie only of the Number, though he were privy to all the Business, yet because he affirm'd that he had reveal'd several things to Walsingham, was not arraign'd. On the 20th. of the same Month, (a Gallows and a Scaffold being set up for that purpose in S. Giles's Fields, where they were wont to meet) the first seven were hang'd, cut down, their Privities cut off, their Bowels taken out before their Faces, while they were alive, and their Bodies quarter'd, not without more than usual Cruelty.

Ballard, the Arch-plotter and Contriver of this Treason, crav'd Pardon of God, and of the Q.

if so be he had sinn'd against her. Babington (who beheld Ballard's Execution, without being in the least daunted, while the rest turn'd away their Faces, and fell to Prayers upon their Knees) ingenuously acknowledg'd his Offence. Being taken down from the Gallows, and now ready to be cut up, he cry'd aloud several times in Latin, *Parce mihi, Domine Jesu*; that is, Spare, or, Forgive me, O Lord Jesus. Savage broke the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, and was presently seiz'd on by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out alive. Barnwell extenuated his Crime, upon the account of Religion and Conscience. Tichburne humbly acknowledg'd his Fault, and mov'd the Multitude to Pity and Commiseration of his Case. As in like manner did Tilney, a Man of a modest Disposition and comely Personage. Abington, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, sought to terrify them with Menaces and Threats of Blood which should, he said, be spilt e'er long in England.

The next day, the other seven were drawn to the same place, and suffer'd the same kind of Death; but somewhat more favourably, by the Queen's express Command, who detested the former Cruelty: for they all hung till they were quite dead, before they were cut down and bowell'd.

Salisbury was the first, who died very penitent, admonishing the Catholicks not to attempt to restore Religion by Force and Arms. In like manner did Dun, who next follow'd him. Jones protested that he dissuaded Salisbury from the Attempt, and utterly condemn'd Babington's proud and rash Headiness, and the Design for Invasion. Charnock and Travers, having their Minds wholly fix'd on Prayer, recommended themselves to God and the Saints. Gage extoll'd the Queen's great Grace and Bounty to his Father, and detested his own perfidious Ingratitude towards his Princess, to whom he was so deeply engaged. Hierom Bellamy, who had conceal'd Babington, after he was openly proclaim'd Traitor, (whose Brother was guilty of the same Crime, and strangled himself in Prison) with Confusion and deep Silence brought up the Rear.

These being thus executed, Nawe a Frenchman Queen of and Curle a Scot, who were the Queen of Scots Secretaries, being examin'd about the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Ciphers, found in the Queen's private Closet, voluntarily acknowledg'd, and subscribed to it, that the Letters were of their Hand-writing, as they were dictated from the Queen's own Mouth in French to Nawe, and translated into English by Curle, and so written in Ciphers. Neither did they deny but she had receiv'd Letters from Babington, and that by her Command they had written back to him to the same purpose as I have before related. Whether these Secretaries were bribed to confess this, I cannot say: Yet this appears out of some Letters, that when Curle about this time claim'd Promise of Walsingham, Walsingham tax'd him as un-mindful of the extraordinary Favour he had done him, and told him he had confess'd nothing but what he could not deny, because Nawe his Fellow justify'd it to his Face.

Shortly after was Sir Edward Wotton sent into France, to inform the King of the whole Management of the Conspiracy, and to shew him the Copies of the Letters of the Queen of Scots and others, attested by the Depositions of certain Noblemen of England, to justify the Truth thereof; that so the French King might see into what great Dangers the Queen of England had been brought, by the Practices of Morgan, Charles Paget, and others in France.

And

1586. And now, what should be done with the Q. of Scots, the Council were of several Minds and Opinions. Some thought that no new rigorous Course was to be taken with her, but only that she was to be committed to closer Custody, both because she was not the Author of the Mischief, but only accessary to it; as also because she was sickly, and not like to live long. Others were of Opinion, that for the Security and Preservation of Religion, she was forthwith to be put to death, and that by Law. Leicester thought rather by Poison, and sent a Divine privately to *Walsingham*, to satisfy him that it was lawful. But *Walsingham* protested he was so far from consenting that any Violence should be done to her, that he had of late cross'd *Morton's* Counsel, who advis'd that she should be sent back into Scotland, and put to death in the very Frontiers and Borders of both Kingdoms. Then they differ'd in their Opinion, by what Law she should be proceeded against, whether by the Statute of 25 Edward III. (whereby he is made guilty of Treason, who shall compass or imagine the Destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his or her Kingdom, or adhere to his or her Enemies) or by the late Act of 27. Queen Elizabeth, whereof I have made mention before. At length it was carry'd by those who thought she was rather to be try'd by this last Act, as being made for this very purpose and occasion, and therefore to be put in execution. To the end therefore that Process might be made, and Sentence pronounc'd, according to this Act, made the last Year, against all such as should raise Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any Violence towards the Queen, several of the Privy-Council and other Noblemen of England, were made Commissioners, by the Queen's Patent, for her Trial. Whose Names (because it may concern Posterity to know the Rank and Titles of the Noblemen of England) I have thought good to set down out of the very Original, which runs thus in the ordinary Form of the Court.

Commission, and Commissioners Names. Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in Christ, *John*, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and one of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and well-beloved Sir *Thomas Bromley* Knight, Chancellor of England, and one of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord-Treasurer of England, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our most dear Cousin *William* Lord *Marques* of *Winchester*, one of the Lords of the Parliament: To our most dear Cousin *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, great Chamberlain of England, another of the Lords of Parliament; and also to our most dear Cousin *George* Earl of *Surrey*, Earl-Marshall of England, another of our Privy-Council; and to our most dear Cousin *Henry* Earl of *Kent*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our most dear Cousin *Henry* E. of *Derby*, another of our Privy-Council; and to our most dear Cousin *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our most dear Cousin *Ambrose* Earl of *Warwick*, Master of our Ordinance, another of our Privy-Council; and to our most dear Cousin *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our most dear Cousin *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, Master of our Horse, another of our Privy-Council; and to our most dear Cousin *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our most dear Cousin *Anthony* Viscount *Montague*, another of the

Lords of the Parliament: And to our trusty and well-belov'd *Charles* Lord *Howard*, our high Admiral of England, another of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Hansdon*, our Lord Chamberlain, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Abergavenny*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our trusty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord *Morley*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our trusty and well-beloved *William* Lord *Cobham*, Lord-Warden of our Cinque-ports, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Arthur* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *John* Lord *Lumley*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *John* Lord *Stourton*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our trusty and well-beloved *William* Lord *Sandes*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; to our trusty and well-beloved *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and to our trusty and well-beloved *John* Lord *Saint-John* of *Blessington*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst*, another of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Compton*, another of the Lords of the Parliament; and also to our trusty and well-beloved *Henry* Lord *Cheyney*, another of the Lords of the Parliament: To our trusty and beloved Sir *Francis* Kneller Knight, Treasurer of our Household, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and beloved Sir *James* Croft Knight, Comptroller of our said Household, another of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and beloved Sir *Christopher* Hatton Knight, our Vice-Chamberlain, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and beloved Sir *Francis* *Walsingham* Knight, one of our principal Secretaries, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and beloved *William* *Davison* Esquire, another of our principal Secretaries, and of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and beloved Sir *Ralph* Sadleir Knight, Chancellor of our Duchy of *Lancaster*, another of our Privy-Council; and also to our trusty and beloved Sir *Walter* Mildmay Knight, Chancellor of our Exchequer, another of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and beloved Sir *Amias* Poulet Knight, Captain of our Isle of *Fersey*, another of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and beloved *John* Wolley Esquire, our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, another of our Privy-Council: And also to our trusty and beloved Sir *Christopher* Wray Knight, Chief Justice assign'd for the Pleas to be holden before us; and to our trusty and beloved Sir *Edmund* Anderson Knight, our Chief Justice of the Bench; Sir *Roger* Mamwood Knight, our Chief Baron of our Exchequer; Sir *Thomas* Gawdy Knight, one of our Justices assign'd for the Pleas to be holden before us; and *William* Periam, one of our Justices of the Bench, Greiving, &c. Then (not to write it all down verbatim) after the Recital of the Act made the last Year, thus it follows: 'Whereas since the end of the Session of Parliament, viz. since the first day of June, in the Twenty seventh Year of

1586. Ann. 29. Different Opinions what to do with the Queen of Scots.

And by what Law she should be try'd.

Resolv'd to try her by the late Act of Treason.

Commissioners appointed to try her.

Commission, and Commissioners Names.

1586. Ann. 29.

1586. of our Reign, divers things have been com-
 Ann. 29. pass'd and imagin'd, tending to the Hurt of
 our Royal Person, as well by *Mary* Daughter
 and Heir of *James V.* King of *Scots*, and com-
 monly call'd Queen of *Scots*, and Dowager of
France, pretending a Title to the Crown of this
 Realm of *England*, as by divers other Persons,
 with the Privy of the said *Mary*, as we are
 given to understand; And whereas we do in-
 tend and resolve, that the aforesaid Act shall be
 in all and every part thereof duly and effectually
 put in Execution, according to the Tenor
 of the same, and that all Offences aforesaid,
 in the Act aforesaid mention'd, as afore is said,
 and the Circumstances of the same, shall be ex-
 amin'd, and Sentence or Judgment thereupon
 given, according to the Tenor and Effect of
 the said Act: To you, and the greater part of
 you, we do give full and absolute Power, Li-
 cence and Authority, according to the Tenor
 of the said Act, to examine all and singular
 matters compass'd and imagin'd, tending to the
 Hurt of our Royal Person, as well by the a-
 foresaid *Mary*, as by any other Person or Per-
 sons whatsoever, with the Privy of the said
Mary, and all Circumstances of the same, and
 other Offences whatsoever aforesaid, in the
 Act aforesaid (as afore is said) mention'd, and
 all Circumstances of the same, and of every of
 them; And thereupon, according to the Te-
 nor of the Act aforesaid, to give Sentence or
 Judgment, as upon good Proof the Matter
 shall appear to you. And therefore we com-
 mand you, that you do at such certain days and
 places, which you or the greater part of you
 shall for that purpose set and agree upon, dili-
 gently proceed upon the Premises, in form a-
 foresaid, &c.

They
 meet at
 Fortherin-
 gay-Castle.

Queen of
 Scots an-
 swers ex-
 tempore
 to the
 Queen's
 Letters.

The greatest part of these Commissioners met
 on the 11th of October, at *Fotheringhay-Castle* in
 the County of *Northampton*, seated upon the Bank
 of the River *Nen*, where the Queen of *Scots* was
 then in Custody. The next day the Commis-
 sioners sent to her Sir *Walter Mildmay*, *Powlet* and
Edward Barker Publick-Notary, who deliver'd in-
 to her Hands Queen *Elizabeth's* Letters: which
 when she had read, with a Countenance becom-
 ing her Royal Dignity, and with a quiet and fe-
 date Mind, she thus deliver'd herself: 'It grieves
 me much that the Queen, my most dear Sister,
 is mis-inform'd of me; and that I, after so ma-
 ny Years close Confinement in Prison, and my
 being grown lame in my Limbs, have lain
 wholly neglected, tho' I have offer'd so many
 reasonable Conditions for my Liberty. Tho'
 I have given her full and faithful Notice of fe-
 veral Dangers that threaten'd, yet has no Cre-
 dit been given to me, but I have been still con-
 temn'd and slighted, tho' I be so nearly ally'd
 to her in Blood. When the Association was
 enter'd into, and the Act of Parliament made
 thereupon, I foresaw that whatsoever Danger
 should happen, either from forein Princes a-
 broad, or from ill-disposed People at home, or
 for Religions sake, I must bear all the Blame,
 having so many mortal Enemies in the Court.
 Certainly I might take it very ill, and that not
 without just Reason, that a League has been
 lately made with my Son, without my Know-
 ledge or Privy: But such matters I omit. As
 for this Letter, it seems strange to me, that the
 Queen should command me as a Subject, to
 submit myself to a Trial. I am an absolute
 Queen, and will do nothing which may be
 prejudicial either to Royal Majesty, or to other
 Princes of my Place and Rank, or my Son.
 My Mind is not yet so far dejected, neither
 will I faint or sink under this my Calamity. I

refer myself to what I have formerly protested
 before *Bromley*, now Chancellor, and the Lord
La-ware. The Laws and Statutes of *England*
 are to me altogether unknown; I am destitute
 of Counsellors; and who shall be my Peers I
 cannot tell. My Papers and Notes are taken
 from me, and no Man dares appear to be my
 Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any
 thing against the Queen, I have stirr'd up no
 Man against her, and am not to be charg'd but
 upon my own Words or Writings, which I am
 sure cannot be produced against me. Yet can
 I not deny, but I have recommended myself
 and my Condition to forein Princes.

The next day *Powlet* and *Barker* return'd to her
 from the Commissioners, to let her know, that
 this Answer of hers was put in Writing, and to
 ask her, Whether she would own it, and stand to
 it? When she had heard it distinctly read, she
 acknowledg'd to be rightly and truly taken, and
 said she would stand to it. 'But this (said she)
 I have quite forgotten, which I would now have
 to be added. Whereas the Queen writes that I
 am subject to the Laws of *England*, and to be
 try'd and judg'd by them, because I have liv'd
 under the Protection of them; I answer, that
 I came into *England* to crave her Aid and As-
 sistance, and have been ever since detain'd in
 Prison, so that I could not enjoy the Protection
 or Benefit of the Laws of *England*; nay, I could
 never yet understand from any Man what man-
 ner of Laws those were.

In the Afternoon came to her some that were
 chosen and deputed from amongst the rest of the
 Commissioners, together with Men learned in
 the Civil and Canon-Law. The Lord-Chancel-
 lor and the Lord-Treasurer justify'd their Atho-
 rity, by their Patent and Commission, and shew'd
 that neither her Imprisonment nor her Preroga-
 tive of Royal Majesty could exempt her from
 answering in this Kingdom, with fair Words
 advising her to hear what should be objected a-
 gainst her: otherwise they threaten'd, that by
 Authority of the Law they both could and would
 proceed against her, tho' she were absent. She
 answer'd, 'That she was no Subject, and rather
 would she die a thousand Deaths than acknow-
 ledge herself a Subject, considering that by such
 an Acknowledgment she should both wrong
 the Sublimity of Regal Majesty, and withal
 confess herself to be bound by all the Laws of
England, even in matter of Religion. Never-
 theless she was ready to answer all things in a
 free and full Parliament: as for this Meeting
 and Assembly, it was (for ought she knew) de-
 vised against her (being already condemn'd and
 forejudg'd to die) purposely to give some Shew
 and Colour of a just and legal Proceeding. She
 warn'd them therefore to look to their Consci-
 ences, and to remember that the Theater of
 the whole World is much wider than the King-
 dom of *England*. Then she began to complain
 of the Injuries done her. But the Lord-Treasu-
 rer, interrupting her, began to reckon up Queen
Elizabeth's Kindnesses towards her: namely, That
 she had punish'd divers who had oppos'd and de-
 ny'd her Title to the Crown of *England*; and
 had been a means to keep her from being con-
 demn'd by the Estates of the Realm, for endea-
 vouring Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for
 the Rebellion in the North, and several other
 matters. All which when she seem'd to make
 little Esteem and Account of, they return'd
 back to the rest of their Fellow-Commis-
 sioners.

Within few Hours after they sent her by *Pow-
 let* and the Solicitor the Contents of their Com-
 mission, and the Names of the Commissioners, that

1585. that she might see they were to proceed according to Equity and Reason, and not upon any cunning Niceties of Law, or take any extraordinary Course. She took no Exception against the Commissioners, but objected strongly against the late-made Law, upon which the Authority of their Commission solely depended; as, that it was unjust, devised of purpose against her, that it was without Example, and such whereunto she would never subject herself. She asked by what Law they intended to proceed? If by the Civil or Canon-Law, then (said she) you must send for Interpreters of it from Pavia or Poitiers, or some other foreign University, for in England are none to be found fit for it. She added also, That it was manifest by the plain Words of the Queen's Letters, that she was already fore-judg'd to be guilty of the Crime, before she was heard; and therefore there was no reason why she should appear before them. She farther requir'd to be satisfy'd touching some Scruples she had concerning several things in those Letters, which she had for her own Satisfaction confusedly and in haste taken Notice of, but would not deliver them in Writing: For it stood not (she said) with her Royal Dignity to play the Scribe.

She scruples some things in the Q's Letters.

She requires to have her Protestation admitted. She asks by what Authority and Law they'd proceed.

Justifies herself.

Refuses to appear.

Touching this Matter, the formerly-deputed Commissioners were sent unto her again; whom she told, that she did not well understand what those Words meant, *Seeing she is under the Queen's Protection*. The Lord-Chancellor answer'd, *That it was plain to every one that understood any thing; yet was it not for Subjects to interpret what the Queen's meaning was, neither were they Commissioners for that end and purpose*. Then she requir'd to have her Protestation, which she had formerly made, shew'd and allowed. It was answer'd, *That it had never been, nor now could be, allow'd, because it was prejudicial to the Crown of England*. She asked by what Authority they would proceed? It was answer'd, *By Authority of their Commission, and by the Common-Law of England*. But (said she) *ye make Laws at your pleasure, whereunto I have no reason to submit myself, considering that the English in times past refused to submit themselves to the Salick Law of France*. And if they would proceed by the Common Law of England, they should produce Presidents and like Cases, forasmuch as that Law consisteth much of Cases and Custom. And if by the Canon Law, none else ought to interpret the same but the makers thereof. It was answer'd, *That that they would proceed neither by the Civil nor Canon Law, but by the Common Law of England: That it might nevertheless be proved both by the Civil and Canon Law, that she ought to appear before them, if she would not refuse to hear it*. And indeed she refused not to hear it, provided (as she said) it were by way of Interlocution and Discourse, not Judicially.

After that she fell into other Discourses: 'That she never had any Thoughts tending to the Destruction of the Queen: That she had been provoked and incensed with several Injuries and Indignities: That she should be a Stone of Offence to others, if she were so unworthily handl'd: That by Nawe she had offer'd her best Assistance for revoking the Pope's Bull: That she would have justified her Innocency by Letters, but she was not allow'd to do it: And finally, That all the Offices of Kindness and Good-will which she had tender'd these twenty Years, had been rejected and slighted. While she thus wander'd from the Business by these Digressions, they recall'd her back, and prayed her to speak plainly, whether she would answer before the Commissioners, or not? She reply'd, 'That the Authority of their Commission was founded upon a late Law made to in-

trap her: That she could by no means away with the Queen's Laws, which she had good reason to suspect: That she had still a good Heart full of Courage, and would not derogate from her Progenitors the Kings of Scotland, by owning herself a Subject to the Crown of England; for this were nothing else but openly to confess them to have been Rebels and Traitors. Yet she refus'd not to answer, provided she were not reduc'd to the Rank of a Subject. But she had rather utterly perish than to answer as a criminal Person.

1586.

Ann. 29.

To this Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, answer'd: 'You are accus'd (but not condemn'd) to have conspir'd the Destruction of our Lady and Queen anointed. You say you are a Queen: Be it so: However in such a Crime as this, the Royal Dignity itself is not exempted from answering, neither by the Civil or Canon Law, nor by the Law of Nations, nor of Nature. For if such kind of Offences might be committed without punishment, all Justice would stagger, yea fall to the Ground. If you be Innocent, you wrong your Reputation in avoiding Trial. You protest yourself to be Innocent, but Q. Elizabeth thinketh otherwise, and that not without good Ground, and is heartily sorry for the same. To examine therefore your Innocency, she hath appointed Commissioners, honorable Persons, prudent and upright Men, who are ready to hear you according to Equity and Favour, and will rejoice with all their Hearts if you shall clear yourself of what you are charg'd with. Believe me, the Queen herself will be transported with Joy, who affirm'd unto me at my coming from her, that never any thing befel her that troubl'd her more, than that you should be charg'd with such Misdemeanors. Wherefore laying aside the fruitless claim of Privilege from your Royal Dignity, which now can be of no use unto you, appear to your Trial, and shew your Innocency; lest by avoiding Trial you draw upon yourself a Suspicion, and stain your Reputation with an eternal Blot and Asperion.

Hatton persuades her to it.

'I refuse not (said she) to answer in a full Parliament before the States of the Realm lawfully assembl'd, provided I may be declar'd the next in Succession; yea before the Queen and her Council, so that my Protestation may be admitted, and I may be acknowledg'd the next of Kin to the Queen. To the Judgment of mine Adversaries, with whom I know all Defence of mine Innocency will signifie nothing, I will by no means submit myself. The Lord-Chancellor ask'd her, Whether she would answer, if her Protestation were admitted? I will never (said she) submit myself to the late Law mention'd in the Commission. Hereupon the Lord-Treasurer concluded, 'We notwithstanding will proceed in the Cause to Morrow, tho' you be absent and continue refractory. Examine your Consciences, (said she) be tender of your Honour; God reward you and yours according to your Judgment upon me.

She stands out.

On the Morrow, which was the 14th of the Month, she sent for certain of the Commissioners, and pray'd 'em that her Protestation might be admitted and allowed. The Lord-Treasurer ask'd her, Whether she would appear to her Trial, if her Protestation were only received and entred in Writing, without Allowance? She yielded at last, but with much ado and an ill will, lest she should seem (as she said) to derogate from her Predecessors or Successors; but was very desirous to clear herself of the Crimes objected against her, being persuaded by Hatton's

She is content to appear.

Reasons, which she had seriously weighed and considered.

1586. *Ann. 29.* Soon after those Commissioners that were there assembled themselves in the Presence-Chamber. At the upper end of the Chamber was placed a Chair of State for the Queen of England under a Canopy of State. Overagainst it, below and at some distance, near the Transeome or Beam that ran cross the Room, stood a Chair for the Queen of Scots. By the Walls on both sides were placed Benches, upon which sat, on the one side the Lord-Chancellor of England, the Lord-Treasurer of England, the Lords of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and the Lord Viscount Montacute: On the other side, the Barons Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, Saint-John of Bleteshoe, Compton and Cheiney. Nigh unto these sat the Knights that were of the Privy-Council, Sir James de Croftes, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amias Poulet. Right before the Earls sat the two Chief-Justices, and the Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; and on the other side two Barons, the other Justices, Dale and Ford Doctors of the Civil Law: And at a little Table in the midst sat Popham the Queen's Attorney, Egerton the Queen's Solicitor, Gawdy the Queen's Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries.

The Lord-Chancellor's speech to her. When she was come in, and had placed herself on her Seat, after Silence commanded, Bromley Lord-Chancellor, turning towards her, spake briefly to this effect: *The most Serene Queen Elizabeth being inform'd (not without great Grief and Trouble to her Mind) that you have conspir'd the Destruction of her Person and the Realm of England, and the Subversion of Religion, hath according to her Place and Duty, lest she might seem to neglect God, Herself and her People, and out of no Malice of Heart at all, appointed these Commissioners to hear the Matters which shall be objected against you, and how you can clear yourself of them, and make your Innocency appear to the World.*

Her Protestation. She then rose up, and said, 'That she came into England to crave the Aid which had been promis'd her, and yet had she been ever since detain'd in Prison. She protested, that she was no Subject of the Queen's, but had been, and was, a free and absolute Queen, not to be constrain'd to appear before Commissioners, or any other Judge whatsoever, for any Cause whatsoever, but before God alone, the highest Judge; lest she should derogate from her own Royal Majesty, the King of Scots her Son, her Successors, and other absolute Princes. Yet that she now appear'd personally, to refute and wipe off the Crimes objected against her. And hereof she prayed her own Attendants to bear witness.

The ansr. The Lord-Chancellor, not acknowledging that any Aid had been promis'd her, answer'd, *That this Protestation was in vain, for whosoever (of what Place, Quality and Degree soever he be) should offend against the Laws of England in England, he was subject to the said Laws, and was to be examined and tried by the late Act. The said Protestation therefore, being made in derogation of the Laws and Queen of England, was not to be admitted. The Commissioners nevertheless commanded, that as well her Protestation, as the Lord-Chancellor's Answer, should be recorded.*

Her Protestation recorded. She expects against the Act. After the Commission was openly read, which was grounded upon the Act so often already mention'd, she boldly and resolutely offer'd her Protestation against the said Act, as made directly and purposely against herself; and herein she appeal'd to their own Consciences.

When answer was made by the Lord-Treasurer, 'That every Person in the Kingdon was bound by the Laws, tho' never so lately made, and that she ought not to speak against the Laws; and that the Commissioners were resolv'd to proceed according to that Law, what Protestations or Appeals soever she interposed: She said at length, *That she was ready to bear and answer touching any Fact whatsoever committed against the Queen of England.*

Gawdy now opening the Statute from Point to Point, affirming that she had offended against the same; and hereupon he made an historical Discourse of Babington's Conspiracy, and concluded, *That she knew of it, approv'd it, assented to it, promis'd her Assistance, and shew'd the way and means for effecting it.*

She answer'd with a stout Courage, 'That she knew not Babington: That she never receiv'd any Letters from him, nor wrote any to him: That she never plotted the Destruction of the Queen; and that to prove any such thing, her Subscription under her own Hand ought to produc'd: That for her part she never so much as heard a word thereof: That she knew not Ballard, nor ever reliev'd him: But understanding by some that the Catholics in England took many things very hardly, she had advertis'd the Queen by Letters of it, and besought her to take Pity on them: That divers who were utterly unknown to her had offer'd her their Help and Assistance, yet had she excit'd or encourag'd no Man to any unlawful Attempt; and being shut up in Prison, she could neither know nor hinder what they went about.

Hereupon it was urg'd out of Babington's Confession, That there had been intercourse of Letters betwixt her and Babington. She confess'd that there had passed Letters betwixt her and many Men, yet could it not be thence gather'd that she was privy to all their wicked Designs. She requir'd that her Superscription under her own Hand might be produc'd; and ask'd what hurt it were for her to demand the Letters again which had been kept from her almost a whole Year. Then were read the Copies of Babington's Letters to her, wherein the whole Conspiracy was contain'd.

As for these Letters (said she) it may be that Babington wrote them, but let it be prov'd that I received them. If Babington or any other affirm it, I say plainly, they lye. Other Mens Faults are not to be thrown upon me. A Packet of Letters which had been kept from me almost a whole Year, came to my Hands about that time, but by whom it was sent I know not.

To prove that she had receiv'd Babington's Letters, there were read out of Babington's Confession the chief Heads of certain Letters which he had voluntarily confess'd that she had wrote back to him. Wherein when mention was made of the Earl of Arundel and his Brothers, and the Earl of Northumberland, the Tears burst forth, and she said, *Alas! what hath that noble House of the Howards endur'd for my sake?* And presently, having wiped away the Tears, she answer'd, *That Babington might confess what he list, but 'twas a flat Lye that she had contriv'd any such means to escape: That her Adversaries might easily get Ciphers which she had made use of to others, and with the same write many things forgedly and falsly: That it was not likely she should make use of Arundel's Help, whom she knew to be shut up in Prison; or Northumberland's, who was so very young, and to her altogether unknown.*

There were read also several things pick'd out of Savage's and Ballard's Confessions, who had confess'd

1586. confessed that *Babington* communicated to them several Letters which he had received from the Queen of Scots.

Ann. 29. She affirm'd, ' That *Babington* receiv'd none from her; nay, that she was very angry and offended with some who had secretly given her Advice concerning the invading of England, and had charg'd them to beware what they did.

Next was produced a Letter wherein *Babington's* Plot was commended and approved. Hereof she desir'd a Copy, and affirm'd, ' That it came not from her, but haply might be written by her Alphabet of Ciphers in France. That she had used her best Endeavours for the recovery of her Liberty, as very Nature itself allows and dictates, and had solicited her Friends to get her Deliverance; yet to some, whom she list'd not to name, when they offer'd her their Help for her Delivery, she gave not the least Answer. Nevertheless she had a great desire to divert the storm of Persecution from the Catholics, and for this she had been an earnest Suitor to the Queen. For her part, she would not purchase the Kingdom with the Death of the meanest ordinary Man, much less of the Queen. That there were many which attempted dangerous Designs without her knowledge; and by a Letter which she had very lately received, she was ask'd pardon by some if they should enterprize any thing without her privacy. That it was an easie matter to counterfeit the Ciphers and Characters of others; as a young Man did very lately in France, who gave himself out to be her Son's base Brother. That she was also afraid this was done by *Walsingham*, to bring her to her End, who (as she heard) had practis'd both against her Life and her Son's. She protested that she never so much as thought of the Destruction of the Queen: That she would gladly and freely rather lose her own Life, than that the Catholics should be so afflicted and persecuted in Hatred of her, and undergo so heavy Punishments for her sake. And here the Tears gushed forth abundantly.

But (said the Lord-Treasurer) no Man that hath shew'd himself a good Subject, was ever put to death for his Religion: Some indeed have been for Treason while they maintained and avouched the Pope's Bull and Authority against the Queen. Yet I (said she) have heard otherwise, and have read it also in Books set forth in print. The Authors (replied he) of such Books as those write also that the Queen hath forfeited her Royal Dignity.

Walsingham, who found himself just before so openly taxed by her, took this Opportunity, and rising up, protested that his Heart was free from all Malice. I call God (said he) to witness, that as a private Person I have done nothing unbecoming an honest Man; neither in my publick Condition and Quality have I done any thing unworthy of my Place. I confess that, out of my great Care for the Safety of the Queen and Realm, I have curiously endeavour'd to search and sift out all Plots and Designs against the same. If *Ballard* had offer'd me his Assistance, I should not have refus'd it, yea I would have rewarded him for his Pains and Service. If I have tamper'd any thing with him, why did he not discover it to save his Life?

With this Answer (she said) she was satisfied. She prayed him ' not to be angry that she had spoken so freely what she had heard reported; and that he would give no more credit to those that slander'd her, than she did to such as accus'd him. Spies (she said) were Men of doubtful and little Credit, who make shew of one thing, and speak another; and desir'd him, That he

would not in the least believe that ever she had consented to the Queen's Destruction. And now again she burst forth into Tears; ' I would never (said she) make Shipwreck of my Soul, by conspiring the Destruction of my dearest Sister. It was answer'd by the Lawyers, that this should soon be proved by Witnesses. Thus far in the Forenoon.

In the Afternoon, to prove this, was openly produced the Copy of a Letter which *Charles Paget* had written, and *Curle* one of her own Secretaries testified she had receiv'd, concerning a Conference betwixt *Mendoza* and *Ballard* about the Design for invading of England, and setting her at Liberty. This (she said) was nothing to the purpose, and prov'd not that she had consented to the Destruction of the Queen.

The Lawyers proceeded to prove farther, That she was both privy to the Conspiracy, and also actually conspir'd the Destruction of the Queen; and that by *Babington's* Confession, and by Letters that had passed betwixt her and him, wherein he had call'd her his most Dread and Sovereign Lady and Queen. And by the way they took notice of a Plot that was laid for conveying the Kingdom of England to the Spaniard. She confess'd that a Priest came to her and said, That if she would not concern herself in the business, she and her Son both should be excluded from the Inheritance. But the Priest's Name she would not tell. She added, That the Spaniard did lay Claim to the Kingdom of England, and would give place to no Title but hers.

Then they press'd her with the Testimonies of her Secretaries, *Nave* and *Curle*, out of *Babington's* Confession, and the Letters and Answers betwixt her and *Babington*; the entire credit of which Proofs rested upon their sole Testimony, yet were they never brought face to face. ' *Curle* she acknowledg'd to be an honest Man, but not a competent Witness against her. As for *Nave*, he had been for some time a Secretary (she said) to the Cardinal of Lorain, and recommended to her by the French King, and might easily be drawn, either by Reward, or Hope, or Fear, to give a false Testimony, for he had several times taken rash Oaths; and *Curle* was so pliable to him, that at his beck he would write whatsoever he bad him. It might be (she said) that these two might insert some things into her Letters which she never dictated to them: It might be also that such Letters came to their Hands, which notwithstanding she might never see. And then she brake forth into such Expressions as these: ' As well the Majesty as the Safety of all Princes must fall to the Ground, if they depend upon the Writings and Testimonies of Secretaries. I dictated nothing to them but what Nature prompted me to, that I might at last recover my Liberty. And I am not to be convicted but by mine own Words or Hand-writing. If they have written any thing prejudicial to the Queen my Sister, they have written it altogether without my knowledge, and let them bear the punishment of their inconsiderate Boldness. Sure I am, if they were here present, they would clear me of all blame in this case. And, if my Notes were in my Hands, I could answer particularly to these things.

Whilst she was thus speaking, the Lord-Treasurer charg'd her, that she had Intentions to send her Son into Spain, and to convey her Title and Claim in the Kingdom of England to the Spaniard. To this she answer'd, That she had no Kingdom to dispose of or convey; yet was it lawful for her to give those things which were hers at her pleasure, and not to be accountable to any for what she did.

When her Alphabets of Ciphers, which were
 1586. sent over to Babington, the Lord Lodowick and
 Ann. 29. Fernihurst, were objected to her out of Curle's
 Testimony; She denied not but she had writ-
 ten out many, and amongst others that for the
 Lord Lodowick, when she had recommended
 him and another to the Dignity of Cardinal,
 and that (she trusted) without offence; since it
 was as lawful for her to hold Correspondence
 by Letters, and to negotiate her Concernments
 with Men of her Religion, as for the Queen
 to do it with the Professors of another Reli-
 gion.

Then they again urged her closer with the
 Testimonies of Nave and Curle, which agreed to-
 gether. And she return'd her former Answers,
 or else contradicted their Testimonies by a flat
 Denial; protesting again that she neither knew
 Babington nor Ballard.

The Lord-Treasurer here saying, that she
 knew Morgan well enough, who had sent Parry
 over privately to murder the Queen, and that she
 had assign'd him a yearly Pension; she replied,
 That she knew not whether Morgan had so done, but
 she knew that Morgan had lost all for her sake, and
 therefore it concern'd her in Honour to relieve him; and
 she was not bound to revenge an Injury done to the
 Queen by a Friend that had deserv'd so well at her
 hands: However she had endeavour'd to deter him from
 any such wicked Attempts. On the other side, (said she)
 I am sure Pensions have been allow'd in England to Pa-
 trick Gray and other Scots, Enemies both to myself
 and to my Son. The Lord-Treasurer answer'd:
 When the Revenues of the Kingdoms of Scot-
 land were by the Negligence of the Regents
 much diminish'd and impair'd, the Queen con-
 ferr'd somewhat out of her noble Bounty upon
 your Son the King, her near Kinsman.

Afterwards were produced the principal Heads
 of several Letters sent to Inglesfeld, to the Lord
 Paget, and to Bernardine de Mendoza, about foreign
 Assistance. But when she had answer'd, That
 these things tended not to the Destruction of the Queen;
 and if Foreigners endeavour'd to set her at Liberty, it was
 not to be laid to her charge; and that she had several
 times plainly let the Queen know that she would seek
 to procure her own Release; the matter was put off
 till the next day following.

The next Day she insisted upon her former
 Protestation, and requir'd to have it recorded,
 and a Copy thereof deliver'd to her; lamenting,
 That those so reasonable Conditions which she
 had many times propounded to the Queen were
 still rejected, even then when she promis'd to
 deliver her Son and the Duke of Guise's Son for
 Hostages, that the Queen or Kingdom of En-
 gland should receive no Prejudice nor Detri-
 ment by her; by which she then saw herself
 quite out of all hope of obtaining her Liberty.
 But now she was most unworthily dealt withal,
 whilst her Honour and Reputation was called in
 question before ordinary Lawyers, who by wre-
 sted Conclusions drew every Circumstance in-
 to a Consequence; whereas Princes anointed
 and consecrated are not subject to the same
 Laws that private Men are. Moreover, where-
 as the Power granted to the Commissioners
 was, to examine Matters tending to the Hurt of
 the Queen's Person; the Cause was now so hand-
 led, and Letters so wrested, that the Religion
 which she profess'd, the Immunity and Majesty
 of foreign Princes, and the private Intercourse
 betwixt Princes, were called in question, and
 she herself made to stoop and descend beneath
 her Royal Dignity, and to appear as a Crimi-
 nal before a Tribunal-seat; and all this to no
 other purpose, but that she might be quite ex-
 cluded from the Queen's Favour, and her own

right to the Succession; whereas she only made
 a voluntary Appearance, to clear herself of the
 Matters objected against her, lest she might
 seem to neglect the Justification of her own
 Honour and Innocency. She called also to
 their minds, how Queen Elizabeth herself was
 formerly brought into question about What's
 Conspiracy, whereof notwithstanding she was
 perfectly Innocent; religiously affirming, That
 tho' she wished with all her Heart the Safety
 of the Catholics might be provided for, yet
 she desir'd not that it should be brought to pass
 by the Death and Blood, tho' but of one Man.
 For her part, she had rather act the Part of
 Hester than of Judith; make Intercession to
 God for the People, than deprive the meanest
 of the People of his Life. She expostulated,
 That her Enemies had divulged abroad that
 she was Irreligious. But time was (said she)
 when I would have been instructed in the Pro-
 testant Religion, but some would not suffer
 me to be so, as if they cared not what became
 of my Soul. And now concluding; When ye
 have done all ye can (said she) against me, and
 have excluded me from my Right, ye may
 chance fail of your Hope and Expectation.
 And withal making her Appeal to God, and to
 the Princes who were her Kinsmen, and again
 renewing her Protestation, she prayed that there
 might be another meeting about this Matter, and
 that an Advocate might be allow'd her to plead
 her Cause, and that, seeing she was a Princess,
 she might be believ'd upon the Word of a Prin-
 cess. For it were extreme Folly (she said) to
 stand to their Judgment whom she saw so evi-
 dently and notoriously to be arm'd with Preju-
 dice against her.

To this the Lord-Treasurer answer'd: Where-
 as I bear a double Person and Quality, one of
 a Commissioner, the other of a Counsellor,
 hear me first a few Words as I am a Commis-
 sioner. Your Protestation is recorded, and a
 Copy thereof shall be deliver'd you. Our Au-
 thority is granted us under the Queen's Hand
 and the Great Seal of England, from which
 there lies no Appeal. Neither do we come
 with Prejudice, but to judge according to the
 exact Rule of Justice. The Queen's learned
 Council do aim at nothing else but that the
 Truth may come to light how far you have of-
 fended against the Queen's Person. Full Power
 is given us to hear and examine the Matter,
 altho' you were absent; yet were we desirous
 you should be present, lest we might seem to
 have derogated from your Honour. We pur-
 posed not to charge you with any thing else
 but what you were privy to, or have yourself
 attempted, against the Queen's Person. The
 Letters which have been read, were read to
 no other purpose, but to make out your Of-
 fence against the Queen's Person, and the
 Things relating to it, which are so interlaced
 with other Matters, that they cannot be se-
 ver'd. The whole and entire Letters therefore,
 and not parcels picked out here and there,
 have been openly read, because the Circum-
 stances do make appear what Things you dealt
 with Babington about.

Here she interrupted him, and said, The
 Circumstances might be proved, but never the
 Fact. That her Integrity depended not upon
 the Credit and Memory of her Secretaries,
 tho' she knew 'em to be honest and sincere
 Men. Yet if they had confess'd any thing out
 of fear of Torments, or hope of Reward and
 Impunity, it was not to be admitted, and that
 for just Reasons, which she would shew else-
 where. Mens Minds (she said) are variously
 moved

Ciphers
 she sent
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Her ans.

Owisher
 allowing
 a Pension
 to Morgan

And
 retorts
 Pensions
 given to
 the Scots.

Answers
 about Let-
 ters sent
 to Paget,
 &c.

She pro-
 tests again
 with a
 complaint

1586.
 Ann. 29.

Appeals
 and pro-
 tests again

Burghley's
 answer.

She inter-
 rupts him

1586. *Ann. 29.* mov'd and led with Affections : and those Men would never have confes'd such things against her, but for their own Advantage or Hopes. Letters may be directed to others than those to whom they are written, and many things have been often inserted which she never dictated. If her Papers had not been taken away, and she had her Secretary with her, she could the easilier confute the things objected against her.

He proceeds. But nothing (said the Lord-Treasurer) shall be objected but since the 19th. day of June : neither would your Papers do you any good, seeing your Secretaries, and Babington himself, without putting to the Rack, have affirm'd that you sent those Letters to Babington : which though you deny, yet whether more Credit be to be given to an Affirmation than to a Negation, let the Commissioners judge. But to return to the Matter : This which follows I speak to you as a Counsellor. Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your Liberty. That they have fail'd of Success, it is long of you, or of the Scots, and not of the Queen. For the Lords of Scotland flatly refused to deliver the King in Hostage. And when the last Treaty was holden concerning your Liberty, Parry was sent privately by Morgan, a Dependent of yours, to murder the Queen.

Her letters again produced. Ah ! (said she) you are my Adversary. Yea, (said he) I am Adversary to all Queen Elizabeth's Adversaries. But enough of these things : let us now proceed to Proofs. Which when she refused to hear ; Yet we (said he) will hear them. And I also (said she) will hear them in another place, and defend myself.

Now were her Letters to Charles Paget read again, wherein she shew'd him that there was no other way for the Spaniard to reduce the Netherlands to Obedience, but by setting up such a Prince in England, as might be useful and serviceable to him : also her Letters to the Lord Paget, to hasten his auxiliary Forces for the Invasion of England ; and Cardinal Allen's Letter, wherein he call'd her his most dread Sovereign Lady, and told her that the Business was recommended to the Prince of Parma's Care.

She interposes. As these Letters were reading, she interposed the following Expressions. 'That Babington and her Secretaries had accused her, to excuse themselves. That she never heard of the Six Murderers ; and that all the rest was nothing to the purpose. As for Allen, she held him for a reverend Prelate ; and she acknowledg'd no other Head of the Church but the Bishop of Rome. In what Rank and Quality she was had and reputed by him and forein Princes, she well knew ; neither could she hinder it, if in their Letters they call'd her Queen of England. As for her Secretaries, seeing they had done contrary to their Duty and Allegiance sworn to her, they deserv'd no Credit. They who have once sworn themselves, tho' they swear the next time with never so serious Oaths and Protections, are not to be credited. Neither did these Men think themselves bound by any Oath whatsoever in Court of Conscience, inasmuch as they had sworn Fidelity and Secrecy to her before, and were no Subjects of England. That *Nashe* had many times written otherwise than she had dictated to him, and *Curle* wrote whatsoever *Nashe* bade him. But, for her part, she was willing to bear the Blame of their Miscarriage, in all things but what might lay a Blot and Stain upon her Honour. And haply also they confes'd these things to save themselves, supposing that they could do her no Hurt by confessing, who they thought would be more favourably dealt withal, as being a Queen. As for *Ballard*, she never heard of any such Man, but of one *Hallard*, who had offer'd her his Ser-

vice ; which notwithstanding she refused, because she had heard that he had also engaged his Service to *Walsingham*.

Afterwards, when some short Passages out of her Letters to *Mendoza* (which *Curle* had confest himself to have written in Ciphers) were read, and from thence she was charged as if she had purpos'd to convey her Right in the Kingdom to the Spaniard, and that *Allen* and *Parsons* lay now at *Rome*, for that purpose ; she, still complaining that her Secretaries had broken their Allegiance whereto they were bound by Oath, answer'd as follows : 'I being a close Prisoner, oppress'd and languishing with Cares and penfive Thoughts, and without all Hope of Liberty, no Probability appearing of effecting those things which many people expected by my means, who declined daily through Age and Indisposition of Body ; it seem'd good to some, that the Succession to the Crown of England should be establish'd on the Spaniard, or else some English Catholic. And a Book was sent me to justify the Spaniard's Title ; which not being approv'd of by me, I incurr'd Displeasure with some Men. But now, all my Hopes in England being desperate, I am fully resolv'd not to reject forein Help.

The Solicitor put the Commissioners in mind what would become of them, their Honours, Estates and Posterities, if the Kingdom were so convey'd. But the Lord-Treasurer shew'd, that the Kingdom of England could not at all be convey'd, but was to descend by Right of Succession, according to the Laws ; and ask'd her, if she had any more to say.

She required to be heard in a full Parliament, or that she might in person speak with the Queen (who would, she hoped, have regard of a Queen) and the Council. And now rising up with great Prefence of Countenance, she had some Conference with the Lord-Treasurer, *Hatton*, *Walsingham*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, apart by themselves.

These things being done, the Court adjourn'd till the 25th of October, to the Star-Chamber at *Westminster*. Thus far touching this Matter, out of the Commentaries and Memorials of *Edward Barker*, principal Register to the Queen's Majesty, *Thomas Wheeler* Publick-Notary, Register of the Audience of *Canterbury*, and other Persons of Credit, which were there present.

On the said 25th day of October, all the Commissioners met, except the Earls of *Sbrensbury* and *Warwick*, who were both of them sick at that time. And after *Nashe* and *Curle* had upon Oath, *viva voce*, voluntarily, without Hope or Reward, avow'd, affirm'd and justify'd all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced, to be true and real, Sentence was pronounced against the Q. of Scots, and confirm'd by the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners, and recorded in these Words. 'By their unanimous Assents and Consents, they do pronounce and deliver this their Sentence and Judgment, at the Day and Place last above-recited, and say, That since the Conclusion of the aforesaid Session of Parliament, in the Commission aforesaid specify'd, namely, since the aforesaid first day of June, in the 27th Year aforesaid, and before the Date of the said Commission, divers Matters have been compass'd and imagin'd within this Realm of England, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privy of the said *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of England, tending to the Hurt, Death and Destruction of the Royal Person of our said Lady the Queen. And also, that since the aforesaid first day of June, in the 27th Year aforesaid, and before the Date of the Commission aforesaid, the aforesaid

1586. *Ann. 28.*

is accus'd again of conveying the Kingdom to the Spaniard.

Her Answer.

The Court adjourn'd.

Meet in the Star-Chamber.

Sentence pronounced against her.

1586. foreſaid *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown
Ann. 29. of this Realm of *England*, has compaſs'd and i-
 magin'd, within this Realm of *England*, divers
 Matters tending to the Hurt, Death and De-
 ſtruction of the Royal Perſon of our Sovereign
 Lady the Queen, contrary to the Form of the
 Statute in the Commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecify'd.

Credit of the Secre-
 taries ſuſpected.
 This Sentence (which depended wholly upon
 the Credit of the Secretaries, and they not
 brought face to face, according to the firſt Act
 of the 13th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*) begot
 much Talk and various Diſcourſe amongſt Peo-
 ple, while ſome thought them Perſons to be be-
 liev'd, and ſome unworthy of any Credit. I

Nave's
Apology.

I have ſeen *Nave's* Apology to King *James*, writ-
 ten in the Year 1605. wherein with a ſolemn
 Proteſtation he excuſes himſelf, that he was nei-
 ther the Author, nor Perſuader, nor the firſt Re-
 vealer of the Deſign that was undertaken; nei-
 ther fail'd he of his Duty through Negligence
 or Want of Diſcretion: yea, that he did that
 day ſtoutly oppoſe the principal Articles of Ac-
 cuſation againſt his Lady and Miſtreſs. Which
 notwithstanding appears not by the Records.
 The ſame day a Declaration was publiſh'd by the
 Commiſſioners and the Judges of the Land, That
 the ſaid Sentence did nothing derogate from James King
 of Scots in his Title and Honour; but that he was in
 the ſame Place, Degree and Right, as if the ſaid Sen-
 tence had never been pronounc'd.

Her Son
 declared
 not to be
 prejudic'd.

A Parlia-
 ment held.

Some few days after, a Parliament was holden
 at *Weſtmiſter*, begun by a deputative Commiſſion
 granted by the Queen to the Archbiſhop of *Can-
 terbury*, the Lord-Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Der-
 by*, and that not without former Precedents. In

Traitors
 proſcrib'd.

which Parliament the Proſcription of the Lord
Paget, *Charles Paget*, *Sir Francis Inglefield*, *Francis
 Throckmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*,
Edward Jones, *Chidiock Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*,
 and the reſt of the Conſpirators, was confirm'd,
 and their Goods and Poſſeſſions conſiſcated.

* See the
 Appendix.
 Parliament
 petition
 for a Pub-
 lication of
 the Sen-
 tence.

The Eſtates alſo of the Realm, having by their
 Votes approv'd and confirm'd the Sentence given
 againſt the Queen of Scots, did with unanimous
 Aſſent preſent their Petition to the Queen, by
 the Hands of the Lord-Chancellor, wherein they
 inſtantly beſought her, that, for the Preſervation
 of Chriſt's true Religion, the Quiet and Security
 of the Realm, the Preſervation of the Queen's
 Perſon, and the Safety of themſelves and their
 Poſterity, the Sentence given againſt *Mary Q. of
 Scots*, according to the Law, might be publiſh'd.
 Their Reaſons were drawn from the Dangers
 that threaten'd Religion, the Queen's Perſon,
 and the Realm, by means of her, who having
 been bred up in the Popiſh Religion, and ſworn
 a Confederate in the *Holy League*, for the Ex-
 tirpation of the Proteſtant Religion, had now for
 a long time arrogated to herſelf the Kingdom,
 while the Queen liv'd, whom, as being Excom-
 municate, ſhe held it lawful to do Miſchief to,
 as far as lay in her Power, and to take away her
 Life a thing meritorious; one who had over-
 thrown and ruin'd ſeveral flouriſhing Families in
 the Kingdom, and cheriſh'd all the reaſonable
 Deſigns and Rebellions in *England*. To ſpare her
 therefore were nothing elſe but to ſpill the Peo-
 ple, who would take all Impunity in this caſe
 very much to Heart, and would not think them-
 ſelves diſcharged of their Oath of *Aſſociation*, un-
 leſs ſhe were puniſh'd according to her Deſerts.
 Laſtly, they call'd to her Remembrance, how
 fearful the Examples of God's Vengeance were
 upon King *Saul* for ſparing *Agag*, and upon King
Abab for ſparing the Life of *Benbadad*. Theſe
 things the Eſtates of the Parliament urg'd to
 her.

The Queen, with great Maſteſty both of Coun-
 tenance and Speech, answer'd to this purpoſe: 1586.
 So many and ſo great are the unmeaſurable *Ann. 29.*
 Graces and Benefits beſtow'd upon me by the
 Almighty, that I muſt not only moſt humbly *Queen E.*
 acknowledge 'em as Benefits, but admire 'em as *Elizabeth's*
 Miracles, being in no ſort able to expreſs 'em. *Answer.*
 And tho' none alive can more juſtly acknowledge
 himſelf bound to God than I, whoſe Life he has
 miraculoſly preſerv'd from ſo many Dangers:
 yet am I not more deeply bound to give him
 Thanks for any one thing, than for this which
 I will now tell you, and which I account as a
 Miracle; namely, That as I came to the Crown
 with the hearty Good-will of all my Subjects,
 ſo now, after twenty eight Years Reign, I per-
 ceive in 'em the ſame, if not greater, Affection
 towards me; which ſhould I once loſe, I might
 perhaps find myſelf to breathe, but never could
 I think that I were alive. And now tho' my
 Life has been dangerously ſhot at, yet I proteſt
 there is nothing has more griev'd me, than that
 one who differs not from me in Sex, one of
 like Quality and Degree, of the ſame Race and
 Stock, and ſo nearly related to me in Blood,
 ſhould fall into ſo great a Miſdemeanor. And
 ſo far have I been from bearing her any Ill-will,
 that upon the Diſcovery of ſome treaſonable
 Practices againſt me, I wrote privately to her,
 that if ſhe would confeſs and acknowledge them
 by a Letter betwixt her and me, they ſhould be
 wrapp'd up in Silence. Neither did I write
 this with a purpoſe to intrap her; for I knew
 already as much as ſhe could confeſs. And e-
 ven yet tho' the matter be come thus far, if ſhe
 would truly repent, and no Man would under-
 take her Cauſe againſt me, and if my Life alone
 depended hereupon, and not the Safety and
 Welfare of all my People, I would (I proteſt
 unfeignedly) willingly and readily pardon her.
 Nay, if *England* might by my Death obtain a
 more flouriſhing Condition and a better Prince,
 I would moſt gladly lay down my Life. For,
 for your ſakes it is, and for my People's, that I
 deſire to live. As for me, I ſee no ſuch great
 Reaſon (according as I have led my Life) why
 I ſhould either be fond to live, or fear to die.
 I have had good Experience of this World; I
 have known what it is to be a Subject, and I
 now know what it is to be a Sovereign. Good
 Neighbours I have had, and I have met with
 bad; and in Truſt I have found Treason. I
 have beſtow'd Benefits upon Ill-deſervers; and
 where I have done well, I have been ill-requi-
 ted and ſpoken of. While I call to mind theſe
 things paſt, behold things preſent, and look
 forward toward things to come, I count them
 happieſt that go hence ſoooneſt. Nevertheleſs
 againſt ſuch Evils and Miſchiefs as theſe, I am
 arm'd with a better Courage than is common
 in my Sex; ſo as whatſoever befalls me, Death
 ſhall never find me unprepar'd.

And as touching theſe treaſonable Attempts,
 I will not ſo far wrong my ſelf, or the Laws of
 my Kingdom, as not to think but that ſhe, ha-
 ving been the Contriver of the ſaid Treasons,
 was bound and liable to the ancient and former
 Laws, tho' the late Act had never been made;
 which notwithstanding was in no ſort made to
 prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to fa-
 vour her have imagined. So far was it from
 being made to intrap her, that it was rather in-
 tended to forewarn and deter her from attempt-
 ing any thing againſt it. But ſeeing it had
 now the Force of a Law, I thought good to
 proceed againſt her according to the ſame. But
 you Lawyers are ſo curioſous in ſcanning the nice
 Points of the Law, and proceeding according

1586. *Ann. 29.* to Forms, rather than expounding and interpreting the Laws themselves, that if your way were observ'd, she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been try'd by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper way, forsooth, of trying a Princess. To avoid therefore such Absurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of so weighty a Cause to a select Number of the noblest Personages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm: and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World: the least Spot is soon spy'd in our Garments, the smallest Blemish presently observ'd in us at a great Distance. It behoves us therefore to be careful that our Proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that by this last Act of Parliament, you have reduc'd me to such Straits and Perplexities, that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who is a Princess so nearly ally'd to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mention'd; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret, (tho' it be not usual with me to blab forth in other cases what I know.) It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in my Person, which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off.

The Association you enter'd into for my Safety I have not forgotten, a thing I never so much as thought of, till a great Number of Hands and Seals to it were shew'd me. This has laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me, to bear you a singular Good-will and Love, who have no greater Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch as the Matter now in hand is very rarely exampled, and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not look for any present Resolution from me: for my manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be resolv'd. In the mean time, I beseech Almighty God, so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may see clearly what may be best for the Good of his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed Danger, we will signify our Resolution to you with all Convenience. And whatever the best of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be perform'd to the full.

She prays them to find out some other Expedient. On the 12th day after, when she had thoroughly weigh'd the Matter in her Mind, being distracted with doubtful Cares and Thoughts, and as it were in some Conflict with herself, what to do in so important a Business, she sent the Lord-Chancellor to the Upper House, and Puckering to the rest in the Lower House, advising them to enter anew into the serious Consideration of so weighty an Affair, and to find out a more pleasing Expedient, whereby both the Queen of Scots Life might be spared, and her own Security provided for.

After long and serious Deliberation, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of the Prince concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimously concurr'd again in their former Opinion; and that for these Reasons. *The Queen's Safety*

(they said) could no way be secured, as long as the Queen of Scots liv'd, unless she should either seriously repent and acknowledge her Offence; or were kept with a closer Guard, and sufficient Security given by Bond and Oath, for her good Demeanor; or deliver'd Hostages; or else departed the Realm. As for her Repentance, they were out of all Hopes of it, considering that she had so ill requited the Queen who had saved her Life, and would not yet acknowledge her Fault. As for a surer Guard, stricter Custody, Bonds, Oath, and Hostages, they esteem'd them all as nothing worth, because if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these would presently vanish. And if she should depart the Realm, they fear'd lest she should presently take up Arms and invade the same.

These Reasons the Lord-Chancellor, and Puckering Speaker of the Lower House, explain'd and open'd more at large, pressing hard that the Sentence might be put in Execution: because, as it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to any one of her Subjects that should demand it; so much more to the whole Body of her People of England, unanimously and with one Voice humbly and instantly suing for the same. The Queen answer'd as follows.

Very unpleasant is that Way, where the Setting out, Progress and Journeys End yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have this day been in greater Conflict with myself, than ever I was in all my Life, whether I should speak, or hold my peace. If I should speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble: if I should be silent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: and if I should complain, it might seem a strange and unusual thing. Yet I confess, that my hearty Desire was, that some other means might have been devised, to provide for your Security and my own Safety, than this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, tho' not of you, yet to you, since I perceive by your Petition, that my Safety depends wholly upon the Ruin of another. If there be any that think I have spun out the time on purpose to get Commendation, by a seeming Shew of Clemency, they do me Wrong undeservedly, as he knows who is the Searcher of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners durst pronounce no other Sentence for fear they should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their Care for my Preservation, they do but burden and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For either those whom I put in Trust have fail'd of their Duties: or else they acquainted the Commissioners in my Name that my Will and Pleasure was, that every one should act freely, according to his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to be made publick, that they should communicate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination towards her, that I desired some other way might be found out, to prevent this Mischief. But since it is now resolv'd, that my Security is desperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my time pardon'd so many Rebels, wink'd at so many Treasons, or neglected 'em by Silence, should now seem to shew myself cruel towards so great a Princess.

I have, since I came to the Government of this Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pamphlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant. Well fare the Writers Hearts; I believe their Meaning was to tell me News. And News indeed it was to me to be branded with the Note of Tyranny. I would it were as great News to hear of their Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it which they will not venture to write

1586. *Ann. 29.* write now, when they shall hear that I have given my Consent, that the Executioner's Hands should be imbrued in the Blood of my nearest Kinswoman? But so far am I from Cruelty, that, tho' it were to save my own Life, I would not offer her the least Violence: neither have I been so careful how to preserve my own Life, as how to preserve both hers and mine: which that it is now impossible to do, I am heartily troubled. I am not so void of Sense and Judgment, as not to see my own Danger before my Eyes; nor so indiscreet, as to sharpen a Sword to cut my own Throat; nor so egregiously careless, as not to provide for the Safety of my own Life. This I consider with myself, that many a Man would hazard his own Life to save the Life of a Prince: but I am not of their Opinion. These things have I many times thought upon seriously with myself.

But since so many have both written and spoken against me, give me leave, I pray you, to say somewhat in my own Defence, that ye may see what manner of Woman I am, for whose Safety and Preservation ye have taken such extraordinary Care. Wherein as I do with a most thankful Heart discern and read your great Vigilance; so am I sure I shall never requite it, had I as many Lives as all you together.

When first I took the Scepter into my Hand, I was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore I began my Reign with securing his Service, and the Religion I had been both born in, bred in, and, I trust, shall die in. And tho' I was not ignorant how many Dangers I should meet withal at home, for my altering Religion, and how many great Princes abroad of a contrary Profession would in that Respect bear an hostile Mind towards me: yet was I no whit dismay'd thereat, knowing that God, whom alone I ey'd and respected, would defend both me and my Cause. Hence it is that so many Treacheries and Conspiracies have been attempted against me, that I might well admire to find myself alive at this present day, were it not that God's holy Hand has still protected me beyond all Expectation. Next, to the end I might make the better Progress in the Art of Ruling well, I had long and serious Cogitations with myself what things were most worthy and becoming Kings to do: and I found it absolutely necessary that they should be completely furnish'd with those prime capital Vertues, Justice, Temperance, Prudence and Magnanimity. Of the two latter I will not boast myself; my Sex does not permit it, they are proper to Men. But for the two former and less rough, I dare say, (and that without Ostentation) I never made a Difference of Persons, but high and low had equally Right done them: I never preferr'd any for Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I never was forward to believe Stories at the first telling; nor was I so rash as to suffer my Judgment to be forestall'd with Prejudice, before I had heard the Cause. I will not say but many Reports might haply be brought me, too much in favour of the one side or the other: For a good and a wary Prince may sometimes be bought and sold, whilst we cannot hear all ourselves. Yet this I dare say boldly, My Judgment (as far as I could understand the Case) ever went with the Truth. And as *Alcibiades* advised his Friend, not to give any Answer till he had run over the Letters of the whole Alphabet; so have I never used rash and sudden Resolutions in any thing.

1586. *Ann. 29.* And therefore as touching your Counsels and Consultations, I acknowledge 'em to have been with such Care and Providence, and so advantageous for the Preservation of my Life, and to proceed from Hearts so sincere and devoted to me, that I shall endeavour what lies in my Power, to give you Cause to think your Pains not ill-bestow'd, and strive to shew myself worthy of such Subjects.

And now for your Petition, I desire you for the present to content yourselves with an Answer without Answer. Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your Reasons: but I must desire you to excuse those thoughtful Doubts and Cares, which as yet perplex my Mind; and to rest satisfy'd with the Profession of my thankful Esteem of your Affections, and the Answer I have given, if you take it for any Answer at all. If I should say I will not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I intend: and if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to preserve me from: which I am confident your Wisdoms and Discretions would not that I should, if ye consider the Circumstances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Men.

After this the Parliament was prorogued.

About this time were the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beale* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her know that Sentence was pronounced against her; and that the same was approv'd and confirm'd by Authority of Parliament, as just and lawful, and the Execution thereof instantly desired by the Parliament, out of a due Regard of Justice, Security and Necessity: and therefore to persuade her to acknowledge her Offences against God and the Queen, and to expiate them before her Death by Repentance; letting her understand, that as long as she liv'd, the Religion receiv'd in *England* could not be secure. Hereat the seem'd to triumph with a more than wonted Alacrity, giving God Thanks, and rejoicing in her Heart, that she was taken to be an Instrument for the re-establishing of Religion in this Island. And earnestly she besought, that she might have a Catholick Priest allow'd her, to direct her Conscience, and administer the Sacraments unto her. A Bishop and a Dean, whom they commended to her for this purpose, she utterly rejected, and sharply tax'd the *English* Nation, saying, *That the English had many times put their own Kings to death; no marvel therefore if they now also shew their Cruelty upon me, who am issued from the Blood of their Kings.*

The Publication of the Sentence was stay'd for some time by the Intercession of *L'Aubespine* the French Ambassador: but in the Month of December, through the earnest Instance of some Courtiers, it was publicly proclaim'd all over the City of *London*, the Lord-Mayor, the Aldermen, and principal Officers and Citizens being present, and afterward throughout the whole Realm. In this Proclamation the Queen seriously protested, that this Publication was extorted from her, to the exceeding Grief of her Mind, by a kind of Necessity, and at the earnest Prayers and Intreaties of both Houses of Parliament: tho' there were some that thought this to proceed from the Art and Guile of Women, who, though they desire a thing never so much, yet will always seem rather to be constrain'd and forced to it.

The Publication of this Sentence of Death being made known to the Queen of *Scots*, so far it was she from being dismay'd thereat, that with a settled and steadfast Countenance, lifting up her Eyes and Hands towards Heaven, she gave Thanks to God for it. And tho' she were by

Powlet

1586. *Ann. 29.* Powles her Keeper divested of all the Badges of Dignity and Royalty, and made no more account of than the poorest Woman of the meanest Condition; yet she endur'd it with great Patience of Mind. And having with much ado obtained leave of him to write, she by a Letter sent to Queen Elizabeth the 19th of December endeavour'd to clear herself from all hostile Malice against her; and thanked God for the Sentence of her Condemnation, who was now pleased to put a period to her woful and lamentable Pilgrimage in this Life. She prayed her that for the Kindnesses and Favours follow'd she might be beholden to herself, and to none else, (for from those zealous Puritans, who now bare the chief sway in England, she could expect no good). First, That when her Adversaries were glutted and satiated with her innocent Blood, her Body might be conveyed by her Servants into some Holy Catholick Land to be buried; she would willingly into France, where her Mother's Soul rested in peace. For in Scotland the Sepulchers of her Ancestors were violated, and the Churches either demolished or profan'd; and in England, among the ancient Kings, the common Progenitors of them both, she could have no hope to be interr'd with Catholick Rites and Ceremonies. So might her Body at length rest in peace, which as long as it was joined with the Soul could never find any rest or quiet. Secondly, (in regard she feared the secret Tyranny of some) That she might not be put to Death in private without Queen Elizabeth's knowledge, but in the sight of her Servants and others, who might give a true Testimony of her Faith in Christ, her Obedience toward the Church, and her Christian Departure, to prevent those false Reports which her Adversaries might otherwise throw out and asperse her with. And, Thirdly, That her Servants might freely and peaceably depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those Legacies which she had bequeath'd them by her Will and Testament. These things with most earnest Prayers she intreated of her in the Name of Jesus Christ, by their near Kindred, by the Soul and Memory of Henry VII. the common Progenitor of them both, and by the Royal Dignity which she had born. Then she complain'd, That all her Regal Ornaments were taken from her by command of some of the Council, by which she suspected that their Malice might break forth to greater matters. She added, That, if they had shew'd her Letters and Papers which were taken from her, fairly and without any Fraud, it might have plainly appear'd by them, that there was no other cause of her Ruin, but the Over-carefulness and Solitude of some for Queen Elizabeth's Safety. Lastly, She earnestly besought her, that she would write back a few Words to her touching these matters with her own Hand.

Variety of Opinions concerning her Case. Whether this Letter ever came to Queen Elizabeth's Hands, I cannot say. But divers Discourses were rais'd about this Affair, according to the several Affections and Dispositions of Men; to say nothing of the Declamations and Exclamations of the Churchmen on both sides, who for the most part are very fiery and vehement.

For her. Some indifferent Censurers there were, who thought she was too sharply dealt withal, and had hard measure, in regard she was a free and absolute Princess, and had no Superiour but God alone: They said, 'She was Queen Elizabeth's very near Kinswoman, who had also by Henry Midlemore made her a large Promise, on the Word of a Prince, of all Courtesie and kind Hospitality, as soon as she was arriv'd in England, being thrown out of her Kingdom by her Rebels

and yet on the contrary had kept her still in Prison, and violated the sacred Rights of Hospitality: That she could not be otherways reputed than as a Prisoner taken in War; and it was always lawful for such as were taken Prisoners in War, to use what means they could to work their own Safety and Liberty: That she could not commit Treason, because she was no Subject; and *Par in parem non habet potestatem*; that is, Princes of equal Degree have no Power or Sovereignty one over another; and thereupon the Sentence of the Emperor against Robert King of Sicily was disannull'd, because he was no Subject of the Empire: That Ambassadors, who are Princes Servants, if they conspire against the Kings to whom they are sent in Embassy, are not to be charg'd as guilty of Treason, much less Princes themselves; and, That the Purpose or Intention is not to be punish'd, unless the Effect follow. Moreover, That it was a thing never heard of, that a Prince should be subjected to the Stroke of an Executioner. Also, that she was condemn'd contrary to the Law of God, the Civil Law of the Romans, and the Common Law of England; yea contrary also to the first Act of Parliament made in the 13th Year of Queen Elizabeth, by which it is enacted, That no Man is to be arraigned for intending the Destruction of his Prince's Life, but by the Testimony and Oath of two lawful Witnesses to be produced face to face before him; whereas in this Trial no Witness was produced, but she was over-born with the Testimony of her Secretaries, who notwithstanding were absent from the Trial. Much more arguing also there was about the Credit and Validity of the Testimony of Servants, Prisoners and Domesticks. And that Saying of the Emperor Hadrian was commended: *Testibus non testimoniis credendum; Witnesses, not witnessings, are to be believ'd.*

These Men farther mutter'd and complain'd, That Spies and Emisaries were employ'd, by crafty Diffimulation, counterfeit Letters, and other cunning Devices, to circumvent her, (being a Woman easily to be wrong'd and abus'd, and very desirous of her Liberty) to fish out her secret Counsels, and to encourage and put her on to dangerous Designs, which never would have entred into her Thoughts, if she had been kept with that care as was requisite, and such cunning Fellows had not been privately sent to her on set purpose to intrap her. That in all Ages it hath still been ordinary with great Courtiers, to thrust forward those whom they hate, even against their Wills and Inclinations, to such Attempts as shall bring them within the compass of Treason, and treacherously to plunge the suspectless Innocent, if once imprison'd, into inextricable Dangers.

Others there were who took her not to be a free and absolute Queen, but a titular Queen only, because she had resign'd her Kingdom, and when she first came into England had put herself under the Protection of the Queen of England; after which, as by carrying herself well she enjoy'd the benefit of the Laws; so by Misdeemeanor she was subject to the Equity and Justice thereof, according to that Rule of the Lawyers, *He deserveth not the benefit of the Law who offendeth against the Law.* Otherwise, better were the Condition of a foreign Prince, if he might do what he list'd in another Prince's Kingdom, than his that reigneth never so well. They reputed her also to be a Subject, tho' not originally, yet *pro tempore*, because two absolute Princes with Regal Authority cannot be in the same Kingdom at one time. That it was a received Opinion of the Learned in the Laws, *A King*

King out of his Dominions (except it be upon a war-like Expedition) is but a private Person, and therefore can neither confer Honours, nor exercise any Royalty. Moreover, That she by her Misdemeanors had lost *merum Imperium*, her absolute and just Power and Sovereignty; and that such as are Subjects by their Abode only and place of Habitation, might commit Treason. As for her Kindred; That no Kindred is nearer nor dearer than our Country: Our Country is to us as another God, and our first and greatest Parent. And as touching the promised Offices of Civility and Hospitality, That they could not privilege her to offer Wrongs and Mischiefs afterwards with Impunity: That those Promises were to be understood, *things continuing in the same state, and not altered*. He which shall afterwards commit a Crime deserves not to enjoy the Security which was before promis'd him. Sacred indeed are the Laws of Hospitality, but more sacred are the Laws of our Country. That Princes, as well as the Pope, do never bind their own Hands. And all Men are more strongly tied and engaged to the Commonwealth than to their own Promises. And for her being dealt withal as a Prisoner taken in the Wars, they alledg'd, out of I know not what Author, That only such Prisoners of War are to be spared, from whom we need to fear no disturbance of the Peace; others not: And, That a Prince hath Power and Jurisdiction over another Prince that is his Equal, whenever that other Prince makes himself subject to the Judgment of his Equal, either by express Words, or private Contract, or by trespassing within the Jurisdiction of his Equal. That the Pope repeal'd the Emperor's Sentence against Robert King of Sicily, because the Fact was not committed within the Emperor's, but within the Pope's, Territories. That Ambassadors are by the Law of Nations privileg'd in respect of the necessity of their Embassy to be free from Violence; but so are not Kings that shall attempt Mischief and Disturbance in another King's Dominions. Again, That in case of Treason the Purpose and Intention is to be punish'd, though it never be brought to Effect; and that to attempt the Death of the Prince, yea to know of such an Attempt and conceal it, comes within the Compass and Guilt of Treason. That many Kings have been condemn'd and put to Death, namely, *Rhesus* King of Thrace by *Tiberius*, *Licinius* and *Maximianus* by *Constantine the Great*, *Bernard* of Italy, and *Conradine* of Sicily, &c. And, to conclude, (which is instead of a thousand Arguments) That the Safety of the People is the supreme Law; and no Law is more sacred than the Safety of the Commonwealth. That God himself hath given and ordained this Law, That all things which are good and profitable for the Commonwealth, should be accounted just and lawful. Yea, that the very Popes, not so much for the Publick as their own Security, have put to death several Ecclesiastical Princes: As *Boniface VIII.* caused *Celestine V.* after his deposing from the Popedom, to be put to death, fearing lest for his singular Piety he should be called again to the Papacy; and *Urban VI.* caused five Cardinals to be sow'd up in Sacks and thrown into the Sea; others he beheaded; and the Bodies of two he commanded to be dried in an Oven, and carried about upon Mules for a terror to others. Farthermore, That her Secretaries were not to be accounted of as Servants; and that domestick Evidences were to be admitted concerning those things that were done privately and secretly at home. That it was a mere Nicety to make question, whether those Accusers that were voluntarily sworn, and

themselves accessory to the Crime, were to be brought face to face to maintain their Accusation in criminal Cases. To be short, That there was no great and notable Example extant which did not carry with it some Colour and Appearance of Injustice. These things and the like to these we then heard familiarly bandied to and fro.

In the mean time the King of Scots (such was his singular Piety toward his Mother) laboured all that possibly he could by *William Keith* to save her Life, and omitted nothing that became a most dutiful and pious Son, and a prudent King: But without any Success at all; for the Scots were rent into Factions amongst themselves, and more there were in the Interest of Queen Elizabeth than of the captive Queen: Insomuch that some of them secretly solicited Queen Elizabeth by Letters to hasten her Execution: And the Scottish Clergy, being commanded by the King to recommend his Mother's Preservation to God in their Prayers at Church, peremptorily refus'd to do it; such was their hatred to the Religion which she profess'd. Nevertheless the King, as he had before by frequent Messages and as frequent Letters made Intercession for her to the Queen; so now by repeated and more importunate Letters and Messages he again solicited for her. Wherein he complain'd, That it was great Injustice and Indignity, that the Nobility, Council and Subjects of England should give Sentence against a Queen of Scots, that was also descended of the Blood-Royal of England: And no less Injustice to think that the States of England can by Authority of Parliament exclude the true and undoubted Heirs from their Right of Succession and lawful Inheritance, (as some for a Terror now and then threatned).

He sent also *Patrick Grey* and *Robert Melvin*, to let the Queen know, That out of his singular Love and Friendship he could not believe but she, who had by her Vertues, and especially by her Clemency, purchased herself all over the World so renowned a Name, free from all blot and imputation of Cruelty, would still preserve the same, and not by any means stain it now with the Blood of his dear Mother, who was of the same Regal State and Condition, of the same Blood, the same Sex with herself, and whom (forasmuch as he was bound in Conscience to have a pious and religious Care of his Mother's Life) he could not forsake, or leave to the Cruelty of those who had now for a long time gaped after his Destruction as well as his Mother's.

In other Letters to her, after he had at large declared with what thoughtful Care and Anguish of Heart he was perplex'd about so weighty a Business, which nearly concern'd and touch'd him in regard both of Nature and Honour, and into what Straits and Hazard of his Reputation amongst his own People he should be plunged, if any Violence should be offer'd to his Mother; out of an inward sense of Sorrow and his filial Affection, he propounded to Queen Elizabeth these things following to be seriously weigh'd and considered by her: How much it concerned him in Honour, who was both a King and a Son, if his dearest Mother, and the absolute Princess, should be put to an infamous Death by her who was so nearly allied and engaged to her both in Blood and League of Amity? Whether by the Law of God there could be any just Proceeding by Law against those whom God hath appointed to be his supreme Ministers of Justice, whom he hath call'd Gods on Earth, whom he hath anointed, and once anointed, hath forbidden to be touch'd, and will

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will not suffer 'em to go unpunish'd that shall do them Violence? How strange and monstrous a thing it would be, to subject an absolute Prince to the Judgment of Subjects? How prodigious, if an absolute Prince should be made so dangerous a Precedent for the profaning and vilifying her own and other Princes Diadems? And moreover, What should drive her to this Rigor and Severity? Honour or Profit? If Honour, she would purchase more Honour by sparing her; for so would she, with eternal Commendations of her Clemency, oblige unto her by this Favour both himself and all the Princes of *Christendom*, whose Affections otherwise she could not but alienate from her, with the loss of her Fame, and incur the brand of Cruelty. And if Profit were the thing that mov'd her to it, it was to be consider'd whether any thing were profitable which was neither just nor honest. He concluded with this Request, That his Ambassadors might bring him back such an Answer as might beseeem a most religious Queen to give, and not be unfit for a King and a loving Kinsman to receive. But his Ambassador unseasonably mingling Threatnings with Entreaties, they were not very welcome; and indeed after a few Days were dismiss'd with small hope of succeeding in what they came about.

French interceded by his Ambassadors.
Monsieur Pompon de Bellieure, who was sent from the French King upon this Occasion, having got access to the Queen in company with *L'Aubespine a Chasseau-neuf* the Ordinary Ambassador, and briefly signified with what contrary Affections the French King was distracted, on the one side out of his singular Respect towards her, and on the other side by reason of the strict Alliance betwixt him and the Queen of *Scots*, propounded these and the like Considerations in Writing several times to the Queen in her behalf.

Bellieure's Reasons for the Q of Scots.
That it very much concern'd the most Christian King of France, and all other Kings, that a Queen, a free and absolute Princess, should not be put to death.

That the Queen's Safety would be more endangered by the death of Queen Mary, than it would be by her Life: That if she were deliver'd out of Prison, she would probably attempt nothing against the Queen, being now in a sickly Condition, and having but a short time to live.

That altho' she had laid Claim to the Crown of England, she was not to be blam'd for it, but it was wholly to be imputed to her young and tender Years, and to bad Counsellors.

That she came at first a Suppliant into England; and therefore having been unjustly detain'd, she was now at length to be either ransom'd, or mercifully dealt withal. Moreover, That an absolute Prince was not to be call'd in question; which made Tully say, *So unusual a thing is it for a King to be put to death for any Crime, that before this time it was never so much as heard of.*

That if she were innocent, she was not to be punish'd; if guilty, she was to be spared. For this would turn to far greater Honour and Advantage, and would be recorded eternally as an Example of the English Clemency. That the Story of *Porfenna* in this Case was to be remember'd, who snatch'd the right Hand of *Mutius Scævola* out of the Fire, and set him at Liberty, tho' he had conspir'd his Death.

That it was a prime Rule and Precept for well-governing, To be sparing of Blood: That Blood crieth for Blood: That to use the Extremity of Rigor towards her could not but seem a cruel and bloody part.

That the French King would do his best to repel and frustrate the Attempts of all Men whatsoever who should offer Violence to the Queen: And, That the *Guises*, the Queen of Scots near Kinsmen, would engage themselves to do the like by Oath and Covenant under their Hands; who, in case she should be put to Death, would take it very hardly, and haply not leave her unreveng'd.

Lastly; They requir'd that she might not be proceeded against according to so rigorous and extraordinary a Sentence; otherwise the French King could not but take very great Displeasure thereat, howsoever other Princes should happen to resent it.

To these Reasons Answer was made from Point to Point in the Margin as followeth.

That the Queen of England trusted the most Christian King of France would have no less a Regard and Respect for her than he had for the Queen of Scots, who had practis'd the Destruction of an innocent Princess, her near Kinswoman, and a Confederate with the French King. That it was expedient and necessary for Kings and Commonwealths, that wicked Attempts (especially against Princes) should not go unpunish'd.

That the English, which acknowledge the Sovereign Authority of Queen Elizabeth only in England, could not acknowledge two supreme free and absolute Princes in England at one time; or account any other Person whatsoever equal to her in England as long as she lived. Neither indeed did they see how the Queen of Scots, and her Son who at present reigneth, can be reputed both at one time for supreme and absolute Princes.

Whether the Queen's Safety would be exposed to greater Danger upon her being executed, depended upon future Accidents and Contingencies: The States of England, upon serious deliberation of the Matter, thought otherwise. There would never be Occasions wanting for bad Attempts, especially when the matter was now come to that pass, that the one had no hope of Safety unless the other were ruin'd; and this Saying they might call to mind, *Aut ego illam, aut illa me*; Either I must take away her Life, or she will take away mine. The shorter the time to come of her Life was, the sooner and more eagerly would the Conspirators hasten the Queen's Danger.

That the Title which she claimed to the Crown of England she would not yet renounce, and therefore she was with good Reason detain'd in Prison, and so to be detain'd (tho' she came a Suppliant into England) till she had renounc'd the same. And the Crimes which she had committed since she was a Prisoner she ought to suffer for, whatever were the cause of her first casting into Prison.

That the Queen had formerly most graciously spared her Life, when by unanimous Consent of the States she was condemn'd for a Rebellion rais'd about an intended Marriage between her and the Duke of Norfolk; and to spare her again were but unadvised and cruel pity. That no Man was ignorant of that Saying of the Lawyers, *A Man offending in another's Territory, and there found, is punish'd in the place of his Offence, without regard to his Dignity, Honour or Privilege.*

And that this was both justifiable by the Laws of England, and by the Examples of *Licinius*, Robert King of Sicily, Bernard King of Italy, Conradine, Elizabeth Queen of Hungary, Joan Queen of Naples, and *Dejotarus*; for whom Tully pleading, said, *It was no unjust thing that a King should be found guilty and put to death, tho' it were not usual.*

1586. *usur.* For thus the Words run, *Which I speak*
first touching a King's forfeiture of Life and Estate.
 Ann. 29. *Which thing tho' it be not unjust, especially when thy*
Life is in danger from him, yet is it so unusual,
&c.

That she ought to be punish'd, having been found guilty upon a just and legal Trial; considering that what is just, the same is honest; and what is honest, is also profitable and expedient.

That the Story of *Porfenna* suited not with the present Case; unless a Man should imagine a numerous Combination of Men to have laid wait for the Queen's Life, and should thereupon persuade her to let the Queen of Scots at Liberty without any Hurt, out of a fear of 'em, and with some regard to her own Honour, but none to her Safety. as *Porfenna* discharged *Mutius* after he had affirmed that Three hundred like himself had conspir'd and vowed his death. Moreover, *Mutius* attempted this against *Porfenna* in a just and declar'd War; and when *Mutius* was let go, *Porfenna* verily persuaded himself that all the Danger was over: But the case here is quite otherwise.

That Blood indeed is to be spar'd, but it must be innocent Blood: This God hath commanded. True it is indeed, that the Voice of innocent Blood crieth for Blood; and this can France, both before and since the Massacre at Paris, well witness and testify.

That Death that is justly inflicted, cannot seem bloody; as neither is Phyllick, prepared duly and as it ought to be, esteemed violent.

That howsoever the *Guises*, the Q. of Scots Kinsmen, might take the matter, yet it highly concern'd the Queen to regard rather the Safety of herself, the Nobility and People of England, (upon whose Love and Affection she wholly depended) than the Displeasure of any whosoever. That the matter was come to that pass, that what was said of old concerning two Princesses, *Conradine* of Sicily and *Charles* of Anjou, might now be spoken of two Queens, it might now be truly said, *The Death of Mary is the Life of Elizabeth, and the Life of Mary is the Death of Elizabeth.*

That the French King's or the *Guises* Promises could not secure the Queen and Realm, much less make Satisfaction for her Life, if she should be made away.

That the French King could neither discover nor hinder secret Plots against himself at home; much less was he like to hinder those against the Queen of England: For Treason is plotted in secret, and therefore hard to be prevented. If the Fact were once committed, what would it avail to claim their Promises? How should an incomparable Prince's Death be made amends for? And in so sad and woful a Confusion of all things, what Remedy could be found for the languishing Commonwealth?

That the Obligations and Oaths of the *Guises* were of small value, who judged it meritorious to kill the Pope's Adversaries, and could very easily procure Dispensations for their Oaths. And what *Englishman*, if Queen Elizabeth were slain, and the Queen of Scots of the House of *Guise* advanc'd to the Crown, durst accuse them of Murder? And if any should accuse them, could they thereby make her alive again?

And the Ambassadors in calling this a rigorous and extraordinary Sentence, have spoken rashly and unadvisedly, (forasmuch as they have seen neither Process nor Proofs) and have more sharply than is fitting taxed the States of the Realm of England, Men eminent for their

Nobility, Vertue, Prudence and Piety: Yea, they have very inconsiderately uttered such Words in the French King's Name, as if they meant by Threats to terrify the Queen and the States of the Land. The *Englishmen* use not to be terrified by the *Frenchmen's* Threats from taking Courses to secure their own Tranquillity, when they in the mean time could direct them no proper way to avoid the instant and threatening Dangers.

The Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

While these things, either out of Hatred or French Affection, were curiously and copiously argued according to Mens apprehensions of Things, *L'Aubespine* the French Ambassador Leiger in England, a Man wholly devoted to the *Guise* Faction, supposing it the best way to provide for the captive Queen's Safety and Preservation, not by Arguments, but by underhand Practices and Artifices, tampered about taking away Queen Elizabeth's Life (at first more closely) with *William Stafford* a young Gentleman, and ready to catch at new Hopes of Advancement, whose Mother was one of the Queen's honourable Bed-chamber, and his Brother at that time Ambassador Leiger in France; and afterwards more plainly and openly, by *Trappy* his Secretary, who promis'd him, if he would effect it, not only infinite Glory and a vast deal of Money, but also special Favour with the Pope, the Duke of *Guise*, and generally with all the Catholics. *Stafford*, as detesting the Fact, refus'd to do it; yet recommended one *Moody*, a noble Bravo, one ready for any mischief, as a Man who for Money would without doubt resolutely do the Business. This *Moody* lying then in the common Gaol of London, *Stafford* gave him to understand that the French Ambassador would very gladly speak with him. He answer'd, He was very ready so to do in case he were once out of Prison: In the mean time he desir'd that *Cordalion*, the Ambassador's other Secretary, with whom he was well acquainted, might be sent unto him. The next day *Trappy* was sent, accompanied by *Stafford*. *Trappy*, after *Stafford* was remov'd a little aside, conferreth with *Moody* about the best way of killing the Queen. *Moody* propounds either to do it by Poison, or by a Bag of Gunpowder of 20 Pounds weight to be put under the Queen's Bed, and secretly fired. These two ways pleased not *Trappy*, who wished that such another resolute Fellow could be found as that *Burgundian* who murder'd the Prince of Orange.

These things were soon after reveal'd to the Queen's Council by *Stafford*. Whereupon *Trappy*, intending suddenly to go for France, was seiz'd upon; and being question'd touching these Matters, confess'd what I have said. Upon this the Ambassador himself was sent for the 12th of January to Cecil's House, whither he came in the evening; where were present, by the Queen's appointment, Cecil Lord Burghley Lord-Treasurer of England, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, and Davison one of her Secretaries. They let him know, that they had sent for him to inform him for what reason they had apprehended *Trappy* his Secretary as he was going for France: And they acquainted him with all things particularly which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappy* himself had confess'd, and commanded them to be call'd in to witness the same to his Face. The Ambassador, having heard all the Story with great Impatience and a frowning Countenance, now rose up and said, *That he, being the King's Ambassador, would not bear any Accusation to the Prejudice of the King.*

King his Master, and against the Privileges of Ambassadors. When it was answer'd, That they were not produced as Accusers, but that he might see these things not to be feign'd and pretended, and that he himself might have liberty to charge Stafford with Falshood, he was satisfy'd. As soon as Stafford was brought in, and began to speak, he interrupted him, railing upon him, and affirming that Stafford was the first Man that propounded the matter; and that he had threaten'd him, unless he would desist, to send him bound Hand and Foot to the Queen; but yet had spared him out of his singular Love to Stafford's Mother, Brother and Sister. Stafford, falling upon his Knees, deeply protested upon his Salvation, that the Ambassador first propounded the matter to him. The Ambassador being now more vehemently moved, Stafford was commanded to withdraw, and Moody was not brought in.

And when Burleigh had gently reprov'd the Ambassador, as conscious or accessory to the plotting of so foul a Fact, both by his own Words and Trappy's Confession; he answer'd, *Altho' he had been accessory to it, yet seeing he was an Ambassador, he ought not to discover the same to any, but the King his Master only.* When Burleigh reply'd, *That if it be not for an Ambassador to make any such Discovery when a Prince's Life is by wicked Contrivances brought into Danger, (which notwithstanding is a thing controverted) yet it is the Duty of a Christian to repel and hinder such Injuries, and that where the Safety not only of a Prince, but also of any private Christian, is concern'd.* This he strongly deny'd, and withal told him, how a French Ambassador not long since in Spain, having Knowledge of a Design against the King of Spain's Life, discover'd it not to the King of Spain, but to the King his Master, and was therefore commended by the King and his Council. But Burleigh gravely advis'd him to beware how he committed Treason any more, or forgot the Duty of an Ambassadour, and the Queen's Clemency, who should not by punishing a bad Ambassador prejudice the good: and that he was not acquitted from the Guilt of the Offence, tho' he escaped the Punishment.

By means of this Attempt, such as bare a mortal Hatred against the Queen of Scots took occasion to hasten her Death. And to strike the greater Terror into the Queen, (knowing that where a Man's own Safety lies at Stake, there Fear excludes all Pity) they caus'd false Rumors and terrifying Reports daily to be spread all over England: viz. *That the Spanish Fleet was already arriv'd at Milford-Haven; That the Scots were broken into England; That the Duke of Guise was landed in Suffex with a strong Army; That the Queen of Scots was escaped out of Prison, and had rais'd an Army; That the Northern Parts were up in Rebellion; That there was a new Conspiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and set the City of London on Fire; yea, That the Queen was dead;* with other such like Stories, which Men either crafty for their own ends, or really fearful, are wont to feign to themselves, and to make worse, out of a natural Propensity they have to cherish and increase Rumors, which Princes lightly credulous do easily entertain.

With such Scare-crows and affrighting Arguments as these, they drew the Queen's wavering and perplex'd Mind to that pass, that she sign'd a Warrant for putting the Sentence of Death in Execution. And one of the principal Persuaders to it (as the Scots report) was Patrick Gray a Scot, sent purposely by the King of Scots to dissuade the Queen from putting his Mother to death; who many times buzz'd into the Queen's Ear that Saying, *Mortua non mordet*, that is, *A dead Woman bites not.*

Yet she, being a Woman naturally slow in her Resolutions, began to consider in her Mind, whether it were better to put her to death, or to spare her. Against putting her to death these things had great Weight: 'Her own innate Clemency, lest she should seem to shew herself cruel to a Woman, and that a Princess, and her Kinswoman; Fear of Infamy with Posterity in after-Histories; And imminent and certain Dangers, as well from the King of Scots, who would now be advanced to a Step higher in his Hopes of England, as from the Catholick Princes and desperate Men, who would now adventure upon any thing. On the other side, if she should spare her, she foresaw that no less Dangers threaten'd her. 'The Noblemen that had given their Sentence against the Queen of Scots would endeavour underhand to get into Favour with her and her Son, not without manifest Hazard to herself; The rest of her Subjects, who had been so careful for her Safety, seeing she had frustrated their Pains and Care, would take it very ill, and for time to come neglect her Preservation; Many would turn Papists, and entertain greater Hopes, when they should see her preserv'd as it were by Fate to a Probability of enjoying the Crown; The Jesuites and Seminaries, whose Eyes are upon her only, seeing her sickly, and fearing that she would not live long, would leave no means untry'd to hasten Queen Elizabeth's Death, that so their Religion might be restored.

The Courtiers also continually suggested to her these things following, and the like: 'Why should you spare her, when she is guilty and justly condemn'd, who, tho' she subscribed to the Association for your Safety, yet presently after resolv'd unmercifully to ruin you who were altogether innocent, and by destroying you to destroy Religion, the Nobility, and People? Clemency and Mercy is a Royal Vertue, but not to be extended to the merciless. Let the vain Shew of Mercy give place to wholesome Severity. Have a care that your unseasonable Mercy and Favour involve you not in the greatest Misery. It is Commendation enough of your Clemency, to have spared her once: to spare her again were nothing else but to pronounce her guiltless, condemn the Parliament of Injustice, encourage her Favourers to hasten their wicked Designs, and discourage your faithful Subjects from their Care for the Commonwealth. Religion, the Commonwealth, your own Safety, the Love of your Country, the Oath of Association, and the Care of Posterity, do all with their joint Prayers beseech you, that she who endangers the Subversion of all these may forthwith be put to death: and except they may prevail, Safety itself will never be able to save this Commonwealth; and Historians will leave it recorded to succeeding Ages, that the bright Sun-shine and glorious Days of England under Queen Elizabeth, ended in a foul, cloudy and dark Evening, yea, in an eternal Night. Posterity will blame us for lack of Wisdom, that could foresee these Mischiefs, (which adds to the Misery thereof) and yet could not prevent them; and will impute the Mass and Heap of future Calamities, not so much to the Adversaries Malice, as to the gross Carelessness of these Times. The Life of one Scottish and Titular Queen ought not to weigh down the Safety of all England. In so important a matter there ought to be no Delay; for Delay brings Danger: nor any space of time allow'd to Plotters of Mischiefs, who will now have their last Refuge and Recourse to bold Attempts, since besides Impunity

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The Ambassador denies it.

Interpreted.

Whether an Ambassador ought to reveal Treason against a Prince.

This and false Rumors set Q. Eliz. against the Queen of Scots.

Fallacies of Gray a Scot.

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Q. Eliz. considers the matter seriously.

Dangers if she should be executed.

Dangers if spared.

Courtiers press for her Execution. Their Reasons.

1587. *Ann. 30.* nity they will be in hope of Reward for their Labour. He that doth not what lies in his power to avoid Dangers, doth rather tempt God than trust in God. The Mischiefs which threaten from Foreiners, the Cause being once taken away, will be all taken away with it; neither can they do England any Harm but by her. Whatsoever mind or power the Pope hath to hurt us, will fall to the Ground with her. The Spaniard can have no just cause to be offended, who for his own Security put to death his only Son Charles, and now for ambitious Ends layeth wait for the Life of Don Antonio of Portugal. The French K. most religiously maintaineth Amity with England, and him it highly concerneth that by the timely death of the Q. of Scots the Hopes of the Guisians should be quashed, who, presuming upon the expected future Power of their Kinswoman, do at present insolently insult over their King. The King of Scots indeed may by the force of natural Affection, and out of a respect to his Honour, be deeply troubl'd for his Mother: But his Wisdom will carry him rather to expect the Succession of things themselves leisurely and with Security, than to be over-hasty in compassing them with Danger. And the nearer he is to the height of his Hope, the farther will foreign Princes be from assisting him; it being a thing usual with them by any means to hinder the growing Power of another.

And by Examples. They produced also Examples at home in our own Country, (for whatever is done by Example is done more excusably) how the Kings of England for their own Security have carried themselves toward their Kinsmen and Competitors; namely, Henry I. toward Robert his eldest Brother; Edward III. or rather his Mother, toward Edward II. Henry IV. toward Richard II. Edward IV. toward Henry VI. and his Son the Prince of Wales, and toward his own Brother George Duke of Clarence; Henry VII. toward Warwick, the Duke of Clarence his young Son; and Henry VIII. toward De la Pool Earl of Suffolk, Margaret Countess of Salisbury, and Courtney Marquis of Exeter: All which were for light Causes (if their Faults be compared with hers) taken off. And not only did the Courtiers use these Persuasions with the Queen, but some Preachers also with more Bitterness than was fit, and some of the vulgar sort, (either out of Hope or Fear) more sawcily than became 'em, exercis'd their Wit at their pleasure upon this Subject.

Her doubtful suspense. In the midst of these doubtful and perplexing Thoughts, which so troubl'd and stagger'd the Queen's Mind, that she gave herself wholly over to Solitariness, fate many times melancholy and mute, and frequently sighing, mutter'd this to herself, *Aut fer, aut feri*; that is, Either bear with her, or smite her; and, out of I know not what Emblem, *Nè feriare, feri*; that is, Strike, lest thou be stricken; she deliver'd a Writing to Davison, one of the Secretaries, signed with her own Hand, commanding a Warrant under the Great Seal of England to be drawn up for the Execution, which should lie in readiness if any Danger chanced to break forth in that time of Jealousie and Fear; and commanded him to acquaint no Man therewith. But the next Day, while Fear seem'd to be afraid of her own Counsels and Designs, her Mind changed, and she commanded Davison by William Killegrew that the Warrant should not be drawn. Davison came presently to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already. She was somewhat mov'd at it, and blam'd him for making such haste. He notwithstanding acquainted the Council both with the Warrant and the whole

matter, and easily persuaded them, who were apt to believe what they desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be executed. Hereupon without any delay, Beale (who in respect of Religion was of all others the Queen of Scots most bitter Adversary) was sent down, with one or two Executioners, and a Warrant, wherein Authority was given to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and others, to see her executed according to the Law; and this without any knowledge of the Queen at all. And tho' she at that very time told Davison that she would take another Course with the Queen of Scots, yet did not he for all that call Beale back.

As soon as the Earls were come to Fotheringhay, they, together with Sir Amias Powlet and Sir Drue Drury, to whose Custody she was committed, came unto her, told her the cause of their coming, reading the Warrant, and in few Words admonish'd her to prepare herself for Death, for she was to die the next Day. She undauntedly and with a composed Spirit made this Answer: *I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my Death, who am not subject to your Law and Jurisdiction: But seeing her pleasure is so, Death shall be to me most welcome: Neither is that Soul worthy of the high and everlasting Joys above, whose Body cannot endure one Stroke of the Executioner.* She prayed them that she might have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and Melvin the Master of her Household. For her Confessor, it was flatly denied that he should come at her; and the Earls recommended to her the Bishop or the Dean of Peterborough to comfort her; whom she refusing, the Earl of Kent, in the heat of his Zeal for the Reformed Religion, turning towards her, brake forth into these Words amongst other Speeches; *Your Life will be the Death of our Religion, as contrariwise your Death will be the Life thereof.* Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his Conspiracy to have been at all known to her, and the revenge of her Wrong she left to God. Then enquiring what was become of Narve and Curle, she asked, Whether it were ever heard of before, that Servants were suborned and accepted for Witnesses against their Master's Life. When the Earls were departed from her, she commanded Supper to be hasten'd, that she might the better dispose of her Concernments. She supped temperately and sparingly, as her manner usually was. Being at Supper, and spying her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting, she comforted them with great Courage and Magnanimity, bad them leave mourning, and rather rejoice that she was now to depart out of a World of Miseries. Turning to Burgoyn, her Physician, she asked him, Whether he did not now find the force of Truth to be great? *They say (quoth she) that I must die because I have plotted against the Queen's Life; yet the Earl of Kent tells me, that there is no other cause of my Death, but that they are afraid for their Religion because of me. Neither hath my Offence against the Queen, but their Fear because of me, drawn this End upon me, while some under the colour of Religion and the Publick Good, aim at their own private Respects and Advantages.* Towards the end of Supper she drank to all her Servants, who pledg'd her in order upon their Knees, mingling Tears with their Wine, and begging Pardon for their neglect of their Duty; as she also in like manner did of them. After Supper she perused her Will, read over the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she bequeathed every Particular. To some she distributed

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bured Money with her own Hand. To her Confessor she wrote a Letter, that he would make Intercession for her to God in his Prayers. She wrote also Letters of Recommendations for her Servants to the French King and the Duke of Guise. At her wonted time she went to Bed, slept some Hours; and then awaking, spent the rest of the Night in Prayers.

The fatal Day now being come, which was the 8th of February, she dressed herself as gorgeously and curiously as she was wont to do upon Festival-Days; and calling her Servants together, commanded her Will to be read, prayed them to take their Legacies in good part, for her Ability would not extend to giving them any greater matters. Then fixing her Mind wholly upon God in her Oratory or ordinary place of Prayer, with Sighs, Groans and Prayers she begged his Divine Grace and Favour, till such time as Thomas Andrews, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her that she must now come forth. And forth she came with State, Countenance and Presence majestically composed, a cheerful Look, and a matron-like and modest Habit; her Head cover'd with a Linen Veil, and that hanging down to the Ground; her Prayer-beads hanging at her Girdle, and carrying a Crucifix of Ivory in her Hands. In the Porch she was received by the Earls and other Noblemen, where Melvin her Servant falling upon his Knees, and pouring forth Tears, bewailed his hard Hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Mistress. She thus comforted him: 'Lament not, but rather rejoice; thou shalt by and by see Mary Stuart freed from all her Cares. Tell them that I die constant in my Religion, and firm in my Fidelity and Affection towards Scotland and France. God forgive them who have thirsted after my Blood as Harts do after the Fountain. Thou, O GOD, who art Truth itself, and perfectly and truly understandest the inward Thoughts of my Heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the Kingdoms of England and Scotland might be united into one. Commend me to my Son, and assure him that I have done nothing which may be prejudicial to the Kingdom of Scotland; admonish him to hold in Amity and Friendship with the Queen of England; and see that thou do him faithful Service.

To the Earls in behalf of her Servants.
And now the Tears trickling down, she bade Melvin several times farewell, who wept as fast as she. Then turning to the Earls, she pray'd 'em, 'That her Servants might be civilly dealt withal; That they might enjoy the Legacies she had bequeathed them by her Will and Testament; That they might stand by her at her Death, and might be sent back into their own Country with Letters of safe Conduct. The former Requests they granted; but that they should stand by her at her Death, the Earl of Kent shewed himself somewhat unwilling, fearing some Superstition. 'Fear it not (said she) these harmless Souls desire only to take their last farewell of me. I know my Sister Elizabeth would not have denied me so small a matter, that my Women should be then present, were it but for the Honour of the Female Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from Henry VII. Queen-Dowager of France, and anointed Q. of Scots.

When she had said thus much, and turned herself aside, it was at last granted that such of her Servants as she should name should be then present. She named Melvin, Burgoin her Physician, her Apothecary, her Surgeon, two Waiting-women, and others; of whom Melvin bare up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls and the Sheriff of the County going before her, she

came to the Scaffold, which was built at the upper end of the Hall; on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block, all cover'd with black Cloth. As soon as she was set down, and Silence commanded, Beale read the Warrant. She heard it attentively, yet as if her Thoughts were taken up with somewhat else. Then Fletcher Dean of Peterborough began a long Speech to her touching the Condition of her Life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him once or twice as he was speaking, praying him not to trouble himself, protesting that she was firmly fixed and resolved in the ancient Catholick Roman Religion, and for it was ready to shed her last Blood. When he earnestly persuaded her to true Repentance, and to put her whole Trust in Christ by an assured Faith; she answer'd, That in that Religion she was both born, bred, and now ready to die. The Earls said they would pray for her: To whom she said, That she would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray with her; but to join (she said) in Prayer with you who are of another Profession, would be in me a heinous Sin. Then they appointed the Dean to pray: With whom, while the Multitude that stood round about were praying, she fell down upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her in her Hands, prayed in Latin, with her Servants, out of the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

After the Dean had made an end of praying, she in the English Tongue recommended the Church, her Son, and Queen Elizabeth, to God, beseeching him to turn away his Wrath from this Island; and professing that she repos'd her hope of Salvation in the Blood of Christ, (lifting up the Crucifix) she called upon the celestial Quire of Saints to make Intercession to him for her: She forgave all her Enemies, and kissing the Crucifix, and signing herself with the Cross, she said, As thy Arms, O Christ, were spread out upon the Cross, so receive me with the stretched-out Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive my Sins. Then the Executioners asked her Forgiveness, which she granted 'em. And when her Women-servants had taken off her upper Garments, (which she was eager and hasty to have done) wailing and lamenting the while, she kissed them, and signing them with the Cross, with a cheerful Countenance bade them forbear their womanish Lamentations; for now she should rest from all her Sorrows. In like manner turning to her Men-servants, who also wept, she signed them likewise with the Cross, and smiling, bade 'em farewell. And now having covered her Face with a Linen Handkerchief, and laying herself down to the Block, she recited that Psalm, In thee, O Lord, do I trust, let me never be confounded. Then stretching forth her Body, and repeating many times, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit, her Head was taken off at two Stroaks; the Dean crying out, So let Queen Elizabeth's Enemies perish; the Earl of Kent answering, Amen, and the Multitude sighing and sorrowing. Her Body was embalmed, and ordered in a decent and fitting manner, and afterwards interr'd with a Royal Funeral in the Cathedral-Church of Peterborough. A pompous Obsequies was also perform'd for her at Paris by procurement of the Guises, who, to their great Commendations, perform'd all the highest Offices of Kindness to their Kinswoman both alive and dead.

This lamentable End had Mary Queen of Scots, Daughter to James V. King of Scots, Great-grand-daughter to Henry VII. King of England, by his eldest Daughter; in the six and fortieth Year of her Age, and the eighteenth of her Imprisonment. A Lady fix'd and constant in her Religion, of singular Piety towards God, invincible Magnanimity of Mind, Wisdom above her Sex, and admirable Beauty; a Lady to be reckoned

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She comes to the Scaffold.

Passages betwixt her and the Dean of Peterborough, &c

Her last Words.

Her Character and Commendations.

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AN EPITAPH.

MARY Queen of Scots, a King's Daughter, the King of France's Widow, the Queen of England's Kinswoman and next Heir, a Princess accomplish'd with Royal Vertues and a Royal Soul, having many times (but in vain) demanded the Privileges belonging to a Crown'd Head, is, by barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty, extinct; who was the Ornament of our Age, and a Light truly Royal; and by one and the same wicked Sentence is both Mary Q. of Scots doom'd to a natural Death, and all surviving Kings, being made as Common-People, are subjected to a civil Death. A new and unexampled kind of Tomb is here extant, wherein the Living are inclosed with the Dead: for know, that with the Sacred Ashes of Saint Mary here lies violate and prostrate the Majesty of all Kings and Princes. And because (Reader that travellest this way) the inclosed Remains of Royalty do most sufficiently admonish Kings of their Duty, I say no more.

Instance
of Divine
Provi-
dence.

By this so lamentable a Fate of this great Princess appear'd most conspicuously (as some understanding Persons have observ'd) the wise Disposition and Ordering of the Divine Providence. For those things which both the Queens, Elizabeth and Mary, most of all desired, and in all their Councils propounded to themselves, were hereby attain'd. Queen Mary (as she said just before her Death) desired nothing more ardently, than that the divided Kingdoms of England and Scotland might be united in the Person of her dear Son: and there was nothing which Queen Elizabeth wish'd for more earnestly, than that the true Religion might be preserv'd in En-

gland, together with the Safety and Security of the People. And that the high and great God granted them both their Prayers, England now sees with unexpected Felicity, and most joyfully acknowledges the same.

As soon as the Report was brought to Queen Elizabeth's Ears, who little thought of such a thing, that the Queen of Scots was put to death, she heard it with great Indignation, her Countenance alter'd, her Speech falter'd and fail'd her, and through excessive Sorrow she stood in a manner astonish'd: insomuch as she gave herself over to passionate Grief, putting herself into Mourning-Habit, and shedding abundance of Tears: her Council she sharply rebuk'd, and commanded them out of her Sight, causing them to be examin'd: Davison she commanded to appear and be try'd in the Star-Chamber. And as soon as Grief would give her leave, she wrote this following Letter in haste, with her own Hand, to the King of Scots, and sent it by Robert Cary.

' My dearest Brother,

' I would to God thou knewest (but not that thou feltest) the incomparable Grief my Mind is perplex'd with, upon this lamentable Accident, which is happen'd contrary to my Meaning and Intention, which, since my Pen trembles to mention it, you shall fully understand by this my Kinsman. I request you, that as God and many others can witness my Innocence in this matter, so you will also believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it. I am not so faint-hearted, that for Terror I should fear to do the thing which is just; or to own it when it is once done: no, I am not so base nor ignobly minded. But as it is no Princely Part, with feign'd Words to conceal and disguise the real Meaning of the Heart; so will I never dissemble my Actions, but make them appear in their true and proper Colours. Persuade yourself this for Truth, that as I know this is happen'd deservedly on her part, so if I had intended it, I would not have laid it upon others: but I will never charge myself with that which I had not so much as a Thought of. Other Matters you shall understand by the Bearer of this Letter. As for me, I would have you believe, there is not any which loves you more dearly, or takes more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs. If any Man would persuade you the contrary, you may conclude he favours others more than you. God preserve you long in Health and Safety.

Whilst Cary was upon his Way with this Letter, Davison was brought into the Star-Chamber before certain Commissioners chosen for that purpose: namely, Sir Christopher Wray Knight, Chief-Justice in the King's-Bench, who for that Occasion was made Lord Privy-Seal; the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Earls of Worcester, Cumberland, and Lincoln; the Barons Grey and Lumley; Sir James Croftes, Comptroller of the Queen's Household; Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls; Sir Edmund Anderson, Chief-Justice at the Common-Pleas; and Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Before these Commissioners, Popham, the Queen's Attorney, charged Davison with Contempt towards the Queen's Majesty, Breach of his Allegiance, and Neglect of his Duty, in that, Whereas the Queen (according to her innate Clemency) never intended that the Queen of Scots, tho' condemn'd, should have been put to death, for Causes best known to herself alone, and not to be search'd into by others, nor could by any means

Excuses
her self by
Letter to
the King
of Scots.

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much vex'd
when told
of her
Death.

Reprimand
her Council.

Davison
try'd.

His crimes

means be persuaded to consent thereto, either by the Estates of the Realm, or by the repeated Instances and Reasons of the Council; notwithstanding that she had, for preventing of Dangers, commanded a Warrant for Execution to be drawn up, and committed it to Davison's Trust and Secrecy: He nevertheless, being her sworn Secretary, forgetting his Allegiance and Duty, and in Contempt of her Majesty, contrary to what the Queen had commanded him, had acquainted the Council therewith, and put the Warrant in Execution, without her knowing any thing at all of it.

His answ. Davison, according to his singular Discretion, answer'd sedately, with great Presence of Mind, 'That he was very sorry, that in so just a Cause concerning the Queen of Scots, and the Sentence given against her, a Sentence of all others the most weighty and serious, he should now again trouble the Commissioners; and that, if not with the Loss, yet at least with the Impairing, of his Credit, which to him was as dear as all things else. But most heavily of all he took it, that he was charged to have offended contemptuously against her Majesty, who by how much she had been the more gracious and bountiful to him, and he the more engaged to her for her singular Favours, so much the more heinous might his Offence seem. If he should confess himself guilty of the Crimes objected against him, he should wrong his own Reputation, which was more precious to him than his Life. And if he should contest with the Queen in his own Defence, he should do that which was unbefitting the Obedience of a Subject, the dutiful Behaviour of a Servant, and the Faith and Place of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, 'That he had done nothing in this matter wittingly and willingly, but what he had persuaded himself was the Queen's Will and Pleasure, wherein if he had wrong'd himself either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly troubled at it, and be ready patiently to undergo the Commissioners Censure.

As to Particulars, he affirm'd, 'That when the Queen blamed him for making such Haste to get the Warrant under the Great Seal, she gave some Signification, but no express Command, that he should keep it in his own Hands. Neither does he believe himself to have offended against his Trust of Secrecy, seeing he never spoke a Word of the Business to any but the Council. Whereas he recall'd not the Warrant after the Queen had told him that she had changed her Resolution, he affirm'd, That it was agreed by all the Council, that it should be presently sent away, and Execution done, lest the Commonwealth or the Queen should receive any Hurt.

He's prest with his own Confession. Hereupon Egerton, the Queen's Solicitor, began to press Davison with his own Confession, reading a Piece thereof. But Davison pray'd him to read the whole, and not Parcels pick'd out here and there: but he had rather (he said) it should not be read at all, because there were contain'd in it some Secretes not fit to be divulg'd abroad; saying withal, That as he would not contest with the Queen, so could he not endure, that his Modesty should prejudice the Truth and his own Integrity.

Gaudy and Puckering, Serjeants at Law, now charged him home and sharply, that he had craftily abused the Wisdom of the Queen's Council, and that by the Confession of Burleigh Lord-Treasurer, who doubting whether the Queen had absolutely resolv'd to have Execution done, Davison confidently affirm'd it; as he likewise did to the rest that subscribed the Letters for the manner of the Execution. Davison here pray'd the Queen's learned Council, with Tears running

down his Cheeks, that they would not urge the matter any farther, but remember that he would not contest with the Queen, to whose Conscience, and the Commissioners Censure, he wholly submitted himself.

Judges Censure of him. Manwood, in the first place, made an historical Relation touching the Queen of Scots, beginning from her Usurping the Arms of England in her tender Age, quite down to Babington's Conspiracy; commended and approved the Sentence given against her, according to the Law; extoll'd the Queen's Clemency, which because Davison had inconsiderately prevented, he censur'd him to be fined in Ten Thousand Pounds, and imprison'd during the Queen's Pleasure.

Then Anderson argu'd, that he had done the thing which was just, tho' he had not done it after a due and just manner: otherwise he thought him to be no bad Man.

Of the same Opinion was Gerard.

Mildmay (having first declar'd with what mature Deliberation, and serious Gravity, the Trial against the Queen of Scots was manag'd, and by how earnest Intreaties and Obsecrations of the People, Queen Elizabeth was persuaded to publish the Sentence) made use of that place of Scripture against Davison, *The heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord*; and therefore no Man, much less an Officer and a Servant, ought underhand and deceitfully to prevent Princes of their Purpose; without whose Knowledge and Consent nothing was to be done, especially in matters of so great Importance as is the Death of a Princess. He clear'd him of Malice, but tax'd him with Unskilfulness in State-Affairs, and condemn'd him of Rashness and too much Haste in preventing the Queen's Intention. And that Men of his Place and Rank might not for the future dare to commit the like Offence, he agreed in Opinion with the rest, concerning his Fine and Imprisonment.

Croftes blamed him for his Unadvisedness in revealing things which ought to have been conceal'd; considering that Princes, what they impart to one of their Council, that many times they do not let the rest know of.

The Lord Lumley was of Opinion with the Judges, that the Sentence was justly pronounc'd against the Q. of Scots. But he affirm'd withal, 'That never in any Age was there such a Contempt against a Prince heard or read of, that the Queen's Council, in the Queen's Palace, in the Council-Chamber near the Queen, who was, as it were, President of the Council, should resolve upon a matter of such Consequence, without her Advice or Knowledge, when both they and Davison might have had so easie Access to her. Protesting, that if he had but one only Son, and he were in the same Fault, he would censure him to be severely punish'd. But being persuaded of the Man's ingenious and honest Intention, he would inflict no heavier Punishment upon him, than the rest had done before.

After him follow'd the Lord Grey, who in a *Grey's Defence of him.* set Speech, as being enflamed with a religious Zeal, thus sharply deliver'd himself: 'Davison (said he) is charged to have demean'd himself contemptuously towards the Queen, and that Contempt is aggravated with these Circumstances; That he has caus'd the Queen of Scots to be put to death, has divulg'd certain Secrets, and conceal'd from the Queen the sending away of the Warrant. But what Queen was it whom he caus'd to be put to death? Even she from whom, as long as she liv'd, Danger daily threaten'd our Religion, our Queen, our Commonwealth, and every particular Man of us; and by means of whom, though she be

1587. *Ann. 30.* now executed, we are at this day put to this Trouble. So that he who has deliver'd England from so great Dangers may seem worthy rather to be honor'd and esteem'd. I do not take him to have reveal'd Secrets, who imparted the Business to no other than the Council and Managers of the weightiest Affairs, whom it specially concern'd to know such Matters; and the Queen herself had already acquainted one or two of them with the thing. If *Davison* have offended, he is most to be blamed for this, that when the Queen was entring upon a new Resolution, he did not let her know that the Warrant was not already sent away. But he, without question, was divided in doubtful and perplex'd Thoughts, whether he were best venture the Queen's Favour, by sending away the Warrant without her Knowledge, or by recalling it endanger the Queen's Safety anew. Who remembers not how turbulent a time it was, and what frightening Rumours were spread abroad in all places? If any Violence had then been offer'd to Religion or the Queen, or her Life had been taken away while the Warrant was in his Hands, should not he have born the Blame of it? should not we ourselves, our Wives and Children, have fallen violently upon him? should we not have imbrued our Hands in his Blood? should we not have curs'd his Indiscretion to the Pit of Hell? and should we not, to his eternal Infamy, have erected a Monument of his Inconsiderateness, engraven with Letters of Blood? Whatsoever either Punishment or Fine ye lay upon him shall not displease me; but to be sure he shall never, with me, lose the Esteem of a good and honest Man. These things *Grey* continu'd to press copiously, eloquently, and boldly.

The three Earls concurr'd with the rest touching *Davison's* Penalty; but concerning his Reputation, with *Grey*.

The Archbishop of *York* reason'd theologically concerning his Disobedience proceeding from the Blindness of his Understanding, and Corruption of his Mind.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* approv'd the Fact, commended the Man; but the Manner and Way of doing it he utterly condemn'd.

Wray, Lord Privy-Seal, having summarily repeated the Opinions of the Commissioners, confirm'd the Penalty inflicted: and withal signify'd, that albeit the Queen had been offended (and that not without just Cause) with her Council, and had left them to Examination; yet now she forgave them, and withal acknowledg'd, that they had been very careful and diligent in their Actions and Counsels for the Preservation of Religion and the Common-wealth, and for preventing of all Dangers.

Davison's
Request.

Davison pray'd the Commissioners to be a means to the Queen, not for the honourable Office of Secretary which he formerly held, nor for his Liberty, nor the Abatement of his Fine, but that he might be restored to her Favour. Which notwithstanding he never recover'd, tho' she sometimes reliev'd his Wants.

Thus was *Davison*, a Man of good Ingenuity, but not well-skill'd in Court-Arts, brought upon the Court-Stage, on purpose (as most Men imagin'd) to act for a time this Part in the Tragedy; and soon after, the Part being acted, and his Stage-attire laid aside, as if he had fail'd in the last Act, he was thrust down from the Stage, and, not without the Pity of many, shut up a long time in Prison.

What was done publickly against *Davison* I have said already: but how he excus'd himself in private, take here a compendious Account up-

on his own Credit, and out of an Apologetical Discourse of his to *Walsingham*.

The Queen, (says he) after the Departure of the French and Scottish Ambassadors, of her own Motion commanded me to deliver her the Warrant for executing the Sentence against the Queen of Scots: when I had deliver'd it, she sign'd it readily with her own Hand: when she had so done, she commanded it to be seal'd with the Great Seal of England; and in jesting manner said, Go tell all this to *Walsingham*, who is now sick; altho' I fear he will die for Sorrow, when he hears it. She added also the Reasons of her deferring it so long; namely, lest she might seem to have been violently or maliciously drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time she was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover she blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that they had not eas'd her of this Care; and wish'd that *Walsingham* would feel their Pulses touching this matter. The next day after it was under the Great Seal, she commanded me by *Killegrew*, that it should not be done: and when I had inform'd her that it was done already, she found fault with such great Hasten; telling me that in the Judgment of some wise Men, another Course might be taken. I answer'd, that that Course was always best and safest which was most just. But fearing lest she would lay the Fault upon me, (as she had laid the putting of the Duke of *Norfolk* to death upon the Lord *Burleigh*) I acquainted *Hatton* with the whole matter, protesting that I would not plunge myself any deeper in so great a Business. He presently imparted it to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Lord *Burleigh* to the rest of the Council; who all consented to have the Execution hasten'd, and every one of them vow'd to bear an equal Share in the Blame, and sent *Beale* away with the Warrant and Letters. The third day after, when, by a Dream which she told of the Queen of Scots Death, I perceiv'd that she waver'd in her Resolution, I ask'd her, Whether she had changed her Mind? She answer'd, No; but another Course (said she) might have been devis'd: and withal she ask'd me, Whether I had receiv'd any Answer from *Powlet*? Whose Letter when I had shew'd her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with Honour and Justice; she, waxing angry, accus'd him and others (who had bound themselves by the Association) of Perjury and Breach of their Vow, as those that had promis'd great Matters for their Prince's Safety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (said she) who will do it for my sake. But I shew'd her how dishonourable and unjust a thing this would be; and withal into how great Danger she would bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by it. For if she approved the Fact, she would draw upon herself both Danger and Dishonor, not without Censure of Injustice: and if she disallow'd it, she would utterly undo Men of great Desert and their whole Posterity. And afterwards she gave me a light Check the same day that the Queen of Scots was executed, because she was not yet put to death.

How high a Displeasure soever against *Davison*, and how great Grief Queen *Elizabeth* either conceiv'd or pretended, for the Death of the Queen of Scots, certain it is that the King of Scots, her only Son, who respected his Mother with the greatest Piety that could be imagin'd or found in a Son, took exceeding great and hearty Grief, mixt with deep Displeasure, at the same, and very much lamented and mourn'd for her. For he did not think that Queen *Elizabeth*, in regard of the mutual Love betwixt them, and the League

1587. Ann. 30. Refuses Cary Entrance into Scotland. League of stricter Amity but lately contracted, would have neglected all the Intercessions and Mediations of Princes, and brought his Mother, a Princess of equal Majesty with herself, and so nearly ally'd to her in Royal Blood, under the Hand of a base Executioner. Robert Cary, the Lord *Hunsdon's* Son, who was sent out of England to excuse the Queen, and lay all the Fault upon her Council and *Davison*, he suffer'd not to enter into Scotland, scarce would give him the Hearing by another, and with much ado receiv'd the Letters which he brought. He revoked the Commission of his Ambassador in England, and breathed nothing but Revenge. For there wanted not some that went about to persuade him, that the Princes of Christendom would never suffer so great an Affront done to the Royal Majesty and to the Name of Kings, to escape unreveng'd.

Indignation of the Scots. Divers Counsels suggested to the K. The Estates of Scotland, who were now assembled in good number, profess'd that they were ready to spend both their Lives and Fortunes in Revenge of his Mother's Death, and the Defence of his Title to the Crown of England, and that they could by no means brook this Injury, done not so much to the King, as to the whole Nation of the Scots. There were some who persuaded the King to desire an Assistance of Shipping from the King of Denmark, whose Daughter he now sought in Marriage, against the Crown of England. Others, addicted to the Popish Religion, advis'd him that he should rather join with the Spaniard, the French King, and the Pope; by which means he might easily possess himself of England. Above all things, that he should give no Credit nor rely upon the Protestants of England; for they now ruled all, and secretly plotted his Destruction; using that Saying against them, *He will not spare the Son, who has destroy'd the Mother*. Others there were, who privately advis'd him to declare himself openly for neither Party, but to hold both Papists and Protestants in suspense. For if he stood openly for the Protestants, all the Papists of Europe would level their Designs against him, as their Mark to shoot at, and would erect another Prop and Buttress for themselves in England, which would prove dangerous and prejudicial to him. There were also some, who persuaded him to maintain a strict and religious Amity with England, not to hazard his certain Hopes upon the uncertain Chance of War, and to be firm and constant to himself in the receiv'd Religion; wherein if he once waver'd, he should neither get himself Friends, nor rid himself of Foes. These things Men persuaded him, every Man as his private Advantage led him. The King, being a wise Prince, and apprehensive above his Years, consider'd all things seriously with good and long Deliberation by himself alone, and advis'd also with some few others, using no Haste in the Business, which is always blind, but a mature and due Consideration.

Q. Elizabeth endeavors to pacify him. But Queen Elizabeth throwing all the Blame upon *Davison*, and the unadvised Credulity of her Council, sought to assuage his Grief by little and little, lest unreasonable and sudden Consolations might more irritate him; and waited till his Sorrow were lessen'd by longer Time, and would suffer itself to be easilier dealt withal. And when she perceiv'd that the French eagerly excited the young King to avenge his Wrongs, fearing lest by their cunning Wiles and his own boiling Heat to take Revenge, he might be drawn away from the Protestant Religion and the Amity of the English, she bent herself with all her Art and Skill to pacify his exulcerated and already alienated Mind by all possible means not unbecoming a Princess.

1587. Ann. 30. Reasons for her so doing. By her Favourers therefore in Scotland, and shortly after by the Lord *Hunsdon* Governor of Berwick, she propounded these things following to be consider'd by him. First, of how dangerous Consequence it would be for him to break out into a War against England for this Reason, when all the Estates of England had judg'd the late Proceeding most necessary for the Safety of the whole Island, and also in itself just. Secondly, Whether he were able to undertake such a War, since England was never better provided of Martial Men, Forces and Wealth; and Scotland never weaker, as having been exhausted by Civil-Wars. If he rely'd upon foreign Aid, how hardly and too late he might obtain it, his Mother's Condition might teach him, who so often crav'd it in vain. And if he should obtain any, what Success could he hope for? since England, joining with the Fleets of Holland and Zealand, fear'd not the Attempts of the most potent Kings of Europe. In the French King or the Spaniard what Confidence could he put? since his own Power being once increas'd by the Addition of England, would oppose all their Designs; and his Religion is directly contrary to their Profession, that they cannot aid him without Damage to themselves. Neither would the French King be well contented to see the King of Scots made stronger by the Addition of England, lest he should then prosecute anew the ancient Title of the English in France, or assist the Guises his Kinsmen, who now aim at the Kingdom of France. As for the Spaniard, he will, without Question, serve his own Ambition, considering that he boasts himself to be the first Catholick Prince of the Blood-Royal of England, and of the House of Lancaster, tho' falsely. In which Respect certain Jesuites and others went about, even in the Queen of Scots Life-time, to advance him to the Crown of England by Election, as the meetest Man to restore the Romish Authority in England, preferring him before his Mother and himself. Yea, they began also to persuade the World that she intended to bequeath the Kingdom of England by her last Will and Testament, to the Spaniard, in case her Son should continue to adhere to the Protestant Religion.

What these things tend to, and what Assistance may be hoped for from the Spaniard, let the King consider. And withal, if he revolt from the Religion he has been bred up in, with how great Ignominy he shall plunge his own Soul into eternal Perdition, and all Britain into Ruin and Destruction. Besides, he must consider with himself, if he purpose Revenge, whether the Estates of England, who gave the Sentence against his Mother, would not quite exclude him also by a new Sentence from his Title of Succession: whose Love he may easily purchase by yielding to Necessity, and bridling the Passions of his Mind, (seeing that which is done cannot be undone) and may in due time peaceably enjoy the most flourishing Kingdom of England; and in the mean time may live in Security, and be thought by all indifferent Men, to have sufficiently discharged his Honour, considering that while time was he omitted no Duty of a most pious Son toward his Mother. And let him really persuade himself this, that the Queen of England will most lovingly and kindly esteem of him as her Son, and bear a motherly Affection towards him. These things she caus'd to be inculcated into the King of Scots Ears: and to put him out of doubt that his Mother was put to death without her Privy and Intention, she determin'd to send him the Sentence against *Davison*, testify'd

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by the Subscriptions of all the Commissioners, yea and by the great Seal of England; and another Instrument likewise (the more to pacify him) under the Hands of the Judges of England, affirming, That the said Sentence against his Mother would not in the least hurt or prejudice his Title to the Succession.

Drake sent to divert the Spaniards.
What he perform'd
With these and such like Reasons, while she gently sooth'd the King, she sent Drake (to prevent the War which she saw threaten'd her from the Spaniards) with four of her capital Ships and some others to the Coast of Spain, to surprize and destroy his Shipping in the Havens, and intercept his Provision. Drake, entering into the Port of Cadex, chased six Gallies (which made head against him) under the Forts; and sunk, took or fired about an hundred Vessels wherein was great store of Munition and Victual, and amongst them a great Gallion of the Marquis of Sancta Cruce, and another of Raguse laden with Merchandize. From thence returning to the sacred Promontory, called Cabo Saint Vincent, he assaulted three Forts, and took 'em by Composition; and firing the Fishermens Boats and Nets all along the Coast, came to Cascaies at the Mouth of the River Tago, where he challeng'd the Marquis Sancta Cruce to fight, who not once so much as mov'd against him, but suffer'd him freely to spoil the Coast, and take their Shipping without Interruption or Molestation. From thence setting sail towards the Isles of Azores, he lighted by chance upon a very great Merchant Ship, call'd a Carack, richly laden, and named the Saint Philip, returning from the East-Indies, and easily master'd it. Which Accident the Seamen on both sides, in regard of the Name of Philip, interpreted to presage some Disaster to Philip of Spain. Sure it is that from this short Expedition great Advantages redounded to the English. For the Spaniards, having sustained so great a loss of Provision and Munition for War, were constrained to give over their design for invading of England this Year; and the English ever after that time more courageously adventur'd upon those huge Castle-like Ships, which before they were afraid of; also they so fully understood by the Merchants Papers the rich value of the Indian Merchandizes, and the manner of trading in that Eastern World, that they afterwards set up a gainful Trade and Traffick thither, establishing a Company of East-India Merchants.

East India Company.
Cavendish sails round the World
At the same time, in another Part of the World, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk, (who two Years before set sail from England with three Ships) passing the Straits of Magellan, fired many petty Towns of the Spaniards upon the Coasts of Chili, Peru and New Spain, took and pillaged nineteen Merchant Ships, and amongst them a very rich Ship of the King's near Callifornia, and returning home this Year by the Philippines, the Moluccaes, the Cape of Good Hope, and Saint Helena, with a rich Booty and great Glory, as being the second after Magellan who sailed round about the World. The Particulars of this Voyage if any Man desire, let him repair to the English Voyages exactly described in three Volumes by Richard Hackluit.

Stanley and York Traitors.
As Drake and Cavendish at this time purchased themselves great Fame and Commendations; so two other Englishmen, William Stanley and Rowland York, procured themselves the disgraceful and infamous Note of Traitors. This York was a Londoner, a Man of a loose and dissolute Behaviour, and desperately Audacious, famous in his time amongst the common Bullies and Swaggerers, as being the first that, to the great admiration of many at his Boldness, first brought into England that bold and dangerous way of Fencing with the

Rapier in Duelling; whereas the English till that time used to fight with long Swords and Bucklers, striking with the edge, and thought it no part of a Man either to push or strike beneath the Girdle. This York, having receiv'd I know not what Injury at Leicester's hands, fled, and served a while under the Spaniard in the Netherlands; but at length was reconcil'd, and made Governor of a Fort near Zutphen. But scorning at his Heart to put up the former Disgrace, he soon contriv'd to be reveng'd; for being bribed with Money, he not only betrayed the Place to the Enemy, but also drew Stanley, who had served with singular Fidelity and Valour in the Irish War, to be Partner with him in his Treachery, affirming with several Oaths and Protestations, that by the Confessions of the Conspirators he was charged to be guilty of Babington's Plot, and was forthwith to be sent into England to be hang'd; and persuaded him to betray Deventer, a strong and wealthy City to the Spaniards, contrary to his Oath taken to Leicester and the States. But considering at last the notoriousness of his Offence, he satisfied himself in his Conscience against the imputation of Treason, in that he had restor'd the Place to the true Lord and Owner, which had been kept from him by Rebels; and, being a rank Papist, he soon after sent for Priests to instruct his Regiment, consisting of Thirteen hundred English and Irish, in the Popish Religion, giving out that this should be a Seminary Regiment of Soldiers, to defend the Romish Religion by their Swords, as the Seminary Priests did by their Writings. And indeed, for this purpose Allen, who was not long after made Cardinal, not only dispatched Priests to him with all expedition, but set forth a Book also, wherein, according to Pius V.'s Bull against Queen Elizabeth, he commended the Treason, and excited others to the like Perfidiousness, as if they were neither bound to serve nor obey an excommunicate Queen. But mark with what Success.

The Spaniards set York and Stanley together by their reward.
The Ears. York they poison'd, and rifled his Goods. His Body was three Years after digged up by the States, and hanged upon a Gibbet, where it rotted. Stanley and his Regiment were remov'd out of Deventer, and posted from place to place, exposed to Dangers, and so far neglected, that some of 'em perish'd miserably for lack of Food, and some ran away one after another. Stanley himself, in hope of Reward for his Service, went into Spain, and offer'd his farther Service for invading of Ireland; but he was neither receiv'd with that Honour he expected, nor was any Credit given unto him; for the Spaniards (they say) have this Proverb, A Traitor may have some Honour done him, but never any Credit given him. And now he found too late that he had in the first place betray'd himself.

These Traitors procur'd Leicester ill-will among the Confederate Netherlanders, because the Traitors were still very intimate with him; and also to the whole English Nation, whom therefore those who were more free and lavish of their Tongues reproached and scandalized, till it was forbidden by Proclamation. But the States in a long Letter to the Queen, accus'd Leicester of ill governing the Commonwealth in matters of Money, War and Trade; and to his Restriction and easie Creduloufness they imputed all Damages receiv'd by such kind of Traitors. The Queen for examining and compounding of the Matter, and to sound their Inclinations touching a Peace with the Spaniard, sent Thomas Sackvil Lord Buckhurst, (lately made one of the Privy-Council in Leicester's absence) Norris and Bartholomew Clerk, who faithfully manag'd these Matters. But whereas

The States accuse Leicester.

Commissioners sent to examine and compound Matters.

1587. Ann. 20. whereas *Buckhurst's* officious Diligence seemed to tend to the intrapping of *Leicester*, *Leicester's* Displeasure against him and settl'd Favour with the Queen prevail'd so far, that *Buckhurst* at his return was confin'd to his House for several Months.

The States send for Leicester to relieve Sluys. *Sluys* being afterward besieged by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was sent for out of *England* by the States to relieve it. This Town being furiously batter'd with 17000 great Shot, and a large Breach made, was defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Captain *Nicolas Baskerville*, with a Garison of *Walloon*s and *English*, with great Commendations for their Valour; but at length they were forced to surrender it, when *Leicester*, who was drawn near to succour them, being too weak for the Enemy, was fain to retire.

Sluys lost. And sure it is the States would not allow him a sufficient Army, who reserv'd to themselves in reality that great Power which they had conferr'd upon him in Name and Words only. And he himself disdain'd to be subject to private Men of meaner Quality under the notion of States, who pretended to carry the same Authority over him their Governor, which *Charles V.* held over his Governors of the *Netherlands*. Hereupon brake forth first Grudges, then open Enmities, on both sides; and far greater, after he once begun to mention a Peace with the *Spaniards*: For they could not endure to hear of the name of Peace, as a thing contrary and pernicious to their Designs. But when he perceiv'd his Authority daily to be slighted and contemned among them, he betook himself to more subtle and crafty Counsels, and attempted to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his power. But being with the loss of some Men frustrated of his Hope, and having caused great Discontent, he was called home again into *England* by the Queen, resign'd his Government, and left the free Administration of the Provinces to the States, being derided by those that envied him, and the Title of *His Excellency*, which of all *Englishmen* he was the first that ever us'd, exploded and hiss'd off the Stage.

Leicester call'd home. At his departure he privately distributed amongst some whom he had drawn to his Faction certain Medals or Tokens made in Gold, on the one side whereof was his own Picture; and on the other side a Flock of Sheep, some Sheep straying, and a Dog ready to go away looking behind him. Near the Dog was, *Invitus desero*, that is, *Unwillingly I forsake*; and near the Sheep, *non gregem sed ingratos*, that is, *not the Flock, but the Unthankful*. And no doubt but he had it in his Head to usurp the Government. But these People have by their Policy and Wisdom not only retained their ancient Freedom, both against the Power of the *Spaniards*, who have the knack also to fight with Gold and other Arts, and the wily Subtilties of the *French* and *English*, and the crafty fox-like Fetches of the Prince of *Orange*; but also have incredibly increased the same, by means of the favourable Inclination of their Neighbours towards them: And (which is more strange) whereas other Nations are impoverish'd by War, they are the only Men that thrive and are enrich'd thereby.

The Title of His Excellency. He distributes Medals amongst his Faction. *Grave Maurice* of *Nassau*, Son to the Prince of *Orange* by *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to *Maurice* that heroical Elector, being twenty Years of Age, was by the States made Governor in *Leicester's* room, over the *United and Confederate Provinces*; and *Peregrine Lord Willoughby* was made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries* by the Queen. Both which the *Leicestrian* Faction put to much Trouble. For the Garisons of *Gertruydenberg*, *Naerden*, *Worcom*, *Huysden*, and especially *Medemblike*, being addicted to the *English*, as if they had sworn Allegiance to

the Queen, raised Tumults and Seditions. And Sir *William Russel*, Governor of *Flushing*, having drawn to his Party those of *Armuyden* and *Campvere*, was suspected by the States, who were very full of Jealousie and Mistrust, as if he had a design to reduce the Isle of *Walcheren* under the power of the *English*. And this Suspicion was increased by the coming of the Admiral of *England*; who tho' he labour'd to make up the matter, yet they, misdoubting themselves, bewray'd their Suspicion and Jealousie, both publickly, by coining Money with two Earthen Pots swimming in the Sea, (according to the old Fable) and wittily inscribing, *Si collidimur, frangimur*, that is, *If we knock together, we are broken in pieces*; and also privately, by Letters to the Queen. Who being very careful of them, and not neglecting herself, as foreseeing the Dangers by means of the *Spanish* Fleet now threatening her, commanded the Lord *Willoughby* to reduce the seditious People under their Obedience to the States: Which he, together with *Grave Maurice*, happily effected.

Leicester being return'd, and smelling that there was an Accusation framed against him by *Buckhurst* and others for ill managing of Affairs in *Holland*, and that he was to be summoned before the Council, cast himself down privately at the Queen's Feet, and with Tears craved her Protection; beseeching her, *That whom she had sent forth with Honour at his first departure, she would not now receive with Disgrace at his return; and whom she had raised up from the Ground, she would not now bring alive to his Grave*. And with such flattering Speeches he so mollified the Queen's offended Mind, that her noble Displeasure abated, and she received him into Grace and Favour. Inasmuch as when he was expected the next Day to come to his Answer, he took his Place in the Council, and did not kneel at the upper end of the Table, as the manner is; and when the Secretary began to read the Heads of his Accusation, he interrupted him, complaining that he was injuriously dealt withal in his absence, for that his publick Commission was restrain'd by private Instructions; and so appealing to the Queen, he avoided the whole weight of the Accusation, not without the secret Displeasure and Indignation of his Adversaries.

This Year, in the Month of *January*, departed this Life *Henry Nevil* Baron of *Abergavenny*, Great Grandson to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of *Henry VI.* obtain'd his Title in right of his Wife, the only Daughter and Heir of *Richard Beauchamp*, or *De bello campo*, Earl of *Worcester*, and Baron of *Abergavenny*. By which Title, when the only Daughter of this *Henry*, the Wife of Sir *Thomas Pene* Kt. claim'd the Title of Baroness of *Abergavenny*, there grew a remarkable Suit for the Title betwixt her and the next Heir-Male, to whom the Castle of *Abergavenny* was bequeathed by Will and Testament, and the same Testament confirm'd by Act of Parliament.

There died also at this time, and all in the Month of *April*, four other Persons of honourable Note amongst us; viz. *Ann Stanhope* Dutches of *Somerset*, being ninety Years of Age, formerly Wife of *Edward Seimour*, Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England*; who by her womanish contending with *Katharine Parr* Queen-Dowager of King *Henry VIII.* for Precedence of Worth and Dignity, was the cause of great Bustles in the Family of the *Seimours*, while she was persuaded by *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (who plotted the Ruin of this noble and potent House) that she, being the Protector's Wife, ought not to bear up the Train of the Queen-Dowager, who was married to the Protector's Brother, or to give her Place: Sir *Ralph Sadleir*, Chancellor

the death of the L. Abergavenny. Of the Dutches of Somerset. Leicester's Faction raises Sedition.

1587. Ann. 20. Russel suspected.

Q Eliz. quiets all.

Chancellor

1587. Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, a Man famous for so many and great Employments for the State, and the last Knight Banneret of England, to which Dignity he was raised at *Musselborough-Field*: *Thomas Bromley*, Chancellor of England, under sixty Years of Age, a famous Lawyer: And the 6th Day after, *Edward Earl of Rutland*, whom the Queen had design'd to be his Successor, being the third Earl of the House of *Mamours*, a profound Lawyer, and a Man accomplish'd with all polite Learning, leaving behind him one only Daughter, *Elizabeth*, Wife to *William Cecil* Grandson to the Lord-Treasurer *Burghley*.

Hatton made Lord Chancellor.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, a Man in great Favour with the Queen, of a Courtier was made Lord-Chancellor; which the great Lawyers of England took very great Distaste at. For, ever since Churchmen were deny'd this Preferment, they had with singular Commendations for their Equity and Wisdom born this highest Place of gowned Dignity, which was bestowed in old time for the most part upon Churchmen and Noblemen. But *Hatton* was advanced to it by the cunning Court-Arts of some, that by his absence from Court, and the troublesome discharge of so great a Place, which they thought him not to be able to undergo, his Favour with the Queen might flag and grow less. Yet executed he the Place with the greatest State and Splendor of any that ever went before him; and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he labour'd to make good by Equity and Justice.

Sir *William Fitz-Williams* the fifth time Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Sir *John Perot* being this Year called home out of Ireland, deliver'd up his Charge, leaving all things in a peaceable Condition, to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, having first brought in such as were any way suspected, to deliver Hostages for their Fidelity, and that out of hand, lest, if they took Deliberation, they might seem to study a Revolt: The most Suspicious of all he providentially apprehended and committed to Custody, and put the rest in mind of their Allegiance towards their Prince in these doubtful Times; who, because of his Love towards the *Irish* Nation, readily and willingly hearken'd unto him therein.

Till this time (that I may digress a little) the *Englishmen* had very easie Wars in Ireland, 800 Foot and 300 Horse were held an invincible Army. *Randolph* with 600 *English* easily discomfitted *O'Neal* with 4000 *Irish*. *Collier*, in the Year 1571, with one single Company defeated a Thousand *Hebridians* in *Connaught*. Three hundred Horse overthrew the *Butlers* with a great multitude of Rebels. And (to omit other like Instances) two Companies of Foot won in one Day above twenty Castles from the *Irish*. But after they were by *Perot's* command exercised daily at home, taught to use their Weapons, and discharge their Guns at a Mark, that so they might be the more ready for Service against the *Hebridians*, and had afterwards been bred up in the *Netherland*-War, and learned the ways of Fortifications; they then troubl'd the *English* (as we shall after see) with a more difficult War.

1588.

The One and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

The Admirable Year.

Preparations in Spain against England.

Now we are come to the Year of Christ One thousand five hundred eighty and eight, which an Astronomer of *Koningsberg*, above an hundred Years before foretold would be a Year of Wonders; and the German Chronologers presaged would be the Climacterical Year of the World. The Rumours of Wars, which before were but slight and small, began now to grow greater and greater daily. And now the Reports were no longer uncertain, but the universal belief of all

Men carried it for certain truth, that a most invincible Armada was rigged and prepared in Spain against England, and that the famous Captains and expertest Leaders and Soldiers were sent for out of Italy, Sicily, yea and out of America, into Spain.

For the Pope, some religious Persons in Spain, and several *English* Fugitives, had of late called back the Spaniard to his former design for the Conquest of England, which had been interrupted by the space of ten Years before by the *Portugal* Wars; earnestly exhorting him, 'That seeing God had blessed him with such exceeding great Blessings and Benefits, Portugal with the East-Indies and many rich Islands being united of late to his Dominions, he in like manner would perform somewhat which might be pleasing and acceptable to God the giver of so great good things, and beseeching the Grandeur and Majesty of the Catholick King. But nothing could there be more acceptable to God, or more beseeching him, than to propagate and enlarge the Church of God. That the Church of God could not be more gloriously nor more meritoriously propagated, than by the Conquest of England, and replanting the Catholick Roman Religion, and abolishing Heresy there. This War (they say) would be most just, not only because it was necessary, but also because it was for the Maintenance of Christ's Religion; in regard that the Queen of England, being excommunicate, persisted contumacious against the Church of Rome, supported his Rebels in the Netherlands, annoyed the Spaniards by continual Depredations, surprized and sacked his Towns in Spain and America, and had very lately put the Queen of Scots to death, violating thereby the Majesty of all Kings. And no less profitable would this War be than it was just. For so should he add unto his Empire those flourishing Kingdoms, extinguish the Rebellion in the Low-Countries, which was kept alive as it were by the Breath it had from England, secure his Voyages to and from both Indies, and lessen his yearly Expences for Convoying his Indian Fleets forward and backward. And for a ready Proof hereof, they suggested, That the English Navy was neither for Number nor Bigness of Vessels, nor for Strength, comparable to that of Spain, especially the Portugal Fleet being now added to it: That England had no Forts nor Defences; that it was unprovided of Commanders, Soldiers, Cavalry and Munition, bare of Wealth and Friends; that there were many in all Parts of the Realm addicted to the Romish Religion, who would presently join their Forces with his. Briefly, that so great was the Strength of the Spaniard both by Sea and Land, and so matchless the Valour of the Spaniards, that no Man durst oppose him; so that they did confidently assure themselves of his Victory. Moreover, that now an Opportunity was as it were offered him by God himself, whilst he had no ground to fear any thing either from the Turk, having lately concluded a Truce with him; or from the French, who were now embroil'd in a Civil War. They made him believe also, That England was easier to be conquer'd than the Netherlands; in respect it was a shorter and convenienter cut from Spain to England, namely by a free and open Sea; but to the Netherlands, a longer and more difficult, by a Sea for a great part of it narrow and pent, and lying over-against England. Also, That the Low-Countries were as it were a continued Bulwark, fortified every-where with so many Cities and Castles; but England with none at all: So that it was an easie matter for them to pierce presently

1588. *Ann. 31.* sently into the very Bowels of the Land, as well as they had done of late into Portugal. And lastly, out of that military Axiome, *That it is not good leaving an Enemy at our Back*; That the English therefore, being inveterate Enemies to Spaniards, must necessarily be first conquer'd, upon whose Assistance the Netherlands relying, had so long a time sustain'd the burden of the War, and without whom they could not longer subsist. So as England being once conquer'd, the Low-Countries must of necessity be subdued.

Consultation about the manner of Invasion. These things being thus disposed, and the business resolv'd on, they enter into serious Consultation about the best way and manner of invading England. Don Alvarez Bassano, Marquis of Santa Cruce, to whom was committed the principal Charge and Conduct of the Armada, was of opinion, that first of all some Port-Town in Holland or Zeland should unawares be surprized by the Prince of Parma's Land-Forces and some Spanish Ships sent beforehand, where the Spanish Fleet might have safe Harbour and a Place of Retreat, and from whence it might conveniently attempt the Invasion; considering that the Fleet could not ride safely in the unquiet British-Sea, where the Winds often changed, and wherein the Tides were especially to be observed. With him agreed in opinion the Prince of Parma, who urged this Expedition tooth and nail. Others disliked this Project, as being a thing Difficult, full of Danger, requiring long Time, much Labour, great Expence, and the Success thereof like to be uncertain; adding, That it could neither be done secretly nor at unawares, but would easily be prevented by the English. These Men were of opinion, that England might easier be won with the same Charge; and that the Victory would be certain and sure, if a well-provided Army from Spain and the Low-Countries were landed by a powerful Navy at the Thames-Mouth, and London, the chief City, surprized by a sudden Assault. This seemed to them very easie to be effected, and therefore all concurr'd in this Opinion, that it was forthwith to be put in execution. Of these notwithstanding some thought it meet that War should be first proclaim'd by an Herald, and that to good and wise Purpose, as they thought; both to remove Suspicion and Jealousy out of the Neighbour-Princes Minds, and also to force the Queen to call in foreign Forces to her Assistance; hoping that they (according to the usual Insolency of Mercenaries) would mutiny and spoil the Country, and that she thereby would procure the ill-will of her Subjects, and all things would run into Confusion in England. But this was not hearken'd to by those who were puff'd up and eager with Confidence of their own Strength; for they held it sufficient to recommend the Cause, the Armada and Army, to the Pope, and to the Prayers of the Catholics to God and the Saints; and set forth a Book in print for a Terror, wherein the whole Preparation was particularly set down; which verily was so vast throughout all Spain, Italy and Sicily, that the Spaniards themselves were amazed at it, and named it *The Invincible Armada*.

The Invincible Armada. The Prince of Parma also in the Netherlands, by the King of Spain's command, built Ships, and many flat-bottom'd Boats, each of them big enough to carry thirty Horses, with Bridges fitted to 'em: Mariners he hired from the Eastern Parts of Germany, prepared Piles shapen'd at the nether end, armed with Iron, and hooked on the sides, and provided twenty thousand Barrels, and an infinite number of Faggots; and in the Sea-Towns of Flanders he had an Army in readi-

ness of 10; Companies of Foot, and 4000 Horse, amongst which were 700 English Fugitives, who of all others were least esteemed. Neither was Stanley, who had the Command of them, nor Westmorland, nor others who offer'd their Service and Counsel, once heard; but for their Unnaturalness to their Country they were debarr'd from all Access, and as most inauspicious Persons worthily and with Detestation rejected. Pope Sixtus V. also, that he might not seem to be wanting to the Cause, sending Cardinal Allen, an Englishman, into the Low-Countries, renewed the Bulls declaratory of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. excommunicated the Queen, dethroned her, absolv'd her Subjects from all Allegiance, and publish'd his Croisado in print, as it were against Turks and Infidels, wherein, out of the Treasury of the Church, he granted plenary Indulgences to all that gave their Help and Assistance. Whereupon the Marquis of Burgoen, of the House of Austria, the Duke of Pastrana, Amadeus of Savoy, Vespasian Gonzaga, John de Medicis, and many Noblemen from all Parts, list'd themselves voluntarily for this Enterprize and Expedition.

Queen Elizabeth on the other side, that she might not be taken unprovided, prepared with all Diligence imaginable as strong a Fleet as she could, and all things necessary for War. And she herself (who was of a quick Judgment in discerning Mens Natures and Dispositions, and ever then most happy when she made her own free Choice, and trusted not to the Recommendations of others) assigned most excellent Men to every particular Place and Charge. The Command of the whole Fleet she gave to Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord-Admiral of England; of whose fortunate Conduct she had a very great Persuasion, and whom she knew, by the sweetness of his Behaviour and bravery of his Conduct, to be skilful in Sea-matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great Authority and Esteem amongst the Seamen of her Navy. Him she sent early to the Western Parts of England, where Drake, whom she appointed Vice-Admiral, join'd him. The Lord Henry Seimour, second Son to the Duke of Somerset, she commanded to lie upon the Coast of the Low-Countries with 40 Ships, English and Netherlandish, and to take care that the Prince of Parma put not out to Sea with his Forces. Tho' some there were who earnestly perswaded her to expect the Enemy's coming, and to welcome him with a Land-Battel, according as had been resolved in the Reign of Henry VIII. when the French with a strong Fleet threaten'd England.

For Land-Service there were disposed along the Southern-Coasts 20000 Men. Besides which, two Armies were rais'd of choice well-disciplin'd and experienc'd Men; the one under the Command of the Earl of Leicester, consisting of 1000 Horse and 22000 Foot, which incamped at Tilbury, not far from the Thames Mouth; (for the Enemy was fully resolv'd to set first upon London) the other under the Leading of the Lord Hunsdon, consisting of 34000 Foot and 2000 Horse, to guard the Queen's Person.

Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams Knights, and excellent Soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the War at Land. These Men thought good, that the most convenient Landing-places for the Enemy, as well out of Spain as out of the Low-Countries, should be well manned and fortified, namely, Milford-Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, that open Coast

1588. *Ann. 31.* Traitors odious.

Help from the Pope.

Preparations in England for Defence.

By Sea.

By Land.

Consult how best to oppose the Enemy

1588. *Ann. 31.* Coast of Kent which we call the Downs, the Thames Mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. and that the Train'd-Bands all along the maritime Counties should meet in Arms upon a Signal given to defend the said Parts, and do their best to prevent the Enemy's Landing. And if the Enemy did land, to lay all the Country waste round about, and to spoil all things that might be of any use to them, that so they might find no Food but what they brought with them on their Shoulders. And to busie the Enemy night and day with continual Alarms, so as to give them no Rest: but not to put it to the Hazard of a Battle, till more Commanders with their Companies were come up to them. Of which Commanders they nominated one in every Shire to have the chief Command and Conduct. I think it needless to relate particularly what inland Shires they assign'd to aid this and that Coast, what Numbers, what Arms, and what manner of Fight they agreed upon.

And about the Papists at home. In this troublesome Season, some beat it many times into the Queen's Head, that the Spaniards abroad were not so much to be fear'd, as the Papists at home; for the Spaniards would not attempt any Hostility against England, but upon Confidence of Help from them: and that therefore, for better Security, the Heads of that Party were, upon some Pretence or other, to be taken off; alledging the Example of King Henry VIII. when the Emperor and the French King, by the Instigation of the Pope, were ready to invade England; for as soon as he had put to death the Marquess of Exeter, the Lord Montacute, Edward Nevil, and others, whom he suspected to favour their Enterprize, their Expedition presently was dash'd. But the Queen, disliking this as cruel Counsel, thought it sufficient to commit some of the Papists, and those not of the chief, to Custody, at *Wusbeach* in the Fens. And having her Eyes and Mind every way, she by frequent Letters excited and quicken'd the Parliament, who were not asleep the while. Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, she directed what he should do. The King of Scots she put in mind by her Friends in Scotland, and by Messengers, to be very wary of the Papists and the Spanish Faction. But he, not ignorant how great a Tempest and Destruction hung over his head, was of his own accord forward and careful, and, according to his continual good Affection to the true Religion and the Queen, had already refused to give Audience to the Bishop of *Dumblane*, (who was sent from the Pope) and had procured a Confederacy to be enter'd into by the Protestants of Scotland, for resisting the Spaniards: and he himself marching in Person with an Army into *Annandale*, forced *Maxwell's* Camp, who, contrary to his Faith given, was return'd out of Spain into Scotland, and favour'd the Spaniard's Designs, took him and threw him into Prison, declared the Spaniards Enemies, and made Preparation against them with great Chearfulness and Alacrity.

Treaty of Peace in the mean time. Amidst these great Preparations for War by both Parties, Projects for Peace are not quite laid aside. Two years before, when the Prince of Parma had consider'd with himself how difficult a matter it would be to bring the Low-Country-War to an Issue, as long as it was cherish'd with daily Supplies from the Queen, had dealt seriously by Letters, with the Help of Sir James a Croftes, one of the Privy-Council, a Man very denrous of Peace, *Andrew van Loe*, a Netherlander, and others, that there might be a Treaty of Peace, he being impower'd thereto by the King of Spain. The Queen fearing lest this were done politickly underhand to break off the Ami-

ty betwixt her and the Confederate Provinces, and to allure them cunningly to the Spaniard, deferr'd the matter a while. But now, to divert the War which threaten'd on both sides, she resolv'd to treat of Peace, but with the Sword in her Hand: neither indeed was the Prince of Parma against it.

In the Month of February therefore, Commissioners were sent into Flanders, viz. Henry Earl of Derby, William Brook Lord Cobham, Sir James a Croftes, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, Valentine Dale and John Rogers, Doctors of Law: who being receiv'd in the Prince's Name with all Courtesy and Civility, sent Dale presently to him, to understand his Mind about the Place of Meeting, and to see his Commission from the King of Spain. He appointed the Place near *Ostend*, not in *Ostend* itself, which was now held by the English against the King: and as for his Commission, he promis'd it should be shew'd 'em when they met. But he wish'd they would hasten the matter, lest any thing should happen in the mean time which might hinder the Treaty of Peace. But Richardot said plainly and expressly, that he knew not what might be attempted in the mean time against England. Not long after, Rogers was sent to the Prince by the Queen's express Command, to understand for certain, whether there were any Design for invading of England, as he and Richardot seem'd of late to give Hints of. He affirm'd, that he never had the least Thought of invading England, since he desired the Negotiation might be hastned; and was somewhat angry with Richardot, who deny'd that any such Words had fallen from him.

On the 12th day of April, there met with the English Commissioners in Tents near *Ostend*, Count *Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Richardot*, *Maes* a Doctor, and *Garnier*, sent as Commissioners from the Prince of Parma; who voluntarily gave the English Commissioners the Precedency and upper Hand both in going and sitting. They affirming that the Prince had sufficient Power and Commission to treat of a Peace, the English propounded, that a Truce might first be concluded on. The other deny'd it, because it would be damageable and prejudicial to the Spaniard, (who had been at the Charge of maintaining a powerful Army for now full six Months) in case a Peace should not be agreed upon. The English insisted, that a Truce was promis'd before they came into the Low-Countries. They on the other side acknowledg'd that a Truce was promis'd six Months before, but not accepted; and that it was not in the Queen's Power to make a Truce for the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, who daily attempted Acts of Hostility. The English urged that the Truce might be general, for all the Queen's Dominions and the Kingdom of Scotland. They refused to grant it for any more than four Towns only in the Netherlands, which were in the Queen's Hands; that is to say, *Ostend*, *Flushing*, *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and *Brill*; and that only during the Treaty and twenty days after; and upon such Terms, as it should be lawful in the mean time for the Queen of England to invade Spain, and for the Spaniard to invade England out of Spain and the Low-Countries.

Whilst the time was spent and squander'd away from day to day, in arguing about the Truce and the Place of Treaty, which at length was appointed to be at *Borbourg*, Sir James Croftes, out of his singular Affection to Peace, made a Journey to *Brussels*, without acquainting the rest of the Commissioners, and there propounded certain Articles in private; for which he was afterwards, upon *Leicester's* Accusation, imprison'd; tho' in the Judgment of the rest of the Commissioners,

1588. *Ann. 31.* sioners, the said Articles were not to be mislik'd: but Commissioners must not pass the Limits of their Commission. At last, when the English Commissioners could by no means get from them that there should be an absolute Cessation of Arms, nor see the Prince of Parma's Commission to treat of Peace, they propos'd these things following.

Other Proposals to the Spaniards. That the ancient Leagues betwixt the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy might be renew'd and confirm'd. That all the Netherlanders might fully enjoy their Privileges, and serve God with Liberty of Conscience. That the Spaniards and foreign Soldiers might be remov'd out of the Netherlands, so as neither the Netherlanders, nor the bordering Countries, might have cause to fear them. Which things if they might be granted, the Queen would condescend to reasonable Conditions concerning those Towns in the Netherlands, which she then had in Possession, (that it might appear that it was not for her own Advantage, but for the necessary Defence as well of the Netherlands as of herself, that she had taken up Arms) provided the Money which was due to her from thence might be repay'd.

Their Answer. They answer'd, That there would be no Difficulty in renewing the ancient Leagues, when they should once come to a friendly Conference together about the same. That there was no Reason why foreign Princes should take Care of the Netherlanders Privileges, which were most freely and bountifully granted not only to the Provinces and Towns that were reconciled, but even to those also which were reduced by Force of Arms. And for foreign Soldiers, they were retain'd upon urgent Necessity, as long as Holland, England, and France were in Arms. As for those four Towns, that had been taken from the King, and the Repayment of the Money which the Queen had expended, the Spaniard might in Reason demand as many thousands of Ducats to be repay'd him by the Queen, as he had disburs'd upon the Low-Country-War, from the time that she first supported the revolting Netherlanders, and took them into her Protection.

Exposition with the Pr. of Parma about a Book of Allen's. About this time Dale, by the Queen's Command, went to the Prince of Parma, and mildly expostulated with him about a Book lately set forth by Cardinal Allen an Englishman, wherein he exhorted the Nobility and People of England and Ireland to join with the Spanish Forces under the Conduct of the Prince of Parma, to execute the Sentence of Pope Sixtus Quintus, publish'd already by Bull, against the Queen of England, whereby she was declared an Heretick, Illegitimate, and tax'd of Cruelty against Mary Queen of Scots, &c. and her Subjects commanded to aid the Prince of Parma against her. (And indeed there were a great Number of these Bulls and Books printed at Antwerp, to be dispers'd all over England.) The Duke deny'd that ever he saw any such Book or Bull, neither did he undertake any thing upon the Pope's Account; but his own Prince he must obey. As for the Queen of England, he had so high an Esteem of her for her Royal Vertues, that next to the King his Master he honour'd her above all, and desired to do her Service. That he had perswaded his King to condescend to this Treaty of Peace, which would be more advantageous for the English than for the Spaniards. For if the Spaniards be overcome, they will soon repair their Loss; but if you (said he) be once vanquish'd, your Kingdom is quite lost by it. To whom Dale reply'd, Our Queen is provided of Strength sufficient to defend her Kingdom; and you yourself in your Wis-

dom may judge, that a Kingdom cannot easily be won by the Fortune of one Battle, seeing the King of Spain has not yet been able, after so long a War, to recover his ancient Inheritance in the Netherlands. Be it so, (said the Duke) these things are in the Hand and Disposal of the Almighty.

The Commissioners continu'd their Proposals, Answers and Replies to one another, and still spun as it were the same Thread over again. The English urging that a Toleration of Religion might be granted to the Confederate Provinces, at least for two Years; it was answer'd, As the Spaniard demanded it not for the English Catholics, so they hoped the Queen was so prudent as not to desire any thing which should be against the Honour, Oath and Conscience of the Spaniard. When they demanded the Money due from the States of Brabant; they answer'd, That it was lent without the King's Knowledge or Leave: but when the Accounts were cast up, how much the said Money was, and how much the King had disburs'd about the War, it would soon be known who had most due to them. With such Answers as these they dally'd with the English, till the Spanish Fleet was come upon the Coast of England, and the Thundring of the Ordnance was heard from the Sea. And then they receiv'd a safe Conduct from the Prince of Parma, (who had in the mean time drawn down all his Forces to the Sea-side) and were honourably conducted by his Commissioners to the Borders near Calais. Thus came this Treaty to nothing, which at first was begun by the Queen (as the wiser sort have thought) to divert the Spanish Fleet; and continu'd by the Spaniard, purposely to surprize England at unawares and unprovided. So as they seem'd on both sides to sow the Fox's Skin to the Lion's.

The said Spanish Fleet, being the best furnish'd with Men, Munition, and all manner of Provision, of any that ever the Ocean saw, and call'd by the arrogant Name of Invincible, consisted of 130 Ships: In which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Mariners, 2080 Galley-Slaves, and 2630 great Ordnance.

Don Alphonso Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, had the principal Command thereof; (for Don Antonio Columna, Duke of Paliano, and the Marquess of Santa Cruce, to whom this Command was formerly design'd, died both of them while the Fleet was rigging) and under him John Martinez de Recalde, an experienced Seaman.

On the 29th of May, the Fleet set sail out of the River Tayo, and while it bent its Course towards the Groyne in Gallicia, it was totally scatter'd and dispers'd by an hideous Tempest, so that with much ado it met again together some few days after, at the Groyne and other Harbours thereabouts: three Gallies being convey'd into France, by the Policy of David Gwinn an English Slave, and the Treachery of the Turkish Rowers. It was reported to be so weather-beaten and distress'd, that the Queen was verily perswaded that this Fleet was not to be look'd for this year; and Secretary Walsingham wrote to the Lord-Admiral to send back four of the biggest Ships, as if the War were now at an end. The Lord-Admiral did not easily believe it, and therefore humbly desired that nothing might be rashly credited in so weighty a matter, and that he might retain the Ships with him, tho' it were at his own Cost and Charges. And taking the Benefit of a favourable Wind, he set sail toward Spain, to surprize the Enemy's weather-beaten Ships in their Harbours. When he was not far from the Coast of Spain, the Wind came about into the South, and he thereupon (who was commanded to defend the Coast of England, fearing lest with

the same Wind they might arrive in England undiscover'd) return'd to Plymouth.

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Puts to

Sea again.

With the same Wind the Duke of Medina set sail with his whole Fleet from the Groyne the 12. day of July, according to the Account of the Julian Year: and after a day or two he sent *Roderico Telie* before into the Low-Countries, to advertise the Prince of Parma of the Coming of the Fleet, and to tell him what was best to be done. For he had Orders to join with the Prince of Parma's Forces and Shipping, and to conduct 'em under the Protection of his Fleet into England, and withal to send the Land-Forces ashore at the Thames-Mouth. And now will I give a brief Account, out of the most credible Relations, as well of the Spaniards as of our own Countrymen, what was done every day in this Expedition, that the Truth may the more plainly appear.

On the 16th day there was a great Calm, and a thick Fog till Noon: then the North-East Wind blew very strongly, and presently after the West-Wind, till Midnight, and then the East-South-East-Wind; insomuch as the Spanish Fleet being dispers'd thereby, was hardly gather'd together again till it came within Sight of England on the 19th day. Upon which day the Lord-Admiral of England, being certainly inform'd by *Flamming*, the Captain of a Pinnace, that the Spanish Fleet was enter'd into the British Sea, (which the Seamen ordinarily call the Channel) and was seen near the Point call'd the Lizard, tow'd out the English Fleet into the main Sea, not without great Difficulty, the Wind blowing stiffly into the Haven, but indeed with singular Diligence and Industry, and with admirable Alacrity of the Seamen, whom he encouraged at their Halber-Work, assisting them and the common Soldiers in the doing of it in person.

English

Fleet puts

to Sea.

The next day the English discover'd the Spanish Fleet with lofty Turrets like Castles, in Front like a Half-Moon, the Wings thereof spreading out about the Length of Seven Miles, sailing very slowly, tho' with full Sails, the Winds being as it were tired with carrying them, and the Ocean groaning under the Weight of 'em; which they willingly suffer'd to pass by, that they might chaic them in the Rear with a fore-right Wind.

On the 21th of July, the Lord-Admiral of England, sending a Pinnace before, call'd the *Defiance*, denounced War by discharging her Ordnance; and presently his own Ship, call'd the *Ark-royal*, thunder'd thick and furiously upon the Admiral (as he thought) of the Spaniards, (but it was *Alphonso de Leva's* Ship.) Soon after, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher* play'd stoutly with their Ordnance upon the hindmost Squadron, which was commanded by *Recalde*, who labour'd all he could to stay his Men from flying to the main Fleet, till such time as his own Ship being much batter'd with Shot, and now grown unseviceable, he was fain himself, with much ado, to retreat thither also. At which time the Duke of Medina gather'd together his Fleet, which was scatter'd this way and that way; and, hoisting more Sail, held on his Course with what Speed he could. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the Wind favour'd the English, and their

Ships would turn about with incredible Celerity and Nimbleness, which way soever they pleas'd, to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintain'd a smart Fight for the space of two Hours, when the Lord-Admiral thought not good to continue it any longer, because 40 of his Ships were not yet come in, being scarce got out of the Haven.

The Night following, the *S. Katharine*, a Spanish Ship, having receiv'd much Damage in the Fight, was brought into the midst of the Fleet,

in order to be repair'd; and a vast Ship of *Biscay*, belonging to *Oquenda*, and having the King's Treasurer on board, was designedly set on Fire, by some Gun-powder laid for that purpose by a Dutch Gunner, who had receiv'd some ill Treatment: But the Flame was happily extinguish'd by some Vessels that came in seasonably to its Relief; among which a Galleon (the Master of her *Don Pedro de Valdez*) fell foul of another Ship, and sprung her Foremast; so that being left behind, by Reason the Night was so dark, and the Sea ran so high, that no Succour could come to her, she was taken by *Drake*, who sent *Valdez* to *Dartmouth*, and distributed the Cash found in her, as a Booty to his Men. *Drake* was order'd to carry a Lantern that night, but fail'd to do it, having at the same time in chase Five German Merchant-Men, which he took to be Enemies. This occasion'd almost all the English Fleet to lie by, because they could not discover the Light; nor did he or the rest of the Fleet get Sight of the Lord-Admiral, till the next Evening following; for he, with two Ships more, viz. the *Bear* and the *Mary-Rose*, stood after the Spanish Fleet, all the Night before. The Duke spent this whole day in disposing his Fleet into the best Order, and commanded *Alphonso de Leva* to bring the first and the last Squadron together; then he appointed every particular Ship his proper Station, according to the Platform agreed on in Spain, and made it Death for any one to abandon his Post. *Glich* an Ensign was dispatch'd to the Prince of Parma, to acquaint him with the State of the Navy; and *Oquenda's* Ship was turn'd loose to Sea, her Cargo being first taken out and disposed of into other Vessels: The very same day she was taken by the English, with about 50 Sailors, wretchedly bruise'd and burnt, and carry'd into *Weymouth-Harbour*.

On the 23th of this Month, the Spaniards, very early in the Morning, took the Advantage of a Northerly Wind, and bore down upon the English, who soon tack'd about and stood Westward. Both Fleets strove hard for some time to get to the Windward, and then prepared for the Engagement. It was managed with Confusion enough, and various Success. The English on the one hand rescu'd some Ships of London, that were surrounded by the Spaniards; and the Spaniards on the other as bravely brought off *Recalde*, when he was in equal Danger. The great Guns on both sides rattl'd like so many Peals of Thunder; but the Spaniards Shot flew for the most part over the Heads of the English, without doing Execution; *Cock* being the only Englishman that died bravely in the midst of his Enemies in a Ship of his own. The Reason of this was, that the English Ships being far less than the Enemy's, made the Attack with more Quickness and Agility; and when they had given a Broad-side, they presently sheer'd off to a convenient Distance, and levell'd their Shot so directly at the bigger and more unwieldy Ships of the Spaniards, as seldom to miss their Aim; though the Lord-Admiral did not think it safe or proper to L. Admi- grapple with them, as some advis'd, with much tal's Cure, more Heat than Discretion; because that the Enemy's Fleet carry'd a considerable Army within their Sides, whereas ours had no such Advantage. Besides, their Ships far exceeded ours in Number and Bulk, and were much stronger and higher-built; insomuch that their Men having the Opportunity to ply us from such lofty Hatches, must inevitably destroy those that were obliged, as it were, to fight beneath them: And he easily foresaw likewise, that the Damage and Disgrace of a total Defeat would weigh much heavier than the Advantage of a Victory, should he happen to compass

Agility of

the Engl.

Ships.

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31.

Puts to

Sea again.

English

Fleet puts

to Sea.

The next day

the English

discover'd the

Spanish Fleet

with lofty

Turrets like

Castles, in

Front like a

Half-Moon,

the Wings

thereof

spreading

out about

the Length

of Seven

Miles, sail-

ing very

slowly, tho'

with full

Sails, the

Winds

being as

it were

tired with

carrying

them, and

the Ocean

groaning

under the

Weight of

'em; which

they

willingly

suffer'd to

pass by,

that they

might

chaic them

in the Rear

with a fore-

right Wind.

On the 21th

of July, the

Lord-Admiral

of England,

sending a

Pinnace

before, call'd

the

Defiance,

denounced

War by

discharging

her

Ordnance;

and

presently

his own

Ship, call'd

the

Ark-royal,

thunder'd

thick and

furiously

upon the

Admiral

(as he

thought)

of the

Spaniards,

(but it

was

Alphonso

de Leva's

Ship.)

Soon

after,

Drake,

Hawkins,

and

Forbisher

play'd

stoutly

with

their

Ordnance

upon the

hindmost

Squadron,

which

was

commanded

by

Recalde,

who

labour'd

all he

could to

stay his

Men from

flying to

the main

Fleet, till

such time

as his own

Ship being

much

batter'd

with

Shot,

and now

grown

unseviceable,

he was

fain

himself,

with much

ado, to

retreat

thither

also. At

which

time the

Duke of

Medina

gather'd

together

his Fleet,

which

was

scatter'd

this way

and that

way; and,

hoisting

more

Sail, held

on his

Course

with what

Speed

he could.

Neither

could he

do any

other,

seeing

both the

Wind

favour'd

the

English,

and their

Ships

would

turn

about

with

incredible

Celerity

and

Nimbleness,

which

way

soever

they

pleas'd,

to

charge,

wind,

and

tack

about

again. And

now

had they

maintain'd

a smart

Fight

for the

space

of two

Hours,

when

the

Lord-

Admiral

thought

not

good

to

continue

it any

longer,

because

40 of

his

Ships

were

not

yet

come

in,

being

scarce

got

out

of the

Haven.

The

Night

following,

the

S. Katharine,

a

Spanish

Ship,

having

receiv'd

much

Damage

in the

Fight,

was

brought

into the

midst

of the

Fleet

1588. Ann. 31. compass it; since, if he were vanquish'd, 'twould much endanger the Safety of the whole Kingdom; but if he got the better, he could obtain no more than the naked Credit of putting a Fleet to Disorder, and baffling an Enemy.

On the 24th day of the Month, there was a Cessation on both sides, and the Lord-Admiral sent some of his smaller Vessels to the nearest of the English Harbours, to fetch a Supply of Powder and Ammunition; then he divided the Fleet into four Squadrons, the first of which he commanded himself, the second he committed to Drake, the third to Hawkins, and the fourth to Forbisher. He likewise singled out of the main Fleet some smaller Vessels to begin the Attack on all sides at once, in the very dead of the Night; but a Calm happening spoil'd his Design.

On the 25th, being S. James's Day, the Saint Anne, a Galleon of Portugal, not being able to keep up with the Fleet, was taken by some English Ships, and Leva with Don Diego Telles Emriques attempted to rescue her with 3 Galeasses; but were so warmly receiv'd by the Lord-Admiral himself, and the Lord Thomas Howard in the Golden-Lion, who by reason of the Calm, had their Ships tow'd along with Boats, that the Galleon was got off, with much ado, and not without some Loss. However from that time the Galeasses durst not venture any new Engagement. The Spaniards reported, 'That the English did at the same time miserably batter the Spanish Admiral who lay in the Rear, with their great Guns, and that they came so near her, as to slay many of her Men and shoot her Main-Mast by the board; but Mexia and Recalde came up seasonably enough to beat off the English; That after this the Spanish Admiral, with the Assistance of Recalde and others, fell upon the English Admiral, who made his Escape, by the Advantage of the Wind's chopping about. That the Spaniards from that time gave over the Chase, and keeping on their Course, dispatcht a Messenger to Parma, to desire him to join the King's Armada with his own Squadron as soon as possible, and to send withal some great Shot for the use of the main Fleet. This was altogether a Secret to the English, who give this Account of the matter: 'That they tore down the Lantern from one of the Spanish Ships, robb'd another of her Bow-sprit, and did a considerable Damage to a third: That the Nonpareil and the Mary-Rose held a small Fight with the Spaniards, and that some other Ships retriev'd the Triumph, when she was in great Danger. Thus have we very different Accounts of the same Action, from those who were present on the spot, and made their Reports, every Man, according to his own Observation.

The next day, the Lord-Admiral knighted the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, in Consideration of their good Service; and a Resolution was taken not to attack the Enemy from that time forward, till they came to the British Frith, or the Streights of Calais; where the Lord Henry Seymour and Sir Will. Winter expected their Arrival. Thus the Spanish Fleet sail'd forward with a fair and soft Gale at South-West and by South; and the English chased them close at the Heels; but so far was this Invincible Armada from alarming the Sea-Coasts with any frightful Apprehensions, that the English Gentry of the younger sort enter'd themselves Volunteers, and taking leave of their Parents, Wives, and Children, did, with incredible Chearfulness, hire Ships at their own Charge; and, in pure Love to their Country, join'd the Grand Fleet in vast Numbers; amongst whom were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Thomas and

Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Cary, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Gorges, and several others of good Quality.

On the 27th of this Month, the Spanish Fleet came to an anchor before Calais; their Pilots having acquainted them, that if they ventur'd any farther, there was some Danger that the force of the Current might drive 'em away into the Northern-Channel. Not far from them came likewise the English Admiral to an anchor, and lay within shot of their Ships. The English Fleet consisted by this time of 140 Sail; all of 'em Ships of force, and very tite and nimble Sailors; and easily manageable upon a Tack. But However, the main brunt of the Engagement lay not upon more than 15 or 16 of 'em. The Spaniards, as they had frequently done before, press'd the Duke of Parma by one Messenger after another, to send away forty Fly-boats, without which they could not well engage the English, by reason of the unweildy Bulk of the Spanish Vessels, and the Lightness and Activity of the English. They intreated him likewise, with great Earnestness, to put aboard his whole Army, which the Spanish Fleet would be sure to guard, according to the Resolutions already taken, till it was landed in England. But it seems he was not ready, and so could not answer their Summons. His flat-bottom'd Boats, which were fram'd for the Channel, were all leaky, his Provisions not ready, and his Sailors, who had been hitherto kept together against their wills, had made a shift to give him the slip, and get away. Besides, several Men of War belonging to Holland and Zealand, block'd up the very Mouth of the Harbours of Dunkirk and Newport, from whence alone he could put to Sea; and so well were they furnish'd with great Guns and small Arms, that he could not possibly get from Shoar, without running a very palpable Hazard of his Life. However, being a stout and experienc'd Soldier, he left no Method unattempted, out of an eager Desire of assisting towards the Conquest of England.

But Queen Elizabeth, by a wise Precaution, baff'd all his Attempts, and dash'd the forward Hopes of the Spaniard all at once: For, by her Majesty's Orders, the Lord-Admiral got ready eight of his worst Ships the very Day after the Spaniards came to an Anchor; and having bestow'd upon them a good plenty of Pitch, Tar and Rosin, and lin'd 'em well with Brimstone and other combustible Matter, they sent 'em before the Wind, in the dead time of the Night, under the Conduct of Young and Prowse, into the midst of the Spanish Fleet: The approach of which was no sooner discover'd by the Spaniards, and the prodigious Blaze which the Fire made all the Sea over, but they suspecting that these Fire-Ships were big with other Engines of Slaughter, besides the destructive Element that shew'd itself without, began to raise a most hideous Clamour, Cut your Cables, and get up your Anchors! and in a panick Fright put to Sea with all the Confusion and Precipitancy imaginable. One of the Fleet (a large Galleass) having broken her Rudder, floated up and down before the Wind; and the next Day making for Calais in a very piteous Plight, she at last struck upon the Sands, and after a smart, long and doubtful Engagement, was taken by Amias Preston, Thomas Gerard, and Hawey. The Captain of her, Don Hugo de Moncada, being first slain, and the Soldiers and Rowers, either drown'd or put to the sword; the English pillag'd a great quantity of Gold which she had on board, and the Ship and Guns fell to the Governor of Calais.

Vol. II.

Z z z 2

The

1588. Ann. 31.

Spanish Fleet anchored.

Prince of Parma sent 100.

Fireships sent among the Spaniards.

A Galleass taken. Moncada slain.

1588. The *Spaniards* reported, that the Duke, upon the approach of the Fire-Ships, order'd the whole Fleet to weigh Anchor and stand to Sea, but that when the Danger was over, every Ship should return to her Station. This is what he did himself, and he likewise discharg'd a great Gun as a Signal to the rest to do as he did: The Report however was heard but by very few, by reason their Fears had dispers'd 'em at that rate, that some of 'em ventur'd out to the Main Ocean, and others sail'd up the Shallows of *Flanders*.

4th Engagement.

In the mean time *Drake* and *Fenner* play'd briskly with their Canon upon the *Spanish* Fleet, as it was Rendezvousing over-against *Graveling*. They were not long after join'd by *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beefton*, *Cross*, *Riman*, and, in a little while, by the Lord-Admiral himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde*, and the rest, got clear of the Shallows, with much ado, and stood the Brunt, as well as they could, but had the better part of their Ships miserably torn, and in several places shot through. The Galleon *St. Matthew*, under the Command of Don *Diego Pimentelli*, (as she came to the relief of Don *Francisco de Toledo* in the *St. Philip*, which had receiv'd great Damage from *Seimour* and *Winter's* shot, and after being driven almost as far as *Ostend*, had been as roughly treated by the *Zelanders*, and was at length made a Prize by some Ships of *Flushing*) was at last taken herself, and the whole *Spanish* Fleet closely Ply'd and in great Distress for the space of an whole Day.

St. Philip and St. Matthew taken.

On the last Day of the Month, the Wind blew hard at North-West early in the Morning, and the *Spanish* Fleet attempting to get back again to the Streights of *Calais*, was driven toward *Zeland*. The *English* then gave over the Chace, because, in the *Spaniards* opinion, they perceiv'd 'em making haste enough to their own Destruction. For the Wind lying at the W. N. W. Point, could not choose but force 'em on the Shoals and Sands on the Coast of *Zeland*. But the Wind happening to come about in a little time to S. W. and by W. they went before the Wind, and having got off the Shoals, in the Evening a Council of War was held: The general Resolution was to return into *Spain* by the Northern Channel; for they wanted many necessary Provisions, especially great Shot; their Ships were wretchedly torn and batter'd, and they had no Hopes at all that the Prince of *Parma* would come and join them. Being now therefore clear of Danger, in the Main Ocean, they steer'd Northward, and the *English* Fleet renew'd the Chace after them. Now and then the *Spanish* Fleet slacken'd their sail, and seem'd to tarry for the coming up of the *English*; so that 'twas generally thought their Fleet would tack about and return home.

The Spaniards fly Northward.

Q. Eliz. visits her Camp at Tilbury.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth* was pleas'd to take a view of her Army and Camp at *Tilbury*; and as she rode through the Troops drawn up on both sides of her, sometimes with a martial Pace and Posture, at other times more like her Sex and herself. 'Tis scarce to be thought what a Spirit of Bravery she infus'd into the Officers and Soldiers by her Presence and Direction.

On the very Day the last Engagement was between the two Fleets, the Prince of *Parma*, having paid his Addresses to our Lady of *Hall*, came to *Dunkirk*, tho' something of the latest; for which reason the *Spaniards* receiv'd him in a very reproachful manner, as if out of some regards to Queen *Elizabeth*, he had on purpose slipt so fair an Occasion of doing Wonders for the Service of his Country. The Duke, to ap-

pease this Storm, punish'd those who had the charge of Victualling his Fleet; tho' in the mean time he could not but secretly laugh at the saw-cy and insolent Brags of the *Spaniards*, whom he had heard talking at this vain rate, 'That where ever they turn'd their Sails, a most certain Victory waited upon their Course; and that the *English* would not have courage enough to look 'em in the Face.

And 'tis certain, that Don *Bernardine de Mendoza* was so ridiculous as to print a lying Poem in *France*, which proclaim'd the Triumph before the Victory was obtain'd. However, to block up *Parma*, so that he might not get out of *Dunkirk*, the Lord-Admiral order'd the Lord *Henry Seimour* and the *Dutch* to keep a very strict Eye upon the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst he himself pursued the *Spaniards* on the other side of *Edinburgh-Frith*, anciently called *Bodotria*. For some Suspicions there were, that they design'd to betake themselves to the King of *Scots*, who was already provok'd to an high rate, for his Mother's Death. Certain it is, that *Ashby*, the Queen's Ambassador in *Scotland*, the better to keep him in Temper, made him, this Month, very considerable Offers, viz. That he should be created a Duke of *England*, with a yearly Salary of 5000 Pounds to maintain the Title: That he should have a Guard maintain'd at the Queen's charge, besides some other Advantages. Whether this was done out of private Humour or by publick Authority, I can neither tell, nor will stand to examine in this place: However the blame lay at his door, and the Propositions were never made good.

But the *Spaniards* having now laid aside all the Thoughts and Hopes of returning to attempt the *English*; and peceiving their main Safety lay in their Flight, made no stay or stop at any Port whatever. And thus this mighty *Armada*, which had been three whole Years fitting out, and at a vast Expence, met in one Month's time with several Attacks, and was at last routed, with a vast Slaughter on their side, and but a very few of the *English* missing, and not one Ship lost, except that small Vessel of *Cock's*, it happening that the Enemy's Shot flew too high to do the *English* Ships any great damage. When therefore the *Spanish* Fleet had taken a large compass round *Britain*, by the Coasts of *Scotland*, the *Orcaides* and *Ireland*, and had weather'd many Storms, and suffer'd as many Wrecks and Blows, and all the Inconveniences of War and Weather, it made a shift to get home again, laden with nothing but Shame and Dishonour. This occasion'd the coining of several kinds of Money and Medals, some in memory of the Victory, with the Device of a Fleet flying under full sail, and this Inscription, *Venit, vidit, fugit; i. e. It came, it saw, and fled.* Others were stamp'd in Honour of the Queen, with Fire-Ships, and a Fleet all in Harry and Confusion, with this Motto, *Dux Femina Facti; i. e. A Woman manag'd the Design.* Certain it is, that several of their Ships perish'd in their Flight, being cast away on the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and that above 700 Soldiers were cast on shoar in *Scotland*, who by the Prince of *Parma's* Mediation with the King of *Scots*, and with Q. *Elizabeth's* Permission, were sent over about a Year after into the *Low-Countries*. As for those who had the ill Fortune to be drove upon the *Irish* Shoar, they met with the most barbarous Treatment; for some of 'em were butcher'd by the wild *Irish*, and the rest put to the Sword by the Lord-Deputy; who fearing that they might join with the *Irish* Malecontents, and observing that *Bingham*, Governor of *Connaught*, treated them with more Gentleness than he had several times order'd him to do, upon their surrender, he forth,

Spaniards blame Prince Parma.

K of return That to G

So d Q

Medals in memory of the Victory.

She mer Off

Pub Joy mer Sir Sid

1588. forthwith dispatch'd Fowle, Deputy-Martial, to execute his Orders; who first dislodg'd 'em from the places where they lay conceal'd, and then executed about 200 of them. But this Rigor the Queen condemn'd and complain'd of as too extreme. However the rest being terrify'd by this way of Proceeding, tho' they were sick and half famish'd, yet chose to trust themselves to their shatter'd Barks, and the mercy of the Seas, and so were many of 'em a Sacrifice to the Waves.

Spaniards blame the Prince of Parma. The Spaniards, who got safe home, laid their Disparagement on the Prince of Parma's Negligence, and in some measure on the too nice Obsequiousness express'd on their side in making a scruple of receding in the least from their Instructions: For their Orders ran, not to make any Attempt before the Prince of Parma's Fleet had join'd theirs, and there was not an inch of discretionary Liberty lodg'd in their Hands; had things been manag'd at another rate, they made their Boasts that the English Fleet could never escape being seiz'd in their Harbours. And in truth it became a Dispute among Persons skill'd in the Discipline of War, whether Orders were not to be sacredly observ'd, whatever the Issue prov'd, lest otherwise Authority should lose its Force, and its proper Fruit too, Obedience? 'Twas likewise controverted, whether upon urgent Occasions, Men might not qualify or enlarge their Commissions, or suit 'em to the present Exigency, according as fresh Accidents arose, lest otherwise good Occasions were let slip, and matters of importance quite dash'd through an unseasonable Neglect. The King of Spain, for his part, bore the Defeat with a Patience that became him; and being sensible there was a Providence in it, he order'd a general Thanksgiving all over his Kingdom, to God and the Saints, that it was no greater; and shew'd moreover a most extraordinary Tenderness in the Relief of the distress'd Soldiers and Seamen.

R of Spain returns Thanks to God. Queen Elizabeth did likewise appoint a publick Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to be used throughout the whole Kingdom, and she was pleas'd to pass herself in a triumphant manner, and with a most splendid Retinue of Noblemen and others, through the Streets of London, which on this Occasion were hung with blue Cloth; (the City-Companies being drawn up on both sides the Way with their Banners) she was carried in a Chariot with a pair of Horses (Coaches being at that time but little in use) to St. Paul's Church, (where the Standards and Colours taken from the Enemy were hung up) and there she return'd Thanks to God, and heard a Sermon proper to the Occasion.

So did Q. Eliz. The Lord-Admiral had a Pension sett'd on him for his great piece of Service, and he and his Officers had the Honour of being consider'd by the Queen as Persons born for the Preservation of their Country. She was likewise pleas'd to use the freedom of saluting the other Commanders by their Names, whenever they happen'd to come in her sight, in consideration of their high and particular Merits; (a Reward as glorious as they were capable of desiring) and for the poor and disabl'd Seamen, on those she bestow'd handsom Pensions. The Learned both at home and abroad congratulated this happy Victory with transports of real Joy, and express'd the triumphs of their Hearts in Poems wrote in all Languages upon this Subject.

Publick Joy augmented by Sir Robert Sidney. This general Satisfaction receiv'd a farther increase on Sir Robert Sidney's return out of Scotland, who assured the Queen, that the King of Scots stood firm to her Interests, and would defend and assert those of the Protestant Religion. This Gentleman was sent over to him, when the

Spanish Fleet lay Cruising on the Coasts of Britain, on purpose to Compliment him for his Respects towards the Queen, and to return him Thanks on that account, as likewise to acknowledge his generous and cheerful Adhesion to the common Cause; and to give him assurance of the like Assistance on her Majesty's part, should the Spaniards attempt to land in Scotland. He was moreover to remonstrate to him, how eagerly the King of Spain thirsted after the acquisition of all Britain, and what Diligence he had used with his Holiness to get him excommunicated, and by that means to deprive him at once of the present possession of the Crown of Scotland, and of his Title likewise to that of England in Reversion. Nor was he to conceal the menacing Expressions thunder'd out against him by Mendoza and the Pope's Nuncio, and that he could not therefore arm himself with too much Precaution against the Arts and Machinations of the Papiists in Scotland. At this I cannot but mention by the by, a pleasant Remark of the young King, viz. *A pleasant saying of the K of Scots* That he expected no other Favour at the Spaniards hands, than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, That when he had devour'd all the rest, he would reserve him for the last morsel.

Nor did the death of Leicester (however sadly the Queen resented it) put any stop to the current of the publick Joy, who died on the 4th of September, on his way to Killingworth, of a continued Fever. He was the fifth Son of John Duke of Northumberland, and one of the Privy-Chamber to King Edward. Queen Mary restor'd him and his Brothers and Sisters to their Blood and Privilege, and made him Master of the English Ordnance at the Siege of St. Quintins: And in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, (who lov'd him at such a rate, as if a secret Conjunction of their Planets had form'd as mysterious a Sympathy between their Souls) he was made Master of the Horse, honour'd with the Orders of St. George and St. Michael, chosen one of the Privy-Council, made Lord-Steward of her Majesty's Household, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Ranger of the Forests on this side the River Trent, Lieutenant and Captain-General of the English Forces in the Low-Countries, and this Year advanced to be General of the English Forces against the Spaniards: Nor did he in the last declension and period of his Life, drop the Hopes of new Honours and Advancements, by the accession of the high Character of acting as the Queen's Lieutenant in the Government of England and Ireland. Nay, this he had so far secur'd, as that the Letters-Patents were already drawn; but Burghley and Hatton put a stop to the matter, and the Queen saw in time the great hazard of intrusting so large a share of her own Prerogative into the Hands of a single Person.

His Character. He was reputed a most complete Courtier; was a Person of exact Neatness, a generous Patron of Arts and Arms, and one that knew how to nick a Juncture and manage a Turn to his best advantage. Besides, he was of a Temper pleasant and popular, very shy and reserv'd to his suspected Enemies, had in his youthful Days been very Complaisant to the Ladies, and when he grew almost past it, express'd a strange Fondness for Marriage. But as he prefer'd those two great Subjects of Envy, Power and Greatness, to solid Vertue; so did he of course draw upon himself the Malice and Reproach of inferior Persons, and could not avoid the Insults of libelling Pens, and infamous and false Reflections, even when he seem'd to be Fortune's and his Queen's chief Favourite. In a word, the Crowd caress'd him in publick with flattering Commendations, but in private they used quite another Language. And

1588. And whereas he was a Debtor to the Crown, his Effects were dispos'd of at a publick Sale: For however gentle the Queen might shew herself in other respects, yet did she very rarely remit what was owing to her Treasury.

Ann. 21. His Goods fold. Parma besieges Bergenop-zume. The Prince of *Parma*, tho' he had lost his aim of making a Descent into *England*, yet that he might purchase some degree of Honour with that powerful Army which had been rais'd against *England*, and that he might at the same time open a Passage into *Zeland*, and secure *Brabant* from hostile Incursions, he laid siege to *Bergen* upon the River *Zume*, a Town of *Brabant*, which Nature had fortified by an happy Situation, and Art by strong Works round about, and which had a Garison in it consisting of *English* for the most part. But this Project was likewise defeated by the timely Vigilance of the Lord *Willoughby*, and the stout Resistance of the Garison: For tho' during the heat of the Siege, there arose as vain a Dissention between them, some adhering to Sir *William Drury*, who was made Governor of the Town by the General, the Lord *Willoughby*; and some siding with *Morgan*, who had receiv'd the same Commission from the Queen's Hands. Nevertheless they buried their Differences in the common Safety, and by several brave Repulses, frequent Sallies, and other well-apply'd Arts of War, made a shift to give the Enemy such a warm Entertainment, that Four hundred of them being kill'd outright, taken Prisoners, or drown'd, (the same Persons having been trapann'd by *Grimstone* and *Redbead*, who pretended themselves Revolters by specious Oaths and fair Promises, into a Bulwark of the Town) the Prince of *Parma* quitted all his Hopes of Blocking up the Harbour or Winning the Town; and so the Winter approaching, and Provisions growing scarce, he e'en broke up the Siege, after it had been carried on for two Months. And that true Courage might not want its due Reward or Distinction, the L. *Willoughby* conferr'd the Honour of Knight-hood on Sir *Francis Vere*, whose Fame commenc'd from this Siege; as also on Sir *Thomas Knolles*, Sir *Nicolas Parker*, and Sir *John Pooley*, in regard to their good Conduct and Bravery.

Breaks up the Siege. Now was *England* harass'd, not only with foreign Wars, but disturb'd with Schismatics, those domestick Enemies; (for War is always the Nurse and Midwife of Church-Confusions) and certainly there never was a time, when the Discipline of the Church was run down with such a sawcy Pertness, and the Authority of her Officers so rudely and basely insulted. For the Q. refusing (as indeed she was consistent, and always the same) to listen to any Changes in Religion, or encourage those new Modellers, whose Design she believ'd to be no other, than to wound her Royal Prerogative through the Sides of the Hierarchy, some who had a profound Veneration for the *Geneva*-Platform of Church-Discipline, imagin'd there was no surer or nearer way for erecting it in *England*, than by loudly railing against the *English* Forms and Rites, and rendering the Names of Bishop and Prelate as odious as they could, to the Common-People. Their first Essay therefore was, to put out scurrilous Pamphlets against Church-Order and Prelacy; the Titles whereof were *Martin-mar-Prelate*, *Minerals*, *Diotrepbes*, *A Demonstration of Discipline*, &c. These Libels were stuff'd with such an Heap of scandalous and virulent Abuses, that the Authors of them appear'd rather to have learnt their Language from *Billingsgate*, than to speak the Sense of any Christian Community: Yet it seems *Penry* and *Udall*, the chief Scribblers, were of the Ministry; and another of 'em, *Job Throckmorton*, was a Man of Learning, and Master of a very facetious and satirical Vein. Their

grand Patrons and Abettors were Sir *Ri. Knightly* and *Wigston*, Persons in other respects sober and pious, but drawn into the Party by some Instruments, that were to make a private Market by them. However the Knights had a pretty round Fine laid on them in the *Star-Chamber*; but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was so generously good-natur'd as to procure a Remission of it at her Majesty's Hands.

Whilst these Engines were employ'd in railing at the Church of *England* Liturgy, and bringing the *Geneva*-Model into its Place, some of their Associates took the Boldness to practise it in private Assemblies, in spite of the Laws and Constitution; nay they went so far as to hold Synodical Conventions, and draw Presbytery into a Scheme. On this account were *Tho. Cartwright*, *Edmund Snape*, *Andrew King*, *Budlow*, *Payne*, and some others of the same Religious Brotherhood, call'd before their Superiours; but some of the Party, glowing with a fond Zeal for their Teachers, endeavour'd to rescue them from the hands of Authority. With what a strange Petulancy and sullen Haughtiness these Congregational Teachers managed themselves, maugre all the Tenderness and prudent Forbearance of the Archbishop, I leave to the Observation of Ecclesiastical Writers, whose proper Province it is.

By this time, that black Storm which threaten'd from the *Spanish* Quarter, was happily blown over; but some Remains of it seem'd to have been dissipated thorow *Ireland* and *Scotland*; tho' the most violent Tempest of all blew from *England*, and fell afterwards upon *Spain*, as shall be shewn anon. For *Ireland*, the Troubles and Commotions which sprang up there, did in some measure owe their Rise to the Mis-conduct of the Lord-Deputy Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, amongst other Causes, who made too strict Searches, and rigorous Demand of those Wrecks of *Spanish* Goods, which were cast ashore; and on that account went so far as to commit some Persons land to Prison, as Favourers of the *Spaniards*.

Daniel Rogers, who was some time ago sent into *Denmark*, to condole the Death of *Frederick II.* and to settle the same good Correspondence with his Son and Successor, began his Negotiation with the Regents of the Realm, with these Proposals: 'That no *Danes* might be permitted to assist the Enemy against the Queen of *England*. 'That no Arrests of Ships might be allow'd within the Streight of *Denmark* (call'd the *Sound*) for private Mens Faults. That the *Island* Fishing-Trade, which was, by the ancient Treaty, to be renew'd by a fresh Grant, every seven Years, might not be stopp'd or prevented on any new Design or Pretence whatever. 'That the *English* should pay no Customs within the *Sound*, except on their Return from the *Baltick*, and that in the usual Coin of *Denmark*. 'That the Owners of Ships should not suffer any Detriment, through the ill Dealings of the several Masters and Pilots. That all Bales of Cloth might be free from any Impost upon 'em, and that the Custom call'd *Last-gelt* might be remitted to the *English*. But in respect of the King's Minority, the Dispatch of this Business was deferr'd till another time; for the *Danes* were at present out of humour with the *English*, for sailing into *Russia*, not through the *Sound*, but by the Coasts of *Norway*, *Finmark*, *Lapland*, *Scrikfinnia*, and *Biarmia*. But *Boris Theodorides* who succeeded *Theodore Joannides* in the Empire of *Russia*, who died about the beginning of this Year, did all he could to countenance and encourage the *English*; and omitted no good Offices, which might ingratiate and recommend him to the Queen of *England*.

ELIZ.

ELIZABETH,

Anno 1589.

Queen of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

The Two and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

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Commo-
tions in
Scotland.

THE Spaniards, after the unhappy and disgraceful Disappointment of their Expedition against England, to patch up the Reputation they had lost, and to keep the English from attempting a Descent on any Part of the Spanish Dominions, they took up a new Resolution of invading England by the way of Scotland: And in the Conduct of this Secret, the principal Agent employ'd by them was Robert Bruce a Priest, with Chreiton and Hayes, both Jesuits, who found no difficulty in bringing over to their sides the Earls of Huntly, Arrol, and Crawford, Men bigotted to the Romish Persuasion, as likewise Bothwell, the Son of John Prior of Coldingham, the natural Son of James the fifth King of Scots, a Man of unsteady Principles, with a great many more. The substance of the Plot was, That they should in the first place seize on the Person of the King, and then bring in a foreign Power to Re-establish the Romish Religion, and invade England in pretended Revenge of the Queen of Scots Death. The Arguments used for summoning the Mob together, where of this sort: 'That the King was kept in Custody against his own Consent by the Lord-Chancellor Maitland, and the English Party: That the English, who had lately took off the King's Mother's Head in a very unwarrantable way, were at that very time levying Forces to destroy the Scotch Nobility: That on the other side, they took up Arms at the King's own Desire and Solicitation, to set him free from his Jaylor, the Chancellor, and their Country from that Ruin that threaten'd it. The King being one Day gone an Hunting, receiv'd the very same Day Messages, one upon the heels of another, That Bothwell on the one hand appear'd with several Troops rais'd from the Borders; and Huntly on the other, with a very powerful Army from the North. Hereupon a Proclamation was issued out, to declare them Traitors; and the King's faithful Subjects were summon'd in, all that were above 16, and under 60. This so frightened Bothwell, that his Gang forsook him, and himself slunk home as well as he could: But Huntly proceeded so far as to seize Glamis, the Captain of the King's Guard, between whom and himself there was a most inveterate profess'd Enmity.

Queen Elizabeth, who judg'd the English equally concern'd with the Scots, to quash this At-

tempt of the Spaniards, used all possible Arts with her Friends in Scotland that her Coin or good Sense could supply, to induce the King to put an end to these Disorders. He was very sensible of his Danger, and marched to encounter Huntly; who being arrived as far as the Bridge on the River Dee, with a potent Army, and hearing of the King's approach, set Glamis at liberty, and retir'd to his own House called Strathbolgy, situated amongst the rocky Mountains; whither being closely pursued by the King, who endur'd the Fatigue of the March, the Want of Provisions, and the Inclemency of the Season, beyond what might be expected from so green an Age; he first offer'd to surrender himself, provided his Life and Estate might be secure, and not long after yielded on Discretion when he found no Conditions were like to be offer'd him. The King, without hearing one Word of Apology, commanded him to Prison; but soon after order'd his Release; and to the great commendation of his Clemency, was pleas'd to pardon both him and his Adherents, upon their humble Submission.

The very same Month these Things were acting in Scotland against the Spanish Faction there, was Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, (who was, as I have said, sent to the Tower three Years before on suspicion of being too well inclin'd to Spain) arraign'd in Westminster-Hall, and tried by his Peers, before Henry Earl of Derby, who was created Lord-High-Steward of England on this particular Occasion.

The Persons summon'd to attend this Trial, Arundel's Trial, were these following Peers.

William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treasurer of England.
William Lord Marquess of Winchester.
Edward Earl of Oxford, Lord Great-Chamberlain of England.
Henry Earl of Kent.
Henry Earl of Sussex.
Henry Earl of Pembroke.
Edward Earl of Hertford.
Henry Earl of Lincoln.
The Lord Hunsdon.
The Lord Willoughby of Eresby.
The Lord Morley.
The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Grey.
The Lord Darcy of the North.

The

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The Lord Sands.
The Lord Wentworth.
The Lord Rich.
The Lord Willoughby of Parham.
The Lord North.
The Lord St. John of Bletesho.
The Lord Buckhurst.
The Lord La-Ware. And
The Lord Norris.

Being order'd to hold up his Hand, he did so, and moreover used this Expression, *Behold here a clean Hand, and an honest Heart!* The Heads of his Impeachment were much the same with those mention'd before, *An. 1586. viz.* 'That he held a very strict Intimacy and Correspondence with Cardinal Allen, Parsons the Jesuite, and other Conspirators, who attempted the Ruin of their Prince and Country; by stirring up Foreigners and the Queen's natural Subjects to bring in Popery, to the total Destruction of both: That he had engaged by Letters convey'd by Weston, alias Burges, a Priest, to assist the said Cardinal in advancing the Catholick Cause, and to that purpose had design'd to withdraw privately out of the Kingdom: That he was privy to the Bull of Sixtus Quintus, which de-throned the Queen, and made over her Dominions to the Spaniard: That, when he was a Prisoner in the Tower, he had caus'd Mass to be said for the happy Success of the Spanish Armada, and had himself compos'd a special Prayer on that occasion.

Heads of
his Charge.

Being demanded to answer, Whether he was Guilty, or Not Guilty? he turn'd himself to the Court and Judges, and made these Challenges one after another, *Whether such a Number of Articles might lawfully be put into one and the same Impeachment?* They answer'd in the Affirmative. Then he demanded, *Whether Presumptive Arguments bore any Weight in an Indictment?* He was answer'd, *That he might except against them as far as he pleas'd.* Another Demand was, *Whether he could stand accus'd of those things charged to be Treason in the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, after the Time limited in the said Act?* They then promis'd him, *he should not be try'd upon any other Law or Act of High-Treason, but an ancient one of Edward III.* In the last place, he demanded, *If that were a fair Indictment, which fail'd grossly as to Circumstances both of Place and Time?* The Answer was, *That these things signify'd little, if the Matter of Fact were proved.* After this, being ask'd a second time, Whether he were Guilty or Not? he answer'd, *Not Guilty*, and submitted himself to God and his Peers; but desired them to spare his Memory, which was impair'd by his Imprisonment, and ill Health, and not to over-charge it with too much Variety.

Puckering, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, open'd the first Part of the Charge, *viz.* That Cardinal Allen having engag'd with the Jesuites and others, against his Prince and Country, upon which account he was banish'd the Kingdom; yet he the said Earl had kept up a Correspondence with him by Letters, and had expressly written to him to advance the Catholick Interest, which by a fair and modest Construction, was a plain inviting of him to invade England. The Earl made Answer, That all he intended by it, was the Promotion of that Faith, by the Accession of new Profelytes. Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, endeavour'd to prove, by the Confessions of Savage, Throckmorton, and Babington, that this could not possibly be understood of a free Conversion upon the Strength of Argument; but of a publick Invasion by Force of Arms. Shuttleworth, a Serjeant at Law, made it appear out of the Form of the Proclamations put out against

the Jesuites and Seminary Priests, on what Designs they were sent into England: That they were Traitors he prov'd from the Earl's own Words; who, upon the Hearing of Valonger's Cause in the Star-Chamber, in relation to a scandalous Libel of his, said publickly, *That an hearty Papist could not but be as thorow a Traitor.* But for all this Men of this very Principle were among the Earl's greatest Intimates. 'Twas urg'd moreover, That he had espous'd the Faith of the Romish Church, and became of Consequence a Subject to the Romish See; but this he flatly deny'd, and demanded that any Evidence might be produc'd to prove him a profess'd Catholick. He acknowledg'd indeed, that he had in some Instances made Burges his Confessor; whereupon it was debated, That none were admitted to the Sacraments of the Church of Rome, but such as were reconciled to her Doctrine and Worship; but he was admitted by Gratley a Priest, and therefore a Papist before, at least in his Heart. This Popham labour'd to prove from his own Letters, and that he intended likewise to withdraw beyond Sea; That he was an absolute Creature of Cardinal Allen, and conform'd entirely to his Measures; for which he was guilty of High-Treason. He then produced Gratley's and Morgan's Letters to the Queen of Scots, and made from thence this Inference, That the Earl ow'd his Change in Religion more to Sourness and Spleen, than to Conscience and Conviction. Then was produced an Emblematical Piece found in the Earl's Cabinet, which had on one side an Hand shaking a Serpent into the Fire, with this Motto, *If God be with us, who shall be against us?* And on the other, a Lion Rampant, without Claws, and with this Inscription, *Yet a Lion.* He moreover added, That the Earl designing to quit the Kingdom, was perswaded by the Cardinal to alter his purpose, as being a Person likely to do the Church of Rome more Service by his Stay in England, than his Departure thence: That in a Letter to the Queen, the Earl had reflected severely on the Justice of the Laws, in reference to the Sentence of Death denounced against his Grand-father and Father: That the Queen of Scots had recommended him to Babington, as the great Patron of the Catholick Interest: That Allen had own'd that the aforesaid Bull was procured by the Applications of a Person of Figure in England; which could be no other than the Earl, because no one Nobleman besides, was so intimate with Allen as himself, and whom therefore Allen must needs know to be ill-affected to his Country, by what he had heard pass before, in the Star-Chamber. Then were read also the Confessions of the Lord William, the Earl's Brother, with those of his Sister the Lady Margaret, and his own Letters when he had Thoughts of leaving the Kingdom. And this gave occasion to magnify the Queen's Clemency afresh, who would not suffer him (at that very time) to be examin'd on an Article of Treason, but barely on a Point of Contempt. To these Charges the Earl answer'd in the gross, 'That as for the Picture, 'twas a Trifle presented him by his Man: That indeed he had promis'd to assist the Cardinal in the Promotion of the Catholick Faith, but never at the Expence of his Prince and Country: That what he had written in relation to the Sentence of his Grand-father and Father, was extant upon Record, and so any one might read it: That he was not at all concerned in what the Cardinal or the Queen of Scots might write about him, since he stood clear as to Fact: That it was impossible to restrain other Mens Pens: That he had indeed some Design of acting under the Prince of Parma, in

1589. Ann. 32. the Wars abroad, since the Rigour of the Laws against Catholicks made it not safe for him to stay at home: That the Attorney had manag'd the Letters and Confessions, at the same rate that Spiders do Flowers; that is, suck'd all the Poison out of them; but he, for his part, was able to extract out of them something more useful, might he be permitted to see 'em. Then were read Allen's Letters to the Queen of Scots, with those of the Bishop of Ross, about invading England, that very Year he design'd to quit it; and the Bull of Sixtus Quintus, and several Remarks made on Allen's Memorial to the English, printed at Antwerp, the Year before. He was likewise charged with having assumed this Title, Philip Duke of Norfolk, which was found among his Papers; and it was Allen's Advice, that he should in some degree mend his Title. These things were brought against him as Convictions of Treason before his Imprisonment. Egerton, the Solicitor-General, having summ'd up and repeated the Particulars of the Charge, proceeded upon a threefold Distinction of Time, viz. 'Before the Arrival of the Spanish Fleet; at the Instant of its Coming; and after it fled: And that he had been guilty of Treason since his Confinement: Before the Fleet appear'd, he had been guilty of Treason, in wishing it happy Success; when it was arrived, in making a Form of Prayer suitable to his Wishes, and causing the Mass of the Holy Ghost to be said, and a Course of Devotions to be used for 24 Hours together: And then when the Fleet was gone, in lamenting its Defeat, with all the Marks of an extraordinary Sorrow; as if he had fix'd his last Hope, and best Confidence, in the Spanish Armada, which was fitted out with a design to ruin his Prince and Country. These Particulars were all made out against him by Sir Tho. Gerard Knt. Will. Shelley, condemn'd for Treason Ann. 1586, Bennet a Popish Priest, and some other Prisoners. He then mutter'd in a broken and imperfect kind of Tone, That the Prayers he made, and the Masses he perform'd, were in order to deprecate a Massacre he had heard was design'd against the Catholicks. Gerard's Evidence he roundly deny'd; and as he adjured him to declare nothing but the Truth, and represented before him the dreadful Solemnity of the last Day, he so terrify'd and scared the Evidence, that he hardly was able to speak one Word to the purpose. Bennet's Attestations he endeavour'd to invalidate, as being a Man of a tarnish'd Reputation, and who had contradicted himself in his Confessions. The rest he tax'd as Persons impeach'd, and Prisoners, and Men likewise of a loose and profligate Character; who were far from deserving Credit, and who might be suspected to have the Liberty of using his Conversation, with a Design to ensnare him in the Quirks of the Law. Having receiv'd a Check for this, as too indecent and bold a Challenge upon the Evidence for the Queen, at the Solicitor's Motion, an ancient Law of Richard II. was read, whereby it was declared, that the Crown of England was under the Command of none but God alone, and that the Bishop of Rome had no manner of Authority over it. It now growing towards Night, and nothing being produced farther against him, the Earl was order'd to withdraw: He threw himself wholly upon the Judgment of his Peers, protesting his Obedience to the Queen, and heartily praying they might come to such an Issue, as might be most for the Glory of God, the Safety of the Queen, and the Integrity of their own Honour and Conscience. They then went aside, and held a Debate, which lasted an Hour, and in Points of Law they con-

sulted the Opinion of the Judges and Serjeants. Being return'd to their Seats, the Clerk of the Crown demanded of them, Whether the Earl were Guilty or Not? At which every one of 'em, putting his Hand to his Breast, as the Custom was, declar'd upon his Honour and Conscience, that he was Guilty. Then being ask'd if he had any thing farther to say, why Sentence of Death should not pass upon him? he only said the same Words which his Father had done before him, in the same Place, *God's Will be done*. Sentence being pronounced, he desired Leave to speak with his Wife, and that he might see his young Son, who was born since his Confinement; that he might have the Liberty to speak with his Stewards, who had the Accounts of his Estate, and that his Debts might be discharged: He likewise humbly desired the Queen would take his young Son into her Favour and Patronage. Then the Lord-Steward brake his Staff, the Badge of his Place; and the Earl was carry'd back to the Tower, the Ax being carry'd before him, with the Edge towards him. There were a great many, that most heartily lamented the untimely Fall of this young Nobleman, (for he was not above 33 Years of Age at the most) and as many on the other side were ready to cry up the Queen's Wisdom and Caution, who by this Example had struck a kind of Terror into the more powerful Part of the Romish Faction. The Queen after all gave him his Life, and was well enough satisfy'd in having lessen'd the Power of so considerable a Man, and one who was so great a Bulwark of the Catholick Cause.

When she had shewn this Example of Terrour at home, to make herself equally fear'd abroad, and pursue the Victory which Providence had given her over the Spaniards; the Queen conceiving it to be both more safe and honourable to attack the Enemy, than to stand an Assault from them, suffer'd a Fleet to put to Sea, upon an Expedition against Spain. This Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake did generously and frankly undertake, at their own and some other private Mens Charge, and with very little Expence to the Queen's Purse, except the fitting out of a few Men of War; for indeed they were fully convinced that the Power of Spain lay rather in common Fancy and Opinion, than in any real Strength they were Masters of. The Agreement between them was this, That whatever Prizes they took, should be shared among 'em by a fair and equal Dividend. But it happen'd that there came not in so many to this Expedition, as was expected. The States added some Ships, altho' they were at present displeas'd with the English, because Wingfield Governour of Gertruydenburgh, and the English Garrison of that Place, had betray'd the Town to the Spaniard. The Fleet was reckon'd to consist of 11000 Soldiers and 1500 Sailors. Don Antonio, the Bastard, Prior of Crato, with a few Portuguese, join'd 'em; for he, it seems, laying Claim to the Crown of Spain, by a popular Election, (for by the Laws of that Kingdom Bastards are not excluded) had made the English mighty Promises, hoping, we may suppose, to recover the Kingdom, by the Help of these Forces, the Revolt of the Portuguese from the Spaniard, and the Assistance of Muley Hamet King of Morocco.

In April they sail'd from Plymouth, and arrived five days after at the Groyne in Galicia, (call'd by the Antients *Flavia Brigantum*) without any Opposition whatever. In their Passage towards the lower Town they receiv'd some Damage by several Shot, which play'd on them from an huge Vessel and two Gallies in the Harbour; till they were obliged to quit their Station, through the

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E. of A. rundel cond. m'd.

His Life is spared.

An Expedition into Spain.

On what Terms, & at whose Expence.

Groyne attack'd.

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warm Salutes of some great Pieces planted on the Shoar. The day following, they made an Assault on the lower Town in three Places at the same time, *Unton* and *Brett* assisting the Attack from the Land, with 300 Men; and Sir *Richard Wingfield* and *Sampson* with 500 on the other side. They were at first roughly receiv'd by the Enemy, and once or twice beat from the Walls, as they attempted to scale them; but the other Forces made their way into the Town in the mean time, with little or no Loss. The *Spaniards* presently threw down their Arms, and got away, by the nearest and best known Avenues, to the upper Town. They that were in the great Ship made a shift to get ashore, having first set her on fire: She burnt two days together, and most of her Guns being too full charged, burst in pieces with a most frightful Noise. The Ammunition and Provision lodg'd there, for a new Expedition against *England*, were carry'd on board the *English* Ships.

Higher
Town as-
saulted in
vain.

From thence they march'd to the upper Town, which Sir *John Norris* observing to be situated on a Rock, not capable of mining, except in one Place; he order'd a Mine to be dug there, and on the other side made a Breach in the Walls with his great Cannon, resolving to storm it on both sides at once: But it prov'd fruitless, by reason the Fire broke out of the Mine on the Outside of the Walls. The Pioneers then carry'd on the Mine farther under the Walls; and setting Fire to the Powder, blew up one Part of the Bulwark, which falling some time before the other Part sunk, maim'd several of the *English* with the Fall. The rest, scared by this unexpected Accident, forsook their Commanders; whilst on the other side, they who made the Attack at the Breach, wanting a secure Footing, because the Rubbish gave way under them, were obliged to retire with a considerable Loss.

Spaniards
come to
its Relief.

About this time, *Norris* receiv'd a most certain Intelligence, that the *Conde di Andrada* had got some Forces together at the Bridge of *Burges*, and that the *Conde Altimira* was upon his March with some Recruits; and that they intended to besiege the *English* in the lower Town, or to cut off their Retreat to their Ships: He, supposing it the best way to prevent them, march'd against them with Ten Companies. The Van was commanded by *Edward Norris* and *William Sidney*; the main Body by *Norris* himself, with *Medkerck* a *Dutchman*; and the Rear by *Henry Norris*, *Huntley* and *Brett*. The *Spaniards* attack'd 'em on this side the Bridge; but being beaten back by the Courage of the *English*, they quitted their Lines, and left the *English* a free and easie Passage over the River; who pursu'd them so hotly, that they fled in the utmost Confusion, and were slain 3 Miles together. After this the *English* burnt and plunder'd the Villages; and in two days return'd again to their Ships, without any Disturbance. As they sail'd for *Portugal*, the Wind happening

E. of *Essex*
joins the
English.

to be in their Teeth, *Robert Earl of Essex* fell in with them. He was a young Gentleman, who partly from a Thirst of Glory, partly out of Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and Pity to *Don Antonio*, had quitted the Pleasures of a Court, to try his Fortune at Sea, without the Queen's Leave or Approbation, and had look'd out for the Fleet a long time. He could never hope to gain the Queen's Consent to this Expedition; because she was mighty averse from suffering any Persons of the first Quality, to run so great an Hazard: However, he flatter'd himself with the Honour of commanding in chief, by reason several of the Colonels and Captains had been obliged to his Brother for their Preferment. The second day after, the Sea being very rough, they arrived at

Peniche, a Town of *Portugal*, and became Masters of it, with the Loss of a few Men only, who were drown'd as they were getting ashore; and the Inhabitants flying at the same time, the Castle surrender'd to *Don Antonio*. From hence all the Foot, under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, march'd as fast as they could, by Land, to *Lisbon*, which lay about 60 Miles from thence; and *Drake* promis'd to follow with the Fleet up the River *Tago*. In their Passage they call'd a Council of War at *Torres Vedras*, and resolv'd to encamp on the East Side of the City, to prevent the Arrival of any Succours from *Spain*, and to facilitate the *Portuguese* Access to their King. After six days March, they came to the Western Suburbs of *Lisbon*, call'd *S. Katharine's*, without the least Opposition; where they made some Stay, contrary to their former Resolutions, and cast their Eyes on none but a few unarm'd People, who saluted them ever and anon with a God save King *Antonio*! For *Albert of Austria*, their Governor, had before this totally disarm'd the *Portuguese*. The next day, as the *English*, who were sick and fatigu'd with their long March, were giving themselves some Ease and Refreshment, the *Spanish* Garrison made a Sally, and *Brett*, with his Party, sustain'd the Brunt with a great deal of Bravery; till some of the *English* and *Portuguese* coming in to his Relief, drove them back into the City, *Essex* himself following them to the very Gates: Yet *Brett*, *Carsley*, and *Carr*, brave Commanders, and some common Soldiers, were slain. When they had been here two days, without any Hope of the Defection of the *Portuguese*, as *Don Antonio* had vainly promis'd himself, and boasted to others; and the King of *Morocco* failing, at the same time, to send them the Supplies he had promis'd; whereas on the other side Recruits came in from the Eastern Parts, the Sickness rag'd more and more in the Army, Provision and Powder grew scarce, and *Drake* fail'd to supply 'em with Cannon for Battery; the *English* mov'd off, and took their March towards *Cascais*, taking away nothing out of the Suburbs, which were well stock'd with foreign Wares; lest they should by that means alienate the Affections of the *Portuguese*. As they retir'd to this small Town, laying on the Mouth of the *Tago*, the *Spaniards* pursu'd them with a very slow Pace, and did not so much as cut off any of their Rear. *Drake*, who in the mean time had taken *Cascais*, was very much blamed, the *English* charging their Disappointment upon his Cowardice entirely, for that he did not follow with the Fleet, according to his Promise. He excus'd it from the Impossibility of the thing, there being no Passage thro' the Channel of *Alcacova*, by reason of the Shoals and Sands; and had he gone directly by the Port of *S. Julian's*, which was defended with 50 Pieces of Cannon, and had a great many Gallies riding in it, with their Heads towards him, he had then expos'd the Fleet to a most palpable Hazard; nor could they have hoped for any thing but Destruction, should the Enemies Ships have been brought down upon him in the mean time as he lay at the Mouth of the *Tago*. And had the Fleet miscarry'd by this Conduct, he made it appear, that the Army too must have undergone the same Fate. The Castle of *Cascais* was now surrender'd on Articles, and a great part of it blown up; and to make themselves some amends for their Expence, the *English* seiz'd about 60 Hulks belonging to the *Hans-Towns* of *Germany*, laden with Wheat, and all manner of Naval Stores, to equip out a new Fleet against *England*. These Vessels had sail'd round by the *Orcades*, the *Hebrides*, and the Coast of *Ireland*, and made a tedious and dangerous Voyage, to escape falling into the *English*

1589. *Ann. 32.* English Hand; notwithstanding the Queen had given Warning before, by her Royal Letters, that the *Hanse-Towns* should carry no warlike Provisions into *Spain* or *Portugal*, on pain of losing their Ships and Cargo. The *English* set sail from thence (Don Antonio not being able to detain them longer) and burnt *Vigo*, a Town on the Coasts, quite deserted by its Inhabitants. Having pillaged the Country all about, they return'd into *England* with 150 Pieces of great Ordnance, and a very rich Booty; Part of which was divided among the Seamen, who began to mutiny, but could not satisfy them. Most Men were of Opinion, that the *English* hereby answer'd all Points both of Revenge and Honour, having in so short a Compass of Time taken one Town by Storm, made a glorious Assault upon another, driven before them a very potent Army, landed their Forces in four several Places, march'd seven days together in Order of Battle, and with Colours flying, through the Enemies Country, attack'd a strong and flourishing City with a small Handful of Men, and lodg'd for 3 Nights in the Suburbs of it. Beside that, they beat the Enemy back to the very Gates, after they had made a Sally; took two Castles lying on the Sea, and spoil'd the Enemy of all their Stores and Ammunition. However there were others, who thought all this was no manner of Equivalent for the Damages sustain'd in this Enterprize; the Loss of Soldiers and Seamen, by Sickness alone, amounting to 6000. But most certain it is, that *England* was so far a Gainer by this Expedition, as from that time to apprehend no Incurfions from *Spain*, but rather to grow more warm and animated against that Country. Whether this Sickness seiz'd the *English*, through their immoderate Use of the Wine and Fruit of the Country, or the Intemperance of the Climate, or all together, has occasion'd various Disputes: And it has been observ'd, that hitherto all the Expeditions made into *Spain* by Land, have prov'd fatal to the *English*: Witness that of *John* of Gaunt D. of *Lancaster*, about the Year 1386; wherein perish'd 10000 out of 20000: As likewise that of the Marquess of *Dorset*, in the Year 1512, in which there died 1000 out of 10000, in a very short time, of a pestilential Disease; and that in the hithermost Parts of *Spain*. But the learned have made this Remark, that Armies marching from South to North, grow more hardy, according as the inward Heat is either evaporated or compress'd by the outward Air, so that they have justify'd the Observation of *Vitruvius*, viz. That they which are transplanted from cold Countries to hot, cannot bear the Change; but are in some measure melted down from their Firmness and Strength: whereas those that remove from warm Countries Northward, are so far from impairing their Health by this Alteration, that they grow more strong and hardy.

Answer to the Hans. Towns. The *Hanse-Towns* began now to vend their Complaints not without some menacing Resentments for the Seizure of their Hulks, which they took to be an Infringment of their ancient Privileges. The Queen's answer was, 'That she had given them a Caution, not to assist the Enemies of *England* with any manner of warlike Provisions; and that since they had transported such Provisions, she had lawfully intercepted 'em, and was oblig'd to do as she did, unless she would connive at the Ruin of herself and People: That Privileges founded on private Laws only, are neither to be pleaded nor granted in bar to the publick Safety, which is the supreme Law. Nay, That in the Privilege granted by King *Edward III.* to the *Hanse-Towns*, it was expressly provided, That they should not im-

1589. *Ann. 32.* port any Commodities into the Dominions of any of the profess'd Enemies of *England*. That their Goods had many times been stop'd and arrested, for supplying the *French* with Provisions during the War between *France* and *England*: Nor had this been done by the *English* only, but (on the very same grounds) by *Charles V.* the Kings of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and not long since by the Prince of *Orange*; and all this without any violation of the Laws of Nations. That a Neutrality is so to be manag'd, that in lending Assistance to one side, the other shall receive no Damage. That it became not private Cities and Towns to threaten crown'd Heads; and that for her own part, she fear'd not the Menaces of the most potent Princes, much less of particular Cities; and as for the just Rights and Privileges belonging to States that were Neighbours, she would take care to observe them punctually with all the World. Nor did she fail in this Particular; for she not only assist'd the King of *Navarre*, when he was intangl'd in a dangerous and difficult War, with Money and other military Provisions, but sent over *Sir Thomas Bodley* to support or encourage the *French* King, when his Affairs seem'd to be in a very desperate Condition: For (if we may be allow'd to look a little back in a small but necessary Digression) when the Duke of *Anjou* the King's Brother died without Issue, at the same time the King had no Children, nor was he likely to have any, so that the Kingdom descended of course to the King of *Navarre*, and after him him to the Prince of *Conde*, both of 'em profess'd Protestants.

Hereupon the Popish Princes of *France*, with the privity of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, entred into a private and dangerous Treaty, call'd *The Holy League*; wherein, under pretence of asserting the Catholick Cause, they attempted to ruin the King, by raising in the Peoples Minds a Jealousy and Disaffection towards him through their evil Insinuations; as also to crush the Re-form'd Religion, by cutting off the Succession of the lawful Heir. The Parties concern'd in this Conspiracy took all of 'em an Oath, That they would suffer no Man to be King of *France*, who ever had, or should hereafter profess any other than the Catholick Religion: Nor would they accept of any who had been educated in any other Persuasion, tho' he should abjure it, left upon his accession to the Throne, he should overthrow the old Religion, &c. That all this tended to the Exclusion of *Navarre* and his Cousin *Conde*, no Man made the least doubt. However, this League began to be made more publick, and to gather Ground in all Parts of the Kingdom, making its way by these gradual Advances. The Duke of *Guise*, the Head of this Faction, was wonderfully cry'd up and caref'd by the common People and Ecclesiasticks, who rated him above the King himself, as the great Bulwark of Popery, and the chief Thorn in the Side of the Protestants; and all this because he stoutly defended *Poitiers* against the Protestants in his youthful Days, routed the *German-Horse* which *Alençon* had summon'd in as Recruits, and but a little before put to flight a numerous Army of the *German-Horse* under the Command of the Baron *Dohna*.

The Duke, when he came to *Paris*, rais'd such a Tumult there, that the King himself was forced to leave the City, to summon a Convention at *Blois*; to subscribe to this Association for extirpating all Protestants by an Edict of *July*, and to proclaim the Duke of *Guise* Grand Commander of the *French* Militia; in confirmation of which, and in token of mutual Sincerity, they

receiv'd the Holy Communion together. How-
 1589. ever 'twas not long before he caus'd him to be
 Ann. 32. basely stabb'd within the Court-Walls, and his
 Brother the Cardinal to be strangl'd some time
 after: For in truth he stood in fear of him, as a
 Duke of Creature whom he had render'd Formidable, by
 Guise stabb'd. advancing him to such an Height, that the Laws
 could not reach him, and he suspected moreover
 that his Ambition would carry him beyond what
 was just and reasonable, if he were not already
 persuad'd that the Duke had laid Snares for his
 Life, and that there was no other way left to
 secure his Royal Person and Prerogative, but by
 this violent Remedy. The Duke of Guise's Son,
 the Cardinal of Bourbon, and as many of the Con-
 spirators as he could apprehend, were commit-
 Others imprisond ted to Prison. Whereupon there arose such
 mighty Disorders through all France, that like a
 Body in Convulsions, that fair and flourishing
 Kingdom was ready to break asunder. For the
 People, having now got above the Magistrates,
 Confusion in France. rantack'd the King's Palace at Paris; and the
 several Cities of the Nation were differently in-
 clin'd to a Democracy, Aristocracy, or Oligarchy;
 but most of 'em declar'd downright against Mo-
 narchy.

The Conspirators set up a new Synod, and
 order'd a new Seal for the dispatch and confirma-
 tion of Business, assum'd a kind of Regal Autho-
 rity, possess'd themselves of the Forts and Cas-
 tles, nay of intire Provinces, seiz'd on the
 Crown-Revenues, and invited the Spaniards out
 of the Netherlands to come in to their Assistance.
 In the mean time four of the principal Parlia-
 ments of France approv'd of what was done, and
 the Ecclesiasticks serv'd for Trumpeters of Re-
 bellion against their Prince: So that the King
 was forc'd to fly to the Protestants for Relief,
 whom he had not long since incens'd and pro-
 vok'd. But the Cabal easily broke these mea-
 sures, and by a most notorious Act of Villany,
 got him murder'd by the Hands of James Clement
 French K. a Monk. The King of Navarre, whom the King
 murder'd. had declar'd at his death his right and lawful
 Successor, as an Heretick profess'd, and one that
 brought an hostile Army of Foreigners into the
 Kingdom. However, agree they could not
 whom they should have for their King. Charles
 Duke of Mayne, Brother to the late Duke of
 Guise, made some Pretensions to the Crown for
 the great and eminent Services perform'd by him
 against the Protestants: And for that the chief
 Cities had tender'd him their Homage and Alle-
 giance. Besides, the Cardinal of Bourbon was
 under Confinement; who, being an infirm Man,
 and in Orders, could never make himself accep-
 table to so warlike a Nation, as France was; be-
 sides, should they make him King, they would
 Differ a- Ipso facto establish the Title of the House of Bour-
 bout the bon, and renew the antiquated Claim of the Un-
 choice of cle against the Nephew. Others were of opi-
 a King. nion, that the Duke of Lorain, or one of his
 Children, ought to be advanced to the Throne,
 which would be but the restoring of a Family to
 its just Right, which had been heretofore wrong-
 fully depriv'd of the Crown of France by Hugh
 Capet. 'Twas thought too, that the K. of Spain
 would countenance the Rise of this House, and
 readily bestow his Daughter on any Branch here-
 of, that should be elected to the Kingdom. O-
 thers were ready to nominate the Duke of Savoy,
 who was Son to the French King's Daughter, and
 Son-in-law to the King of Spain, besides a vali-
 ant Prince, and a Neighbour. Nor were there
 some wanting, who were for complimenting the
 King of Spain with the Government, as indeed
 the most considerable Prince of all. However,

the far greater part, out of a pretence of Justice
 and seeming Regard at least to the Merits of the
 Cause, inclin'd to the Cardinal of Bourbon, who
 1589. was by one degree nearer of Kin to the murder'd
 Ann. 32. King, than his Nephew of Navarre, and one
 who had been a great Sufferer for the Catholick
 Cause, whom it was not difficult, they thought,
 to free from his Confinement, and he might then
 prove an happy Instrument of uniting the Ca-
 tholicks, to the total Suppression of the Pro-
 testants, and that, without being beholden to any
 foreign Aid or Assistance whatever. To this opi-
 nion they all subscrib'd, chiefly at the Instiga-
 tion of Mendoca the Spanish Ambassador; who
 thought that by this means his Master the King
 of Spain might have the easier access to the
 Throne of France. Thus was the Cardinal of
 Bourbon proclaim'd King of France, and Monies
 stamp with his Effigies, and the Title of
 Charles X. The Duke de Mayne was likewise
 proclaim'd Lieutenant-General of the Crown of
 France, who presently levied what Forces he
 could from all Parts, and set up his Standard a-
 gainst Navarre, (who was also, and on good
 Grounds, declar'd King by his Party, and lay
 now at Diep, a Sea-Port of Normandy) assuredly
 promising himself, that he should either take him
 Prisoner, or else force him to quit France.
 The King of Navarre being reduc'd to this
 Extremity, encamp'd with his Forces near the
 Town, and dispatch'd into England Monsieur
 Beauvoir de Noclé, and soon after him Buby and Ba-
 zerruall, to request some Succours from the
 Queen, and to desire a League Offensive and
 Defensive. The Queen, that she might not be
 wanting to a Prince of the same Persuasion, and
 so considerable for his Bravery, in so ticklish and
 critical a Juncture; and fearing likewise the Re-
 volt of the Germans and Switzers, that took his
 Pay, sent him a present Supply of 22000 Pounds
 in English Gold, (a Sum which he profess'd he
 had never seen together ever before) and fur-
 nish'd him also with Arms and 4000 Men under
 the Command of Peregrine Lord Willoughby, who
 had Commanded in the Low-Countries after Lei-
 ceester's remove, with great Applause and Com-
 mendation. She made Sir Thomas Wilford after-
 wards Marshal, and Sir John Boroughs, Sir Tho-
 mas Drury, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, Knights,
 Colonels, and readily gave 'em a Month's Pay
 beforehand. Hereupon the Conspirators, who
 had a little before receiv'd an unexpected De-
 feat, and were put to flight by the King in
 the Battel of Arques. Being now quite out of
 Heart and Hopes, got away the very day
 before the English arriv'd. The King being
 strengthen'd by these Supplies, march'd directly
 towards Paris. The English and Switzers being
 order'd to Assault that Part of the Town which
 lies between St. Marcellus's Gate and the Sein,
 brake through the Trenches, and gain'd the
 Outworks, and advanc'd as far as St. Victor's Gate,
 which they were very near making themselves
 Masters of: But the King not believing it possi-
 ble to win so great a City with so small a Force,
 and being not willing to expose it to the Inso-
 lence of the Soldiers, since he had Hopes it
 would declare for him at the long run; and the
 D. de Main, not being by any Arts to be drawn
 out to venture a Battel, the Siege was broke up,
 and the Army retir'd. From thence they march-
 ed to Estampes, and Willoughby was left behind
 with the English to block up the Passage of the
 opposite Party, till the Town and Castle were
 surrender'd to him. After this Vendosme was taken
 by Storm, and the whole Country of that Name
 which had been formerly (to mention it by the
 by) conferr'd by way of Grant on Robert Willough-
 by

1589.

Ann. 32.

The Car-
dinal of
Bourbon
proclaim'd
King.Navarre
in danger.Q. Eliz.
assists himThe Ser-
vice of the
English.

1589. *Ann. 32.* by Governor of Normandy, for his great and signal Services, by Henry V. At this time likewise the English were very serviceable to the King in the Reduction of Mans, Alençon, Falais, Luxon and Honfleur; when after the Fatigue of a long Winter's Expedition, and a March of about 500 Miles, they were disbanded with great Commendations for their good Service; and all that were left of them, return'd home to England. There died by Sicknes Hummings and Stubbs, who (as I said before) lost his right Hand for writing a Book against the Duke of Anjou's Marriage with the Queen, but was very much lamented after his death. Sir William Drury, a very fine Gentleman, was kill'd in a Duel by Sir John Boroughs, on this occasion; That being Knight of the Garter, he claim'd Precedency of Boroughs, who was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Order of Heraldry observ'd amongst the Nobility of England.

They re- turn.

The Queen was concern'd at the discharging the English, and so was the King too, when both of 'em came to be certainly inform'd, that the King of Spain had private Aims upon the Crown of France. For, it seems, he had made a Proposal in the Convention of the Leaguers, by the Commendator Morea John de Taxis, That in consideration of the great Expence he had been at in relieving them with such vast Recruits and Supplies, he might be proclaim'd the Protector of the Catholicks in France, with the same Authority which he holds in Naples and Sicily, to confer by Proxy what Offices he should think fit, both Civil and Spiritual, all over France, which the Pope's Nuncio, Cardinal Cajetan, earnestly pressing at the same time, it wrought a great many Frenchmen, otherwise staunch and true to the Catholick Interest, into a Disaffection and Dislike of these Proceedings.

Q. Eliz. recom- mends a Match to the King of Scots.

As Queen Elizabeth desir'd nothing more than to settle Navarre in the Throne of France; so had she of late a mighty inclination to advance a Match between his Sister, the Lady Katharine, and the King of Scots: For indeed both these things appear'd highly requisite, in order to baffle the Attempts of the Papiests against the Protestants. But things did not answer her Expectation; for that Lady was a little advanc'd in Years, and had but a small Portion, which the King her Brother, being drain'd by the Wars, was not like to increase: And whereas formerly the King of Scots had frequently consulted with Queen Elizabeth about the choice of a Wife, and she had appear'd loose and remiss in the matter, the Scots began to suspect, and give out publickly, That the English were jealous of the Honour as well as the Offspring of their Prince, for fear he should avenge the Death of his Mother; as well as that they wanted the Opportunity of excluding him from the Succession of England. The Queen, as soon as she heard this, advis'd the King in the first place to choose a Wife agreeable to himself, and not altogether unacceptable to his People, and such a one as might consent to the holding a good Correspondence with England, without bringing him under terms of Suspicion. The King, having above a Year before placed his Affections on Ann the Daughter of Frederick II. King of Denmark, (whom Queen Elizabeth liked extremely well) the Marriage was consummated by Proxy, and the Royal Solemnities perform'd this Year in August, through the happy Mediation of the Earl-Marshall, in a set and particular Form us'd on these Occasions. But as she was on her Voyage to Scotland, she was driven back by dismal Storms into Norway, before she had got half over; and her Fleet so miserably beaten and shatter'd with the Weather, that 'twas not in a

He mar- ries Ann of Denmark.

Condition to put to Sea again. The King therefore, after having first consulted Queen Elizabeth, who had sent over several valuable Presents towards the more splendid Celebration of the Marriage, went himself over to Norway in October, which was a very cold Season, on purpose to consummate the Marriage in Person within the Year, as the States of the Kingdom had resolv'd, and the King oblig'd himself by Oath. This he happily effected, and staid in that Country till the May following, having not met with a fit Opportunity to return sooner.

There were some who were so wise to attribute these Storms to the power of Magick and Enchantments, because 'twas observ'd the Winds were more furious and blustering, the Waters higher and more enrag'd, and the Gusts shorter and more frequent, than what are generally produc'd by natural Causes. And because, as they thought, the Demons, who are petty Princes of the Air, have a more uncontrollable Range in these Northern Countries, which are rude and heathenish, than any where else. And to corroborate this Opinion, there were certain Witches and Necromancers apprehended in Scotland, who publickly confess'd that they had rais'd those Storms on purpose to keep off the Queen from the Coasts of Scotland; and that Bothwell had likewise transacted with them about murdering the King. This being made a capital Crime in Scotland by a Law of Queen Mary, he was hereupon imprison'd: But in a little time he got loose from his Confinement, and gave the rise to new Troubles in Scotland.

1589. *Ann. 32.* He goes to Norway.

This Year died in England, Frances Countess of Suffex, Widow of Thomas Earl of Suffex, and Sister to Sir Henry Sidney, an excellent Lady, and whose Memory is deservedly sacred, as she was the Foundress of Sidney-Suffex-College in Cambridge, wherein she follow'd the Copy of Sir Walter Mildmay, who about the same time exchanged this Life for a better. He was a Person of singular both Piety and Prudence, who acted all the Parts of a good Man and a faithful Subject, and had been made by King Henry VIII. Surveyor of the Court of Augmentations, and chosen Privy-Councillor to Queen Elizabeth, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of her Exchequer. For the promotion of Piety and good Letters, he built Emanuel-College in Cambridge, An. 1584; in which are maintain'd a Master and 62 Students. He was succeeded by Sir John Fortescue, a very worthy Gentleman, and a great Master of the Latin and Greek, who was for a considerable time Preceptor to the Q. in her Studies, and Master of her Wardrobe. About this time likewise died Will. Somerset, Earl of Worcester, in a good old Age. He was Son to Henry and Grandson to Charles, and was succeeded by his only Son Edward, whom God had bless'd with so fruitful an Issue, that he lately saw more Children of both Sexes from his own Loins, than all the Earls of England besides. Nor was it long before these following Persons paid their Debt to their common Mother, viz. John Lord Stourton, the eldest Son of Charles Stourton, (whom Queen Mary punish'd for Example's sake, on account of a Murder committed by him) by the Lady Ann Stanley, the Daughter of Edward Earl of Derby, who was succeeded by his Brother Edward. Also Henry Lord Compton, a Person of a fine Wit and solid Judgment, who left his Estate and Title to William his Son by Frances Hastings, the Daughter of Francis Earl of Huntington. At Brussels died also Thomas Lord Paget; who being closely link'd to the Interests of Mary Queen of Scots, and being suspected on that account, retir'd out of England, as I said, An. 1585, and left behind him only one Son, viz. William, whom

Bothwell cast into Prison.

The death of the Countess of Suffex.

Mildmay.

The E. of Worcester.

Compton.

Paget.

he

1589. he had by *Nazareth Newton*; his Death however prov'd a sad and universal Loss to the Commonwealth of Learning. In the last place, Dr. *Lawrence Humfrey* quitted this troublesome Stage; an *Oxford-man* and Doctor of Divinity; who, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, liv'd as an Exile in *Germany*; where he translated *Origen de Rectâ Fide* and *Philo de Nobilitate* out of the *Greek* Tongue, and wrote likewise three Books of Nobility, which he stil'd *Optimates*. At his return, he was made President of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, where he was educated; and also the Queen's Professor of Divinity; where, by his Lectures for several Years, his Sermons and Writings, he did the Church considerable Service, and was justly look'd on as a Person of Merit. However his highest Station in the Church was the Deanery of *Winchester*; perhaps because he was not altogether Conformable to the Church of *England* in some Points of Indifference.

1590.

The Three and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

Q. Eliz.
fortifies
some Port
Towns.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who always paid the first regard to Peace in all her Deliberations, tho' not so neither, as to be unconcern'd about the necessary Provisions for War; that she might not be surpriz'd by the *Spaniard*, levied fresh Forces in the beginning of the Spring, both in *England*, and in the South of *Ireland*. Here she fortified *Dungenon* at the Mouth of the *Suire*, and *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, with new Ramparts: Towards the repair of her Navy she appointed a yearly Sum of 8970 Pounds Sterling: And tho' in the Year 1587, she had lent by Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, towards raising an Army in *Germany*, for the King of *Navarre's* Service, under the Command of the Baron *Dobna*, 101560 *French* Crowns; and the very last Year 71165 more, on Security given by *Beauvoir*, *Bubi* and *Ruzenval*, and had likewise consum'd 20000 in sending over the Recruits under the Lord *Willoughby*. Nevertheless, upon Security offer'd by the Viscount *Turenne*, she advanced in the first place 33333 Crowns more, for levying Forces in *Germany* under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*, and afterwards the same Sum on the Credit of *Beauvoir* and *Incarvil*: And besides all this, she paid every two Months, to the Garisons in *Flushing* and the *Brill*, 125000 *Florins*, and 26000 more to three thousand Horse and Foot, which serv'd in the *Netherlands*. She moreover furnish'd out several Ships to all Parts; was at vast Expences in opposing the Attempts of the Pope and the King of *Spain* in *Scotland*, and discharg'd all the Arrears she owed her Subjects, beyond Expectation; insomuch that many wonder'd whence she procur'd so much Money to answer all Emergencies, considering she ran not in Debt, (as most other Princes do) and was in a Capacity to support herself and Kingdom without any foreign Assistances, which was a thing that could not be said of any of the Princes that were her Neighbours.

Her Frugality.

But the truth is, she was provident and frugal to a great degree, and scarce spent any thing, but in the necessary Support of her Royal Character, the Defence of her Kingdom, or the Relief of her Neighbours. Besides, the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* narrowly inspected the Officers of her Customs; through the Avarice of whom either the Queen's Cash had been impair'd or her Dues lost for want of demanding. But this Defect was mended, after the Queen, being inform'd by one *Caermarden*, a subtle and prying Fellow, of the great Abuses of the Custom-House-Officers, was pleas'd to order Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Farmer of the Customs, who held them at 14000 of *English* Money per Annum, to

pay from thenceforward 42000 Pounds, and to advance a considerable Sum besides for having enjoy'd so advantageous a Bargain for several Years, and after that farther raised the Agreement to 50000 Pounds a Year. This the Lord-Treasurer, *Leicester* and *Walsingham* oppos'd all they could, and order'd the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber not to give admission to *Caermarden*; nay they went so far as to dispute the matter with the Queen, alledging, That it would be an open Disparagement to herself and Council, to listen to the Insinuations of such a petty Informer. But she answer'd, 'That it was the Duty of a Prince to manage things equally between Persons of all Ranks; that such as accus'd Magistrates, or other publick Ministers, without producing good Proofs to back their Charge, were punishable; whereas such as brought true Informations, deserv'd Encouragement: That the meanest were her Subjects as well as the biggest; and that she resolv'd never to shut her Ears against them, nor to endure that the Farmers of the Customs should suck, like Horse-leeches, till they burst again, with the Blood of the Commonwealth; which running so fast out of the Treasury, must needs bring it into a fatal Consumption: On the other side, she would never suffer her Exchequer to swell and thrive upon the Spoils of the Poor. And to say truth, the Queen ever abhor'd all Acts of Extortion, and Demands of rigorous Taxes and Contributions; a thing which other Princes before her had Arts to palliate under the softer terms of the *Peoples Bounty and Liberal Grant*, &c. The laying of the Poll-Tax, propounded first in the Reign of *Edward VI.* she would never suffer to be so much as mention'd. Besides, the People were always cheerful in paying their Subsidies; and tho' the Assessment now in use seem'd to be somewhat more burdensome than in old Times, yet was it manag'd with all the Candor imaginable, and no rigorous Exactions made; insomuch, that Taxes were then a kind of free Contributions, and always laid beneath the Estimation of the Government; nay the Queen's method was to refer it to her Parliament so to order it, that the Rich might bear the greater share of the Burden, and the Poor be eas'd; which had been done before in the Reign of *Richard II.* But it was now order'd otherwise: For, upon a fair Computation, it appear'd, that the Taxes would amount but to an inconsiderable Sum, should Men of narrow Estates, which make by far the greater number, and whom we call *Pound-Men*, pay any thing short of what they used to do.

Now that the Queen might preserve the better Correspondence with her Neighbours abroad, she refus'd to take *Groeningen* under her Protection, (which was a rich City of *Friesland*, that refus'd both to submit to the *Spanish* Yoke, and to bear that of the States) for fear of giving the States any disgust. And tho' the *Zelanders* had disoblig'd her, in casting themselves upon the *French* King's Protection, without the knowledge and consent of the States of *Holland*, (of which the *French* King himself inform'd her) yet she was so Gracious to reconcile them to the *Hollanders*. Nor could she forbear taxing the Misconducts of some in those Provinces, whose Proceedings exprest her dislike of, by publick Writ her, because, under pretence of Allegiance to the they had rais'd Commotions, and embroil'd in States. And she was the more tart and severe in her Reproofs on this Occasion, having under a flood that *Richards* had endeavour'd to procure, general Toleration for all the *Netherlanders* which had quitted the other Provinces, on Condition

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She advances the Farm of her Customs.

Favourable in demanding Taxes.

Relieves the States in the Low-Countries.

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Q. Eliz. puts out a Proclamation against Piracy.

dition they would return to their Habitations; which were it once granted, she easily saw, would prove of the worst Consequence to the States: Forasmuch as these were the very Men, that taking up their Residence in those Towns of Holland, which before wanted Inhabitants, not only enrich'd them, but went a great way towards maintaining the Expence of the War. She likewise order'd the restitution of those Ships which the English had taken from the Venetians and Florentines, at the request of the Great Duke of Tuscany; and put out a strict Proclamation, That none of her Subjects should any way damage or molest the Italians, Venetians, French, Danes, Netherlanders, or those belonging to the Hans-Towns.

However, some there were that adventur'd to annoy the Spaniards, and others that infested the Atlantick Ocean near the Azores, where the Ships of both Indies must of necessity touch; many of which they took for Prizes, the Earl of Cumberland having demolish'd the Castle of Fyal, and brought off 58 pieces of Ordnance: Others ventur'd to make their way through the midst of the Galleys lying in the Bay of Gades, doing a great deal of Mischief, and spreading a kind of Terror over the Ocean itself.

Q. Eliz. procures a Peace for the Moldavians & Polesians.

Queen Elizabeth was now grown very famous, and her Name and Glory of a large and wide Extent; so that she prevail'd on the Grand Sultan to grant a Peace to the Vainod of Moldavia, who had been miserably infested by the Turks; and the same Benefit she procur'd for the Polesians, whom they had threatned to prosecute with a long and dangerous War: For which good Service the King of Poland and his Chancellor return'd her Majesty their hearty Thanks in several Letters of Acknowledgment.

R. of Fr. and Scots make Kts of the Garter.

In the mean time, to continue a good Agreement with Scotland, she sent Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, to congratulate the King on his Marriage and safe Return out of Denmark, and to let him know, that himself and the French King were created Knights of the Garter; but wish'd to recommend to him the timely Suppression of the Catholics in Scotland, which were now grown up to a numerous Faction. The King receiv'd him very courteously; and, the better to preserve a good Correspondence with England, and express his singular Affection to the publick Tranquillity, he dispatch'd Colonel Stuart into Germany, to concert some Measures with the King of Denmark, and the Ambassadors of the Princes there assembl'd, for renewing the Peace between England, Spain and France.

Q. Eliz. assists the French K.

France (as I before took notice) was at this time miserably consumed by the Flames of Civil War, kindl'd by the King of Spain and those of the Holy League. In order to extinguish which, and relieve that Nation, the Queen us'd all possible Means, and held several Consultations and Debates: As, whether the old English Soldiers in the Low-Countries would not do well to join with the German-Forces, which were coming down? Or, whether it were not a better way to send a strong Army into the Netherlands, to give the Prince of Parma a Diversion, who was now projecting a Descent into France? But the great Query was, how the Spaniards might be kept off from the Coasts of France, who (she heard) were attempting to reduce New-Harven, by bribing the Garison, and then to send a Fleet into Bretaign.

Parma invades France.

Whilst these things were on the Anvil, the Prince of Parma entred France with a powerful Army, at the Command of the King of Spain, who was prevail'd on, through the Entreaties of those of the League, to take this course under co-

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Exploits.

lour of protecting the Catholick Religion, and shewing Charity to the Distressed, (meaning themselves, over whom the King had obtain'd a signal Victory at Teroy) the Prince soon march'd all over Picardy, relieved with necessary Provisions the City of Paris, which was then in Rebellion, and almost ready to famish, gain'd Corbeil and Laigny into his Hands, for the better and safer conveyance of Provisions into Paris, and then march'd back with the Army, and receiv'd higher Applauses for his good Conduct, in making the Soldiers cast up Trenches, after the Roman fashion, with their own Hands; and for his prudent declining to Fight, than for the Order and Discipline of his Soldiers, who were so vilely Insolent as to plunder and violate the very Churches. On the other hand, about the Autumnal Equinox, there arriv'd at Blauet in Bretaign other Spanish Troops under the Command of Don John D'Aquila, who belieg'd Hennebont, a small but strong Town upon the Sea, and took it by the Assistance of Philip Emanuel, Duke of Mercœur, of the House of Lorain. He had invited them in just at the time when the Leaguers were in hopes of sharing and parcelling out all France between 'em, and he had promis'd himself the Dukedom of Bretaign, part of it at least, for his own share, by the Assistance of Spain, and in Right of his Wife, who was the only Daughter of Sebastian Martignies, whose Mother Caroletta of Bretaign was Heiress to John Brose Duke of Estampes.

This was an Opportunity the King of Spain was mighty willing to take hold on, as thinking that Bretaign did justly belong to his Daughter; forasmuch as it was a Feminine Fee, and she was a Branch of the eldest Daughter of Henry II. King of France; which eldest Daughter (her Uncles happening to die without Issue) had a right to succeed to the Crown of France, unless the Salick Law interpos'd in the case. And tho' he knew very well that Bretaign was in the Reign of Francis I. united for ever to the Kingdom of France, yet could he not swallow what the Lawyers assert, That whatever is once annex'd to the Crown of France, is for the future inseparable from it.

Q. Eliz. desired to send some Forces.

As soon as these Spanish Forces arriv'd, Henry Bourbon, Prince of Dumbes, and Son to the Duke of Montpensier, and whom the King had joined with La Newe in the Government of the Province of Bretaign, desired he might have some Auxiliary Troops from England, to go against them. But the Queen and Council thought it no way convenient to furnish a Subject with Supplies of that kind, since the King himself neither knew of, nor requested any such thing, being at that time sufficiently taken up elsewhere, and in Affairs which were like to cost him Trouble enough. However she was far from neglecting the afflicted Condition of Bretaign, for she could not bear the Reflection that the King of Spain should reduce so wealthy a Country, and which being so near a Neighbour, was too conveniently situated for the Invasion of England, Holland, or Zeland: And in this she declar'd herself to be much more nearly concern'd than was Edward III. so long ago, who at a vast Expence was pleas'd to interest himself in the Quarrel of John Montford, to hinder the French from making themselves Masters of Bretaign. Some Persons there were who attempted to persuade the Queen to spare this Charge, to take care of her own Affairs rather than other Mens, and not to trust the French too far that 'they had been false and treacherous to their own Princes, had lately murder'd one that was a zealous Asserter of Popery, and at this instant were prosecuting another with Spanish Arms and Popish Thunder, who was a Protestant

1590. *Ann. 33.* *restant: That within the Compass of one Age, they had injuriously robb'd the German Empire of Metz, Toul, and Verdun: That they were sworn Enemies to the English; and therefore when they most pretended to be their Friends, were even then treating them after a base and ungrateful manner; and had moreover so often chous'd them upon the Loan of Money, that they came at last to call all Creditors they resolv'd to cheat, in way of proverbial Derision, Les Anglois: Moreover, that what by ill Counsels, and a worse Destiny hanging over their Heads, they had so rent and mangl'd that once flourishing Kingdom, that its Neighbours rather consider'd it as an Object of Pity, than Terror; since, like an unwieldy Body, 'twas ready to sink under the Weight of its own Bulk; at least it was grown so light and unsteady, that if it met with no Enemy abroad, it would seek for one within its own Borders; for they were now grown so wretchedly stupid, (a thing which will puzzle the Faith of future times) as to invite an Army of Spaniards into their Country, and receive them into their Towns. However, the Queen being greatly concern'd for the Safety of the French, rejected all these Remonstrances, as Affronts to that potent and honourable Nation. Nay, upon other Suggestions of the like Nature, which were started by French, as well as Englishmen; as, That whilst Spain and the Juncto were parcelling and dividing France into several Principalities, she might seize on the maritime Countries of Picardy and Normandy; and when they reminded her at the same time, of what the warlike Charles of Burgundy used to say, viz. That the neighbouring Nations would be in a blessed Condition, when France should be govern'd, not by one King, but by twenty Petty-Princes: she heard them with Regret, and disdainfully put them off, saying, That most assuredly the Day which determin'd the Fate of France, would prove the Eve to that of England's Ruin.*

Death of the E. of Warwick, and Sir Fra. Walsingham, Whilst these things were under Debate, Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, the Son of John Duke of Northumberland, and Knight of the Garter, a most excellent Person, departed this Life, without Issue: And not long after him, Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Knight of the Garter, died of an Excess of about his Privities, or rather through an intemperate Application of Physick. He was a Person of great Prudence and Industry, and had been concern'd in several honourable Embassies: He was a most steady Asserter of the Reform'd Religion, understood well the Intrigues of Government, and as well how to gain and improve the good Affections of the People, so as to serve his own Turn; insomuch that his Quickness and Dispatch of Business made him consider'd by the Queen, as a Man that even out-did himself; and the Papists found him, to their great Mortification, a Person of that Intelligence and Penetration, and so dexterous at finding out their Tricks and Designs against Religion, his Prince and Country; that they complain'd of him as a very subtle and insidious Man. Indeed he watch'd the Practices of these Men with so great an Expend, that he less'n'd his Estate by that means; and brought himself so far in Debt, that he was bury'd privately by Night, in S. Paul's Church, without any manner of Funeral-Solemnity. He left but one Daughter behind him, whose first Husband was Sir Philip Sidney, who had a Daughter by her, afterwards marry'd to Roger Earl of Rutland. Her second Husband was Robert Earl of Essex, who had a Son and several Daughters by her; and her third Husband was the Earl of Clan-Richard, an

Irishman, who had Children by her of both Sexes.

A Month or two after Walsingham, Thomas Randolph, his intimate Friend, departed this Life. This Person, whom I have had occasion to mention so often already, had a Brother, Edward by Name, a brave Soldier, who died in Ireland, after having obtain'd a Victory, *Ann. 1567.* In his younger days he study'd the Civil-Law at Christ-Church in Oxford, and was Principal of Broad-gates. Afterwards he was employ'd in several Embassies; thrice to the Peers of Scotland, during the Disorders there; as often to Mary Queen of Scots, after her Return from France; seven times to James VI. King of Scots; thrice to John Basilides Emperor of Russia; once to Charles IX. King of France, and once to Henry III. These great and eminent Services of his, for his Prince and Country, the Queen was pleas'd to repay, by making him Chamberlain of the Exchequer, (a Place formerly of great Honour) and by giving him the Post-Master's Place, with some small Manours to maintain them. Nor did he desire any larger Returns, (so far was he from a covetous Man) although he had many Children. It may not be amiss, to mention a pious and serious Piece of Advice which he gave Walsingham, a little before his Death, by Letters which I have seen myself, viz. How decent, and even necessary a thing it was, for them to lay down the invidious Employments, the one of Secretary, and the other of Ambassador; to give themselves the more Leisure to meditate on Heaven, and reconcile themselves to God by a timely Repentance.

The next that quitted this earthly Abode, was Sir James Croftes, who in Edward VI's Reign defended Haddington in Scotland, against the French, and was for some time Governour of Ireland. He was condemn'd for Treason in Queen Mary's Reign, but acquitted by Queen Elizabeth; and being made Governor of Berwick and the East-March, Comptroller of the Queen's Household, and a Commissioner at the Treaty of Bourbourg, he got above the Envy of the Court, which however had well nigh crush'd him, and died in a good Age his Prince's Favourite, and in fair Esteem with all that knew him.

The same Year concluded with the Death of George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Son of Francis, and the seventh Earl of this House and Line. In Queen Mary's Reign, being then a very young Gentleman, he was entrusted by his Father, who was General in the Scottish War, with 3000 Men, with which he brought off the Earl of Northumberland, who was in great Danger at Lewick, after which he was made Captain of a Troop of 500 brave Veterans in the Marches. Q. Elizabeth order'd the Queen of Scots into his Custody, and after the Duke of Norfolk's Death, advanc'd him to the Honour of Earl-Marshal of England. In those ticklish times, he made a shift to assert his Honour, and make good his Trust for 15 Years together, against all the Machinations and Slanders of the Court-Party, and the ill Conduct of his second Wife, to such a degree, That he left behind him the double Character of a wife and faithful Statesman, and a brave and worthy Commander. He had these Children by his first Wife, who was Gertrude the Daughter of Thomas Earl of Rutland, viz. Francis, who was taken away by an untimely Death; Gilbert, who succeeded him in Title and Estate, and marry'd Mary Cavendish, his Step-mother's Daughter; Edward, who marry'd the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord Ogle; Henry and Thomas; Katharine, marry'd afterwards to Henry, Son of the Earl of Pembroke, who died without Issue; Mary, Wife to George Savill,

1590. *Savill*, and *Grace*, marry'd to *Henry Cavendish*. By his latter Wife, who was Daughter of *John Hardwick*, and Widow of *William Cavendish*, he had no Children at all.

Nor must we omit the Mention of *Thomas Lord Wentworth*, who accompany'd the aforesaid Persons to another World. He was the last English Governour of *Calais*. He was succeeded by his second Son, the eldest dying before his Father.

In *Ireland*, *Hugh Garvillock*, so call'd by reason of his long Imprisonment, the base Son of *Shan-Oneal*, had the Year before accused *Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen* of holding a secret Correspondence with certain *Spaniards*, who were cast on the Coasts of *Ireland* in the Year 1588. The Earl, to prevent any farther Discoveries, surprized him first, and then had him strangled; but the *Ruffians* he employ'd, who were in other respects brutish enough, yet refusing at that time so barbarous an Office, 'tis said he drew the Cord himself, and so choak'd him. Hereupon he was summon'd into *England*, and had the Queen's Pardon, upon his humble Submission, and most solemn Protestations and Engagements, before the Queen at the Honour of *Greenwich*; That on the Faith and Word of a Man of Honour, he would live peaceably with *Turlough Leinigh*, and all his Neighbours, (for Performance of which he gave Security) and that he would disclaim the Title of *O-Neal*, or any Jurisdiction over those Lords that were his Neighbours; That he would form the Country of *Tir-Oen* into a County: That he would not exact that *Irish Tax* call'd *Bonaghty* of any of his Dependents: That he would thenceforward put no Man to death, but according to Law: That he would not stop the Conveyance of any Ammunition or Provisions, design'd for the English Garrisons at *Blackwater*, or the River *More*: That he would not admit into his Territories any Monks, Friars, Nuns or Male-contents: That he would use all Endeavours to civilize the Inhabitants of *Tir-Oen*, and to bring them to better Order; with other Conditions of the same Nature: Provided still that *Turlough Leinigh*, and the neighbouring Lords should likewise engage themselves to an amicable Correspondence with him; that whilst he himself avoided all Acts of Hostility, he might not be exposed to their Insolence or Barbarity. Being dismiss'd home, he promis'd a second time to *Sir William Fitz-Williams*, the Lord-Deputy, and to the Gentlemen of the Privy-Council, that he would observe every Tittle of his Engagement. And for some time he was indeed very punctual to all the Duties and Observances which could be expected from a good Subject, and a virtuous Man. He was Master of a Constitution that could endure the Difficulties of Watching and Hunger; and join'd to that a most indefatigable Industry. He had a generous Soul, and capable of the weightiest Undertakings; and was besides an expert Soldier, and a subtle Politician: Inasmuch that some have concluded beforehand, that he was born to do *Ireland* a great deal of Good, or as much Hurt.

'Twas not long before, that *Hugh Roe-Mac-Mabon*, a potent Lord in the Territory of *Monaghan*, was seiz'd in his own House, by Order of the Lord-Deputy; who, though he had but just before given him the Precedency in a Contest that happen'd in his Family upon that Point; yet did he suffer him to be try'd by Common-Soldiers, and the Scum of the People (as the *Irish* complain'd) for having by Force of Arms extorted from the People those Subsidies, which are demandable by the barbarous Custom of the Country. The Effect of this was, that they con-

demn'd and executed him, and divided his Estate (which was a very good one) betwixt the English and some of the *Mac-Mabons*; assigning to them severally a certain yearly Revenue, that they might enjoy it according to the Laws of *England*. This he did on purpose to weaken the Interests of a Family, that was too powerful in Creatures and Dependents; as likewise to put the same End to the Title and Tyranny of *Mac-Mabon*; for, it seems, this Privilege of the Family render'd 'em insolent and usurping, and prone to use all the Methods of an insupportable Oppression. Hereupon *Brian O-Rork*, a mighty Lord in the adjacent Country of *Brenn*, apprehending the very same Fate, rose in Rebellion against the Queen; but being chased and routed by *Sir Richard Bingham* Governour of *Connaught*, he fled into *Scotland*. The Lord-Deputy in the mean time being highly concern'd that the Honour of this Piece of Service came not to his Share. The King of *Scots*, upon the Queen's Demand, very cheerfully surrender'd him into her Hands, protesting that he consider'd all her Enemies as his own. Nor was this a bare Complement; for he slighted all the Remonstrances of the Popish Nobility in *Scotland*, and the Motions of the Earl of *Westmoreland* and other Male-contents in *England*, who did what they could to incense him against the Queen. He likewise demanded Security of *James* and *Donald Mac-Conells*, that they would not molest the English in *Ireland*, either from the *Hebrides* or *Scotland*.

The Four and thirtieth Year of her Reign.

1591.

In the midst of these Confusions, the Queen was not more intent on any thing, than the Care of *Bretagne* in *France*, and how to relieve the Affairs of the French King; which appear'd to be indeed in a sinking Condition. She therefore sent *Edmund Yorke* early in the Year, to give him a gentle Touch upon his three Months Silence, and to remind him of what immediate Importance it was, to provide for the Defence of *Bretagne*, as soon as possible; and to persuade him by all means to oppose and prevent the Designs of the Prince of *Parma*, who intended another Invasion upon *France*, in order to join the Spanish Forces in *Bretagne*. Towards the disposing of these, she promis'd him her Assistance both by Sea and Land, on Condition he would appoint a Place of Retreat for her Forces, and join a competent Number of Men with hers. The King was highly sensible of the Queen's generous Regards for him, return'd her hearty Thanks for it, and promis'd faithfully that nothing should be wanting on his part. He required, in the first place, 3000 Men, to support his Affairs in *Bretagne*; and some Regiments to be immediately dispatch'd for *Picardy*. He nominated *Cherbourg*, *Granvill*, or *Brest*, for Port-Towns of Retreat for her Majesty's Forces; but principally *Blauett*, taken lately by the *Spaniards*, as the most commodious, (but whether in jest or earnest, I cannot tell.) Then he gave Orders to *Beauvoir de Nocté*, his Resident in *England*, to draw up Articles of Agreement, and he did accordingly manage the Contract with the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, *Charles Howard* Lord-Admiral, and *Hunsdon* Lord-Chamberlain, who were Commissioners for the Queen: That 3000 English should be sent over into *Picardy* and *Bretagne*, with necessary Provisions to maintain the War: That the King should, in the space of one Year, reimburse their Pay into the Queen's Exchequer, beside the Charge of their Transportation, and the Expense of Ammunition, &c. or sooner, provided the Enemy were dispossest before that time. The Queen was the more easily inclined to join

Queen's Care of the French King.

Fr. King's Demands and Offers.

Contract of Assistance.

1591. in this Treaty, as being inform'd that the Spaniards were admitted into Paris, the Metropolis of France; and that the Citizens acknowledg'd the King of Spain for their Sovereign, and gave their lawful Prince no other Title than the Bearnois. That the Spanish King did from hence encourage himself with the Hopes of wearing the Crown of France; and that he had declared as much to Janin, who was Commissioner sent from the Leaguers to the Court of Spain: As also, that Pope Gregory XIII. had on this occasion rais'd Forces against the French King, in Italy and Switzerland, under the Command of the Duke de Montmartin, and had publish'd a Bull of Excommunication against him; which was nevertheless condemn'd by the Parliament of Paris, now met at Tours, and order'd to be first fix'd to the Gallows by the common Hangman, and then burnt out. Hereupon a Proclamation was issu'd out, forbidding the Exportation of Provision or Arms into those Ports of France, which the Leaguers had in possession, upon pain of High-Treason; which also the King of Scots had done before. Sir Henry Palmer was likewise sent out with a Squadron of Men of War, and took 13 of their Ships, in their Return from New-France; and not long after, Sir Roger Williams went over to Diep with 600 Men, with expresse Orders to lie ready in those parts; because the Enemy were very near that Town, and had threaten'd it hard. And a few days after, Sir John Norris set sail for Bretagne, with the rest of the Forces; which (under him) were commanded by his Brother Henry, and Anthony Sherley. These Recruits join'd the King's Forces, and made a brisk, but unsuccessful Attempt upon Lamballe, which was defended by the Leaguers; and here died that eminent Soldier Francis la Nevé, of a Wound he had receiv'd. After this, however they took Chastillon, and gave some Check to those of the League; tho' they could not totally rout or dispossess 'em. Sir Roger Williams, with his own Forces and those of Monsieur la Chatré, Governour of Diep, broke through a Barricado at Cinquessaunce, made of Wine-Fats fill'd up with Earth; and put to flight some of the Party, who were appointed to scour the Ways, under the Command of Tremblecourt and Lounde: for which Act he was highly applauded by the King, in his Letters to the Queen. Hereupon he grew more hardy; and not so well considering the Charge he had undertaken, he went along with the King to the very Suburbs of Paris; and in a short Letter sent a Challenge to the Spaniards, to dispatch 200 Pikemen, and 1000 Musketeers, to engage in the Field with the same Number of English. He had scarce got to Diep, but the King sent for him, and order'd him with his Troops to Noyon, quite contrary to the Orders which he had receiv'd from the Queen. Here he behaved himself with that Heat and Rashness, as to throw away the Lives of a great many Men in an Assault, which the Queen having not consented to, was therefore much displeas'd at.

At the same time the French King acquainted her Majesty, by Anthony Reaux, that he was resolv'd to secure Rouen and New-Haven, before the Prince of Parma arrived with his Forces in France; and to that purpose he desired the Queen to send 4000 English into Normandy, with two Months Pay; and if they stay'd longer, he engaged to pay them himself; and promis'd most faithfully, that as soon as they landed, his Forces should be ready to join them; and he would tarry in Picardy in the mean while, lest they of Rouen should have any Suspicion of his Design. To this the Queen agreed, as being very desirous to drive the Enemy farther from the Sea-Coast. Hereupon,

a new Contract was made on the Terms propos'd; but with this Proviso, that it should be ratify'd, or (to use the French Term) verify'd by the Authority of the supreme Parliament. Within a few days these Forces were rais'd, and arriv'd at Diep, under the Command of Robert Earl of Essex, a young Nobleman, who had much in the Queen's Grace and Favour. He was attended by several Gentlemen of the first Quality; and Sir Thomas Leighton and Sir Henry Killegrew, Men of great Experience, were appointed as Assistants to him, where Conduct and Counsel were required. At his Arrival in France, he found the King was at a great Distance, as far as Noyon: In Normandy he perceiv'd there was not the least Preparation made, nor could he learn by any means, how he was to dispose of his Forces; so that he began to stomach the King's Ill-treatment of himself and his Men, and resented very much his Breach of Promise. Some time after, came to him Sir Roger Williams, and intreated him in the King's Name, to make what Haste he could to him at Noyon, in order to concert Measures for carrying on the War: Whither being at last arrived, after a difficult and very hazardous March, the King told him, that he must needs go in Person into Champagne, to join the German Army; but promis'd to send Marshal Biron and the D. of Montpensier, with all possible Dispatch, to the Siege of Rouen. The Earl with much ado got back to his Men, who had their Camp at Arques; and the better to gain the Affections of his Army, and encourage them at the same time, he knighted several, tho' he happen'd by so doing to disoblige some Persons who had obtain'd that Honour before they set out, and might perhaps think that he cheapen'd that Character, which had been hitherto in mighty Esteem among the English, and which the Queen had conferr'd but on a very few Persons, and those of a distinguish'd Note and good Family. After all there was no Appearance either of Biron or Montpensier: The latter was gone into Champagne, to attend at the Nuptials of Viscount Turenne and the Duke of Bouillon's Daughter; and the former was march'd out of the Way, to lay a fruitless Siege to the Castle of Pierrepont. And now was another Message dispatch'd to England, by Reaux, to acquaint the Queen with the Reasons which hinder'd the French King from besieging Rouen; for the Queen had warmly press'd this Siege by Sir Henry Unton, her Ambassador in France, and likewise the Verification of the Contract, by Consent of Parliament. Essex all this while lay unemployed in his Camp, and was not a little disturb'd that he was cheated of such Opportunities of distinguishing himself: He happen'd once to approach too near Rouen, and lost his Brother by a Shot from the Town. The Queen blam'd him by her Letters, for following the King without giving her Notice, and for coming so indiscreetly under the Walls of Rouen. But he made his Peace upon the easie Terms of a few smooth Words; and in the mean while marching with his Forces to Gornay, he was very serviceable to Biron in the Reduction of it.

Mean while the King solicites the Queen by Bearvoir to send Essex, with the English Forces under his Command, out of Normandy into Champagne, having seemingly laid by all Thoughts of besieging Rouen. This the Queen took so ill, as to expostulate the Matter with him; forasmuch as two Months had now pass'd, since the signing of the Contract, and the Soldiers were still out of Pay: That for her Part, both she and her Friends had been so long shammd and imposed on, and either totally disregarded, or else posted about from place to place, and expos'd to infinite

1591.
Ann. 34.
Motives
inducing
the Q.
hereto.

A Proclamation
relating to
the Leaguers.

Norris
sent to
Bretagne.

La Nevé
slain.

New Supplies
granted.

1591.
Ann. 34.

E. of E.
sex con-
mand
them.

the going
the King.

Makes
several
Notes.

Is impos'd
on by the
French.

French K.
sends a
Message of
Excuse to
the Q.

Essex's
Brother

Hacker
blasphemous
Tenets.

1591. Ann. 34. French K. breaks his Promise. infinite Hazards by the Bargain; and the King moreover was so unsteady to his Promises and Resolves, and had occasion'd her so vast an Expence to so little Purpose, that she determin'd to call home her Forces, unless he would keep his Word, and take some course to defray the Sum agreed on. He presently endeavour'd to excuse Himself, and pacify the Queen by complaisant Letters: Wherein he laid the fault upon the Hurry and Confusion of his Affairs. In the beginning of November, when the Prince of Parma was taking the Field with a well-disciplin'd Army; he in a slow and dilatory manner began the Siege of Rouen. Essex was sent into England to hasten over new Supplies; and upon his return, not many Days after, about Christmas-Eve, an Attack was made on St. Katharine's Tower in four places at once, and in three of 'em the English were expos'd to extreme Hazard. At the very same time the King solicited by Mornay Pleffis a speedy dispatch of fresh Recruits to serve against the Prince of Parma; and these the Queen granted, after a modest Reprimand of the King's Neglect, as to the Siege of Rouen, and his stopping the Prince of Parma's advances. She made it likewise her Request, that the English might be treated at a better rate, and not thrust always into the midst of Danger. But this I must be contented to leave with the Writers of the French History, who were either very little acquainted with these Proceedings, or else have pitifully misrepresented them. Nor will I rob the Church-Historian of his Right in conveying to Posterity the wild Enthusiasm of William Hacket, together with all those abominable Blasphemies, which I almost blush to mention. However, that I may not be charg'd as a Friend to his Follies, or an Enemy to Truth, I shall venture on this short Narrative till the World is supplied with a better and fuller Account.

Hacket's
blasphemous
Tenets.

This Hacket was a Fellow of mean Extraction, born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, a very illiterate Man, and as Haughty and Insolent as he was Ignorant: He was moreover of so revengeful a Complexion, that pretending to be reconcil'd to a worthy Schoolmaster, to whom he bore a Grudge, he clean bit off his Nose; and the poor Man desiring to have it again, that it might be sewed on whilst the Wound was green, the Report goes that he swallow'd it after a most savage manner. So bitter an Enemy was he to all Goodness and Vertue, that he would expose and ridicule the sacred Truths and Doctrines he had heard at Church, and make 'em the Entertainment of his Cups and Frolicks. After this, having spent an Estate, which he had by his Wife, who was a Widow, he put on a demure Face, and grew a mighty Saint all on a sudden. Accordingly he was the most constant frequenter of Sermons, and the most inquisitive Searcher of the Scriptures you should hear of. At last he came to manage the Pretences of an inward Call and supernatural Revelation, with that Confidence and Dexterity, as to work himself into the good Opinion of a sort of Divines, who were stark-mad for introducing the Presbyterian-Discipline after the Geneva-Model into England. One of this good Brotherhood was Wigginton, as Brain-sick a Teacher as any of the Club, and as stanch an Enemy to Government. This Man brought Hacket acquainted with Edmund Copinger, a Person of a good Family, who was likewise puffed up with the conceit of being a chosen Vessel for the benefit of the Church, and that God had vouchsafed him wonderful Discoveries for reducing the Queen and her Council to a better sense of Things, even to the embracing of the Geneva-Discipline. And this he afterwards com-

1591. Ann. 34. municated to one Arthington, a great admirer of this way of Worship. For it seems some of these Teachers had before infused it into him, That God did every day stir up one or other of these extraordinary Labourers to work in his Vineyard. This he imparted in the great Joy of his Heart to Hacket, who with a Sanctity, which he could well enough dissimble, encourag'd the Humour, and by praying *Extempore* and with great Fervours, by Sunday-Fasts, and by frequent Boastings of his Conflicts with Satan, swore at the hazard of his Salvation, that all this was true, and brought as a Proof thereof several pretended Revelations and familiar Intercourses with God, which with many Oaths and Imprecations he likewise asserted. And he had the good Fortune to find so much Credit with the Fraternity, that they consider'd him as a special Favourite of God Almighty, and a much greater Prophet, without all doubt, than Moses or St. John Baptist. Nay, he proceeded so far, as to give broad signs that he was appointed as a special Prophet to denounce God's Vengeance against such as slighted his Mercy; and foretold, That the Reign of Papacy was at an end, and that England this very Year should be afflicted with the three Scourges of Famine, Pestilence and Sword, unless the Discipline of the Lord (for that was their Cant) and a new Reformation were put in practice. Towards the effecting this, they form'd a Charge of Treason against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord-Chancellor, (their stiff Opposers) as afterwards appear'd by their Letters, and threaten'd to take them off, if they any way oppos'd the Schemes of these Novel-Reformers, in the Star-Chamber. They endeavour'd likewise to stir up the Mob to Rebellion, by seditious Papers and Rimes. In which they maintain'd amongst other Positions, That a true Child of Grace, tho' a mere Ignoramus, might lawfully teach Kings their Duty of Governing, and Depose the Queen to boot, unless she would lend an Hand to their blessed Reformation. It may appear from this one Instance, how inveterate an Enemy Hacket was to the Queen's Person and Character, that he us'd to whisper it about, that she had quitted her Title to the Crown; and in a Rage stuck his Dagger into the Breast of a Picture of hers which was drawn upon a Board. Nor was this any wonder at all, forasmuch as he had now wrought himself into the belief, that God had put the Empire of Europe into his Hands, and that therefore he ought to admit of no Rival. He likewise made a shift to persuade Copinger and Arthington themselves, that they had a more than Prophetical Spirit in them, and were a sort of Angelick Visionaries: They therefore conceiving themselves to be under the influence of a divine Inspiration, instantly paid him all Homage that could be expected from a King that had dropt down from Heaven; and began to foment Rebellion as fast as they could. In July they went to a certain Nobleman; and after having offer'd him the first Place of Authority next to the Queen, they presented him with the Description of Hacket's Life and Arthington's Prophecy. But he had something else to do, and so dismiss'd the Men about their business. Sometime after they intimated to Wigginton, 'That our Saviour had appear'd to 'em the Night before, not with the Body which he wears in Heaven, but with that ruling Spirit which was shed on Hacket in a more abundant measure than on any other; and that Hacket was that very Angel who should come before the approach of the last Day, with his Fan and Crook, to separate the Sheep from the Goats: That he should likewise beat down Satan, and pull

the Kingdom of Antichrist up by the roots. 1591. They then left Wigginton, and went to Hacket; before whom, as he sat upon his Bed, they fell down, and were seiz'd with a violent fit of Devotion. Hacket got up, and joined with them in Prayer, earnestly desiring, that the Spirit would direct 'em to do every thing to the Glory of God, and so went to Bed again. Arthington immediately advis'd Coppinger to anoint their King with the Holy Ghost, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Coppinger fell prostrate, and having with a profound Reverence kiss'd the Floor thrice, approach'd nearer Hacket; who put him back, saying, *That he need not be anointed by him, since he had an Unction from the Holy Ghost already; to confirm which he began in this strain: Do ye my Commandments: Go and declare through the City, that Jesus Christ is come with his Fan in his Hand to judge the World: If any enquire where he is, shew 'em this place; and if then they will not believe, let 'em come and kill me if they can: As it is most certain that God is in Heaven, so 'tis as true Christ is come to Judgment.*

As soon as he had said this, out they went, and proclaim'd all the City over, that Christ was come, and what other Fooleries he had given them in Commission; often repeating in a louder Tone, *Repent, Repent*, till they had got as far as *Cheapside*; where being throng'd by the Multitude, up they got into a Cart; and what by the help of their Memories, and a written Scroll they had for that purpose, they proclaim'd aloud, 'That Hacket was, by the Spirit of Christ, made a partaker of his glorified Nature, and was now come with his Fan to plant the Gospel throughout Europe, and to set up a Form of Government and Church-Discipline in England, (and pointed withal to his Lodging). Then they declar'd, 'That they were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of Judgment, who were given to Hacket as Co-adjutors and Fellow-labourers in so important a Work: All which they affirm'd upon the Salvation of their Souls to be true. They farther declar'd, That Hacket was the first and supreme Monarch of the Universe, and that all the Princes of Europe held their Scepters as so many Dependents on him; and therefore that he alone claim'd an universal Obedience; and that as for the Queen, she was to be deposed in the same Place they fell a cursing the Archbishop and the Lord-Chancellor, as Enemies to the sincere Profession of the Gospel. Hereupon the Throng gathering so fast that they could not get forward to other Places of the City to make the same Oration, and being likewise advis'd by some of their Friends to withdraw, they fairly return'd to Hacket's Lodging.

They are taken.

Being some time after apprehended, they carried themselves with that insolent Sawciness before the Magistrates and Council, as to refuse the Civility of their Hats, and to tell them in plain terms, *that they were above all human Laws*. Hacket was afterwards indicted of Treason, and confess'd himself guilty; but made his Hearers tremble at the Blasphemies then utter'd by him. This, 'tis possible, he did with a cunning Intention of possessing the Judges that he was a Madman, whereas his Gravity and compos'd Mien shew'd in other respects that he was no such Thing. After his Condemnation, he was drawn upon an Hurdle to the place of greatest Concourse in the City, crying out in a most dreadful Tone, *Jehovah-Messias! Jehovah-Messias! see the Heaven open! behold the Son of the most High descending to deliver me!* At the Gallows, when he was importun'd to acknowledge his Sin against God and the Queen, he, like an execrable Wretch, in-

veigh'd against the Queen with a loud and boisterous Rudeness: O heavenly God, Almighty Jehovah, Alpha and Omega, Lord of lords and King of kings, God everlasting, Thou knowest that I am the true Jehovah whom Thou hast sent, shew some Miracle out of the Clouds to convert these Infidels, and deliver me from mine Enemies: But if not, (I tremble almost to repeat it) I will set the Heavens on fire, and with these Hands pluck thee from thy Throne: With a great deal more which he utter'd to the same purpose, and in the same stile of Blasphemy. Then turning to the Hangman, who was fastening the Rope about him, Thou Bastard, said he, wilt thou hang Hacket, thy Sovereign? Having the Rope about his Neck, he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, and, with a frightful Grin, said, Dost thou reward me thus, instead of giving me a Kingdom? I come to revenge it.

In the midst of these loud and horrid Blasphemies, the Halter dispatch'd him: But the Mob would have had the impious Villain cut down alive; which was afterwards done, his Bowels taken out, and his Body quarter'd, according to Sentence pass'd upon him. Thus does the great Enemy of Mankind cajole those who pretend an outward Sanctity, but are not sincerely and soberly Wise and Good. Coppinger after this starv'd himself to Death in Prison; and Arthington, being reserv'd for Repentance, shew'd it in good earnest, and wrote a Book to testify his Heartiness therein.

Nor were these Persons the only Opposers of the Church; but several others, who had hitherto made fruitless Efforts to overturn its Discipline, by deriving Slander and Scandal upon the Name and Function of Bishops, having got some Common Lawyers on their side, fell to employ their Tongues and Pens in crying down their Authority, and traducing that Power which was given them by the Queen, as illegal and unjust. To which purpose they put out Pamphlets, complaining, 'That the Ecclesiastical Courts exercised a kind of Tyranny, contrary to the Laws: 'That the Queen could not by Law grant any such Jurisdiction, nor could others fairly exercise it, tho' it were granted: That those Courts could not impose on the Defendant the Oath *Ex officio*, because no Man is oblig'd to accuse himself. That by this Oath Men are constrain'd either to condemn themselves with Shame and loss of Reputation, or else to Perjure themselves at the cost of their Souls: Besides, that the only Business of those Courts was to take Cognizance of Marriages and Wills, according to the tenour of that old Writ, *Mandamus Vicecomiti, &c. i. e. We command the Sheriffs of our Counties of S. N. &c. that they suffer not any in their Bailiwick to meet in any places to make Recognizance upon Oath, except in Causes Matrimonial and Testamentary.*

On the other side, the Civilians and Canonists maintain'd the Queen's Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes, 'as lodg'd in her Majesty by Authority of Parliament: That to oppose this, was an Affront to her Royal Prerogative, and an Invasion upon her Right, in opposition to the Oath of Allegiance: That the Ecclesiastical Courts may lawfully take Cognizance of other Causes besides Matrimonial and Testamentary, they made out from the Statute of *Circumspexerit agatis*, and the Articles of the Clergy in the time of Edward I. That the Writ or Law alludg'd, was justly to be suspected, because the Date was uncertain, and the stile inconsistent, for elsewhere it is written, *To make Recognizances, or take Oaths*: As likewise, that to make Recognizance, does not properly signify to give in Evidence, or to Answer in Law; but

Hacket is hang'd & quarter'd.

Coppinger starv'd himself.

Ecclesiastical Courts opposed.

to

1591. *Ann. 34.* to confess a Debt, or to hold Pleas concerning Bills, Bonds, or Debts. That the Oath *Ex officio* in those Courts, as well as in others, has been demanded time out of mind, for the discovery of Simony, Adultery, and other heinous Crimes, especially when (to use the Law-phrase) *Inimatio fuerit clamosa*, i. e. the Suspicion was loud and violent: And tho' no Man be oblig'd to accuse or betray himself, yet when common Fame has already made him guilty, he is bound to clear and vindicate himself if he can, forasmuch as the Penance impos'd is not, strictly speaking, of the nature of a Punishment, but rather a sort of Remedy to cure Offenders, to prevent Scandal, and to deter others by Example, according to that Saying of Scripture, *For thy Soul's sake be not ashamed to speak Truth*. For there is a confusion that leads to Sin, and there is a kind of shame, the issue of which is Grace and Glory. But I shall not insist farther on this Head, there being several Tracts to the purpose learnedly written on both sides, by *Richard Cofins*, Doctor of Law, *John Morris* and *Lancelot Andrews*.

Q. Eliz. asserts the Churches Right. The Queen being very sensible that their aim was to wound her Prerogative through the sides of the Prelacy, quash'd all this Violence without any Noise or Tumult, and found a way to assert the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in spite of all its Enemies.

English wait for the Spanish Plate Fleet. About this time, *Thomas Howard*, the Duke of Norfolk's second Son, was waiting, as he had done for six Months before, for the Spanish Plate-Fleet homeward bound from America. During his stay at *Flores*, one of the Isles of *Azores*, the Seamen being most of 'em sick, (for Soldiers he had none at all) *Alphonso Bassano*, who was sent out with 53 Ships to convoy home the American-Fleet, attack'd him so unexpectedly, that *Howard* in the Admiral, and the rest of the English Ships, had much ado to get out to Sea. Sir *Richard Grenvil* in the Vice-Admiral, call'd the *Revenge*, as he staid behind to call his Men back out of the Island, and out of a rash piece of Bravery, would not suffer 'em to sail, was pent in between the Island and the Spanish Fleet, which was divided into four Squadrons; one of which he resolutely attempted to break through: The Spanish Admiral, nam'd the *St. Philip*, got to Windward of him, and ply'd hard on one side, and three Ships more from other Parts as warmly entertain'd him on the other; the Spaniards often boarded him, and were as often beat off and thrown overboard, and fighting the whole Night with fresh Recruits from their Fleet, they lost a vast number of Men. The English now began to want Powder, besides which their Pikes were broke, all their bravest Men either kill'd or wounded, their Masts split, and their Rigging damag'd, the Ship batter'd with 800 great Shot, and *Grenvil* himself wounded, and whilst the Wound was dressing, shot again a second time, and the Surgeon slain by his side. By break of day, the Hatches appear'd all over Blood, and the vast shoal of Carcasses, and Men half dead that lay scatter'd up and down, presented a very lamentable Spectacle to those who were left alive. After a Fight of 15 Hours, *Grenvil*, being now past all hopes of Life, order'd the Ship to be sunk. The Master countermanded it, and by consent of the major Part, got into the Boat and yielded themselves to the Admiral, on composition for their Lives and Liberties. *Grenvil* being now almost at his last Breath, was convey'd into the Spanish Admiral, and died within two Days, with high Commendations, even from his Enemies, of his Conduct and Bravery. The Ship was surrender'd; but being shot through her Keel in several places, she

1591. *Ann. 34.* shortly after sunk in a Storm, with 200 Spaniards on board her, and so did some other Vessels; so that it may be said, the *Revenge* made good its Name, and forc'd the Spaniards to pay dear for this new Victory.

In the mean while *Howard*, depending more on his Courage than Strength, had a great mind to venture into the midst of the Enemy's Fleet; but so far was the Matter from consenting to it, that he said he would first leap overboard, before the Queen's Ship should be expos'd to so palpable an Hazard; nor did the rest think it proper to fight against such apparent Odds and Danger, and with little or no Probability of rescuing their Friends: For, to venture 5 Ships against 53 of the Enemy's, besides the Extravagance of the Action, would, in their opinion, be nothing else but to augment the Glory of Spain, by weakning England, and at the Expence of a great many Lives besides. However, he and the rest, especially Sir *Thomas Vaux*, (who assisted the *Revenge* for two Hours together) fought bravely as long as they had the advantage of the Wind, and did all that could be expected from Men of Courage, till the Night parted them.

The English made themselves an ample amends for the loss of the *Revenge*, by taking several Spanish Ships; in one of which were seiz'd about 20000 Indulgences, design'd for America, and a rich Treasure besides; the Indians, it seems, being forced to purchase their Pardons at a yearly Rate, by which the King of Spain's Coffers are fill'd, and good Grift carried to the Pope's Mill.

George Riman, a stout and able Seaman, and *James Lancaster*, made about this time a Voyage to the East-Indies, and had the good fortune to double the Cape of Good Hope. At *Cabo Corriente* the Admiral was cast away, and *Riman* in her; and not long after there was a mighty Thunder-Storm, and four of the Seamen, who were in the other Vessels, had their Necks so distorted by the force of the Lightning, that they instantly died, and above ninety were struck Blind, and others lame, besides some who were seiz'd with horrible Pains, who yet recover'd all of them to a miracle, and resolutely kept on their Voyage. At the Isle of *Comoro*, 30 of them and the Master were murder'd by the Barbarians, as they stopt to take in fresh Water; and at *Zanzibar* they winter'd.

Towards the Spring, they took some Turkish Vessels belonging to *Pegu* with Wooden Anchors, and some Portuguese likewise laden with Pepper and Rice.

After this, they sail'd to Zealand, and so to *Nicubar*, an Island that abounds in Cinamon and Diamonds. And finding they had but 33 of their Crew left alive, and that their Provision grew short, they steer'd their course homewards. At the Isle of *St. Helen* they got some Refreshment; and leaving that, they were driven to *Trinidad*, where they met with poor Comfort and hungry Entertainment. At last they met with *Charles Barbotier* a Frenchman, whom gave 'em some Relief; but was treated by them not with that Candor and Fairness he had reason to expect, but as Seamen use to do when they are half starv'd and long for plunder; tho' he prov'd at last too cunning for them, and prevented their Designs. Afterwards, as *Lancaster* was refreshing himself with some of his Men in the Island of *Mone*, near *Hispaniola*, the Ship was driven away by a Storm, and not above seven distress'd Persons in her, but got home safe and very rich, leaving behind them their Companions in great Misery and Distress, who afterwards by the Civility of some Frenchmen

1591. *Ann. 34.* The *Revenge* sinks.

Spanish Ships taken.

A Voyage to the East Indies.

The Admiral cast away.

Frenchmen were brought home, and had the Reputation of being the first that taught their Countrymen the method of Trading in the East-Indies.

In the mean time *Thomas Cavendish* having sailed round the Globe, and return'd home with Honour *An. 1578*, undertook this Year a Voyage to the Strait of *Magellan*, which not being able to pass by reason of bad Weather, and contrary Winds, he was driven back to the Coasts of *Brazil*, and there died an untimely Death, taxing *John Davies* with his last Breath for having basely deserted him.

The War now growing hot, there was issued a Proclamation, forbidding any Person, upon pain of Treason, to carry Grain, Ammunition, or any kind of Naval-Stores, into the King of Spain's Dominions: And this Reason was alledg'd, That he, being the declar'd Enemy of England, had refus'd to ratify the ancient Treaties between their Predecessors.

And forasmuch as English Priests began about this time to convey themselves privately into England from the Popish Seminaries abroad, in greater clusters than they used formerly, (the Spanish King having lately founded an English Cloister at *Valladolid*) and endeavour'd to bring off the Queen's Subjects from their Allegiance, and draw em over to the Spaniards Party: There was publish'd a Proclamation in October; That no Man should harbour any Person whatever, except he first enquir'd who he was, whether he frequented the Service of the Church, what Estate he liv'd upon, where he resided the Year before, and other Circumstances of the like kind. That whoever could not readily answer to these Queries, should be sent to the Justices of Peace, appointed in every County, that so the Government might suffer no Prejudice.

This Proclamation being somewhat harsh and severe, occasion'd the Papists to put out several Pamphlets full of biting Reflections upon the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, as the suppos'd Author thereof. In which, however, they bestow'd high Commendations on Sir *Christopher Hatton*, as a Person better affected to their Interest, and who was of opinion, that Religion was not to be propagated by Fire and Sword: But it pleas'd God that he died of a *Diabetes* the very day before this Proclamation was put out; and 'twas thought his Distemper was heightned by the Regret he conceiv'd at the Queen's demanding from him a large Sum of Money in consideration of the Tenth and First-Fruits of which he had the Management; which Sum he hop'd would be remitted, as he was so great a Favourite with her Majesty: But when she had once sunk his Spirits by an unkind Expression, all that she could do by Visits or any other methods to raise them again, was to no purpose. He was born of a Family in *Northamptonshire* more Ancient than Rich. And being a young Gentleman, tall, handfom and well-shap'd, he so wrought himself into the Affections of Queen *Elizabeth*, that she made him one of her Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, which were fifty in number; and afterwards, for his modest and courteous Behaviour, she admitted him a Gentleman of her Privy-Chamber, made him Captain of her Guard, Vice-Chamberlain and one of her Privy-Council, and, to crown her Favours, made him in the last place Lord-Chancellor of England and Knight of the Garter.

He was a Person Pious and Charitable, a great Patron of Learning and good Sense, and for that reason chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. And he was one that manag'd that weighty Post of Lord-Chancellor with that Equi-

ty and Clearness of Principle, as to be able to satisfy his Conscience, and the World too. His Funeral was solemniz'd with a due and decent Magnificence in *St. Paul's*, and *William Newport*, his Nephew by his Sister, whom he had adopted his Heir, by the Name of *Hatton*, erected a stately Monument for him.

The Great Seal was for some time lodg'd in the Hands of the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Cobham* and the Lord *Buckhurst*, and some time after deliver'd to *John Puckering* the Queen's Serjeant at Law, tho' not with the Title of Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal.

Now came on the Trial of *Brian O-Rork* in *Westminster-Hall*. He was a powerful Lord of *Brenny* in *Ireland*, very much in the Spanish Interest, and was the last Year deliver'd up by the K. of *Scots*, and sent into England, as I said before. He was impeached for having stirr'd up *Alexander Mac-Conel* and others against the Queen: For ordering her Majesty's Picture to be hung at an Horse's Tail, and carried about the Streets in contempt, and at last cut in pieces: That he had shelter'd in his House several Spaniards that were Shipwreck'd, contrary to the Lord-Deputy's Proclamation: That he had set his Instruments to burn down the Houses of several of the Queen's good Subjects, and had murder'd others; and had made an Offer of *Ireland* to the King of *Scots*. When this Indictment was explain'd to him by an Interpreter, (for he did not understand English) he was so strangely Insolent, as to refuse submitting himself to a Trial by twelve Men, unless a longer time were allow'd him, and good Council also appointed him. And he demanded likewise, that the Impeachments sent out of *Ireland*, might be deliver'd into his Hands, and the Queen herself manage the Trial in Person. When the Lord-Chief-Justice had answer'd him by an Interpreter, 'That if he refus'd in plain terms to take his Trial by a Jury of twelve Men, they were oblig'd however, by the Laws of England, to bring in their Verdict according to the Articles of the Indictment; he made no other answer than this, That they might even do as they pleas'd. Sentence of Death being pass'd upon him, he suffer'd as a Traitor some Days after at *Tyburn*, without the least touch of Remorse for his Crime, but ridicul'd *Meilery Creab* Archbishop of *Cassils*, (who ministr'd Advice and Comfort to him in the Irish Tongue) and charg'd him as a Man of unsteady Principles and a lewd Life, calling him a kind of Apostate from the *Franciscan-Order*.

This Year her Majesty (to her immortal Honour) founded a College at *Dublin*, the Metropolis of *Ireland*, and dedicated it to the Holy and Undivided Trinity; for the Advancement of Learning. 'Twas built in the very same place where the Monastery of *All-Saints* stood formerly, and endow'd with the usual Privileges belonging to Universities; of Teaching, Reading, and Conferring honorary Titles or Degrees upon Men of Learning: (the same thing that the Pope had done for this Place, about the Year 1320.) This the Queen did, to propagate Piety and good Manners through the whole Island, and to ease the Inhabitants of a great Expence in sending their Children to a great Distance, for the Advantage of Education.

Not long before this, *Hugh O-Donell*, whom Sir *John Perott*, the Lord-Deputy, had secur'd on board a Ship, and afterwards confin'd in the Castle of *Dublin*, to prevent his raising any new Commotions; got out of Prison, and sent the Lord-Deputy Word, that his Father had con-

A Proclamation against Seminaries.

The death of Chancellor Hatton.

Hang'd.

An Univer-
sity erect'd at
Dublin.

1591. sign'd to him the Authority of O-Donell, viz. the Government of Tir-Conell: And from that Instant he began to rebel in Ireland, as Bothwell did in Scotland. Of whom it may not be amiss to add a Word or two, (tho' it may seem a Digression, to meddle with the Affairs of Scotland) because these Matters are so link'd and twisted with the Transactions here at home, that they will give Light to the following History, which would otherwise appear more difficult and perplex'd.

Bothwell having been charged with dealing in Witchcraft, had now broke out of Prison, and maintaining a most implacable Hatred against Maitland, the Lord-Chancellor; whom he suspected as the principal Party in his Impeachment; and having a Mind likewise to get both him and the King into his power, about the end of December he broke into the King's Palace at Edinburgh, and with a Party of English and Scotch Borderers, attempted to force open the Queen's Chamber, to fire the King's Lodgings, and to seize upon the Lord-Chancellor's House all at the same time: But he was soon repuls'd and put to flight by the Citizens that gather'd together upon this occasion. Some of his Followers were hanged for their pains, and the Hammer was fix'd to the Queen's Chamber-door in remembrance of the Fact.

1592.

The Five and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

The beginning of this Year, the King by Proclamation declar'd, that Bothwell was the Author of this bold and dangerous Attempt: That he was moreover so entirely abandon'd to Vice, and lost to all sense of Vertue, as through an insolent Pride to trample on the Laws of God and Man: That since his return from Italy, he had been at the bottom of all Commotions, whether he were directly concern'd in 'em or not: That he had barbarously murder'd David Humes, and receiv'd his Pardon for that Crime; but that he now defied the Laws, and seem'd to take Sanctuary in repeated Villanies; and so much the more, because an Italian Wizard had told him, That he was in danger of receiving a just Fate from the Anger of his provok'd Prince: That his Apprehensions grew upon him after the murder of William Stuart of Achilre, the King's Servant: That from that time he began to herd with a Gang of loose and profligate Fellows, as bad as himself: That he conspir'd with the Pope and the Spanish King to ruin both Kingdoms: That he afterwards join'd with those, who out of a private Grudge had taken up Arms against some Courtiers, at Deeburgh, a place far distant from the Court: That as soon as the King began his March, they threw down their Arms; but that he himself encamp'd near Edinburgh, the King's Residence, intercepted several Persons, and did not withdraw till the King was in the Field just ready to engage him: That not long after, he applied himself to the Black-Art, and consult'd with Necromancers and Witches, how to take the King off when he was in Denmark, out of a Consciousness of his Guilt, and the Hopes he had conceiv'd of escaping Scot-free, and securing the Crown to himself: That being hereupon cast into Prison, and just upon his Enlargement on certain Terms and Conditions, his Conscience stung him to that degree, that he broke the Prison, and getting together a Gang of desperate Debauchees, attack'd the King's Palace with no other design than to tyrannize with more Security when he had murder'd the King's Person, and in him the Laws of the

Land: That he made a very strict search for the King, set his Chamber-door on fire, attempted to force open the Queen's Lodgings with an Hammer, slew some of the King's Servants, and wounded others, and all this out of pure Malice to the King. The King therefore commanded, that no Man should harbour or relieve him or his Accomplices, upon such Pains and Penalties as are allotted to the Receivers and Harbourers of Traitors.

I shall refer it to the Scottish History, which is chiefly concern'd in the Relation, to give an Account of the Earl of Huntley's pursuing him, authoriz'd by this Proclamation, and the Chancellor's Instigation; how he assaulted Murray's House, who had conceal'd Bothwell; how Murray was slain and Huntley imprison'd for the Fact, and in a short time bail'd out on Security given for his Appearance at his Trial; of his return home afterwards, and the insolent and rude Treatment he there met with from the Clan-Huttons and Murray's Friends, who seem'd resolv'd upon a Revenge. However, it will be of use in pursuing the Thread of our English History to touch upon the following Particulars.

Bothwell having got together a loose Gang of Fellows from the Borders, and out of England, where he had for some time skulk'd, return'd into Scotland, and once more outrag'd the King, in the Month of June, at his House at Falkland, but with the same Success as before: For no sooner did the Courtiers oppose him, but he fled into England as fast as his Fears could drive him. The Chancellor however was remov'd from Court upon his Friend's Solicitations. In the mean while, the Jesuits were every-where very Industrious with the Nobles to advance the Romish Interest: And the Clergy at the same time, for the defence and preservation of their Religion, prefer'd a Bill in Parliament, 'To have all those excommunicated who refus'd to join in the Service of the Kirk of Scotland; and if they continu'd obstinate the space of a Year, that their Lands and Chattels should be forfeited during their Lives.

Amongst the excommunicated Party was one George Kerr, a Doctor of Law, who designing before the Year's end to travel into Spain, was so closely and briskly pursued by the Clergy, that they took him just as he was ready to go on Board; and in their search of his Things they found several Blanks, some in the form of Letters Missive directed to the King of Spain, others relating to private Leagues, and every one of them subscrib'd and sign'd with the Names and Seals of William Earl of Angus, George E. of Huntley, Francis Earl of Aroll, and Patrick Gourdon of Achindon: But these Circumstances will be better left to the Scotch Writers, who are more fully acquainted with 'em.

'Tis now time to return to the Affairs of England; for never was Ireland in a more compos'd State. However a very exact Enquiry was made all the Island over into the Life and Morals of Sir John Perrot, the late Lord-Deputy, who was chose one of the Queen's Privy-Council for the faithful and honourable Discharge of his Trust there. But the Lord-Chancellor Hatton, who had a Creature of his own to prefer, and other of Perrot's Enemies at Court, spar'd no pains to get him out of his Place, under pretence of his being a very proud Man; and so far the matter went, that having got one or two Irish Evidences to inform against him, he was brought to his Trial, in April, tho' the Lord Hatton was dead, and Burleigh us'd all possible means to prevent it. The Commissioners were Henry Lord Hunsdon, Thomas Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil the Lord Burleighs

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He mo-
lets the
Court
again.

An enqui-
ry after
Sir John
Perrot's
Life.

His Trial.

1592. *Burleigh's Son*, (who being a Gentleman of promising Parts, was of late an Assistant to his Father in State-Matters, and made a Privy-Counsellor) besides Sir *John Fortescue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and some other Justices.

His Cha^{ge}. He was impeach'd in the first place, 'for having abused the Queen's Person, by contumelious Expressions; saying, that she was illegitimate, inquisitive, and faint-hearted: That she was no Lover of Soldiers, and had hinder'd him from reducing *Ulster*; and that one time or other she would want his Assistance. Secondly, 'That he had foster'd and reliev'd Popish Priests, and notorious Traitors. Thirdly, 'That he had held private Correspondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queen's Enemies. Fourthly, 'That he had fomented the Comotions rais'd by *O-Rorke*, and those of the Clan 'of *Burgh*.

& Answ. He did not deny, but that he had thrown out some reflecting Words upon the Queen's Person, but alledg'd that those Expressions proceeded not from Want of a just Regard for the Queen. He profess'd himself to be very much concern'd, that through an indiscreet Passion he should ever let fall such Expressions; the Occasion of which was, his being hinder'd from carrying on the good Designs he had began in *Ireland*. As for the rest of the Charge, it being neither made out by clear Proof, nor competent Witnesses, he got clear of it, as a Person no ways deserving the Character of being a Friend to Popery.

Amongst the Witnesses that appear'd against him, was *Philip Williams*, formerly his Secretary; *Dionysie O-Roghan*, an Irish marry'd Priest, to whom he had given a Pardon for Life, after having counterfeited his Hand, in hopes of discovering the Practices of the Priests through his means; and last of all, *Walton*, a Man of stain'd Reputation. After he had maintain'd stoutly his own Charge against *Popham* the Queen's Attorney, and the other Council, till Eleven at Night; he was by the Jury brought in guilty of Treason: But the Sentence of Death was deferr'd till another day; which it being absolutely necessary to pass in Form of Law, at the Instigation of his Enemies, it was pronounced about twenty days after; and a Report went, that *Burleigh* shed Tears at the same time, for the unhappy Fate of that Gentleman, and said, with a Sigh, *That the more unjust any Man's Malice is, so much the more keen and barbarous 'tis of Course*. *O-Roghan* the Priest had a Pension of 40 l. per ann. assign'd him. As for *Perott*, he fell sick in the Tower, and died in September; when he had hopes of Life, through the Queen's Clemency, who was now appeas'd. Hereupon she was often heard to applaud that Rescript of *Theodosius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*: *If any Person speak ill of the Emperor, through a foolish Rashness and Inadvertency, it is to be despised; if out of Madness, it deserves Pity; if from Malice and Aversion, it calls for Mercy*.

Perott dies in the Tower.

His Estate went, by the Queen's Favour, (as he had formerly settled it) to his Son, who marry'd the Earl of *Essex's* Sister. Thus did a Gentleman, otherwise very well deserving, occasion his own Ruin, by the ill Management of his Tongue. For sure it is, that reflecting Speeches cannot but leave a scurvy Tincture of Repentment on the Minds of Princes.

We have formerly observ'd, that the French King encamp'd the last Year, when cold Weather came on, against *Rouen*, with the English Auxiliaries under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*; and there he winter'd, inconveniently enough, with the small Forces he had. On the Approach of the Spring, when the King had pretty well fatigu'd himself with the Hardships of a Winter-

Siege, and finding himself not strong enough to take so well fortify'd a City; he forbore making any nearer Approaches, (tho' he had a Supply of 2000 fresh Men from *England*) and made no farther Attempts: Nor would he listen to *Essex*, who being led on by a Desire of Glory, undertook to make a Breach, and enter the City with the English Forces. (But the Truth is, the French were too cautious a People to expose a wealthy City, which they hoped in a short time to get into their own Hands, to be plunder'd by those of the English.) *Essex* despairing now of doing any great Feats, after he had (to no purpose) sent a Challenge to *Villars*, the Governour of *Rouen*, to fight him singly; left the Care of his Men to Sir *Roger Williams*, and took leave of the French King, in order to return for *England*. For the Queen call'd him home, and his Friends acquainted him, that his Enemies at Court had possess'd the Queen against him, and made their Advantage of his Absence. Within a few days after, the French King himself was forced to break up this tedious Siege; his Men daily revolting from him, the Enemy making frequent Sallies, and the Prince of *Parma* being just ready to attack him: Wherefore he left some of his Forces in the Camp, and return'd with the rest to *Diep*. The Prince of *Parma* was now a second time invited into *France*, by those of the Association; and he and his Son *Rainutio* brought an Army thither once more; and making a Feint, as if he design'd the Relief of the Garrison in *Chaumont*, they took *Chateau-Neuf*. After this he had good Success in a small Skirmish with the King's Horse at *Aumarle*, which animated the People of *Rouen* to that degree, that they made a Sally, fell on the King's Camp, and seiz'd his Ordnance. *Parma* return'd after this to *Abbeville*, as if with an Intention to go home; and the King supposing he had been gone, and being straitn'd for Provisions, brake up the Siege, and disbanded a great part of his Army: But the Prince of *Parma*, just nicking the Opportunity, carry'd on his Design with new Supplies, took *Candebeck*, and open'd the River *Seine*, for a Conveyance of Provisions to the City, which was now half-famish'd. His Entrance into *Rouen* flush'd and harden'd the Rebels; but being too politick a Soldier to engage the Enemy, he soon return'd home, with the Loss of his Health, and a great Number of Men. How bravely the English behaved themselves on this occasion, when the Van of the Leaguers Army were beaten out of their Trenches, and routed at *Yvecourt*, the King himself was pleas'd to take Notice, in some Letters to the Queen, dated from *Viccarville*; wherein he applauded Sir *Roger Williams*, as a second *Cesar*, and bestow'd great Commendations on Sir *Matthew Morgan*.

The King being almost crush'd with the Weight of so tedious a War, was forced to apply once more to the Queen for fresh Recruits of Provision and 6000 Men, for the British Service. She agreed to furnish him with 4000, besides some Pieces of Ordnance; and hereupon enter'd into a Contract with *Beauvoir Noelle*, and *Sancy*, who were sent as Deputies from the King. The Conditions were: 'That the King should neither make Peace with the Associators, unless they first submitted themselves, and join'd with him in driving the Spaniards out of *France*; nor with the Spaniards, unless with her Consent: 'That he should put into the Hands of the English, whilst they were employ'd in *Bretagne*, a fortify'd Town, and some Haven for a Retreat: 'That he should add of his own 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse: 'That he should in a Years time repay the Charges of transporting the Forces, and all the Money which went to pay the Soldiers;

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Death of the Prince of Parma.

Rainio sent into America. Design fails.

Boroughs chases a Spanish Carack.

1592. Who break the conditions
 diers; and that this Contract should be recorded in the Chamber of Accounts. Hereupon Norris, who had been call'd home to inform the Queen of the State of things in *Bretagne*, was sent again thither in *October*: Where the *French* not joining with him, according to Promise, but instead of that, sending him from thence from place to place, and ordering his Forces into *La-Main* and *Normandy*; (whilst the *Spaniards* in the mean time fortify'd themselves in *Bretagne*) The Queen resented it very highly, and often demanded the Performance of Conditions; tho' to no purpose. And she had probably call'd her Men home, but that she was certainly inform'd, that the Prince of *Parma* had a Design of making a third Expedition into *France*, with Recruits for the *Spanish Army* in *Bretagne*, and in order to secure the Sea-Ports there.

Death of the Prince of Parma.
 But during his Preparations for this Descent, he was taken away by Death, having been fourteen Years the King of *Spain's* Vice-Roy in the Government of the *Netherlands*. He was a Prince that had all the Accomplishments fit for a General, and had deserv'd the highest Love and Respect, even from his Enemies. Queen *Elizabeth* never named him but with great Regard and Commendation; but yet with so prudent a Reserve, that her Praises might no way turn to his Prejudice.

Raleigh sent into America, Design fails.
 The Queen, in the mean time, who knew very well, that the King of *Spain* advanced his Arms, not so much by the Strength of his Country, as the Advantage of the *American Gold*, which let him into the Cabinets of Princes, debauch'd their Councils, and stole away the Honesty of their Subjects; resolv'd to send Sir *Walter Raleigh* into *America*, with 15 Men of War, to seize on *Panama*, whither the Gold is brought, to be put on board; or else to intercept the *Spanish Fleet*. But having the ill Fortune to be detain'd in Port, for three Months together, by contrary Winds, he set sail a little too late: Having pass'd Cape *Finistre*, or the Land's-End, he receiv'd a most certain Account, that the King of *Spain* had given positive Orders, that not a Ship should sail from *America* this Year. Shortly after, the *English Fleet* was separated by a violent Storm, and they lost their Long-boats; so that his Project was quash'd: and he, designing to return, divided his Fleet into two Squadrons; one of which he entrusted to Sir *John Borrough's* second Son, and the other to Sir *Martin Forbisher*. He order'd Sir *Martin* to cruise upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and to prevent any Ships from coming into Harbour: And he commanded Sir *John Borroughs* to wait at the *Azores*, to surprize the Caracks that came from the *East-Indies*. And this Attempt was not altogether without Success; for the *Spanish Admiral* was most intent upon *Forbisher*, and neglected the Safety of the Caracks. *Borroughs*, besides that he took some small Vessels from the *Spaniards*, and escaped a very notable Danger, by his Conduct and Courage, being hemm'd in between the *Spanish Shoar* and the Enemy's Fleet; arriv'd safely at *Sancta Cruce*, a small Town in the Isle of *Flores*; and in a few days got Sight of a *Spanish Carack*, which was chased by three *English Ships*, under Command of the Earl of *Cumberland*, and very likely to fall into their Hands, but that they were becalm'd and could not come up with her: A Storm, however, arose in the Night, which obliged both the *English* and *Portuguese* to weigh Anchor. At break of day, the *English* observ'd, that the *Portuguese* were unlading the Carack in a great Hurry, at the *Flores*; and upon the Approach of the *English* they immediately set her on fire. *Borroughs* being inform'd by one or two Prisoners he had taken,

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 ken, that there were other larger Caracks behind, ranged what Ships he had for two Leagues together, near the Island, and spread them to such a Latitude, as that they could easily discern whatever was around them, at a great Distance. They had not tarry'd long, before a large Carack, call'd the *Mother of God*, which was 165 Foot from Stem to Stern, and a seven-deck'd Ship, came in Sight, most richly laden, and with 600 Men on board.

The *English* play'd furiously upon her with their great Guns, and fired in Broad-sides upon her, being animated with the Hopes of a considerable Prize: But they soon sheer'd off again, being something surpriz'd at the Talness of the Ship, and the Number of Men to defend her; till Sir *Robert Cross* laid the Queen's Ship, call'd the *Providence*, athwart her Stern, and stood the Brunt singly for three Hours together: After which, the other Ships ply'd her so warmly, especially at the Stern, that no Man had the Courage to stand at the Helm any longer. The first that boarded her was *Cross* himself, follow'd by several others. The Victory obtain'd, they found every Place full of slaughter'd Bodies, and a confused Heap of dead and dying Men, which with the main'd and wounded, who lay every where scatter'd up and down, made a very lamentable Spectacle: so that the very Sight inclin'd them to use their Success with Clemency and Moderation. The Prize, when 'twas brought home, was valued (on Report) at 150000 *l.* Sterling; besides what the Officers and Seamen had pilfer'd and got into their own Clutches. But although Commissioners were appointed to make strict Search after the Men and Goods, as having stoln the Custom; and a Proclamation was issu'd out, as several others had been before, that they should produce the Goods they had purloin'd or convey'd away, upon pain of being prosecuted as Thieves and Pirates; yet did they manage the Roguery too dexterously for the Commissioners Care, or the Rigour of the Proclamation to lay any hold upon 'em: for they forswore the Fact, and that secured them. And they were observ'd to say, *That they had rather trust a merciful God with their Souls, tho' stain'd with Perjury; than venture their Money, which they had got with so much Danger and Pains, into the Hands of unmerciful Men.*

Nor was the Dishonesty of some particular Merchants less infamous, who, upon the breaking out of a dangerous War between *Spain* and *England*, (tho' not yet declared) privately furnish'd the *Spaniards* with Brass and Iron Guns for their Shipping; which the Queen being made sensible of, prohibited the Exportation of them, under such Penalties, as are due to those who aid and assist the Enemies of their Country: and withal, she forbid the Iron-workers from that time forward to cast any Ordnance bigger than those we call Minions, and those not above sixteen thousand Pound Weight.

The Queen, in her Summer-Progress, pass'd through *Oxford*, and stay'd there several days; where she was agreeably entertain'd with elegant Speeches, Plays, and Disputations; and receiv'd a splendid Treat from the Lord *Buckhurst*, Chancellor of the University. At her Departure she took her leave of them in a *Latin Oration*, whereby she let them know, that she prefer'd the sincere and cordial Respects of that learned Body, to all their Entertainments; tho' they too were very acceptable to her. She return'd 'em abundance of Thanks for their Civility, made a short Prayer, and left some good Advice with them. Her Prayer was, that as she desired nothing more earnestly, than the Safety, Honor and Happiness of the whole Kingdom; so, that the University

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Ann. 35. (which was one of the Lights thereof) might flourish and rise up every day to a greater Lustre: Then for her Advice, it was this, that they would in the first place be careful to serve God, not with the novel and fantastical Devotion practis'd by some, but according to the Laws of God and the Land: That they would not outrun the Laws, but follow them; nor dispute the Fitness and Authority of them; but sincerely obey those that were in Force, and submit to their Superiours: And, in the last place, that they would preserve Peace, Union and good Agreement among themselves.

There was both this Summer, and the last, so great a Drought all England over; that the Fields were burnt, and the Fountains dry'd up, and a great many Beasts perish'd every where for want of Water. The Thames likewise, the noblest River of all Britain, and which has as full and large a Tide as any in Europe, (for it flows twice a day above 60 Miles from the Mouth of it, and receives an Increase from the Mixture of many other Streams and Rivers with it) was however sunk to that degree, (to the Wonder of all Men) on the 5th of September; that a Man might ride over it near London-Bridge; so shallow was the Channel. Whether this Effect was owing to that Drought, or the Violence of a strong South-West-Wind, which blew hard for two Days together, and so drove the fresh Waters upwards, and kept back the Sea-Tide at the same time, I cannot determine: especially the Moon being then at the Full, and Southerly, and the Sun near the Equinoctial; at which Season Seamen have remark'd, that there are the highest Tides in the River Thames. Some there were, who maintain'd from Philosophy, that this was occasion'd by some occult Quality in Nature; and affirm'd, 'That as a Quartan Ague returns precisely at its Hour, as the Gout observes its Time, as a Purgation keeps a stated Period, unless some Impediment be in the Way; and as the *Fetus* is ripe at its Month: so have the Waters certain Spaces and Distances for their ebbing and flowing: But some being lesser than others, are therefore the more easily observ'd; though the greater are no less certain than the other. Nor is this to be wonder'd at, when we see, the whole Order and Course of Nature turns, upon set and determinate Seasons. The Winter has never yet miscarry'd, and the Summer-Heat has return'd in its Season: The Spring and Fall succeed one another as they us'd to do; and the Solstice and Equinoctial keep their exact Times and Measures. There are likewise some Laws and Periods in the subterranean World; which tho' we know little of, yet are they as fix'd as the Center of it. We may easily conceive, that the same Cause which governs the visible Earth, is observ'd in Proportion, in the Regions beneath it.

L. Montacute dies. This Year died *Anthony Brown Viscount Montacute*, (Son of *Anthony*, Master of the Queen's Horse, and Standard-Bearer of England) whom Queen *Mary* honour'd with this Title, because his Grand-mother was the Daughter and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill Marquess Montacute*. She likewise made him Knight of the Garter, and sent him to *Rome*, with some other Gentlemen, to tender Obedience to that See, in the Name and Behalf of the whole Kingdom. Queen *Elizabeth* having experienc'd his Loyalty, had a great Esteem for him, (tho' he was a stiff Romanist) and pay'd him a Visit some time before his Death: For she was sensible that his Regard for that Religion, was owing to his Cradle and Education, and proceeded rather from Principle, than Faction, as some People's Faith did. He

was succeeded by *Anthony*, his Grand-son, who very commendably follow'd the good Example set him by his Grand-father.

About the same time died *Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton*, who was likewise Knight of the Garter, and Warden of the West-March towards Scotland; a Person whom I have made frequent Mention of. He left for his Successor his Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Margaret Howard*, Sister to *Thomas*, the last Duke of Norfolk.

Nor must we forget Sir *Christopher Wray*, Lord Chief-Justice of the Queen's-Bench; a Person mention'd more than once already, and whose Memory is valuable upon the account of that profound Knowledge he had in the Law; as well as for the Probity of his Life and Actions. He was happy in his Family, and was a great Benefactor to *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*. He was succeeded in his Office by *John Popham*, the Queen's Attorney; a Person of a bitter Temper and censorious Disposition.

The Six and thirtieth Year of her Reign.

In February the Parliament met at *Westminster*, and made several good Laws, to restrain Dissenters, and Popish Recusants, denying themselves, and dissuading others from holding Communion with the Church of England; concerning the Revenues of Monasteries and other religious Houses granted to *Hen. VIII.* the Relief and Maintenance of Soldiers and Seamen; the not Building of any Houses, within three Miles of the City of London; and several other Matters. And when they had closely debated and weigh'd (as the Acts of Parliament themselves declare) how earnestly bent the Enemies of our Constitution were, upon the Ruin of England; having already subdu'd our confederated Forces in *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*, and seiz'd on all the Places that lay convenient for annoying England: they thought it proper to provide necessary Supplies to divert this impending Danger. Then, after bestowing large Encomiums upon the prudent and wise Conduct of a Maiden-Queen, temper'd with that affectionate Care and Regard for her Subjects; who had disburs'd so vast a Supply from her own Treasury, to carry on a War (with good and happy Success) against an opulent and potent Enemy; as none of her Ancestors had ever done before: and all this, without any burdensome Grants from her People; tho' she had occasion not only to act on the Defensive, but to assist and support her Allies: On this account, the Clergy freely and chearfully consented to advance two entire Subsidies, and the Laity three; together with six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid at a certain time or Date. But they humbly requested withal, That forasmuch as those Acts were to be kept upon Record, a *Carveat* might be enter'd in express Terms, that these large and unusual Grants, which were made to a most excellent Princess, on a most pressing and extraordinary occasion, might not at any time hereafter be drawn into a Precedent. The Queen coming into the House on the last Day of the Session, to give her Royal Assent and Confirmation to the Laws that were made; after a solemn Profession of her Love to her People, was pleas'd to make this Protestation, in the first place: 'That her first Care and Concern had ever been for the Advancement of God's Glory, and that of the Publick; and that she had apply'd her constant Endeavours to this end. She then represented, in a very few Words, but full of Weight and Sense, how free she had always been from Abjection or Despondency of Spirit, since having God and a good Conscience for

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Ann. 36. for her Security, she knew not how to fear the most powerful Enemies that could assault her. After this, to encourage her Subjects, she said a great deal of the Bravery of the English; and among other things, 'That their Enemies knew to their Cost, that the English Nation are embolden'd by a kind of Native Courage, to look Danger in the Face; as they had often prov'd, if they would not disguise the Matter; and would hereafter have occasion to do, to the still greater Advance of the English Glory and Honour. Let the English only look about them, and not suffer themselves to be surprized; and their Enemies would soon perceive, that it would cost them dear, to provoke a Nation so able to revenge its own Cause. She concluded with her Thanks for the Supplies of Money they had granted, and promis'd to employ all her Thoughts upon Religion, and the Care of her People'.

See the appendix. How just she was to the first Part of her Promise, the Care of Religion, you may learn from the Church-History of that time, in the Punishment she inflicted on Henry Barrow and his Followers, who began to disturb the Peace of the Church, by advancing monstrous Opinions, crying down the Church of England, and lessening the Queen's Prerogative in Matters Spiritual: And how well she acquitted herself as to the Civil State, will appear from what follows.

Barrow the great Sectary executed. The Queen took no less Pains to weaken and divert the Spaniards, and drive them out of Bretagne in France, than she did to keep them off from Scotland; being very much afraid, lest the Confusions which were on foot in that Kingdom, might open a Gap, to let in the Spaniards, to the absolute Destruction both of that and England. For she had not long since receiv'd most certain Intelligence, as I hinted before, that the Catholick Noblemen in Scotland had, by the Help of the Priests, conspired to let the Spaniards into Scotland, to change the Face of Religion there, and to invade England from that Quarter; and that Creighton the Jesuite, who was, by reason of his great Age, enlarged from his Confinement, upon giving his solemn Word, that he would attempt nothing against England, was, for that purpose, frequently dispatch'd into Holland and Spain. The Queen likewise readily foresaw, what an easie matter it would be, to debauch the common sort of People in the West of Scotland, being generally poor and indigent, by some round Offers of Spanish Gold. She likewise reflected what convenient Sea-ports they had in those Parts, from whence they might land their Forces without the least Opposition; what a warlike Nation it was, and how well provided with Cavalry; and how easily they might enter England from thence, as it were by a Back-door: Add to all this, that those of the English, who lie in the Neighbourhood of Scotland, were a sort of fickle and unsteady Subjects; most of them either Papists, or true Lovers of Change and Novelty, that subsisted upon bare Hope and Prospect: And then again, that the Assailants are generally more active and courageous, than those who are put upon the Defensive; because they seem to be reduced to the Cast of a Die, whether their Estates shall be their own, or not.

She sends to the K. The Queen therefore communicates all this to the King of Scots, and advises him to crush betimes the Power of those Scottish Nobles; to exercise his Royal Authority upon his seditious Subjects, and not shew himself as it were the Shadow of a King. He, for his part, was very well prepared to follow this Advice, and put out very severe Laws against the Catholicks and their Abettors, punish'd David Graham of Fentre, one

of the Association, and pursu'd and easily routed the Earls of Angus, Huntley, and Errol. In the mean while, Bothwell lay skulking in England, and sent fawning Letters to the Queen, (whose Favour he had very little deserv'd) back'd with large Promises, that were he once more re-admitted into his Prince's Favour, he would serve him most faithfully, and do his best to crush the Spanish Faction in Scotland: Wherefore he humbly intreated the Queen to mediate with the King his Master, for his Pardon. But she finding that the King very much stomach'd his being receiv'd in England, was so far incens'd at the Impudence of the Man, for daring to assault his Prince, God's Image and Vice-gerent, and to bring him into daily Fears and Apprehensions; that she sent the Lord Borough Ambassador into Scotland, to assure the King, in her Majesty's Name, that Bothwell had clandestinely stoln into England, and that she would certainly punish those that harbour'd or reliev'd him. His Commission was likewise to enflame the King yet farther against the Spanish Faction, and to set up an opposite Association of Protestants in Scotland, for the Preservation of the King's Person, and the joint Defence of the Religion of the Kingdom, against all foreign and seditious Attempts whatever: And this Association was enter'd into in a very short time after. Upon the King's Return from the North, the Lord Borough requested this of him in Writing: 'That he would please to certify the Queen of any Attempts or Designs the Spanish Faction might have upon England, and that he would be so just to protect the Crown from any Usurpations upon it: That if he could not do Justice on the Persons of those Traitors, he would at least confiscate their Estates: That he would admit none to his Council, but Persons of known and experienced Loyalty; and that he would inform the Queen of all these Particulars, under his own Hand, to make it appear to her and other Princes of the same Persuasion, what Care he had taken to oppose the common Enemy: And in the last place, that he would listen to an Accommodation with the Borderers. If he would consent to these Terms, he promis'd, that her Majesty would be wanting in no possible Service to him, and that she had already inflicted strict Penalties on those of her Subjects, that had conceal'd Bothwell.

To all this he answer'd severally, That he had already given the Queen Intimations of all that he knew of the Spaniards Designs: That he had pursu'd and manag'd the Rebels to the best advantage he could: That he had put some to Death, and fin'd others, and put Commissioners in possession of their Estates, and that he design'd to Outlaw them every one by an Act of Parliament: That after the Outlawry, he would dispose of their Estates: That he should choose of his Council Persons of Probity, who were sincerely affected to the Religion and Happiness of their Country: That he would ratify and confirm all this by a Writing under his own Hand: That as for the Borderers, and what related to them, he would be sure to observe the strictest measures he could; but that he thought it but reasonable that the Queen should advance Supplies for the carrying on of these Matters, and send her Assistance as well to the subduing the Spanish Faction, as the Rebels, who were now grown every way Formidable. He requir'd in the last place, That she would severely prosecute Bothwell's Abettors; and that she would deliver him up, where-ever he happen'd to be found in England, as an Instance of Treachery and Perfidiousness, which all Princes were oblig'd to

Queen's Demands.

King's Answer.

Bothwell demanded out of England.

1593. abhor and detest; and therefore he could not but
 Ann. 36. esteem them his utter Enemies, whoever they
 were, that gave the least Countenance to so pro-
 fess'd a Foe of his King and Country. Never-
 theless some *Scotchmen*, having possess'd the Q.
 that the King was favourably inclin'd to the Ca-
 tholick Peers in *Scotland*, she made answer to *Ro-*
bert Melvin, who came to demand *Bothwel*, and
 to ask some Aids against the Rebels, 'That *Both-*
wel should be surrender'd according to the Arti-
 cles of the former Treaties, or else banish'd out
 of *England*; and that as for Supplies, they were
 not, according to the purport of the Treaty,
 to be lent against any but Foreigners. However
 some Money was sent, and *Bothwel*, who had
 been declar'd a Traitor by the States of the Realm,
 being now return'd privately to those of his Par-
 ty, was conducted by his Friends as privately to
 the King's Chamber, where, to the King's great
 surprize, he threw himself on his Knees, cast his
 Sword on the Floor, and implor'd the King's
 Mercy and Pardon, which he obtain'd at last, at
 the Instance of those who were with him, and
 upon certain Conditions to be observ'd by him,
 viz. That he should immediately depart from the King's
 Presence: That he should be ready to answer the Charge
 of consulting with Wizards; and that he should at-
 tempt nothing against the King's Ministers. If he could
 not clear himself as to the point of dealing in Witchcraft,
 he should depart the Kingdom, and dispose of himself as
 the King should direct, and there stay during his Royal
 Pleasure.

He returns
into Scotl.

For all this, the Day after he had receiv'd his
 Pardon, he seiz'd forcibly on some of the King's
 Servants in the Court; and his Party was so
 prevalent there, that the King was not only
 oblig'd to restore both him and his Followers to
 the possession of their Estates, for his own and
 the Kingdoms present Safety, but to remove from
 Court his most faithful Friends, the Chancellor
 and the Treasurer, with the Lord *Humes*, and
George Humes.

The King
asserts his
authority

But now the King, having consider'd in the ve-
 ry Anguish of his Heart, what Concessions he
 had made, not only against his own Inclinations,
 but absolutely unworthy of the Royal Character,
 he declar'd openly in Parliament, 'That he could
 look on himself as no other than a Captive:
 'That he was evidently *Bothwel's* Prisoner; and,
 'That he could no longer endure that a muti-
 nous Subject should dare to Insult his Ministry,
 'after having had the Boldness to Outrage him
 'three several times within the Walls of his Pa-
 lace.

Upon this he got the States to declare him
 forthwith a Prince absolutely Free to exercise
 his Royal Power, and chuse what Ministers he
 thought fit. He then recall'd the Chancellor,
 and the rest of his Friends, to Court; and re-
 voked those Grants which he had so unwillingly
 made to *Bothwel*. But so merciful a Prince was
 he, as to forgive all the Crimes which that ill
 Man and his Accomplices had acted against him,
 and made them an Offer of their Estates too, if
 they would ask 'em in a suppliant manner, and
 keep peaceably at home, and not come to Court
 till they were call'd. As for *Bothwel*, he was to
 go beyond Sea within a prefix'd time, and to
 stay at some places of the King's Appointment,
 during his Pleasure: Such mighty Changes did
 so small a Time produce in the Court; and
Bothwel accordingly was banish'd for a little time;
 or, to speak more properly, withdrew himself
 to the Borders of *Scotland*, where he retir'd to
 brew new and greater Mischiefs. But neither
 did these Methods put an end to the Troubles in
Scotland; for the Clergy were very Angry, and
 miserably teaz'd the King for not prosecuting

Bothwel
banished.

the Catholicks with the utmost Severity; inso-
 much, that they join'd themselves in a Body,
 and without staying for the Royal Orders, they
 summon'd the Lords and Commons to a Con-
 vention, to prevent any Damage that might
 accrue to the State of the Church or King-
 dom.

About this time, there were publish'd in Ger-
 many several infamous Libels against the Queen;
 insinuating, That she had concern'd herself in
 stirring up the *Turk* to advance his Arms against
Christendom; and there were certain Letters pro-
 duced, which she had sent to the *Great Turk*, but
 with several malicious Alterations, and false and
 scandalous Additions. The Queen did so well
 justify her Honour from these slanderous Asper-
 sions, by a Message sent on purpose to the Em-
 peror, that the Pamphlets were call'd in, the
 Prints forbidden, and the Copies burnt at *Progne*,
 and she, for her part, us'd all her Endeavours
 against the *Turk*, as the Emperor readily and
 freely acknowledg'd. Nor indeed had she any
 thing to do with him, farther than to procure
 her Subjects a free Trade in his Country. To
 which purpose she settled an Agent at *Constanti-*
nople, to transact Business there at the Merchant's
 Cost; just the same as the *French*, the *Polanders*,
 the Republick of *Venice*, and other States, had
 done.

The next thing she did, was the taking upon
 her an honourable Umpirage, in mediating a
 Peace between the *Swede* and the *Moscovite*, and
 settling likewise a good Agreement between the
Turk and *Sigismund Bathor*, Prince or *Vairod* (as
 they call him) of *Transilvania*. For the *Turk*, it
 seems, exceeding the Limits which had been fix-
 ed by Compact, and imposing such Burdens, as
 did not only clash with the tenour of that, but
 which were really intollerable in themselves:
 The *Vairod* Address'd her Majesty by *Stephen Ka-*
kasy, That if she had any Regard for him, she
 would make use of her Interest in the *Turkish*
 Court, To put a stop to every sort of Breach or Vari-
 ation from the ancient Treaties, and to all Encroach-
 ments upon his Bounds and Possessions. This the
 Queen undertook, and happily effected, in con-
 sideration that 'twas a Christian People and
 Province which was concern'd, and as she al-
 ways lov'd to Succour and Relieve the Dis-
 tressed.

Norris spent an whole Winter the Year before
 in a vain Expectation of *Mareschal D'Aumont* and
Fr. Espinay of *St. Luke*, who promis'd to join him;
 in which time a Sickness swept away a great
 many of the *English*, and the Queen advanced a
 weekly Pay of above 3200 Pounds of *English*
 Money.

In *April*, *Espinay* joins his Forces, and routs
Ravender's, taking his Standard at *St. Suplice*;
Guersch was likewise forced to surrender, and the
 Troops of the Governor of *Laval* were entirely
 defeated and put to flight, but not without the
 loss of a great many Men, and among the rest,
Randolph, *Purley* and *Christmas*, brave Commanders
 on the *English* side. When *D'Aumont* still put off his
 coming into *Bretaign*, and no Place of Refuge
 was yet granted to the *English*, the Queen calls
Norris home; and *D'Aumont* on the other side
 presses hard for his stay, and makes repeated In-
 stances that some fresh Recruits should be sent
 over.

Whilst the Queen is assisting *France*, under the
 present Exigence and Difficulty of Affairs, at so
 vast an Expence, and with such an infinite Trou-
 ble to herself; there was a Report spread on a
 sudden all over *England*, That the King was ei-
 ther turn'd Catholick already, or else resolv'd to
 do so. Wherefore *Thomas Wilks* is dispatch'd a-
 way

French R.
learns to
the Ch. of
Rome.

way thither to learn the truth of the matter ; and if he had not yet chang'd his Religion, to dissuade him from a Revolt by the best Arguments he could use, and to put 'em in Writing. But before his Arrival, the King had made a solemn Profession of the Romish Faith at the Church of St. Denis ; tho' there were some of the religious Orders of that Church, that at the same time laid Snares for his Life. However he gave Wilks an ingenuous and clear Account of the Reasons inducing him to abjure his Religion, in Terms to this effect. ' As soon (says he) as I was made King of France, I took an Oath to learn the Principles of the Romish Religion within a certain time ; and this was the very Condition of my being admitted to the Crown. I have defer'd this Exercise these four Years, and was at last brought to it with some Reluctancy : For when the King, my Predecessor, was dead, I was under a kind of necessity to govern myself by the same Council and Ministry, and to take their Advices in all Matters of Debate ; and they made a shift to manage or forestall all the Measures I could think of taking against the Conspirators, by such kinds of Artifices and Agreements, as to leave them altogether fruitless and unsuccessful. As for the Protestants, who were the best Friends I had to advise with, they were seldom or never at the Council-Board, being so entirely taken up with Business of their own, that I was stript of those I had most reason to depend on, and was not without Apprehensions that the Romanists would desert me too ; so that I was forc'd to take up with their Directions in my own Defence. I do moreover solemnly protest, that as soon as I was call'd to the Government, Eight hundred Persons of Quality and nine Protestant Regiments revolted from me, and I could not preserve them on any Terms whatever ; so that I had none left about me, but a few of my Domesticks, and some Gentlemen of my Chamber. The Catholics, seeing me totally abandon'd by those of my own Persuasion, began to assume a Power, and press me to a Change of Principle ; affirming, that true Catholics could not, with any good Conscience, submit to an Heretick. Nevertheless I suspended the matter from one day to another, till they plainly discover'd my Weakness, and found it impossible for me, by the help of a few Friends, to be a match for the united Force of the Pope, the Leaguers, and the King of Spain ; till a third Cabal was patch'd up out of the Princes of the Blood-Royal, the Officers of the Crown, the Prelates, and several Noblemen, who began to form Measures with the Heads and Governments of Cities and Provinces, about deserting me, as a notorious Heretick, and sharing the Kingdom severally amongst themselves. When I could find no other way in the World to contravene the Projects of these Men, I gave 'em my Word, that I would inform myself in the Articles of the Romish Religion. They granted me a Month or two for my better Instruction ; and sent some Persons away to Rome to procure me an Absolution and formal Admission into the Church. Those of the Cabal, to prevent this, made all the dispatch they could toward the choosing another King. A great many Noblemen assisted the Pretensions of the Duke of Guise, on Condition he would secure to them and their Heirs the several Governments they were in possession of. For these Reasons I resolv'd, upon mature Deliberation, to embrace the Romish Religion. The Bishops however refus'd me Admission into the Church, with-

out the Pope's leave ; at least, till I had put them beyond all fear, that they might accept of my Conversion, without the least Enquiry or Hesitation. By this means, I gain'd over the third Faction to my Interest : I prevented the Duke of Guise his Election : I secur'd the Love and Respect of the French Nation, engag'd the Friendship and Service of the Great Duke of Florence, in Things of the nearest Concernment to me, and at the same time preserv'd the Reputation of the Reform'd Religion, which must needs have suffer'd greatly, had my Change proceeded upon Dispute or from Instruction.

The substance of this, was in the mean time communicated by Morley to the Queen, who endeavour'd to colour over the Aims and Inclinations of his Prince with as fair Representations as might be. But the Queen was very much disturb'd at the matter, and under those Resentments took up a Pen and wrote the King the following Lines.

'Tis hardly possible to express the extreme Grief and Dissatisfaction which has seiz'd me upon Morley's representation of Things. Good God ! what a miserable World do we live in ! Could I ever have thought, Sir, that any secular Consideration could have prevail'd with you to discard a just sense of God and his Fear ! Or, can you ever reasonably expect that Providence will grant this Change of yours an happy Issue ? Or, could you, when you entered on it, entertain a Jealousy, that the gracious Being, who had so long supported and preserv'd you, would fail and abandon you at last ? 'Tis, believe me, a dangerous Experiment, to do evil that good may come of it : But I hope you may be yet recover'd to a better Inclination, even the Spirit of a sound Mind. In the mean time, I shall not cease to recommend your Case to God in my daily Prayers, and earnestly to beseech him, that Esau's Hands may not pollute the Blessing and Birthright of Jacob. The promise you make of a sacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive myself to have deserv'd, and even earn'd at a vast Expence : But that I had not matter'd, had you still kept yourself the Son of the same Father. From henceforward I cannot look on myself as your Sister, in respect of our common Father, for I must and shall always pay a much greater Regard to Nature than Choice in that Relation : As I may appeal to that God, whom I beseech to recover you into the Path of a safer and sounder Judgment.

Subscribed,

Votre sœur, si ce soit
à la vieille mode,
avec Nouvelle je
n'ay que faire.

Elizabeth R.

Your Sister after the Old-
fashion'd way ; as for
Novelties, I have no
thing to do with 'em.

Elizabeth R.

The better to allay the Grief she lay under on this account, the Queen entertain'd herself with the sacred Scriptures, the Writings of the holy Fathers, and in frequent Conferences with the Archbishop : Perhaps she might consult also the Prescriptions of Philosophy on this Occasion. I am very assur'd, that about this time she employ'd herself in reading Boethius, of the Consolation of Philosophy, which she render'd into very elegant English.

She translates Boethius.

When, among other Particulars, Wilks did now intimate to the King of France, that he had not been so good as his Word in the Affairs of Bre-
taign : That D'Aumont's Delay was not only doubly

1593. Ann. 36. bly Prejudicial to the Queen, in the loss of her Men, and the expence of her Money, but insignificant in regard of himself; and that the Queen resolv'd not to augment or maintain any Forces in *Bretaign*, unless they had a Grant of some convenient place of Retreat. The King cast all the blame upon *D'Aumont's* Neglect, and promis'd to remedy those Inconveniences, and to provide a Place of Retreat, such as his Council should direct.

French K. excuses his breach of promise.

This he gave the Queen an account of by *Mouy*, a Person of Quality, and one of his Bed-Chamber; and acknowledg'd his Crown and Safety to be chiefly owing to her Majesty, and promis'd withal to send an Army into *Bretaign* as soon as the Treaty was concluded, and his Affairs dispatch'd.

Treaty between England & France.

In the mean time, a Treaty was made between him and the Queen at *Melun*, in the Month of *August*, under their Hands and Seals, and in the Faith and Word of Princes, to carry on a mutual War, Offensive and Defensive, against the King of *Spain*, as long as he should be at Variance with Either; and to make no Peace on either side, but by each others Consent, and so as both should be included therein.

However, *Bretaign* was altogether neglected, France being torn with miserable Convulsions at home, and the *English* could not possess either *Pimpol*, or the small Island of *Brebac*, with the Parts adjacent, for Quarters of Safety and Refreshment, but upon scurvy and dishonourable Conditions, viz. That they should not be allowed to put Garisons into them, or be quarter'd in any Priests or Gentlemens Houses. Nevertheless the States of *Bretaign* petition'd the Queen not to call home the *English* Troops, which had been before determin'd. And they obtain'd their Request: For the Forces were continu'd there, and winter'd after a wretched manner, in a parcel of small Villages, where they lay expos'd to the inclemency of a bad Air, and their Enemies Assaults into the bargain. (For all this while *Pimpol* was too small a Place to afford them all convenient Quarters). The Queen fail'd not in the mean while to acquaint the King, how much he was concern'd, in point of Interest, to preserve and defend the Sea-Coasts; which if once they should come into the Enemy's Possession, would prove an Inlet into his Kingdom, and hardly be recover'd without much Hazard and Difficulty. And she recommended the Protestant Religion, and its Professors, over and over, to his Care and Protection, by *Robert Sidney*. But when *Sidney* mention'd *Brest* as a Place of Retreat for the *English*, and a Cautionary-Town for the Money owing to the Queen, according to her own desire and inclination; he could not be prevail'd on to agree to it; for the *French* could not endure that the *English* should enjoy one Foot of *French* Ground, tho' it were in their Sea-Ports. Perhaps it was yet too fresh in their Memories, how the *English* setting out from those Ports in former Times, march'd through their whole Country with Triumph and Victory, and were not easily persuaded to quit their Possessions. Thus did the *French* practise that piece of Advice upon the *English*, which the Queen had directed them to use against the *Spaniard*.

Q. Eliz. recommends the Protestants to the Fr. K.

But to guard her own Subjects the better from the Insults of the *Spaniard*, she order'd a Garison to be kept in the Isles of *Silley*, and a Fort to be built in the Island of *St. Marie*, which was call'd *Stella Maria*, from the form of a Star which it represented. She likewise fortified *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, Islands that border upon *France*, and several other Places, at a vast Expence, and with a willing Mind, as bad and lowering as the Times were.

Isles in the British-Sea fortified.

For this whole Year the Sickness rag'd violently in *London*, *Saturn* passing through the extreme Parts of *Cancer* and the Head of *Leo*, as it did in the Year 1563, insomuch that when the Year came about there died of the Sickness and other Diseases in the City and Suburbs 17890 Persons, besides *William Roe* Mayor, and three Aldermen, so that *Bartholomew-Fair* was not kept, and *Michaelmas-Term* was held at *St. Albans* twenty Miles from *London*. At which place *Richard Hesketh* was condemn'd for Treason, and executed. He was employ'd by some outlaw'd *English*, to persuade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, whose Father *Henry* died just before, to make his Pretensions to the Crown by a Right deriv'd from his Great Grandmother *Mary*, Daughter of *Henry VII.* To assert which, he made round Promises of Supplies both of Men and Money, and threaten'd to make away the Earl in a very little time, if he did not listen to and conceal this Proposal: But the Earl, being now in fear of his Life, inform'd against *Hesketh*, who own'd the Fact before the Court, and inveigh'd against those who had given him this Council. However his Threatnings were too prophetically verified, for the Earl died about four Months after of a most lamentable sort of Death, as we shall shew in its place.

In the compass of this Year died those two noble Earls, and Knights of the Garter, *Henry Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, already mention'd, and *Henry Ratcliff* E. of *Suffex*, who made a quiet and peaceable Exit out of the World: The first was the Son of *Edward* by *Dorothy*, Daughter of *Thomas Howard* the first Duke of *Norfolk*; who begat *Margaret* the Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, by *Eleanor Brandon*, *Henry VIII.*'s Niece by his Sister the Lady *Mary*, *Ferdinand* and *William*, who both succeeded in their turns to his Title and Estate: The other was Governor of *Portsmouth*, and left but one Son behind him, viz. *Robert*, whom he had by *Hazora* the Daughter of *Anthony Pound*.

These Noblemen were accompanied into the other World by three worthy Lords, *Arthur Grey* L. Grey of *Wilton*, an excellent Soldier and Knight of the Garter, succeeded by his Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Jane Sybil Morison*: *Henry Lord Cromwell*, Nephew to the famous but unfortunate *Thomas* Earl of *Essex*, who was succeeded by his Son *Edward*, born of *Mary* the Daughter of *John Poulet* Marquis of *Winchester*; and also *Henry Lord Wentworth*, who had by *Ann Hopton*, *Thomas*, who was his Heir.

Nor must we omit to mention *Christopher Carleisle*, who paid the same just Tribute to Nature; a Person fam'd for his military Bravery both by Sea and Land, in *Holland*, *France*, *Ireland*, and in the *American* Parts, at *Carthage*, *St. Domingo*, &c. as I have already taken notice, An. 1585.

In *Ireland*, *O-Conor Dun*, *Mac-Davy*, *O-Brien*, great Men in the County of *Connaught*, and several others, made heavy Complaints for being unjustly prosecuted about Lands formerly appertaining to the *Mortimers* Earls of *March*, which they had usurp'd to themselves upon no better Claim than that of ancient Prescription. At the same time the leading Men of *Ulster*, who were jealous of coming under the Restraint of the *English* Laws, which would by degrees lessen their usurp'd Authority over the People, by parcelling out their Territories into Counties, (an Example of which they had already seen in *Monaghan*) began now to foment a Rebellion, which they had been a long time brooding: And to begin the Tumult, *Hugh O-Donel* seiz'd unawares upon the Castle of *Montross*. And now likewise broke out an unhappy Difference between the Earl of *Tir-Oen* and *Henry Bagnal*, Mareschal of the *Irish* Army,

A Quarrel between Tir-Oen & Bagnal in Ireland.

1593. Army, whose Sister the Earl had married by force. The Earl remonstrated before the Deputy, Chancellor and others, That all that Part of *Ulster* which he had reduc'd to their Allegiance, at the Expence of so much Sweat and Blood, was more at the Marshal's Service and Command, than his: That the Marshal had suborned a Pack of pitiful Fellows to accuse him of Treason, had incens'd the Lord-Deputy against him, laid Snares for his Life, and had basely misrepresented him to the Queen. The Marshal however found Credit in Court, till the Earl sent Letters into *England*, and offer'd himself to be tried either there or in *Ireland*. Certain it is however, that he, together with the Grandees of *Ulster*, were about this time engag'd in a private League, to support the Catholick Religion, (for now-a-days Religion is the ordinary Mask for Rebellion) as also to thrust the *English* Sheriffs and Garisons out of their Territories, to assert every Man their own Rights, and to revenge the Wrongs they had suffer'd from the *English*. *Mac-Guire*, a great Lord in *Fermanagh*, was the Person prevail'd on to give the next alarm. He was a Man turbulent and quarrellous, and his Complaint was, That the Lord-Deputy had given himself and his Friends a great deal of Interruption and Disturbance. On this Pretence, he falls a pillaging all the Country about, and enters *Connaught* with one *Gauran* a Priest, at his Heels; who being Ordain'd by his Holiness, Primate of *Ireland*, commanded the other to trust in God and push his Fortune; and withal, promis'd him a most infallible Victory. But it fell out otherwise; for *Mac-Guire* was routed by the Valour of *Richard Bingham*, and the Primate slain, with a great many more. Not long after, *Mac-Guire* breaks out into open Rebellion, and *Tir-Oen* pursuing him, like a good Subject, as he would be thought, receiv'd a Wound in the Skirmish, which got him the Reputation of a stout and loyal Man. *Dowdal*, a stout *English* Captain demolish'd *Iniskilling* in the Lake of *Erne*, which was the strongest Garison belonging to *Mac-Guire*, and slew the Centinels and Guards. About that time the Native *Irish*, who are generally false to the *English*, were form'd into Companies, and some of them had Commands. But the thing was ill manag'd, as wiser Heads judg'd then, and the *English* in general have experienc'd since.

Grandees of Ulster conspire against the English

Deputy; and after great Professions of his future Obedience and good Behaviour, return'd home.

The Seven and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

1594. Ann. 37.

The Queen promis'd herself an happy conclusion of that dark Conspiracy which was hatch'd in *Spain*, and broke out in *Ireland*, could she but once crush that open and barefac'd Faction which lorded it in *Scotland*. When therefore the King of *Scots* asked her Advice upon an Order made by the States of *Scotland*, for the Security of the Church and Kingdom, she dispatched *Edward Lord Zouch* into *Scotland*, to fix the Peers of the *English* Interest, and proceed with greater Rigour and Severity against those of the *Spanish* Faction, than was intended by that Act, forasmuch as it was notoriously known, that they frequented the Mass; that they harboured Jesuits and other Priests, and sent Blanks into *Spain* sign'd by their own Hands and Seals; and that the King of *Spain* flatter'd himself to subdue *England*, through their Assistance, by a Land-Battel, whereas he had in vain endeavour'd it by Sea.

L. Zouch sent into Scotland.

The King answer'd, that he would put the Laws in execution to the very utmost against those Catholicks; and if they would not be better advis'd, he would be sure to prosecute them till he had reduced them to Obedience, or driven them out of the Kingdom, provided the Queen, whose Interest was as much concerned as his, would lend her Assistance. When *Zouch* began to use more pressing Arguments for the Prosecution of this Party; the King demanded of him, whether he thought he was at the Beck of another? Or, whether the Queen took upon her to Direct how a Prince, absolute as he was, should govern his Kingdoms? However, he protested he would strenuously assert the established Religion, and preserve inviolably a good Agreement with the Queen. But he could not forbear complaining, that *Bothwell* a most pernicious Rebel, had been supported in *England*, whereas he was ready to deliver up some time since, the *Irish* Rebel *O-Rork* into the Queen's Hands.

The King's answer.

Nor was it long after that *Bothwell* made a new Effort of Sedition, and advanced against his Prince. Who were his Abettors, I leave the *Scotch* to tell. Most certain it is, that the prime Ministers of that Kingdom did frequently complain to the Queen, that their Prince was Partial on the Papists side. *Bothwell* having entred *Scotland* with 400 Horse from the Borders, came as far as *Leith* without any Resistance: Where he put out a specious Declaration, as Rebels use to do, and cloak'd his Treason under the following Pretences.

Bothwell rebels and Prints a Manifesto

' Forasmuch as the true Religion, the King's Safety and Honour, together with the Laws of the Land, the State itself, and the good Correspondence between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, are brought into Hazard by some bad Ministers, who have crept into the Government; and not only permit the Romish Priests to carry their Masses from Street to Street, but invite the *Spaniards* to Suppress the Church and State, and interrupt all good Agreement with the *English*: He therefore being with the Nobles, Lords and Burgeses Asssembled, to prevent these so great Inconveniences, had in the Fear of God, and out of a due Respect to his Prince, resolv'd to punish those evil Counsellors, till he had either brought them to a fair Trial, or expell'd them out of the Kingdom, and declar'd them to the World

In the mean while the Earl of *Tir-Oen* watching all Advantages, upon the Death of *Turlough-Leneigh*, who had possess'd the Title of *O-Neal*, makes bold to assume the same, tho' contrary to his Oath, and an Act of Treason, made on that account. But, who could forbear a Character, which in *Ireland* sounds bigger than that of *Cesar* itself? However, he takes the Honour with some Shiness at first, lest any of the Family of *O-Neal* should seize upon it; and he promises to throw it up, but begs heartily withal, that he may not be oblig'd by Oath to do it. After this, he seiz'd on the Sons of *Sban O-Oneal*, one or two of whom had got out of Custody through the Neglect of somebody or other, and refus'd to release them, tho' at the repeated Orders of the Lord-Deputy; for he knew their Power and Interest at home would prove too big and unweildy for his usurp'd Authority. Without taking therefore any farther notice, he falls to charging the Lord-Deputy with abundance of ill-will towards him, and complains heartily of the Injuries offer'd him by the Soldiers in Garison, and from the Marshal's Designs against him; which however he manag'd with that Art and Intricacy in a little time, that he seem'd to have forgot them all, and went and submitted himself to the Lord-

1594. Ann. 37. World the Betrayers of their Country; and he resolv'd to lose no time in the Dispatch of this Affair, forasmuch as the Spaniards were just ready to invade them. Wherefore he intreats the King, persuades the Nobles, and commands the Commons, to join their Arms in this so pious, just and necessary a Cause; and requires the Magistrates to be assistant with their Presence and Authority. He declares those down-right Rebels to the King, who shall aid or assist his Counsellors, and threatens to proceed against them with the utmost Rigour.

The King marches against him.

To this purpose, he wrote to the Parliament, which was then held at Dunbar, and also to the English Ambassadors, who were reported openly enough to favour his Designs; and the very same day that he understood the Royalists advanced from Edinborough, which was scarce three Miles off, he departed from Leith, with his Army, divided into two Bodies: But being far unequal in Number, by reason that few came in to him, he did what he could to keep out of Danger, by turning out into By-Roads, and had once the Fortune to attack some of the Royal Party that pursued him, from a steep Hill, whom he beat back and took some, but without killing one Man. He then advanced to Dalkeith, without breaking his Ranks; and from thence his Conscience scared him away into his usual Lurking-places upon the Borders of the two Kingdoms. The Queen sent out a Proclamation over the Kingdom, forbidding any to harbour or conceal him: And this the King took very well, and having made a cheerful Profession of the Queen's Goodness, he call'd a Parliament to consult about the Outlawry of the Popish Earls. The Peers, who were but few of them present, were very loth to pass their Votes against'em, forasmuch as they had no other than presumptive Evidence of their main Design, tho' nothing could give a greater Suspicion of their Aims, than the blank Papers sent over by them. Nevertheless, they were cast by the Votes of the Ministers and Burgesses, who were far the greater Number; and their Coats of Arms were, after the Scotch manner, torn in Pieces, and cast out of the Windows of the Town-Hall, and their Proscription proclaimed abroad by a publick Herald. After this, Argyle was employ'd against them, who being routed at Gentlivet, in a warm Engagement, the King himself undertook a tedious and difficult March into those Parts, over the rough and craggy Mountains; and having suffer'd Huntly's Houses at Strathbolgy, Slany, and Newton, to be pull'd down, he reduced the Earls to those shifts, that Huntly was forc'd to take Sanctuary, first with his Aunt, the Countess of Sutherland, and then in France; and all the rest were forced to quit the Kingdom.

Argyle defeated.

The Earls fly the King's om.

The mutual Friendship and good Agreement between the Queen of England and the King of Scots, back'd by his constant Adherence to the Protestant Religion, which neither Money, nor Promises, nor the Tricks and Solicitations of the Romish Party could bribe him from; as also the strict Laws enacted against Jesuites and Men of that Complexion, the Execution of Graham of Fentre, the Ringleader of the Spanish Faction, the State's placing the Supreme Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical, in the King, and the Association, form'd against the Papists. All these Considerations did so damp all their Hopes of resettling the Popish Religion in Scotland and England, that some of them in England, who had before been vehement Sticklers for his Mother's Title, began now to think of lifting some English Catholick into the Succession.

But not being able to pitch on a proper Person of their own Persuasion, they cast their Eyes on the Earl of Essex, a Gentleman that could never endure the Maxim of murdering People for the sake of their Religion; and they borrow'd his Title from Thomas of Woodstock, King Edward III's Son, of whom he was descended. In the mean while, the fugitive Peers were for the Infanta of Spain; but fearing the Queen and the Nation would put in an Act of Parliament against it, and impose an Oath on every one, to reject that Title; they thought it enough for the present, by this means to raise a Difference between the King and the Earl of Essex: To this purpose there was a certain Book printed and dedicated to Essex, under the Sham-name of Doleman; which was a notorious Act of Malice in Parsons the Jesuite against Doleman, a Priest of a modest and quiet Temper, (so far as we may trust that Order) for the true Authors of the Book were Parsons, a great Enemy of Doleman's, Cardinal Allen, and Sir Francis Inglesfield.

The Purport of this Book, which quite laid aside the Business of Birthright, was: That the ancient Laws of the Land, relating to Hereditary Succession, ought to be alter'd: That new Laws ought to be made about the Choice of a King, and that none but a Roman-Catholick, how near akin soever to the Crown, ought to succeed to it. Most of the Kings of England they traduced as meer Usurpers, and all of the Blood-Royal in England, as illegitimate, and so incapable of Succession. The King of Scots Title to the Crown, though most certain and indisputable, they attempted to invalidate; and by Sham-Tricks and Devices endeavour'd to set up the Infanta Isabella, the King of Spain's Daughter, purely for being a Roman-Catholick; a thing I am ashamed and griev'd to mention, because the Priests Lips ought to preserve knowledge, and they should stand having their loins girt about with truth. Their first Plea was, because, as this Book pretends, she fetches her Pedigree from Constance, the Daughter of William the Conqueror, King of England, and Wife to Alan Fergant, Earl of Bretagne; whereas notwithstanding Gulielmus Gemeticensis, who liv'd about that time, declares in his last Book, that she died without Issue, and he is follow'd by the Consent of all the Writers of the Affairs of Bretagne. The next Pretence was, because she had her Descent from Eleanor, the eldest Daughter of King Henry II. who was marry'd to Alphonsus IX. King of Castile; whereas Pope Innocent III. makes it out in Matthew Paris, pag. 381. that Maud, the Wife of Henry Leo, Duke of Saxony, and Mother of the Emperor Otto IV. was his eldest Daughter; and Robert, Abbot of St. Michael's Mount, who christen'd her, affirms, that she was born ann. 1162. A third Argument was, because she was a Descendent from Blanch, the eldest Daughter of the said Eleanor, which was prov'd to be false both by Roderigo, Archbishop of Toledo, in his Ninth Book, and Pope Innocent, a Writer of better Credit, and both of them living in the same Age. Another Reason alledg'd was, because she came originally from Beatrice, the Daughter of Henry III. King of England; though 'twas forgot, in the mean time, that she had two Brethren Edward I. King of England, and Edward Earl of Lancaster, from whom a great part of the Nobility of England were lineally descended, besides the Royal Family. Again, they asserted the Infanta's Claim by the House of Portugal, and maintain'd on the same bottom the Title of the Dukes of Parma and Braganza, from Philippa, the Daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whom they make to be his eldest Daughter by his Wife Blanch; whereas Frosard, who was a Courtier at that time

Parsons excites the Book.

Birth of Henry Pr. of Scotland.

Assassins employ'd by the Spaniards to murder the Q.

time, proves fol. 159. of the Second Part of his History, that his eldest Daughter was *Elizabeth*, Wife to *John Holland*, afterwards Duke of *Exeter*, from whose Loins proceeded a large Race of Nobility, all the Kingdom over. But I have already confuted these genealogical Whimies, and prov'd them to be the Brats of Spleen and Falshood, the main Furniture of that Libel. These things however they made a Shift to impose on the World, clean contrary to the Character of their Function; and in Contempt of the Council of *Trent's* Authority, and that of *Toledo* likewise, as also of their own Laws, a Review of which was made at *Rome* the Year before: And all to curry Favour with the King of *Spain*, to cajol and abuse Mankind, to promote Sedition and Disorder, and to erect Scaffolds, from whence ambitious Men might catch a Fall, tho' in open Defiance to Truth they masqu'd their Pretences under the venerable Disguise of Religion. Nay they carry'd the matter so far, as to force the English Priests in the Spanish Seminaries (if we may take their own Words for it) to subscribe to this spurious Claim of the Infanta's. Yet all this was excus'd not long after, when *K. James* was proclaim'd King of *England*, by the general Votes of the People, by *Parsons*, in a Letter to a Friend of his, as not having proceeded from any Design to hinder King *James's* Title, but from an eager Desire to gain him over to the *Romish* Religion; and he hoped he should be easily excus'd, since these Methods had prov'd no real Prejudice of the King's Claim, i. e. in effect, because the Success was not answerable to the Villainy of his Intention.

But whilst these vagabond Projectors were searching out for a false Heir in *Spain*, God, who laugh'd at their Inventions, rais'd up to *K. James* a Son in *Scotland*, who was undoubted Heir to the Crown of *England*. For on the 19th. of *February*, was born *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, the Darling of *Britain*, to whom *Queen Elizabeth* stood God-mother, and sent the Earl of *Suffex* on an honourable Embassy, to assist at the Ceremony as her Proxy.

Now whilst these bookish Outlaws endeavor'd to write the Infanta of *Spain* into the Crown of *England*, there were others of the same Principle and Persuasion, that were making the same Use of their Swords, as these did of their Pens; and sent over some villainous Assassins to murder *Queen Elizabeth*, whilst certain *Spaniards* attempted at the same time to take her off by Poison. The *Spaniards* however suspected the *English* in a Matter of that Moment, and so made use of *Roderigo Lopez*, a profess'd Jew, the Queen's domestic Physician, and of *Stephen Ferreira Gama* and *Emanuel Loisse*, *Portugueses*, a great Number of whom had in those days crept into *England*, as Retainers to *Don Antonio*. These Persons being apprehended, by means of some Letters, which happen'd to be intercepted, were about the end of *February* try'd at *Guild-hall* in *London*, and charged from their own Confessions, with an Intention to poison the Queen. *Lopez*, having had the Reputation of a just and faithful Person for a long time, did not so much as fall under the least Suspicion, (barring the naked Probability that foreign Physicians may be guilty of Treason or Murder) till he confess'd himself, 'That he was inveigled by *Andrada* a *Portuguese*, to use his best and most private Endeavours for the King of *Spain*: That he had receiv'd from *Christophoro Moro*, his chief Favourite and Counsellor, a rich Jewel: That he had thereupon given the *Spaniards* frequent Advertisements of what fell within his Cognizance: That at last he was prevail'd on to give his Promise to poi-

son the Queen, upon an Agreement to receive 50000 Ducats for his Pains: That *Emanuel Loisse* was likewise privately sent to him by *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, to press *Lopez* to dispatch the matter out of hand. *Emanuel* own'd that Count *Fuentez* and *Ibara*, after he had given them his Promise to conceal the Design, shew'd him a Letter written by *Andrada*, in *Lopez's* Name, about taking off the Queen; and that he himself was sent by *Fuentez* to transact with *Ferreira* and *Lopez*, about dispatching the Queen with all speed, and to promise *Lopez* himself Money, and his Children Dignity and Preferments.

Lopez did not plead much at the Bar, but exclaim'd against *Ferreira* and *Emanuel*, as most base and notorious Liars: 'That he had no ill Intentions against her Majesty, but abhor'd from his Heart the Bribes of a Tyrant: That he had presented that Jewel, which the King of *Spain* sent him, to the Queen herself; and that his great Aim in what he did, was to gull the King of *Spain*, and get a little of his Money. The rest said nothing on their own behalf, but cast the Blame wholly on *Lopez*. They were all of them condemn'd, and, after three Months, hang'd at *Tyburn*; *Lopez* affirming to the last, that he lov'd the Queen, as well as *Jesus Christ*. Which Expression, coming from a Jew, put the Spectators into a pleasant Fit of Laughter. The next day after their Condemnation, *Patrick Cullen* receiv'd his. He was an *Irish* Fencing-Master, who had receiv'd vast Promises from the fugitive Malecontents in the Low-Countries, and was some time since privately sent over, with Money enough to bear his Charges, on purpose to kill the Queen. He did as good as confess the Crime, and it being likewise prov'd by undeniable Evidence, he was taken and hang'd; tho' he were sick enough already to have sav'd the Hangman a Labour. *Edmund Yorke* and *Richard Williams* were likewise apprehended, as Persons who had been employ'd by *Ibara*, and the other Rebels, to kill the Queen; and other Incendiaries at the same time, who were employ'd to fire the Navy with Balls prepared for that purpose. Thus did the *English* Fugitives, lewd Priests, and Lay-Villains together, plot and contrive the Ruin of the Queen, by all the Arts they could use; and all from a precious Principle of Bigottry, rooted in their Minds, that *Princes excommunicated are not fit to live*; and the *Spanish* Ministers seconded the Design, and improv'd their Hatred as far as it would go. However the Queen was neither alarm'd nor daunted at the matter, but endeavour'd by a pious and provident Caution, to prevent or contravene their Measures; often calling to mind that Passage of the Royal Psalmist, *Thou art my God, my times are in thy hands*. Yet did she not fail to inform *Ernest* Archduke of *Austria*, and the King of *Spain's* Governour of the *Netherland* Provinces, of these several Plots and Conspiracies hatch'd by *Ibara* and other *Spanish* Ministers, and *English* Renegado's, against her Life. She desired him likewise to acquaint the King, his Master, therewith; that so he might clear himself of any Imputation, by punishing his Officers and Ministers, and delivering those *Englishmen* into her Hands, who were the principal Agents in so horrid and barbarous a Design; in order to have them brought to condign Punishment: viz. *Hugh Owen*, *Thomas Throckmorton*, *Holt* the Jesuite, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, Doctors of Divinity, &c. For otherwise his Royal Character would suffer in Point of Honour and Credit with all good Men.

And lest the King of *Spain* should demand *Antonio Perez*, his late Secretary, who was fled for

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D d d d

some

Lopez strives to clear himself.

He and others are condemn'd & hang'd.

Queen acquainted *K. of Spain* herewith.

some Commotions he had rais'd in Arragon, and absconded at this time in England; she declared he was sent over without her Knowledge, by the French King, to his Ambassador; and that she neither would relieve nor protect him. Indeed she had a perfect Aversion to him, for betraying his Prince's Secrets; and the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh would scarce vouchsafe him the Civility of a Conference. Essex, 'tis true, entertain'd him at his House, and furnish'd him with considerable Sums; for he consider'd him as the great Oracle of Spain, that knew the Mysteries of the Spanish Court, and was profoundly vers'd in the Politicks of that Kingdom: yet was his Condition so fickle and full of Change, (as the Lot of such Men generally is) that he us'd to style himself *Fortune's Monster*, and us'd those Words for a Motto on his Picture.

French League dissolved.

Now did the Leaguers begin to abate something of the Violence of their Measures, by which they had plagu'd and harass'd France for the space of eight Years: For when the King, who had weaken'd them by his Arms, and in some measure broke their Alliance, by a politick embracing of the *Romish* Faith the Year before; came to be solemnly install'd the beginning of this, and had granted them a Truce; some of the Nobility, being overcome with large Promises, strove who should be foremost in returning to their Allegiance. Others submitted on Condition they might still hold the Governments they had got, in the same manner as *Hugh Capet* had in times past, to secure himself the Affections of the Nobility, granted them the hereditary Possession of their respective Governments. Hereupon some of the Cities that were in Rebellion, surrender'd themselves; others were taken by Surprise; and even *Paris* itself invited the King privately into the City, and with great Joy deliver'd itself into his Hands; and the *Spaniards* (who had now quite lost the Hopes of the French Crown, and of a Match between the Infanta and the Duke of Guise; and all through the Duke of Mayne's Emulation and Jealousy of his Nephew) were pack'd away bag and baggage, and not without some rude and insulting Reflexions from the French, who before this time repented heartily of their late Proceedings. But forasmuch as those *Spaniards* who were invited into *Bretagne* by the Duke de Mercaur, made an obstinate Resistance, and put strong Garrisons into the Sea-ports, in order to defend what they had got;

Norris returns to Bretagne.

Norris, who had been call'd home to give the Queen, in person, an Account of the State of the War in *Bretagne*, was remanded back thither, with Orders to seize on the Spanish Fort at *Crodon* near *Brest*; and on the 1st of September arriv'd with fresh Forces at *Pimpol*. At the very same time the Marquess D'Aumont and Sir Thomas Baskerville, who commanded the English Forces in Norris's Absence, besieged *Morlaix*; and upon Norris's Arrival, took it upon Capitulation: And although it had been concluded upon Treaty with the French Ambassadors in England, that if it were surrender'd, it should be deliver'd to the English for a Place of Retreat; yet, to prevent it, D'Aumont added this Paragraph in the Articles of Surrender: *That none but a Roman-Catholick should be receiv'd into the Town.* After this, the Mar- shal and Sir Henry Norris having taken *Quimperco- rentin*, the French and English came on the 1st of November before the *Spaniards* Fort at *Crodon*; where Sir Martin Forbisher lay at Anchor with ten Men of War, expecting their Coming. This Place is on two sides guarded by a Moat; and there stand two tall and large Forts facing the Land, between which there runs a Wall 37 foot wide, and within that a thick Bank of Earth.

Quimperco- rentin taken.

The Forts are defended on both sides with Rocks, which have several Pieces of Cannon mounted on them. The English and French having got several Mortars out of the Ships, began to break Ground, and carry'd on a Trench on that side the Fort, which lay to the Land; and the *Spaniards* making a Sally to hinder the Works, were repuls'd: But Sir Anthony Wingfield, Serjeant-Major of the English, a brave old Soldier, was slain with a Cannon-Shot, having made his Will just the day before. On the 3d, they made a small Breach, with 700 Shot of great Ordnance, and threw down the Counterscarp, which *Lifer* and his Party immediately seiz'd on. But whilst their Eagerness prompted them on too far upon the Enemy, who made a stout Resistance, several of them were slain, and amongst them *Bruder*, *Jackson*, and *Barker*, Officers of try'd Courage and Bravery: Several more were wounded in the Attempt; and others miserably sing'd with Gun-powder. Some were apt to charge *Norris* as having lavish'd away the Lives of his Men by exposing them to needless Hazards; and the Queen herself, out of her usual Tenderness, sent him Orders to place the Safety of his Men, upon the same Level with his own Honour, and not to hazard their Lives too far in a War, which was purely undertaken for the Assistance of others: For she said, *That the Blood of Man ought not to be squander'd away at all Adventures: That the boiling Heat of pushing and forward Men had need be curb'd, and not encouraged and egg'd on into Danger and Ruin: That if he observ'd these Measures, he would save the Credit of his Conduct, and sit free at the same time from the Charge of Cruelty; and she herself should upon better Grounds commend his Care and Regard for her Subjects.* But these Instructions came too late. During the Heat of this Siege, D'Aumont and Norris thought good to undermine the Eastern Bulwark, on that side where the French were posted, and to blow it up; which they did, and made a very considerable Breach: Then did they attack the Fort on all sides; *Latham*, *Smith*, and others, with the English, storm'd the Works on the West-side; and the French made the Assault on the Eastern Part at the same time; and the rest fell to battering the Wall on the South, which lay between both: And this held from Noon till Four of the Clock. At length the English got Possession of the Western Work, and *Thomas de Parades*, the Spanish Commander, being cut off, they enter'd the Fort, pull'd down the Spanish Flags, and open'd a Passage for the rest, who put the Garrison (about 400 Men) to the Sword, and razed the Fort to the very Ground: And all this on the very day that Don *John d'Aquila* was coming to their Relief. However this Victory cost the English much Bloodshed; for many good Soldiers perish'd in the Attempt, and Sir Martin Forbisher being wounded in the Hip with a small Shot, died as soon as he had brought back the Fleet to *Plimouth*. Thus fell a Man of undaunted Courage, and inferior to none of that Age in Experience and Conduct, or the Reputation of a brave Commander, as I have already observ'd.

Not long after, there being certain Intelligence that several Spanish Officers were come into *Ireland*, to raise a Rebellion; Norris was once more recall'd from *Bretagne*. The Ships which were to bring him over, upon their Arrival at *Morlaix*, were forbid to enter the Port; so that they were forced to put to Sea again in extreme cold Weather, and to make for *Ruseou*, which is a very dangerous Road. This the Queen took so much the worse at D'Aumont's hands, because he ow'd the taking of *Morlaix* to the English.

The

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Ann. 27.
Hawkins's
Voyage to
America.
He loses
a Ship.
The English began now to molest and attack the Spaniards, not only in France, but in the farther Parts of America: For Richard Hawkins, Son to the famous Navigator Sir John Hawkins, having got a Commission under the Broad-Seal to annoy the Spaniards in those Parts, put to Sea the Year before with three Ships and 200 Men. The first place he toucht at, was the Isle of St. Ann; where making a stay of three Months to refresh his Men, the least of his Ships by chance took Fire, and was burnt. After which he took a Portuguese Vessel over against the River of Plate, and the Governor of Peru having notice of his coming, prepared a Fleet to intercept him; and after this another of his Ships by streis of Weather return'd to England, for which the Captain was punish'd.

Thus being left alone, and at a great distance from Shoar, in the Latitude of 50 Degrees, he happen'd upon a fruitful Coast, abounding with Wood, and having good Harbours. Here he cruiz'd up and down from West to North for the space of 60 Leagues, till being driven back by contrary Winds, he made the Strait of Magellan just before the end of January in the same Year, which he found to be nothing but a Sea stock'd with a great many Islands; and herein he sail'd to the 56th Degree of Latitude. After he had spent six Weeks among these Islands, and strove with uncertain and dangerous Currents, he got safe into the open Sea, and was, according to the Spaniards Account, the sixth Man that had the Honour and Fortune to pass that Strait. As he sail'd afterwards along the Coast of Chili in the South-Sea, he took five laden Merchant men at Villa-Parilla, one of which he carried off, and the Master of the Vessel, and the rest he ransom'd for 2000 Ducats, whereas they were val'd at more than 20000. After this he steer'd his Course for Arica, where Bertrand di Castro, at the Viceroy's Command, attack'd him with eight Ships, tho' to his own Damage, his Powder and Shot being all spent. Afterwards, having receiv'd fresh Supplies, he made a second Assault upon him in the Bay of Attacame, but with the same Success: For the Fight was closely and briskly maintain'd on both sides, and several Men lost, infomuch that the Spaniards thought it safer to ply them at a distance with their great Guns, and endeavour to disable their Ship; which having done for three whole Days together without intermission, Bertrand sent his Glove, and in the King's Name offer'd Hawkins and the rest their Liberty, if they would surrender themselves. This Condition he accepted, and most of the rest, for they were miserably Wounded and unable to hold out any longer. Whereupon Bertrand treated them with a great deal of Civility: But it seems a Doubt was made, whether Faith was to be kept with them or not? Whether Bertrand, whose Commission was immediately from the Viceroy, not from the King himself, could make Hawkins such a Promise in the King's Name, when he produced an Authority directly from the Queen? At length the general opinion was, that a Faith plighted in the King's Name, was to be observ'd, by reason that he was no Pirate, but a fair Enemy: Nor could the Spaniard Act by any other martial Laws in the South-Sea, than what were agreeable to the Practice and Customs of other Parts. Nevertheless Hawkins was sent into Spain, and there retain'd several Years in Prison, tho' Bertrand press'd hard for the performance of the Articles made by him: But the Spaniards were for using this Rigour to deter others from venturing into the South-Sea. But at length the Conde di Miranda, President of the Council, declar'd positively, that he ought to be

discharg'd, forasmuch as in military Cases the Promises made in the Royal Name ought to be sacredly observ'd by all Captains and Officers, for otherwise no Man would ever surrender himself.

James Lancaster had notwithstanding better Success in an Engagement with the Spaniards in another Part of America, being equip'd with three Ships and a long Pinnace by some Merchants of London, whose Effects the Spaniards had seiz'd on. For he took thirty nine of their Ships, and then taking Venour an Englishman into his Company, besides some Hollanders and Frenchmen who were cruizing in that Sea, he resolv'd to make an attempt upon Fernambuc in Brazil, where he was inform'd that vast Treasures were put on Shoar from an East-India Carack, which was wrecked thereabouts.

But when he saw the Shoar lined by great numbers of the Enemy, he singled out the stoutest of his Men, and clapping them into Boats, made them row away with such force as to split them in pieces. Nor did the Project fail of an answerable Success; for after they had courageously driven the Enemy to the upper Town, they made themselves masters of the lower Town and the Port, and maintain'd it thirty Days together, against all the Force and Policy of the Enemy, refusing all Terms of Accommodation, baffling all their Attempts of firing the Fleet, and at last filling fifteen Ships with the Cargo of the aforesaid Carack; as also with the Sugars which are made here in great Plenty from the Moisture of a sweet sort of Cane; besides a quantity of Brazil-Wood, which borrows its Name from this Province, and is very much used in dying of Cloaths: With this Lading, and some Gollipine or Cotton, they return'd safe home.

Whether it be worth while to mention what follows, I cannot say, unless it may serve as a curb to the Ambition of Youth. Sir Nicolas Clifford and Sir Anthony Shirley, two young English Knights, had behav'd themselves so bravely under the King in the French Wars, that he honour'd 'em with the Order of St. Michael, and they took the Oath in the usual Form, returning afterwards with the Ensigns of that Order, and shewing themselves thus equip'd in the City and Court, the Queen took it ill that they should take an Oath to, and receive an Honour of that nature from any Prince, without her leave and cognizance, as if they had been his Subjects, and not hers; and for this Presumption they were sent to Prison. She was so tender however, as not to have them Prosecuted according to Law, because they were young Gentlemen, and consequently err'd out of Ignorance, as well as out of her great Veneration for the French King, who had conferr'd on them such an honourable Title. But she ordered them notwithstanding to resign the Character and send back the Ensigns of it, and to endeavour to get their Names struck out of the Register of that Order; which the French King hearing of, 'tis reported he said in a pleasant Humour: *I could wish the Queen would do me the same Favour, and make some of my aspiring Subjects she happens to see next in England, Knights of the Round Table.* For that Order, which had been the subject of so many old Tales and Stories, was long ago worn out of date, as of late the Order of St. Michael in France has sunk so low through the Confusion of the Times, that a French Nobleman said, *That the Chain of St. Michael was formerly a Character only of the Nobility, but now it was a Collar for all sorts of Animals.* But I will not prevent what I shall hereafter have occasion to say in reference to foreign Distinctions of Honour.

1594. *Ann. 37.* About this time departed this Life *William Allen*, commonly call'd the Cardinal of England, whom I have often mention'd already. He was born in the County of *Lancaster*, of worthy Parents, and allied to some noble Families. He had his Education at *Oriel-College* in *Oxford*, and was Proctor of the University in *Queen Mary's* Days, and afterwards a Canon in *York-Cathedral*. Upon the Change of Religion in England, he left the Kingdom, and profess'd Divinity at *Doway*, (which was made an University *An. 1562.*) and was made a Canon of the Church of *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be founded for the English at *Doway*, and another also at *Rhemes*, where he was likewise created Canon, besides a third at *Rome*, and two more in *Spain*, in order to keep up the Profession of Popery in England, for which he had so intemperate a Zeal, as to lay aside both his Duty to his Prince, and his Love to his Country, and stir'd up both the King of *Spain* and the Pope to attempt the Conquest of England. Upon which account he engaged deep in hazardous Projects and Designs, after Pope *Sixtus V.* had dignified him with the Character of Cardinal of *St. Martin in the Mounts*, and the King of *Spain* had given him an Abby in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and nominated him to the Archbishoprick of *Mechlin*. For when the *Invincible Armada* was preparing against England, he brought a Bill of Excommunication against the Queen into the *Low-Countries*, and order'd it to be printed in English; and he wrote likewise a kind of Memorial to his Countrymen, persuading them to adhere to the Pope and the King of *Spain*. But he return'd to *Rome* under a great Disappointment; and being at length tired out with the Heats and Dissentions of the English Fugitives, both Scholars and Gentlemen, he died in the 63d Year of his Age, and was buried in the English Church of the *Holy Trinity*. He wrote a Treatise of the Eucharist in *Latin*, and some Apologies in English; one for the Seminaries, another for the English Catholics, and a third for Sir *William Stanley*, who betrayed *Deventer* to the Spaniards. He wrote, besides these, the aforesaid Memorial, and a Book of Purgatory, which are all that I have seen.

And John Piers. About this time there died likewise *John Piers*, Archbishop of *York*, an Orthodox and Pious Divine, who had for a long time been Lord-Almoner to the Queen. He was succeeded by *Matthew Hutton*, who was translated from the Bishoprick of *Duresm* to that See.

And E. of Derby. About the beginning of this Year died *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, whom I mention'd the last Year, in the very flower of his Youth, and some suspected he was poison'd, because he was troubled with strange Pains and Vomiting of a darkish colour, not unlike rusty Iron. There was found in his Chamber an Image of Wax, with Hairs thrust through the Belly of it, of the same colour with his own, which better Judges thought to be placed there on purpose to avoid the suspicion of his being poison'd. The Matter which he vomited left such a stain upon the silver Basons, that no Art or Care could possibly recover them to their usual Brightness; and his Corps, tho' roll'd in Lead and laid in a Searcloth, was so noisom and offensive, that no Man could endure to come near the Place where he was buried for some considerable time after. The Gentleman of his Horse was shrewdly suspected; for as soon as the Earl took his Bed, he rid away with his best Horse. His Brother *William* enjoy'd after him the Honour and Title of Earl of *Derby*, who had afterwards a Trial with the three Daughters of the Lord *Ferdinand*, for the Dominion of the *Isle of Man*. The Queen being

sensible that the English Fugitives and the Spaniards had an eye upon that Isle, committed the Government of it to Sir *Thomas Gerard* Kt. for his approv'd Loyalty, and by reason of his near Neighbourhood thereto, till the Claim should be determin'd.

Mean while, the Queen's Counsellors, who very well understood the Laws, and were nice Judges of such Cases, maintain'd from the Quirks and Subtilties of their Faculty, that the Right of that Island belong'd to the Queen, and that the *Stanleys* and Earls of *Derby* had held it by a wrong Claim for 200 Years last past. For (to go a little higher) *Henry IV.* as soon as he was in Possession of the Crown of England, Attainted *William Scrope*, Lord of the *Isle of Man*, and gave it to *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*. This Earl appear'd in open Rebellion about six Years after; whereupon, the Year following, the King made a Grant thereof by his Letters-Patents, to *John Stanley*, for Life, whereas the said Earl of *Northumberland* was not then Attainted by Act of Parliament, nor his Lands forfeited to the King. A Month after, there was an Agreement made between the King and *Stanley*, That those former Patents which run for Life, and some others granted by the King, should be deliver'd up and cancell'd, and a fresh Grant of the Island should be made to *Stanley*, in this Form: *We, in regard the said John Stanley hath deliver'd up to us the said Letters-Patents to be cancell'd in our Court of Chancery, have therefore granted unto the aforesaid John Stanley the Island aforesaid, &c.* Upon these Words, and notice taken of the Circumstance of Time, that those former Patents were granted for Life, before such time as the Earl of *Northumberland* was Attainted, the Lawyers were of the opinion, that the King could not legally make any such Grant for Life, because he was not yet entitl'd to the Forfeiture; and consequently, that the latter Letters-Patents being grounded on the delivery of the former, were invalid; but that the King had been impos'd on by a false Pretence, and therefore the Grant was null and insignificant. However the Queen gave up the Claim, and then an Agreement was made between the Uncle and Nieces.

Gregory Feines, whom I mention as being the last Lord *Dacres* of that Surname, died this Year; he was a little Crack-brain'd, and the Great Grandson of *Richard Feines*, of the ancient Family of the Earls of *Bononia*, to whom *Edward IV.* and *Henry VI.* Kings of England, gave the Title of Lord *Dacres* for having married the Heiress of *Thomas Lord Dacres*. He was the Son of *Thomas Lord Dacres*, who was ruin'd in *Henry VIII.*'s Reign, when he was scarce Four and twenty: For some of his domestick Servants having kill'd somebody as they were going with him to Hunt, tho' he himself were not present at the Fact, yet was he call'd in question for it, and overpersuaded by the Courtiers, who gaped after his Estate, to confess the Fact, and cast himself on the King's Mercy, as the only way to save his own and his Servant's Life. This he unadvisedly did, and so was condemn'd for his pains, and the next Day but one executed. However those hungry Courtiers mis'd of their Bait, for the Estate fell by Law to his Sister *Margaret*, the Wife of *Sampson Lennard*, and the Barony of *Dacres* was granted to the same *Margaret*, and settl'd on her Son *Henry Lennard*.

I must not forget these Persons following, who all departed this Life within the compass of the Year, viz. *William Lord Evers*, who left behind him *Ralph* his Son and Heir by *Margery Dimmock*: *Giles Lord Chandos*, who died without Heirs-Male, and left his Dignity to his Brother *William*: And,

The Title of the Earls of Derby to the Isle of Man.

The death of the L. Dacres.

L. Evers. Chandos.

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Russel made L. Deputy of Ireland.

Tir-Om impeach'd by Bagin.

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Mont. 9.
And, in the last place, *William Blount* Lord Mont-
joy, a Person who had been much weaken'd by
the Excesses of his Youth; to whom succeed-
ed his Brother *Charles*, Governour of Portf-
mouth.

Russel
made L.
Deputy of
Ireland.
Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the Lord-Deputy of
Ireland, was call'd home, and in August his Com-
mission was given to Sir *William Russel*, the young-
est Son of *Francis* Earl of Bedford; after that *Hen-
ry Duke* and *Edward Herbert*, who were sent with
Men and Provisions, to relieve the Garison of
Ineskillin, besieg'd by *Mac-Guire*, had been a lit-
tle before put to flight, and miserably beaten by
the Rebels. As soon as he had receiv'd his Pat-
tent, *Tir-Oen*, having got Letters of Protection,
contrary to all Expectation, applied himself to
him, and on his Knees begg'd Pardon in Writing
for not obeying the Summons of the former Lord-
Deputy, which he endeavour'd to excuse, by
allegding that his Enemies had laid Snares for his
Life. He complain'd that he had, through their
false Suggestions, lost the Queen's Favour, which
he acknowledg'd he had enjoy'd a very liberal
share of, and that as he was a Creature of her
own raising, so she might as easily blast his Ho-
nours, and cast him out of the Kingdom. He
desired he would please to consider the Equity of
his Case, and made large Promises of performing
whatever should be enjoyn'd him as to raising the
Siege of *Ineskillin*, and driving out the Island
Scots. He likewise protested before God and the
World, that altho' in compliance with a Dictate
of Nature he endeavour'd to save his own Life
from the malicious pursuits of his Adversaries,
yet he never would take up Arms against the
Queen. And in the last place, he humbly in-
treated the Lord-Deputy, and the Council of
the Kingdom to interceed with the Queen for his
re-admission into her Favour.

Tir-Oen
impeach'd
by Bagnal.
There was present at the same time Sir *Henry
Bagnal*, Marshal of the Irish Army, who exhibi-
ted these Articles against him; viz. 'That he
had privately sent *Mac-Guire* and the Primate
' *Gauran* (mention'd before) into *Connaught*: That
' he had held a Correspondence with *Mac-Guire*,
' *O-Donel*, and other Conspirators: That he had
' assist'd 'em by his Brother *Cormac Mac-Baron*,
' and his base Son *Con*, in destroying *Monaghan*,
' and besieging *Ineskillin*; and had menaced the
' Commanders of *Kilulto* and *Killwarny* out of
' their Fidelity and Allegiance. All these things
he flatly denied; and as if he had been as clear as
Innocence itself, he declar'd, That he would forfeit
the Benefit of his Protection, could this Charge be prov'd
against him.

Hereupon there pass'd a close Debate in Coun-
cil, whether he should be taken in Custody, till
he had answer'd to this Impeachment? 'Twas
the Lord-Deputy's Opinion, that he should: But
the rest, out of an idle Apprehension they should
thereby violate the benefit of his Protection, or
else out of private Respect to his Person, thought
that he ought to be dismiss'd, and the Business
defer'd till another Opportunity: Whose Judg-
ment, as being the major Part, and more experi-
enc'd in the Affairs of Ireland, the Deputy com-
plied with, tho' with some reluctance. He was
therefore dismiss'd, without so much as an Hear-
ing given to the Evidence and Witnesses who
were there present.

The Queen was much concern'd at this, be-
cause all the World were acquainted with the Vil-
lany of his Designs; and the Queen had signi-
fied her Royal Pleasure to have him confin'd till
he could clear himself of the Crimes laid to his
Charge.

He gave notwithstanding great Encourage-
ment to the Council of England and Ireland to

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hope the best of him, and was ready to engage
for any thing almost that they propounded to him,
viz. 'That he would secure his Brother *Cormac*,
' and his Party, from assisting the Rebels, or
' *Mac-Guire*: That he would endeavour to thrust
' the Island-Scots out of Ireland: That he would
' persuade *O-Donel* to do the same: That in the
' Lord-Deputy's absence, he would defend the
' Frontiers with his own Troop of Horse: That
' he would perform the Article for supplying
' Provisions: That he would build a Prison at
' *Dunganon*: That he would, upon certain terms,
' allow of a Sheriff and Justices in the County of
' *Tir-Oen*: And, That he would be Security that
' *Turlough Mac-Henry* should not let the Island-Scots
' into Ireland.

The Lord-Deputy marching soon after to raise
the Siege of *Ineskillin*, put the Rebels to Flight,
reliev'd the Town, and fortified the Garison:
after which he briskly pursued *Teagh Mac-Hugh*,
who was in Arms in *Leinster*; and under pretence of
going one day on Hunting, he had very like to
have taken him; for he forced him from his own
House at *Ballencure* into the steep Valleys which
they call *Glennes*, where he placed a Garison,
and pursued him so narrowly by some Parties he
sent in quest of him through the by-ways and
unfrequented Roads, that scarce a Day passed,
but they brought in, according to the custom of
the Country, some of the Rebels Heads. They
likewise apprehended *Rhife Teagh's* Wife, a Wo-
man of a masculine Spirit, and a Courage above
her Sex, who was sentenced to be Burnt in *Ter-
rorem*, but had her Life spared by the Queen's
Clemency.

Sir *Henry Bagnal* was then sent by the Lord-
Deputy into another part of Ireland, where he
relieved the Castle of *Monaghan* under a desperate
Siege laid thereto by *Mac-Guire* and *Mac-Mahon*,
and put a fresh Garison therein. But the Lord-
Deputy, having dismiss'd *Tir-Oen*, could not by
any means persuade him to return to him again,
tho' he made him several courteous Invitations.
At the first he made Excuses, as if he was afraid
of the Marshal. And not long after he began to
talk high of a Truce or Accommodation, which
is a Subject Princes are not pleas'd to have their
Subjects insist on; infomuch, that every one
wonder'd to observe so odd a change in the
Man, when but a little before he had made his
Submissions in so mean and abject a man-
ner.

The Eight and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

1595.

The Queen and the whole Kingdom did at
this time Express a publick Satisfaction for the
Friendship of the King of Scots, and the great
Care he profess'd to keep up a good Agreement
with England: For he sent out a Proclamation
for levying Forces to serve against the Spaniards,
who were reported to have a vast Armada ready
to ruin all Britain. And that he might succeed
the better in his Preparations against them, he
admonishes all his Subjects in the first place, to
lay aside all those Heats and Quarrels, which are
more frequent among the Natives of Scotland than
any other Kingdom. He laid also a strict Charge
upon the Borderers, who had been corrupted
some of them, with Spanish Gold, to infest and
plunder the English Territories, on purpose to
create a Breach between England and Scotland,
not only to forbear committing any Acts of Ho-
stility upon England, but likewise to be very se-
dulous in preserving that good Correspondence
which had been confirm'd on both sides by the
nearness of Relation between the two Princes,
as well as parity of Religion and similitude of
Customs

K. of Scots
makes
Preparati-
ons against
the Spani-
ard.

1595.
Ann 38. Customs and Language, and all this on pain of being esteem'd and proclaim'd the Enemies of their Country.

The Queen also put forth a Proclamation much to the same purpose: And whereas some Injuries had pass'd on both sides, it was agreed, That Commissioners should be assign'd to hear and examine them, for the better Establishment of Peace and Justice between both Nations. In less than two Months from the beginning of this Year, were *Edmund York*, Nephew to that *York* who betray'd the Fort of *Zurphen* to the *Spaniards*, and *Richard Williams*, who, as I said before, were both of them apprehended the last Year, executed at *Tyburn* for High-Treason. *York* confess'd, That *Holt* the Jesuit, *Hugh Owen*, *Jacomo de Francisco*, and others, had offer'd him an Assignment of 40000 Ducats, subscib'd by *Ibara* the *Spaniard*, if he would either murder the Queen himself, or assist the said *Richard Williams* in the Fact: That this Assignment was lodg'd in *Holt's* hands for his use; and that *Holt* had kiss'd the consecrated Host, and sworn, that the Money should be paid as soon as the Murder was committed; and that he likewise bound *York* and *Williams* by their Oaths and the Sacrament to dispatch the Business. To say truth, there was nothing more notorious than the lewd and villainous Attempts of the Fugitives about this time: For some were employ'd in hiring Assassins to murder the Queen, and others, for the sake of Money, were ready to serve as Actors in the infamous Parricide, tho' they no sooner took the Pay, but reveal'd the Secret: Others again were so untrue to their own Villany, as to push on the Ruin of one another, and to fall a Prey to their own base Arts and counterfeit Impeachments.

French K. declares War against Spain, and informs the Q. The *French King* was now at length resolv'd to denounce War against the King of *Spain*, who out of an Ambition of gaining the Crown of *France*, had rais'd a dangerous War in that Kingdom, and made daily Incursions upon the People of *Cambray*, who lived under the *Fr. King's* Protection. This he signified by Letters to the Queen, and desir'd there might be some Measures taken in conjunction to carry on the War against *Spain*. He complain'd withal, That it would be very prejudicial to him to recal the Forces out of *Bretaign*, and very serviceable to the *Spaniards* at the same time. The Queen approved his Resolution of declaring War, and wish'd him good Success in it; and her Answer was, That she, for her part, had so publicly oppos'd the Designs of *Spain*, both by Sea and Land, in the *Netherlands* and *Spain*, *Portugal* and *America*, that she suppos'd 'twas known to all the World; and had the *French King* done his Part, by an Offensive War, instead of Acting, as he had, barely on the Defensive, the *Spaniards* could have done neither of them any great Damage.

She then laid before him, the necessity of calling home her Men out of *Bretaign*, because there were several Commotions in *Ireland*: Besides that, they were by Contract to remain there no longer than till the *Spaniards* were removed from the Fort of *Brest*. She complain'd likewise, that the *English* had been very ill used; that they had not been join'd by the Supplies which were promis'd, and that *Morlaix* had not, according to the Terms of the Contract, been deliver'd up to them for a Place of Retreat.

No sooner had *France* and *Spain* blown the Trumpet to an open Hostility, but a miserable War broke out in the Countries of *Luxemburgh*, and *Picardy*, *Chastellet* and *Dourlans*, were taken by the *Spaniards*, and *Cambray* assaulted. Here-

upon Monsieur *Chevalier* was by the King's Council dispatched into *England*, to press closely for the sending some Recruits into *Picardy*, within fifteen Days after the Date of the Letters, whereas twelve of them were spent in his Journey, and so but three left to raise and send over the Forces.

However, they fell to making a Levy without delay; and upon occasion, they were to be disposed of to *Calais*, *Boulogn*, *Diep*, and other Sea-Ports. And this *Sir Roger Williams* represented forthwith to the King and the respective Governors of those Towns. The King's Council in *Bretaign* made at the same time pressing Instances for Aids to be sent thither: But because they mention'd no certain Number, nor on what Design they were to serve, nor took care of any Place of Retreat, the Queen could give them no direct Answer.

There were about this time spread abroad most probable Reports from all Parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were ready to sail for *England* with a more formidable and better provided Fleet than the former. Whereupon great care was taken to raise the stoutest Fellows in all the Maritime Counties of *England*, and strict Watch was kept upon all the Sea-Coasts. In the mean time two Fleets were got ready, one to encounter them in the *British-Sea*, and the other bound for *America*, under the Conduct of *Drake* and *Hawkins*.

All Men began now to expect and prepare for War, and the general Concern was, that so many brave Men, capable of doing their Country the best Service, and so much good Money too, were thrown away upon *France*; for certain it is, that the Expedition to *Brest* flood the Nation in 47248 Crowns de *Soleil*, and above 2000640 more were spent upon the Forces under the Earl of *Essex*, besides the Money that was lent; and 'twas a new subject of Grief to the very Women, to reflect that their Sons and Relations were unhappily taken off, and not reserv'd for this glorious Occasion.

Mean while *Lomeney* arrives here from *France*; and tho' he did disguise the taking of *Cambray*, yet he press'd hard that some Auxiliaries might be sent into *Picardy*, and then Commissioners appointed to treat about Measures for maintaining the War. Which appearing somewhat odd to the Queen and Council, he grew very uneasy, and charg'd the loss of *Cambray* upon the Queen, saying, That she seem'd to triumph in the King's ill Success, and thereby would oblige him to make a Peace with *Spain*. She return'd him an immediate Answer, which she likewise did soon after by Letters, and by *Sir Thomas Edmonds*, who then was her Ambassador at the *French Court*, which Answer was to this effect.

That she was much concern'd for the loss of *Cambray*, but more that *Lomeney* should lay the loss of it at her door, because Supplies were not sent from *England*. She made it appear it was impossible to dispatch them at so short a warning. Nor should she have been thought a prudent Woman to expose them to an Army flush'd with Victory, after having twice routed the *French*; but on the contrary, to have had very little Regard to the Welfare and Safety of her Subjects: That she was so far from taking any Pleasure in the King's Misfortune, and thereby obliging him to conclude a Peace with the common Enemy: That neither the King himself, nor any-body else, had the least imaginable reason to suspect any such thing, if he would but take the leisure to reflect how constant and ready she had been in her Services to him. She promised to give him for the future all

York and Williams executed.

French K. declares War against Spain, and informs the Q.

Her answ.

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She assist him.

And pro- pare a 2d Spanish Invasion.

Her answ. to the Fr. King's demands.

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Ann. 38.
all the Aid and Assistance she could, forasmuch as they were imbarc'd in one and the same Interest, and their Affairs equally imbarra's'd. Nor could she be fairly blam'd for any Omissions or Neglects in respect of the Spaniard, since from the very time that they began to discover their Spleen against England, she had never ceas'd to weaken and divert his Forces both by Sea and Land, and all for this reason barely, That she had a mind to rescue her Neighbours from the Tyranny of a Spanish Yoke. And she was at this very Juncture wholly employ'd in providing a Fleet and Army to oppose him; she was therefore very much to be excus'd, if she did not send the French King Supplies out of hand, since thereby she must have expos'd either England or Ireland to her Enemies, who lay ready to invade one or t'other, for want of Forces at home to defend them. And whereas it was privately whisper'd by some Subjects of his, That she either suspected the King's Honour and Constancy, or else envied his good Success; she protested, that such Thoughts were too unworthy of a Prince, to find the least Room in her Breast, for that she really believ'd she had a secure Interest in his Friendship, and wish'd him from her Heart all the Happiness and good Fortune he could desire.

Besides this, she order'd Edmonds to put the King in mind of these Particulars. That 'tis a sovereign Piece of Prudence in Princes to bear and forbear, in little and private Instances, (tho' perhaps against the grain) the better to keep their Subjects in Temper, and their Government in Peace; and that because the love of the People is the surest safe-guard of the Prince. Now this having been the Method of the King of France himself, 'twas necessary she should observe the same Measures, and omit nothing for the Security of her Subjects, who were so dear to her, and for whose cheerful Obedience, Courage and Fidelity, she own'd herself greatly indebted to the divine Goodness. All this France itself was able to testify, for that many of them had bravely ventur'd their Lives there, and a great many more were ready to do so, were they not detain'd for some time at least by the Crys and Tears of their Wives, Children and Relations, especially at a time when the common Enemy threaten'd the Subversion both of England and Ireland. Would the King but impartially consider these things, she question'd not but he would pass a fair Construction upon her Answers, and give no ear to those who were serving the common Enemy by dissolving that Friendship which had hitherto been preserv'd between his Majesty and herself, and endeavouring the Ruin of them both by that means. That some Men made it their business to do ill Offices on both sides, and so to rob Princes of the Lives of their bravest Subjects, and the Affections of the rest; yet could she never believe that those kind of Practises would ever induce him to make a Peace with Spain, without the concurrence of England, (as Lomeney had often hinted) on pretence that he had not receiv'd more Supplies from thence. Nay, she profess'd herself very well assur'd, that so considerable a Prince as he, must needs have a greater Regard for his Reputation, and set an higher Value upon his Vows and Promises, than ever to forget the good Services of the English, or once admit a Thought into his Bosom of that unworthy and dishonourable nature, as to deserve the worst Censures, should it be harbour'd in the Breast of any other Man: But should he (which God

forbid) be brought to such a Compliance thro' the Importunity of the Popish Leaguers, yet she depended still on a good Providence to preserve England: That as soon as she could thoroughly learn the Design of the Spaniard in those fresh Preparations, she was ready to lend him the best Assistance she could, to prevent the Enemies reaping that Advantage for the future which they had already made of his Necessity. This is what Edmonds, and after him Sir Henry Unton, the Queen's Ambassador, communicated to his Majesty more at large upon his return to France.

But, to say the truth, the Troubles in France increasing every Day more and more, there were a great many that press'd the King to enter on a Peace with Spain, and endeavour'd to persuade him, that the Queen did nothing but amuse him with a few fine Words. Others, on the contrary dissuaded him from it, particularly Kath. of Navarre, the D. of Bouillon, and Sir Henry Unton, the English Ambassador. And they intimated withal, that there were little or no Hopes of their having Peace with Spain, which had so long withheld from him the Kingdom of Navarre which belong'd to his Predecessors, and had likewise embroil'd France, in hopes one Day to govern it; when that Prince had moreover claim'd Little-Bretaign, as his Daughter's Hereditary-Right, and asserted her Sham-Title to England in printed Pamphlets, tho' in opposition to the known and unquestion'd Right of the King of Scots, insomuch that he seem'd to be, at least in Conceit and Imagination, the Grand Monarch of all Europe.

The King taking but little notice of these Remonstrances, the Queen could not forbear mistrusting all his Pleas of Honour and good Faith, especially when she was certainly inform'd from the College of Cardinals, that he receiv'd the Benefit and Blessing of the Romish Communion, on no other Terms, than these which follow, viz. That he should abjure all Heresies, and profess the Catholick Faith after the same manner his Ambassadors shall do in this Place. That he shall introduce the Romish Religion into the Principality of Bearne, and appoint Catholick Magistrates in the said Province: That within a Year he shall occasion the Prince of Conde to be taken out of Hereticks Hands, and cause him to be instructed and brought up in the Romish Faith: That the Decrees of the Council of Trent shall be publish'd and receiv'd throughout the French Dominions: That he shall fill the vacant Churches and religious Houses with sound and true Catholicks, and Persons free from the Blemish of Heresie: That he shall use his best Endeavours to reinvest such of the Clergy in their Benefices, who have been unjustly and illegally dispossest: That he shall be careful to confer Dignities and Offices of Trust on Catholicks only, and as much as may be, to deprive and keep out Hereticks: That the Concordates be duly observ'd, and all Abuses reform'd which have any way crept in, contrary thereto: That the Absolution granted in France by the Bishops, be condemn'd: That he shall send Letters to all the Princes of Christendom, and therein give notice of his Conversion, Abjuration, and publick Profession of the Catholick Faith.

* Mean while the Spaniards put to Sea under the Command of Didaco Brochen, with four Gallies, and arriv'd in July early in the Morning in Cornwall, opposite to Bretaign, where they set on fire St. Paul's Church which stood alone in the Fields, besides Mouse-hole, Neulin and Pensans, three poor Fisher-Towns, and then retir'd without so much as taking or killing a Man. And these were the only

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French K.
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to make
Peace with
Spain.

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* See the
Appendix.

only Spaniards that ever set foot in England, as 1595. Enemies.

Ann. 38. But Matters of a much higher Nature, and greater Consequence, were undertaken against the Spaniards, not only on a private Account by some particular Persons, but in a publick manner by the Queen: For Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the Queen's Guard, having debauch'd one of the Maids of Honour, (whom he marry'd afterwards) and being on that account out of Favour, and confined for several Months, was at length enlarged, but banish'd the Court; whereupon he resolv'd to follow the Bias of his Fancy, which led him to make new Discoveries both of Things and Places, and so undertook a Voyage to Guiana; a Country which the Spaniards us'd to say, was very full of Gold. This Voyage, he hoped, would turn to the Honour and Advantage of his Country, as being a probable Road to vast Treasures, and affording a likelier means of annoying the Spaniard, in the inner Countries of America; where he conceiv'd they lay abundantly more exposed, than on the Sea-Coasts; for these Towns are never wealthy, but when the Golden-Tide flows in there, to be drain'd out again into Spain.

His Voyage. On the 6th of February therefore he sail'd from Plymouth, and on the 22d of March arrived at the Isle of Trinidad, eight degrees on this side the Line; where he took the small City of S. Joseph's without much Trouble; together with the Governor Antonio Bereo; but not so much as one piece of Silver in the Place. Having ask'd Bereo several Questions, who had, it seems, made a very strict Search for Gold-Mines, in Guiana, he left his Ship at Trinidad, and entering the River Orenouque, which is extremely large, and fed by several Streams, with a few Pinnaces, and 100 Men, he look'd out for Guiana for 400 Miles together; and ventur'd among several Shallows and Windings and parting Streams, expos'd all the while to the Heat of the Sun just over his Head, and incommoded by violent Storms of Rain, and a great many Difficulties besides: till the Air blowing something cooler in April, forc'd the Rains down every where in such vast Quantities, that he was forc'd to return for his own Security. He that would know more of this Expedition, may consult an ingenious Book of his relating to it; wherein he gives a most accurate Description of the Countries, as if he had been born and bred there; and concludes that Guiana must needs be a wealthy Country; not only from the beautiful Marcafiss found there, but from the Writings of the Spaniards, and upon the Credit and Report of the Barbarians, of whom yet he could but have little Knowledge; but indeed chiefly from the sanguine Complexion of his own Hopes and Delires. He likewise relates some things which appear fabulous enough, viz. of the Amazons, and a certain Nation of People, whose Shoulders are so high, that their Face is placed in their Breast: A Secret which Poets and Travellers had never before discover'd. In his way homeward he set Fire on Cumana, because the Inhabitants would not ransom it at his Price, and he did the same by several small Cottages at S. Mary's and Rio de la Hach. Nor was he discourag'd from one or two Essays more of this kind, though at a vast Expence to himself, and altho' the Spaniards had planted a Colony at Trinidad to oppose his Attempts.

At the same time, Amias Preston, and Sommers pillaged the Island of Porto-Santo near Madera, of Cobe near Margarita, the small Town of Coros, and S. Jago de Leon, a small City; but Cumana they ransom'd. A few Months before, the three Ships belonging to the Earl of Cumberland did

attack a large Carack, call'd the five Wounds of Christ; she by Chance took Fire in the Engagement, and was burnt with all her Cargo; the Fire flaming out in that violent degree, that the English had much ado to escape, and the Portuguese were forc'd to cast themselves into the Sea. These Exploits, and some more, were executed at the Charge of private Men.

But the Queen being inform'd that a vast Treasure was brought to Porto Rico in the Isle of Boriquena, or S. John's, for the Use of the King of Spain; in order to cut off his main Support, by intercepting the same, and keep his Men employ'd in those Parts; she sent thither Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, who were to share the Command at Sea, and with them Sir Thomas Baskerville, as General of the Land-Forces, with 6 of the Queen's Ships, and 20 other Men of War. They sail'd from Plymouth on the last of August, and arrived at Grand Canary the 27th of the next Month. Drake and Baskerville had a great Inclination to attempt taking this Island, not only to do themselves Credit, but their Country Service in gaining a Convenience for victualing the Fleet. Hawkins was of another Mind, as presuming the Fleet very well provided; and that they ought to lose no time, till they had dispatch'd the main Design. But being overborn at last by Baskerville's Importunity, who undertook to gain it in 4 days; and likewise by the Seamen's Complaints for Want of Provision; he gave his Consent. But Baskerville, upon his Attempt to land, soon found the Difficulty, and gave over the Attempt: for the Townsmen had put themselves on their Guard, and the Seamen made a stout Opposition from the Shoar. When therefore they had got from thence, after about a Months Sail, they arriv'd at the Isle of S. Domingo; and much about the same time 5 Spanish Ships, which were sent out to observe the English, and convoy the Plate from Porto Rico, seiz'd an English Pinnace which had lost the Fleet; and having by Tortures forced the Master and Mariners to confess that the English had a Design upon Porto Rico; they made thither with all the sail they could, to give Intelligence that the English were coming. The Gold and Silver they immediately bury'd, and dispatch'd small Vessels to all the Islands and Sea-coasts, to give the Spaniards timely Notice; who took the Alarm, and arm'd themselves. The English staying to build some Pinnaces in the Isle of Dominica, lost time, and came too late to Porto Rico: Where as soon as they came to anchor, the Enemy ply'd them with their great Guns from the Ports, and Sir Nicolas Clifford Knight, and Brute Brown, were mortally wounded, whilst they were at Supper, with a Shot which dispatch'd them in a day or two. The same day Hawkins died of Grief, occasion'd by some Contest which had arose between him and the other Commanders; and his Death was much lamented by the Seamen. The Spaniards sunk a great Ship, to block up the Mouth of the Haven, and had placed large Masts on both sides from thence to the very Forts that guard the Avenues: Within were the 5 Spanish Ships, prepared to oppose the English, all ballast-ed with Sand, and well stock'd with Musketeers, and great Guns and Ammunition. Nevertheless Baskerville mann'd out his Boats and Pinnaces, and made an Attempt to enter the Town, firing one or two of the Spanish Ships: But being repuls'd with the Loss of a great many Men, taken off by a Shower of small Shot, he had no Stomach at all to renew the Assault. He sail'd therefore from thence to the Continent, and burnt Rio de la Hach, a small Town, which the Inhabitants offer'd to ransom at 34000 Ducats;

as they likewise set fire to some other small Villages thereabouts. Afterwards they burnt *S. Martha's*, in which they found not the smallest Piece of Gold or Silver. The next Place they took was *Nombre de Dios*, which they burnt, together with the Shipping; but found neither People nor a Penny of Money in the Town. Thence they march'd with 750 Men well arm'd, towards *Panama*: But after a day or two's very troublesome March through very narrow and difficult Passages, they found themselves assaulted from the Woods with Showers of small Shot; and observing likewise that there was a Fort to oppose them, at the Entrance of that *Isthmus*; and hearing that there were two more within to obstruct their Passage, they were forc'd to return to their Ships wretchedly harass'd and half-starv'd, the Men being much weaken'd and dispirited: And now 'twas resolv'd to make towards the Isle of *Escondo*, and from thence to *Porto Bello*. Mean while Sir *Francis Drake* was, on the 28th of *January*, carry'd off by the Bloody-flux, the Vexation of his Disappointment assisting his Distemper. He had no other Funeral, than what is common at Sea, viz. to be cast overboard with a Volley of Shot; and he happen'd to find his Grave, very near the Place from whence he had borrow'd so large a Reputation, by his fortunate Successes. He that would know more of this Gentleman's History, may have Recourse to what is said of him under the Year 1580. In their Return they were met by the *Spanish Fleet* on the South of *Cuba*, near the Isle of *Pines*; which had waited for their Coming: However, *Baskerville* and *Troughton*, the one in the Vice-Admiral, and the other in the Admiral, gave the *Spaniards* such a warm Entertainment, upon the first Brush; that, if we may take their Words, the Fleet got clear of them with less Damage from the Enemy, than was receiv'd on their side by the *English*. At last they return'd to *England*, after they had been out eight Months, with very little Booty; having fired only some small Towns, and a good Number of Ships: For 'tis to be consider'd, that the *Spaniards* in *America*, who had formerly liv'd very secure, by reason of the Distance of the Place, having lately suffer'd great Damages both from the *French* and *English*, who ventur'd into those Parts, had by this time strengthen'd themselves with good Forts; and were very well provided to make their Defence upon any Assault.

Whilst the *English* were thus employ'd in the Western Parts, a former Misunderstanding between the Queen and the States-General, which as it ow'd its Rise to a very inconsiderable Occasion, so it by degrees grew enflamed, and soon after by the same degrees vanish'd; as will appear by what follows. The Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* had laid before the Queen, the vast Sums of Money, which had been expended upon the Low-Country-War, since the Year 1585. the great Quantity of Gold and Silver, which had been exported to *Holland*, and there coin'd, to the great Advantage of the States, but never a Penny of it brought back into *England*. How many brave *Englishmen* had been lost upon their account. What a mighty Expence she must needs be at, before she could quell the Commotions in *Ireland*, and divert the Attempts of the *Spaniards*. He remonstrated likewise, how the States ow'd their Security to her Majesty's Assistance, and had by the same means annoy'd their Enemies, establish'd their Government, which before stood on a tottering Foundation; and besides, the Increase of their Wealth by Trade, and their Power by the Accession of new Colonies, had made themselves capable of succouring their Neighbours.

The Queen, being tired out with the Inconveniences of a tedious War, the Expence especially, signify'd all these things to the States, by her Residentiary Sir *Thomas Bodley*; particularly, that *England* was doubly impoverish'd, both as to Men and Money, by maintaining so long a War against *Spain*; which she had made her Enemy, meerly for having lent them her Assistance, in the Extremity of their Affairs. She demanded therefore, 'That they would ease her of the Expence of maintaining her Recruits: That they would pay back some part of the Charge, and appoint Commissioners to find out Ways and Means for reimbursing the entire Sum, which was rais'd on their account, and payable to Sir *Horatio Pallavicini*, to whom she had pay'd a large Interest for a long while. The States own'd, with many Thanks, the Queen's great and signal Favours; and acknowledg'd themselves obliged to her Majesty, next under God, for all their good Successes: But they alledg'd, 'That they had laid out such large Sums in the year 1588. against the *Spanish Armada*; so much the year following in the *Portugal Expedition*; and after that, so much more in the Voyage to *Brest*; and had suffer'd of late so very much by an extraordinary Flood; that they were not at present furnish'd with Money enough to discharge their Debts, unless by laying too heavy Burdens on the Necks of their People, and so murdering their Cause all at once: That they were so far from finding their Charges lessen'd by their new Acquisitions, that they were rather augmented, through the Necessity of fortifying those Places, and stocking them with fresh Garrisons. Then for their Trade, it was at that time, and had been expos'd to infinite Losses, by Seizures of Goods in *Spain*, and through the Piracies of the *English* and *Dunkirkers*. They could not deny but they had supply'd the *French King*; but 'twas not from the great Banks they were Masters of, or that they affected to be thought richer than they were; nor out of any Design to crave his Protection, in Neglect of *England*: But purely to divert the Enemy, and keep that King from making a Peace with *Spain*; to which either his own Wants, or the civil Dissensions of his Subjects, or the corrupt Counsels of his Ministers, might otherwise oblige him. However, 'Part of the Money they engaged to reimburse.

But the Queen demanded more than was offer'd; whereas they strongly insisted, that by the Agreement in the year 1585, the Money was not to be repay'd, till the War was at an end; and that the Queen ought not to go back from her Contract, if she had any Regard for her Honour. She however was of another Opinion, founded upon these Maxims of Law and Policy.

That all Compacts between Prince and Prince are to be interpreted by the Measures of Truth and Sincerity; and that no Prince is bound by any Agreement, which afterwards appears to have a real Tendency to the common Prejudice and Detriment: That 'tis no Breach of Peace, for a Prince to recede from his Contract, upon the Intervention of some new and unforeseen Accident, which alters the Case, and puts a new Face on the State of things; and which had accordingly been provided for, could the Exigence have been foreseen or apprehended: That Leagues and Agreements between Princes ought not to be play'd or trifled with, nor are they to be kept with such as are unfaithful to their own Engagements: That a Prince is not bound to observe a Contract, relating barely to a Point of Honour or State, if it turn

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Money demanded of the Dutch.

Queen's Proposals.

States Answer.

Q. replies.

1595. to the visible Damage and Inconvenience of
 Ann. 38. the Subject: That every Contract, tho' con-
 firm'd by an Oath, is understood to oblige no
 farther nor otherwise, than as things shall con-
 tinue in *statu quo*, and may fairly alter upon
 Change of Circumstances: That every Man
 owes more to the Publick than his Promise:
 And that, according to *Seneca*, a wise Man ne-
 ver changes his Purpose, if things remain as
 they were, when 'twas first fram'd; having no
 occasion to repent or revoke it, because he
 took the best Measures, as things then stood;
 and made as good a Choice as Fortune would
 give him leave. Upon this therefore follow'd
 many, and very curious Disputes; as likewise
 whether the States were obliged to pay any
 thing to the Queen's Successors, should it please
 God to take her away; since, according to the
 Letter of the Contract, the one was not bound
 to aid, nor the other to pay. Again, Whether
 the Debt demanded in *Pallavicini's* Name, were
 not rather chargeable on those of *Brabant*, *Flanders*,
 and *Artois*; forasmuch as the Contract was
 sign'd during their Confederacy, and before the
 present one, in which the united Provinces were
 engag'd. However *Bodley* brought the States at
 last to those Terms, that rather than incur the
 Disfavour of so great a Princess, they made the
 following Propositions: That they would immedi-
 ately free the Queen from the entire Expence relating
 to the Maintenance of the English Auxiliaries: (compu-
 ted at 40000 l. per ann.) That they would pay
 20000 l. Sterling for some Years, assist her with a cer-
 tain Number of Ships, and conclude no Peace nor
 Treaties without her Consent: That upon the Conclusion
 of a Peace, they would pay her a yearly Sum of 100000 l.
 for four Years; with this Reserve, notwithstanding,
 that they should have out of England, a Supply of
 4000 Men, and a free and full Discharge of all Debts
 and Demands. These Proposals they humbly desir'd
 her Majesty's Acceptance of, for the Reasons
 before alledg'd. They represented moreover
 the unstable Condition of their Government
 at this Juncture, the People being under a general
 Consternation at the great Power of the Enemy,
 who was able to maintain so many Armies on foot;
 the Provinces not being well agreed about the
 Method of raising their several Contributions;
 and the principal Lords at Variance among
 themselves: Besides that, great Numbers with-
 drew from the Reform'd Religion, and the Em-
 peror us'd all possible Methods by his Ambassadors,
 to incline the People to accept of a Peace: So
 that should this large Debt of Ten Years stand-
 ing be at that time punctually demanded; it was
 to be fear'd, the Consequence would prove very
 fatal to the United Provinces.

The Queen could not be induced to admit
 their Excuses upon the Plea of Poverty; but her
 Pity supply'd the Room of all Arguments: for
 she was unwilling to lose the Benefit of their Al-
 liance, to force them to Despair, or to give the
 Enemy any Opportunity of insulting. She de-
 manded however, that they should bring into
 her Fleet 30 Ships, stor'd with all manner of
 Provisions, to serve on the present occasion a-
 gainst *Spain*; and allow some Months Pay to
 the English Recruits. And thus was this Dispute
 laid asleep, till the Year 1598.

In the mean time, the *Hans-Towns* in *Germany*
 made Complaints to the Emperor and States of
 the Empire, of the Infringement of their Privi-
 leges, in relation to Customs, which had been
 formerly granted them by the Kings of *England*:
 That their Goods had been arrested in the *Portu-
 gal-Expedition*; and that the English Merchants
 had engross'd the Trade in *Germany*.

To these Particulars, Dr. *Christopher Parkins* an-
 swer'd, in the Queen's Name, That those Pri-
 vileges were revok'd in the Reign of *Edward*
 VI. by an Act of Parliament, (since unre-
 peal'd) upon the account of some Mismanage-
 ments, and for other warrantable Causes; as
 being indeed no way convenient at that Jun-
 cture, and having been granted when Trade
 and Navigation were at a low Ebb in *England*:
 But now the Case was alter'd, and therefore in
 Queen *Mary's* Reign the Exercise thereof was
 totally prohibited: That the Queen, for her
 part, never was for divesting them of their Pri-
 vilege (which yet she had an Act of Parlia-
 ment to warrant her in) but had in the first
 Year of her Reign made some temporary Grants
 to them, such as the Times would then bear;
 till they themselves had, without the least War-
 ning, thrust the English out of *Hamburg*, con-
 trary to the good Agreement which was then
 between them: Nevertheless she design'd still
 to place them on the same Level of Privilege,
 with the English, in respect of Trade; but they
 rejected the Offer, and insisted on a greater:
 Whereas 'twas contrary to general Custom and
 common Reason, to prefer Foreigners before
 ones natural Subjects, in the Business of trading
 for Commodities, peculiar to every Country;
 which yet they seem'd, by those Privileges, to
 insist upon. Besides, 'twas impossible the Go-
 vernment should subsist, should the *Hans-Towns*
 be obliged to pay no higher Customs at this
 time of day, than were impos'd above 300
 Years ago; if Liberties granted to the Preju-
 dice of the Government should be allow'd of,
 and those which have been formerly revoked
 should be in Force again, at the Request of a
 ny private Person: yet had she very lately of-
 fer'd them, upon the Emperor's account, al-
 most the same Privileges with the English, viz.
 that for Customs on the account of Cloaths ex-
 ported hence, and for Commodities usually
 imported hither from the *Hans-Towns*, they
 should pay no more than the Queen's natural
 Subjects: But if they had a Mind to import
 foreign Wares into *England*, such as come from
Spain and the *Low-Countries*; they might law-
 fully do so, paying a Penny in the Pound less
 than other Foreigners: But as for Cloth, it
 should not be lawful for those of the *Hans-
 Towns* to transport it any whither, but to the
Hans-Towns beyond the River *Ems*, and the
 City of *Emden* towards the East, and the *Bal-
 tick* Sea: That she likewise allow'd them the
 Liberty of having their Houses in *London* and
 elsewhere in *England*, and to govern their Com-
 pany in a regular way, by a President; on
 condition nothing were done to the Queen's
 Prejudice, or against the Laws of the Land;
 though their own Privileges contain nothing
 of any Liberty to make Choice of their Go-
 vernor, or to frame Statutes and Orders, or
 maintain any Jurisdiction in a foreign Country,
 &c. That the Goods which they complain of
 being arrested, were warlike Ammunition,
 which they were carrying into *Spain*, to be
 employ'd against *England*; which their Privi-
 leges did not in the least warrant, and contrary
 to the Notice given in all their Cities, that
 they should not do it, unless they would be
 consider'd as Enemies: That their Ships were
 again discharged, and nothing seiz'd or kept,
 but the said Ammunition; which were law-
 fully detain'd, both by the Law of Arms, and
 the Constitution of the Kingdom. As for the
 Monopoly they complain'd of, the Germans
 themselves had certifi'd in their Writings, that
 the English us'd a Way of Trade, far enough
 from

Lib. de
 beneficiis,
 cap. 13.

Their new
 Proposals

Accepted
 by the Q.

from the Oppression of engrossing. She was therefore in hopes, that the Decree of *Augsburg* for prohibiting the *English* Trade, procur'd by the *Hans-Towns*, would be laid aside; especially considering the States of the Empire have no Authority to take Cognizance of Privileges or any thing whatever, relating to the Rights and Laws of the Kingdom of *England*; which being an absolute and independent Kingdom, owns no Superior, but its own proper Sovereign.

Nevertheless vast Quantities of Grain were in the mean time brought into *England*, from the *Hans-Towns*, after the Queen had granted a general Permission to import it without paying Custom. And this mightily abated the Price of Grain; which was advanc'd to such a Rate, by reason of the great Rains which fell in the Summer, and some private Methods which were us'd to transport it, that some of the poorer Sort in *London* began to mutiny on that account.

About this time, *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, died in the Tower of *London*; having, after his Condemnation in the Year 1587, (the Severity of which the Queen was pleas'd to qualify by a gracious Reprieve) given himself up to his retired Meditations; till by a religious kind of Austerity, he had reduc'd himself to a very languishing State. He left behind him his young and only Son *Thomas*, whom he had by *Ann Dacres* of *Gillesland*.

Much about the same time did *William L. Vaux* depart this Life, a Prisoner at large, and a most bigotted Catholic. He was succeeded by his Grandson *Edward*, whom his Son had by *Elizabeth Roper*.

Both these Gentlemen were accompanied by *Sir Thomas Heneage*, who had been a Servant to the Queen from his Youth, and made by her first Treasurer of her Chamber, and then Vice-Chamberlain and Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*; a Gentleman he was of so spruce and polite Address, that he seem'd purely calculated for a Court. He left but one Daughter behind him, by whom the Family of the *Finches* was happily augmented with a fair Estate and a numerous Issue.

The last Month of this Year did *William Whitaker* lay down this mortal Life; an excellent and well-accomplish'd Divine, that had been fifteen Years the Queen's Professor of Divinity in the University of *Cambridge*, and Master of *St. John's* College. He had impair'd his Constitution by too intense Studies, when that Query was bandied among the Clergy there, *Whether true justifying Faith can be lost?* His Memory was much valued, and his Loss equally lamented by that University, which had receiv'd considerable Advantages from his Sermons, Example and Writings.

The very same Month died *Sir Roger Williams* Knight, a *Welsh* Gentleman of the Family of *Penrose* in *Monmouthshire*. He first tried his Fortune in the Army under the Duke of *Alva*; and afterwards having obtain'd a full and compleat Experience of the Arts and Discipline of War, he was perhaps no way inferior to the best Soldiers of that Age, could he have put bounds to his Courage, which ran quite away with his Conduct and Discretion. 'Twas undoubtedly by a singular Excellence in him, that he was capable, upon the bare stock of Experience, without the least Improvements of Learning or Education, of writing a most exquisite and judicious History of the *Low-Country-Wars*, in which he was an Actor, and of maintaining, as he did, in an admirable Book on that Subject, the Art of Fighting as it is now practis'd, against that which was

in former Ages, to the great Mortification of the antiquated Admirers of Bows and Arrows. The Earl of *Essex* attended at his Funeral, which was solemniz'd at *St. Paul's*, besides as many Officers of the Army as were then in Town.

The next Day after he was buried, *Sir Thomas Morgan*, who was with *Sir Roger*, his Kinsman, when he breath'd his last, departed this Life. He was also a *Welshman*, and an old Knight, of the Honourable Family of the *Morgans* of *Pencarn* in the same County; a Gentleman that was justly valued for a well-temper'd Courage, and receiv'd yet higher Commendations on the account of his unmovable Loyalty to his Prince; for he put into the Queen's hands an Assignment of a yearly Sum of Money made to him under the King of *Spain's* Hand, to gain him over to his Interest, and contented himself with the Allowance of a small Salary from her.

Russel, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, foreseeing by the Circumstances mention'd by me towards the end of the last Year's Transactions, that a War was likely to break out, made pressing Applications by his Friends in *England*, that some experienc'd Officer might be lent over to him, to assist him with the best Advices in this dangerous Juncture. He had a mind for *Baskerville* before any other, tho' he did not go so far as to mention him. But, clean contrary to his Expectation, *Sir John Norris* was the Person pitch'd upon, a thorough Soldier, a good Officer, and every way resolute and brave.

As soon as *Tir-Oen* heard that he was ready to arrive with 1300 Veterane Soldiers who had serv'd in *Bretaign* and the *Low-Countries*, and with other Supplies likewise out of *England*, and that the *English* had a design on the Castles of *Baleshannon* and *Belyek*, at the entrance of *Lough-Earn*, he was driven by his Fears to make an unexpected Assault upon the Fort at *Black-water*, which opens the Passage to the Country of *Tir-Oen*, and forc'd it to surrender, through the absence and neglect of the Governor, *Edward Cornwallis*; which as soon as he had done, being hurried and tossed between various Resolutions, he wrote Letters to the Earl of *Kildare*, with Offers of his Service against the Injuries done him by the Lord-Deputy's Officers; and at the same time promis'd the Earl of *Ormond*, and *Sir Henry Wallop* Treasurer of the Army, to continue a good Loyallist, and intreated the Lord-Deputy and *Sir John Norris*, by Letters sent on purpose, to use him favourably, and not force him to turn Rebel against his Inclinations, and purely for his own Security. But these Letters were intercepted by the Marshal *Bagnal*, and suppress'd, to the Earl's great Detriment, as he afterwards complain'd.

For soon after he was in *July* proclaim'd a publick Traitor, both in *Irish* and *English*, by the Name of *Hugh-O-Neal*, the Son of *Matthew Fardareugh*, (which signifies the Blacksmith) and the base Son of *Con-Oneal*. The first part of the Proclamation took notice of his Ingratitude to the Queen, who had given him a yearly Pension as a Relief under his Extremities, advanc'd him to the Dignity of an Earl, given him an Estate in *Ireland* above others of his Family, and pardon'd him not only for the Outrages committed on his Neighbours, but for the barbarous Murder of *Shan-O-Neal's* Son, whom he had strangl'd without allowing him a bare Hearing. Then was mention'd his base usage of *Shan's* other Sons, by keeping them in Irons; and his treacherous tampering with the Lords of *Ulster* to join in Rebellion with him: And last of all, it contain'd the promise of a Pardon to all that would desert him, and a general Caution to every one not to aid or

assist the Rebels in any kind or degree whatever.

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Rebel's Strength. The Rebels were at this present able to muster about 1000 Horse, and 6280 Foot in *Ulster*, and 2200 in *Connaught*, every Man of them at *Tir-Oen's* Command. And among these there were several experienc'd Soldiers, that had been train'd in the Exercise of War ever since the Lord-Deputy *Perrot* had appointed every Lord of *Ulster* to have such a number of Men well-disciplin'd, and always in a readiness to serve against the *Island-Scots*: Others of them had been bred up in the *Low-Country-Wars*, being sent for over by the Deputy upon an unhappy Errand, as in the conclusion it prov'd: Others were induced, by the Persuasions of the Lord-Deputy *Fitz-Williams*, to serve in the *English Wars*, and by that means grew experienc'd Soldiers.

Nor were the Forces under Sir *John Norris* any whit inferior, who had Orders to march against the Rebels, to prevent the Succours they expected out of *Spain*; for the Queen had given him the principal Command, (to prevent any Reflection that might fall on the Lord-Deputy) styling him *The General of the Army in Ulster in the absence of the Lord-Deputy*; and granted him an absolute Power to pardon what Malecontents he should think fit. With what design this was done, I cannot divine; but most certainly 'twas the subject of general Wonder, in regard that the very Essence of Government seems to consist in its being lodg'd in the hands of one, and nothing being either more monstrous or mischievous than a mixt or divided Authority. However the Lord-Deputy acted in conjunction with him, and they

And the Deputy. advanced as far as *Armagh*, putting the Rebels into such a Consternation, that *Tir-Oen* abandon'd the Fort at *Block-water*, set fire on the adjacent Villages and the Town of *Dunganon*, demolish'd a great part of his own House there, and looking on his Affairs as quite desperate, began to look out for some Retreat or fit place to abscond in; but the Loyalists made an Halt for want of Provision, (which is a Neglect that has disappointed many Expeditions in *Ireland*) and after having proclaim'd *Tir-Oen* a Traitor in his own Territories, and placed a Garison in the Metropolitan-Church of *Armagh*, they return'd back again. *Tir-Oen* observ'd them narrowly in their return, and sometimes shew'd himself at a great distance. They afterwards fortified the Garison of *Mcnaughtan*, and when they had got pretty near to *Dundalk*, the Lord-Deputy, according to the Instructions he had receiv'd, gave up the entire Charge of the Army to *Norris*, and after several Compliments and Expressions of Civility between them, return'd to *Dublin*, and kept a strict eye upon the Affairs of *Leinster*, *Connaught* and *Ulster*.

Norris remain'd with a strong Army in *Ulster*, and did nothing answerable to the great Hopes conceiv'd of him: Perhaps out of an Emulation against the Lord-Deputy, (which the Courtiers endeavour'd to foment by all the sly Arts they were Masters of) the one being as little able to brook an Equal, as the other to endure a Superior; or else from a Principle of Policy usual with Soldiers, who love to spin out a War, as being very sensible that their Value rises according as there is occasion for their Service; or it may be, out of some affectionate Regards for *Tir-Oen*, who was as great a Favourite with him, as, on the contrary, he was unacceptable to the Lord-Deputy; for he gave, it seems, so much credit to the fine Harangues of *Tir-Oen*, and his Party, that he blam'd the Lord-Deputy in his Thoughts, as having dealt too rigidly with *Tir-Oen*, when he refus'd to accept of any Terms

of an Accommodation at his Hands. The Truth of the matter is, that the Lord-Deputy was really persuaded, that *Tir-Oen* did nothing but make Pretences of Delay, till the Succours, which were expected, arriv'd from *Spain*. Wherefore he refused all Terms or Overtures of a Treaty, as so many Tricks and Artifices on his side, and as inconsistent with the Queen's Honour and his own Reputation, since they were the Proposals of a proclaim'd Rebel. *Norris*, on the other side, being more credulous, conceiv'd such Hopes of bringing him to handsom Terms, as to admit of a Conference with him. But these Expectations were rais'd and cherish'd by the Subtily of *Tir-Oen*, who presented *Norris* with a pretended Submission, subscrib'd by his own Hand, and begg'd Pardon on his Knees before *Norris* and Secretary *Fenton*; protesting withal, 'That he did not withdraw his Allegiance from his Prince out of Malice or any ill Design, but that his Friends deeply resenting some Wrongs that were done him, particularly a Design that was form'd to take away his Life, he was in a manner forc'd into a Rebellion: That this was his first Crime against the Queen, which he promis'd to make a full amends for, by a future good and loyal Behaviour; and that he would likewise renounce the Title of *O-Neal*, which he had made use of for no other Reason, than to prevent its being usurp'd by others, in bar to his Right and Title: That from thenceforward he would quite abandon the *Spanish Interest*, (into which he had not entred before *August*) and therefore humbly implor'd the Queen's Mercy, and a general Act of Oblivion, for himself and Friends, in relation to what was past.

O-Donel did at the same time submit himself, and thereupon two Hostages were given, and a Truce agreed to till the first of *January*. And 'twas not long after that *Feagh-Mac-Hugh* cast himself at the Lord-Deputy's Feet, and craving Pardon with humble Looks and in a lamentable Tone, was receiv'd into Protection, and lived for some time without giving the Government any Disturbance.

Persons of better Heads have made an Observation, that not only the present, but former Conferences and Treaties of this kind, have had a scurvy Aspect upon the Queen's Affairs; for in the mean while the Malecontents gain time enough to form and ripen their Projects, to corroborate themselves by new Alliances from abroad, and provide fresh Recruits at home. And thus it was in the present case, for base and ill-natur'd People flock'd in every day to them, the *English Forces* lying in the meantime unemployed, and at a great Expence, and eating the Queen's faithful Subjects out of house and home, because 'twas provided by the Treaty, that they should not quarter in the Enemy's Country.

The Nine and Thirtieth Year of her Reign.

Upon the expiring of the Truce in the beginning of *January*, (tho' before that time the Rebels made a shift to seize on the Castle of *Monaghan*) Sir *Henry Wallop* Treasurer of the Army in *Ireland*, and Sir *Robert Gardner* Chief-Justice, both Persons of Gravity and Conduct, were sent to treat with *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the rest of the Malecontents, and to persuade them to some Terms of Accommodation; to whom they made known their several Grievances, and gave in their Petitions one by one.

Tir-Oen's Complaint was, 'That the Marshal Sir *Henry Bagnal* had defrauded him of the just Fruit of his Endeavours, and had by false and abusive

abusive Insinuations robb'd him of the Queen's Favour, and in some measure of his Title and Character: That he had intercepted his Letters to the Lord-Deputy, General Norris, and others, and detain'd 'em to his great Prejudice, and seiz'd likewise upon his Wife's Portion; whereas he protested he had entred into no manner of Correspondence with any foreign Prince, till he had been publickly proclaim'd a Traitor. He humbly requested a free Pardon for himself and his Friends, and that they might be restor'd again to their Estates, and enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, (a very pleasant Conceit, when Religion was a thing that had not hitherto failen under any consideration in that Kingdom, and the Malecontents themselves had so little troubl'd their Heads about it, that this was the very first time they made use of it as a Medium to strengthen their Party). Again, 'That the Marshal might be obliged to pay him a thousand Pounds of English Money for his Wife's Portion, she being now dead: That no Garison-Soldiers, Sheriffs, or any Officers of that sort, might be appointed in the County of Tir-Oen: That the Troop of fifty Horse, which being in the Queen's Pay under his Command, had been taken from him, might be restor'd to him: And that those who had seiz'd on the Possessions of himself and his Friends, might be brought to condign Punishment. Upon the grant of these Particulars he promis'd to behave himself as a most faithful Subject, and to permit the Archbishop and Dean of Armagh to enjoy their Demetius without molestation.

O'Donel, after a preliminary Harangue of the Loyalty of his Father and Family towards the Kings of England, complain'd, 'That Boom, an English Captain, was sent by Perrot, the then Lord-Deputy, with a Troop of Soldiers into his Country, under colour of reducing the Inhabitants to a more civil Deportment, and was withal receiv'd with a great deal of Courtesy, and had some Towns appointed him by his Father, but that he made him no better return than doing him all the Mischief he could, and advancing a Bastard to the Dignity of O'Donel: That the Lord-Deputy Perrot had seiz'd upon him in Person, committed him to Prison upon no Grounds, and unjustly detain'd him till by God's Providence he made his Escape: That the Lord-Deputy Fitz-Williams had sent for Oen-O-Toul, the next Person to O'Donel himself in those Parts; and contrary to the safe Conduct allow'd him, had for seven Years detain'd him in Custody, tho' nothing could be alledg'd against him; and he had practis'd unsufferable Violences upon his Neighbours in Fermanagh; and that he himself could therefore find no better way to secure himself, than by assisting them. As for his Demands, they were much the same with the Earl's, but he insisted likewise on some Castles and Lands in the County of Slego, with the Castle belonging to that Place, which he claim'd an Assignment of as his proper Right: For, it seems, Ulick a Burgh, English of the Garison, had lately betrayed that Fort to the Enemy, having first basely murder'd his Captain George Bingham.

After these came on the Pleas of Shan-Mac-Brian and Mac-Phelim O-Neal, who made grievous Complaints, 'That the Isle of Magy and the Barony of Maugbery Mourn, the Hereditary Estate of their Ancestors, was unjustly taken from them, the one by the Earl of Essex, the other by Sir Henry Bagnal; and that he himself was kept in Prison till upon Compulsion he had made over his Title to Bagnal: And that he

was at the very Instant, insolent'y and injuriously treated by the Garison in Knock-Fergus.

Hugh-Mac-Guire made a lamentable Complaint of the Sawciness of the Garison Soldiers, who drove away his Cows; as likewise, that the Sheriff, being sent into his Territories, had cut off the Head of his nearest Kinswoman, and trampled it under his Feet.

Brian-Mac-Hugh, Oge-Mac-Mahon and Ever-Mac-Couley, complain'd, 'That, amongst other things, the Lord-Deputy Fitz-Williams had taken Bribes to settle Hugh-Roe in the Dignity of Mac-Mahon; and that not long after, upon his demanding a Tax for his People with Colours display'd, according to custom, he had hang'd him up, and given away his Estate to meer Strangers, on purpose to extinguish the Name of Mac-Mahon.

In a word, they all join'd in the same Demand, before-mention'd, as to the free exercise of Religion: But these two last requir'd moreover an absolute and full possession of all the Revenues, as well Ecclesiastical, as what belong'd to them, within their respective Counties, upon paying a yearly Acknowledgment in Money. These Proposals being, some of them, thought fit to be granted by the Commissioners, whilst some were to be qualified by certain Restrictions, and others refer'd to the Queen, a Proposal was made to the Rebels on the other side, under the following Terms: That they should lay down their Arms, Articles dismiss their Forces, ask Pardon for their Rebellion, propounded to the admit Sheriffs into their Counties, repair the Farts they Rebels. had demolish'd, not any way molest the Garison-Soldiers, restore whatever they had unjustly seiz'd on, discover upon their Oaths the whole of their Transactions with foreign Princes, and most faithfully promise not to enter upon any such Engagements for the future against their Sovereign.

But so insolent was the Faction now grown, as to judge these Conditions highly unreasonable; so that they broke up the Conference, having first agreed on a Cessation of Arms till the first of April, upon these Conditions: 'That no Act of Hostility should be committed on either side: That the English-Soldiers in Garison, should have free liberty to pass and repass with their Provision and Arms: That they should Forage, carry Wood, and fetch Materials to fortify their Garisons at three Miles distance from them, where-ever they happen to lie: That they should not by any means endeavour to draw the Queen's Subjects into Rebellion, with other matters to the like purpose: That for the due performance of these Conditions, Hostages should be deliver'd by Tir-Oen, either to be detain'd during the whole time mention'd in the Truce, or to be reliv'd by others in their turns.

O'Donel could not on any Terms be persuaded to deliver Hostages; but just upon their breaking up, Tir-Oen and O'Donel gave notice by Letters, that they were not capable of standing to any Conditions, unless Feagh Mac-Hugh in Leimster, Mac-Williams, O-Roro, O-Conor Dun, and the rest of the Malecontents in Connaught; as also the O-Railes and those in Brenny, might be restor'd to their Estates, and enjoy full Pardon.

The Queen, tho' she was very willing both at that time and afterwards to accept of any Terms (to spare the Effusion of Blood) which were any way consistent with her Royal Character; yet she look'd on it as intolerable that one Rebel should pretend to interceed for another, since (to use her own Expression) she was not to learn how to bestow her Clemency upon such as were sorry for their Crimes, and earnestly sought for it. As for the free exercise

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Articles
propounded
to the
Rebels.

The Male-
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His De-
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O'Donel's
Complaint

His De-
mands.

The Com-
plaints of
others.

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Ann. 39. exercise of Popery, (which they took no notice of in their written Form of Submission) and the business of alienating Church-Lands, her answer was, 'That she never had willingly and knowingly granted, nor would she hereafter grant to any Man the liberty of breaking the Laws, or seizing on the Revenues of the Church. As for what Wrongs they had suffer'd, she would make 'em Satisfaction, if they could make out the Particulars wherein they were injur'd: And the Rudeness and Insolence of the Garison-Soldiers she very much condemn'd. And she sent several Letters to Norris and Fenton to the same purpose; whose Credulity *Tir-Oen* had made a most advantageous use of. The Queen found at length that *Wallop* and *Gardiner*, her Commissioners, manag'd things with less Prudence than was expected; so that they receiv'd from her a brisk Reprimand for having treated *Tir-Oen* and his Party, who were proclaim'd Rebels, with too much Distinction and Complaisance.

The Rebels solicit the K. of Spain's assistance. Mean while *Tir-Oen* importun'd the King of Spain, by private Letters and Agents, to come to his Assistance; till at length one or two Messengers were dispatched to the Malecontents with private Instructions, with whom they struck up this Agreement, viz. 'That if the King of Spain would, within a certain time prefix'd, furnish them with an Army powerful enough to subdue the English, they would join their Forces with them; and in the interim, if he would supply them with Arms and Ammunition, they would not accept of any Terms of Peace whatsoever.

Tir-Oen imparts Letters from the K. of Spain and imposes on Norris. These Contracts were subscribed by *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams* and others; but *Tir-Oen* was too politick to sign them, tho' no doubt he gave an implicit Consent. The Letters which the King of Spain sent him, full of mighty Promises, he dispatched away to the Lord-Deputy, as an Argument of his sincere Loyalty to his Prince: But fully depending on some Assistance from Spain, he at the same time revok'd his submissive Recantation, and fell back from his Promise made to Norris. This the General took very ill, and roundly charg'd him for having gull'd him with fair and specious Pretences. But *Tir-Oen* being a Person that knew very well how to shift the Scene, when the Truce was just ready to expire, came to a new Capitulation with Norris and Fenton, which was confirm'd on both sides, and Hostages given. They, between them, procur'd a Pardon for *Tir-Oen* and his Accomplices in the County of *Tir-Oen*; which being put off for some time, by reason the Lawyers could not agree upon a Form, he made his use of the Delay, and protracted it for two Months, as being doubtful whether he should accept the Pardon or not, unless the Rebels in *Connaught* were likewise comprehended in the same. He did however accept it at last, and seem'd very well pleas'd therewith, often protesting, that it was more acceptable to him than the Letters-Patents which convey'd to him the Title of Earl: But for all this he refus'd to swear Allegiance, or to renounce upon Oath any foreign Assistance.

L. Deputy routs O-Maden, and Norris the Rebels in Connaught. Whilst General Norris was making these Terms with *Tir-Oen*, the Lord-Deputy was on the pursuit of *O-Maden*, who had rais'd a new Commotion, and laid Siege to his Castle of *Clobon-O-Maden*, the Garison being summon'd to surrender, made a rude answer, That they would never deliver the Fort, were there as many Lord Deputies as single Persons in the Place. But within a few days they storm'd the Castle, and put every Man to the Sword.

Norris and Fenton march'd forthwith into Connaught, and had much ado to bring the Rebels to any Terms of Agreement, for they were outrageously bent against *Bingham*, and so made it their whole Business to form Delays, and at last clapt up a Peace not likely to be very long-liv'd, and perhaps all this by *Tir-Oen's* Advice. For he began to equivocate and give some dark Hints, That he suspected some foul Play was us'd toward him, because the Lord-Deputy and Sir *John Norris* were so ill agreed, and in regard the Proposals for Peace offer'd to the Lord-Deputy were so contemptuously rejected: In that the Lord-Deputy seem'd likewise resolv'd on War, and had receiv'd Recruits of Horse from England, and detain'd the King of Spain's Letters already mention'd: As also, that the Marshal, his profess'd Enemy, was just return'd out of England with fresh Instructions. Hereupon he sent his Ruffians abroad and began to waste and pillage the Country all about. But not long after, being vexed at what he had done, and hearing there was a probability of Peace between England and Spain, he was likewise for making a Virtue of Necessity, and as peaceably inclin'd as any one could wish. I am quite tir'd with pursuing him through all his Shifts and Devices: In short, upon the appearance of the least Danger from England, nothing was so cringing and submissive; so that by a mock shew of Repentance he always chous'd the English, till he had got into Shelter, and the Forces rais'd against him were dismiss'd. Nor is it to be wonder'd that he was so often believ'd and pardon'd, when 'tis consider'd what slothful and mercenary Commanders did then abound in Ireland, besides the unseasonable good Husbandry of the English Council, and the Queen's natural Clemency, who always desired that the Robberies and Outrages of the Malecontents (for the Name of a War they did not deserve) might be suppress'd, if possible, without Bloodshed. But how false and dissembling a Wretch he was, the following Particulars will easily discover.

The very same Month that he receiv'd the Instrument of his Pardon, did he, together with *O-Donel*, *O-Rork*, *Mac-Williams*, and *Tribus Clan-Shees*, send private Letters to the Gentry in *Munster*, putting them in Hopes, and promising their utmost Assistance with Oaths and Imprecations, That if they would join their Forces with them in the Defence of the Catholick Religion, there should no Peace be concluded with the English, but all the Confederates should be therein comprehended.

Soon after, he incited *Feagh Mac-Hugh* to revive a Rebellion in *Leimster*, which had been totally suppress'd, after he had petition'd for his Pardon, and was now just ready to receive it. He immediately seiz'd on the Fort near *Ballencore*, and razed it to the Ground: After which he committed several Outrages in the County of *Leimster*, tho' the Lord-Deputy went in pursuit of him. He likewise supported *Peter* and *James Butler*, Nephews to the Earl of *Ormond*, who were then up in Arms: But this was carried on with all the Privacy imaginable.

Winter now coming on, he could no longer conceal those treacherous Principles which he had thus long mask'd under a profound Dissimulation; for, in opposition to the Articles of the late Treaty, he publicly forbade the conveyance of Provisions to the Garison in *Armagh*, and from an Ambush, prepared for that purpose, slew several Soldiers that were employ'd in carrying Vi-ctuals, or fetching Wood; and he himself made such a furious Attack upon the Garison, that thirty

1596. Ann. 39. thirty of them were slain. Henry Oge, Man-Shan's Son-in-law, he sent out to set the Villages on fire, and plunder the Country about the River Boyne, and attempted to take the Castle of Carrlingford by Stratagem.

These Disorders the Lord-Deputy and Council fairly expostulated; and desired him withal, that if he had any regard for the Safety of his Hostages, or was willing to prevent the being proclaimed a Traitor once more, he would make no more Assaults upon the Garison, nor hinder the conveyance of Provisions to it. His Answer was, 'That he, for his part, had kept the Agreement; but that Feagh Mac-Hugh was ill treated by the Lord-Deputy, contrary to his Promise, at least, if not to Articles in Form; and that Oen Mac-Collo had been basely slain by the Garison at Kellas. These Proceedings had made him the more jealous what might be the Fate of himself and his Friends. He desired therefore, that in order to a full and final Composition, a new Conference might be appointed with General Norris or the Lord-Deputy. Which Request whilst they held in Debate, he permitted Armagh to be reliev'd. But O-Donel in the mean while was wholly intent upon Spoil and Plunder in the Province of Connaught; and at length the Conference, with the Hopes of which Norris had pleased himself, was quite shifted off and laid aside.

1596. Ann. 39. Feagh Mac-Hugh slain. In the mean while the Lord-Deputy spared no Pains to apprehend Mac-Hugh, till at last the Rebels being routed and put to flight with a considerable Slaughter, Colonel Milburn took him as he was endeavouring to secure his Retreat; and after giving him several Wounds, cut off his Head, and sent it to Dublin, to the great Joy of that City, some little time before the Lord-Deputy resign'd his Patent. About the same time was George Butler's Head sent to the Lord-Deputy by Thomas Lea, and his Brother Peter was taken by his Uncle the Earl of Ormond, and hang'd, tho' he was the immediate Heir of that Family.

Calais besieged by the Archduke of Austria. In the midst of these Commotions in Ireland, Albert, Cardinal and Archduke of Austria, who was made Governor of the Netherlands by the King of Spain, did on a sudden afford matter to divert the Queen's Thoughts from the Affairs of Ireland; for he was no sooner invested in this new Charge, than he got together the Spanish Forces, as if with a design to raise the Siege of La-Fere, a Town of Picardy, whereas he most unexpectedly marched to the Siege of Calais, where the very first day he took the Castle of New-entham, and made himself Master of the Port.

Taken. As soon as the Queen was inform'd of this Siege by some Messengers from France, whose Fears interpreted their Errand, she order'd some Forces to be rais'd the very same day, being Sunday, during Divine Service, in order to assist the French King and secure her own Kingdoms, for she thought there was reason to suspect, that when her Neighbour's House was on Fire, her own might possibly feel the force of the Flame. This Army, which was rais'd at so short a warning, Essex had the Command of; but before they took Shipping, there was certain Intelligence brought, that both the Town and Castle were in the Spaniards Hands: for the Archduke having batter'd the Walls, and much impair'd them by the constant playing of his great Guns, (which were heard as far as Greenwich) the Townsmen retir'd into the Castle, which was easily taken in a few days, and a great number of the French cut off; whereupon the English Army was immediately disbanded, and the French King furnish'd with some Moneys on Security given by the Duke of Bouillon and Sancy.

1596. Ann. 39. 'Twas not long before a larger and better Army was rais'd in England, wherein several Noblemen and Gentlemen offer'd themselves to serve as Volunteers; for the Report spread and gathered more and more, that the King of Spain was making his utmost Efforts against England and Ireland, being, without doubt, encourag'd by his Success on Calais, which was but a very short cut from England; besides that Drake and Hawkins's Voiage had foully miscarried, and the Irish solicited hard for Succours out of Spain; the Queen thought it the best course, in order to divert or scatter this growing Tempest, to attack the Enemy in his own Ports: And to that purpose, a Fleet was equipp'd, consisting of 150 Ships, 17 whereof were capital Ships, and 22 more were sent to act in conjunction from the States of the Low-Countries; the rest were Tenders and small Vessels. In this Fleet were reckon'd 6360 Soldiers in Pay, 1000 Volunteers, and 6772 Seamen, besides Dutchmen. Robert Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard Lord-Admiral of England, who had expended vast Sums from their own private Purse, upon this Expedition, were appointed Commanders in Chief, and to share the Power between them, with the Character of Generals; the Lord-Admiral however being to have the principal Authority at Sea, and the Lord Essex at Land. And they had likewise join'd with them these following Persons to assist at a Council of War, viz. The Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; the Lord-Admiral commanded the first, the second the Lord Essex, the Lord Thomas Howard the third, and the fourth Sir Walter Raleigh. The Officers of the Army were these, viz. Sir Francis Vere Lieutenant-General, Sir John Wingfield Quarter-Master-General, Sir George Carew Master of the Ordnance, Sir Coniers Clifford Serjeant-Major: The Colonels were Robert Earl of Sussex, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Edward Wingfield Captain of the Volunteers, and Anthony Ashley Secretary of the Council of War, whose Business was to keep a Register of their Councils, and the Arguments used, and to record the several Actions and Attempts that should be form'd.

The Queen gave the Generals the following Instructions:

'To make a strict Enquiry into the Quantity of Provisions that were laid up in the Spanish Ships or Warehouses, to be made use of against England and Ireland, or sent to Calais; and to do what they could to intercept or destroy it, as also the Enemies Ships, so far as might be done without running too great a Risque on their own side: For, as she often used to say, she had much rather her Men should be reserv'd for the Defence of their own Country, than push'd upon the common Hazards of War, where little was to be got either of Honour or Advantage. That what Towns soever they took, they should spare the Women, and those that were very Young, or else Decrepit, and put none to the Sword, but such as made Opposition. That the Spoil and Plunder should be kept safe to make good the Expences of the War, and to reward those that acted bravely. That the Gentlemen of the Council, should faithfully deliver their Advices and Opinions, without dividing into Sides and Parties; and that the Plurality of Votes should always determine it. That when they destroy'd what Ships or Provisions they could belonging to the Enemy, they should send out some Men of War to intercept the Indian Caracks, if they receiv'd any

A Fleet prepared against Spain.

Commanders at Sea

At Land.

any Intelligence of their coming. Having giv'n these Orders, her Majesty appointed a Form of Prayer to be used every day in all the Ships; to implore the divine Blessing upon all their Designs and Undertakings.

There were some that objected against this Expedition; that 'twas not fit to hazard so many Ships or Men therein, lest the Spaniards, who let slip no Opportunity, should take advantage of their Absence, and reflecting upon the bad Success of *Drake* and *Hawkins*, be encourag'd either to make a Descent on *England*, or should prove too hard for the *English* Fleet, and so put the Nation in Danger that way.

Fleet sets sail.

However, the Fleet sail'd from *Plymouth*, in the beginning of *June*, and was put back again the first day with contrary Winds: But the next day, the Wind coming fair, they bore away to the West; and order'd things so well, as to pass the Coasts of *Portugal* undiscover'd: For, had they been observ'd, or made any Attempts in the hithermost Parts of *Spain* or *Portugal*, the Alarm must needs have been taken, and the Project, in a great measure, defeated. Their Design was (tho' very few were privy to it) upon *Cales*, so famed by the Poets, for being the Sun's Bed-chamber; and esteem'd, by the ancient Geographers, the utmost Boundary of the Earth. 'Tis at this time a famous Mart, easily defended, and having great Advantages to annoy the Enemy: And this was the Place of Rendezvous, appointed by the seal'd Instructions deliver'd to every particular Captain, and which they were not to open till they were past Cape *S. Vincent*, (unless they happen'd to be parted from the Fleet, by bad Weather) and which they were to throw overboard, in case of Danger from the Enemy. Over-against Cape *S. Vincent* they met an *Irish* Vessel, the Master of which inform'd them that they came from *Cales*, and that they were under no Apprehensions there, nor had heard any Account of a Fleet from *England*: That there were no Forces in the Island, besides a small Garrison; and that there were several Galleons, Gallies and Men of War in the Harbour; besides a great many Merchant-men, that had taken in their Loading for the *Indies*.

Arrives at Cales.

On Sunday the 20th of *June*, they came to an Anchor betimes in the Morning, near *S. Sebastian's* Chappel on the West-side of the Island. *Essex*, full of Fire and Ambition, thought it proper to land the Forces out of hand; but *Raleigh*, and particularly the Lord-Admiral were of another Mind; as indeed he was ever an Enemy to precipitant Councils, and over-hasty Measures. However, being press'd very hard, he consented that some should make Experiment, whether there was any landing there or not: But 'twas all to no purpose, the Sea dash'd with that Fury and Violence against the Shoar. 'Twas then propos'd by *Essex*, that they should forthwith attack the Men of War, the Galleons, and Merchant-men, that lay in the Bay very close to one another; but this Advice would not go down with the rest, because the Ships lay under the Cannon of the Forts, from whence they might expect a very warm Reception, as well as from the Ships and the 15 Gallies; should they make that Attempt.

An Attempt to land, but in vain.

The next day, upon the coming in of the Tide, the *Spanish* Men of War sheer'd off to the *Puntal*, and the Merchant-ships got in towards *Port-Real*: The *English* weigh'd Anchor, and took their Station, where they were furiously batter'd on the one side from the great Guns of the Fort *S. Philip*, and from the Gallies on the other. And now a Resolution was form'd to attack the *Spanish* Ships; at which *Essex* was so pleas'd, that

he threw up his Hat for Joy: This Charge was committed to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Robert Cross*, and some other Commanders of the smaller Vessels; for the Water being at low ebb, 'twas not thought proper to hazard the taller Ships upon the Shelves and Sands, in a Channel that was both narrow and very shallow besides. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, according to the Measures resolv'd on, did therefore place himself in the midst of the Channel, and directed the Stem of the *Wast-spight*, the Ship in which he was, against the *Spanish* Men of War; which thereupon fell back. The Lord-Marshal *Vere* fired on the Gallies briskly from the *Rainbow*; but they being under the Protection of the Town, return'd him a very rough Compliment from their Fore-deck, till *Essex* came in to his Relief; for then they made away as fast as they could, and kept along the Shoar, till they got to Bridge *Suaco*, which joins the Island to the main Land; and there they were hoisted up with an Engine, and so got away to Sea; except only one or two, which were prevented by Sir *John Wingfield* in the *Vanguard*. In the mean time, the *Spanish* Men of War lay at Anchor at the *Puntal*, and bestow'd several Broad-sides upon the *English*, which could not hitherto get near them, by reason of the low Water; but now, upon the coming of the Flood, bore down briskly upon them. *Essex* immediately ventur'd into the midst of the Fight; as did also the Admiral and his Son. In the *Miranora* they fought stoutly, from break of day till noon; and then the *Spaniards* perceiving their Galleons were miserably shatter'd, and a great many Men kill'd, resolv'd to fire their Ships, or run them on ground. A great many Seamen for fear threw themselves overboard; some of which were taken, others drown'd, and some got ashore; and several the Admiral pity'd and spared, as they cry'd Quarter, and swam for their Lives. The *Spanish* Admiral, call'd the *S. Philip*, a Ship of 1500 Tons, was burnt, thro' a Moor's taken, setting the Gun-powder on fire; and one or two more, which were near her, took Fire and shar'd the same Fate. The *S. Matthew*, thro' the Care of the Lord-Admiral, was saved and taken; as also was the *S. Andrew*, by the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Gerard*.

As soon as this Engagement was over, *Essex* landed 800 Men at *Puntal*, about a League from the City; and immediately after Sir *Coniers Cliford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*, were sent to break down the Bridge and the Engine, which had secured the Escape of the Gallies, to prevent any Access from the Island to the Continent: This was carefully and thoroughly perform'd, whilst *Essex* himself plac'd his Men in good Order, and march'd away with all speed to the City; together with the Earl of *Suffex*, *Lodowick of Nassau*, *William Herbert* Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Bourke* an *Irishman*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Thomas Germin*, *Christopher Heyden*, *Alexander Ratcliff*, and some others of the highest Quality. At first the *Spanish* Horse shew'd themselves about half a Mile from the Town, and then retreated: Anon there appear'd a greater Number; whereupon *Essex* order'd his Men to retreat in good Order, and to return and charge the Enemy, when they had drawn them a little farther from the Town; which they did so effectually, that they put them to flight, and pursu'd 'em so close, that they had much ado to get into the Town, and secure the Gate. The Earl got upon a new Work which had been lately rais'd near the Gate, from whence he discover'd an Entrance into the Town; but so steep, that a Man must leap down a Pikes

1596.
Ann. 39.
Spanish Ships attack'd.

Burnt and a Moor's taken.

Men laid.

The Merchant-men fired.

Knights made.

1596. *Ann. 39.* a Pikes Length. However, Evans, the Earl of Sussex's Lieutenant, began the Experiment, and was follow'd by Arthur Savage, Captain of the Earl's Company, who carry'd the red Flag; Samuel Bagnal, and several others. In the mean while, Sir Francis Vere, the Field-Marshal, forc'd open the Gate, and brake in, with the Earl of Essex himself: And now began a brisk Skirmish in the Streets; which having maintain'd for half an hour, the English forc'd their Way to the Market-place, where they were pelted with Showers of Stones from the Tops of the Houses, which are flat-roof'd in that Place. Here was Sir John Wingfield shot in the Head, and afterwards died of his Wound; who in the first Engagement had kill'd a Spanish Commander, and was wounded himself, tho' not so bad, but that he appear'd at the Head of his Men, till the Fight was renew'd in this place. Several others were wounded, and among them Samuel Bagnal, who had receiv'd eight Wounds; and Arthur Savage, who was all over Blood, receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood. At the very same Instant, the Lord-Admiral, with the Lord Tho. Howard, Sir William Paget, Raleigh, Sir Rob. Southwell, Rich. Levison, Phil. Woodhouse, Robert Mansfield, and the Seamen came up briskly and enter'd the Town, Sir Edward Hobby carrying the Colours before them. The Spaniards now gave over the Fight, and retir'd into the Castle and Town-house. The latter was immediately surrender'd; and the other the next day after, upon the following Terms: That the Citizens should have the Liberty to depart with their wearing Cloaths; and all the rest to go as Booty to the Soldiers: That 520000 Ducats should be laid down for their Ransom, and 40 of their principal Citizens sent to England as Hostages till the same was pay'd. Shortly after, 'twas order'd by Proclamation, that no Violence should be offer'd to the Spaniards; and the Women, Churchmen and Citizens were convey'd to Porto-Santa-Maria.

The Merchant-men fired. In the mean while, Raleigh was order'd, with those Ships, which were small enough to pass the Channel, to set Fire on the Merchant-men that were withdrawn to Port-Real; but an Offer was made of two Millions of Ducats to redeem them: But this the Lord-Admiral would by no means close with; for he said, he was sent to destroy the Shipping, not to ransom them for Money. Whilst this Matter was under Debate, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia order'd the Ships to be set on Fire, after the Goods were unladen, with which they were freighted; which was done to the great Damage of the Merchants. They found a vast Quantity of Ammunition in the Town, and not a small Sum of Money, considering that every Man seiz'd what he could lay Hands on. It has been made appear by Persons of Judgment, that the Spaniard's Loss on this occasion, in Shipping, Money, and Provisions, amounted to above 20 Millions of Ducats. There was not lost one Englishman of Note except Sir John Wingfield, who was honourably inter'd, in a military way, in the great Church of the Town.

Knights made. There were about 60 Gentlemen, who serv'd in this Expedition, knighted for their Valour, viz. Robert Earl of Essex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, a Portuguese, King Antonio's Son, Sir William Herbert, Bourk an Irishman, William Howard, Son to the Lord-Admiral, Robert Dudley, George Devereux, Henry Nevill, Edwin Rich, Richard Levison, Anthony Astley, Henry Lennard, Horace Vere, Arthur Throckmorton, Miles Corbet, Edward Conway, Oliver Lambert, Anthony Cook, John Townsend, Christopher Heyden, Francis Popbam, Philip Woodhouse, Alexander Clifford, Maurice Barkley, Charles Blunt, George Gifford, Robert Cross, James Scudamore, Urian Leigh, John Lea, Richard Weston,

Richard Wainman, James Wotton, Richard Radall, Robert Mansell, William Mounson, John Beaver, Edward Bowes, Humphrey Druell, Amias Preston, Robert Remington, Alexander Rutcliff, John Buck, John Morgan, John Aldridge, William Ashenden, Matthew Brown, Thomas Aiton, Thomas Gates, John Stafford, Gillie Merrick, Thomas Smith, William Peely, Thomas Palmer, John Lovel, John Gilbert, William Harvey, John Grey, John Van-duwenvoerd, Melchior Lebben, Peter Redgemort, and Nicolas Medkerke.

After this an Agreement was made, for a mutual Exchange of Prisoners; and a Consultation was held, whether 'twas best to hold Cales or quit it. Essex was of opinion, that the best way was to keep it; because it might prove a Thorn, as it were, in the Spaniards sides; and he undertook to defend it with 400 Men, and three Months Provision. The rest were of another mind; for having pretty well furnish'd their Pockets, their Thoughts and Inclinations began to travel home-wards; so that they would not allow him so much as a single Ship, nor Provisions for one or two Months: whereupon he was forced to quit Cales, whether he would or not. However they first plunder'd the Island, demolish'd the Forts, and burnt down several Houses in the City. On the 5th of July, they got their Plunder together, They leave Cales. and the whole Fleet sail'd from thence, not without this Compliment from the Spaniards; That tho' the English were Hereticks as to Religion, yet in other respects, they were good Soldiers, and generously brave. From thence they made for Faro in Al-They take Faro. garbe; from whence the Inhabitants were all fled with their Goods. There was a well-stock'd Library left behind, which was of right the Lord Essex's Prize. Here the Enemy's Gallies, which before attended at some distance, began to come up; but the Lord-Admiral commanding them to be gone, they were glad to obey, and as they row'd off, gave the English an hearty Farewel. At Cape S. Vincent, the Fleet was drove a great way to Sea, by a very boisterous Gale, which came up at North; and then a Council was held to consider, Whether they should not steer away for the Azores, and there wait for the Indian Caracks. The Earl of Essex made a Proposal, that the Land-forces, and those Vessels which were but slenderly provided, or had a great Number of sick Persons in them, &c. might be sent home to England; and that himself, with two of her Majesty's Ships, and ten other Ships, might sail for the Azores; but this did not square with the Opinions of the rest, who made heavy Complaints of the Sickness of their Men, and the Scarcity of Victuals; so that he found scarce any to comply with his Motion, except the Lord Howard and the Low-Countrymen. When he found no good was to be done here, he prevail'd upon them, that every Man should deliver his Opinion in Writing; that so no particular Person might bear the Blame: and at length he got them into the mind to go to the Groyne. But as it hapned, there was not a single Vessel to be seen there, or in the neighbouring Road at Faroll. When he press'd hard, that the Men should be landed, and an Attack made upon the Groyne, and would have had them cruize along the Shoar of Galicia, and set upon the Ships in the Ports of S. Andreo and S. Sebastian; they would not give him so much as the Hearing, but all of them made away for England, and left him, with a few Men, behind. They re- turn home. He complain'd of the great Defects of this Expedition, and laid several Miscarriages to the Charge of those, that compos'd the Council of War. But they found an easie way to acquit themselves, and thought they had gain'd Reputation and Advantage enough, in having done the Spaniard such considerable Damages, and in carrying

1596. carrying off so rich a Booty, without so much as the Loss of a single Ship on their own side. If any thing was mismanaged, it seem'd to be this; That the chief Conduct of the whole Design was not lodg'd in the hands of a single Person. However the Lord-Admiral was conveniently enough join'd with Essex, were it but to qualifie the Favours of his Youth and Ambition, and curb in the Excess of his Courage, by uniting Council to Action, and managing to advantage the Circumstances of Time and Place, which are nice Parts in the Art and Discipline of War.

Though it may sufficiently appear, by what has been already said, how greatly advantageous this Expedition prov'd to the Queen and the Nation, and how much the Spaniards were Sufferers by it; yet I cannot think it altogether impertinent to mention what follows, from a brief Narrative of the Earl of Essex himself.

'As to the Honour resulting from this Expedition. The English did not wait the Issue of the King of Spain's Threats and desperate Designs upon England, as powerful a Prince as he was; but they did as good as make him a Challenge in his own Dominions, and beat and drove before them a Fleet of his, most compleatly equip'd, not excepting his best and biggest Ships. Two of his Galleons they took and brought home with them; Fifteen Gallies they totally routed, with a very unequal Number of Ships, and set many of their Countrymen free, who were condemn'd to the Gallies; besides that they releas'd several Spaniards, whom they had taken Prisoners, and receiv'd their hearty Thanks and Commendations for that Act of Clemency. Then again, they took the best fortified City in all Spain, with little or no Trouble, and stay'd in the Enemy's Country for thirteen days together. Then in respect of the Advantage arising from it; besides those two Galleons, already mention'd, which were an Addition of Force to the English Fleet, they brought home about 100 Brais Guns, and a rich and valuable Booty besides. The Seamen and Soldiers return'd home likewise with Spoil and Plunder enough to flush and animate them for another Expedition. And if we consider the Damage done to the Spaniard; he lost thirteen of his most serviceable Ships, forty Indian Merchant-men, and four others: There was likewise taken from him a vast Quantity of Ammunition, and his Stores of Provisions both for Sea and Land-Service; insomuch that 'tis next to an Impossibility he should in some time appear again at Sea, with a Fleet fit to engage. Add to this, the cutting off all Opportunities of Traffick, for this year, at least, between Old and New-Spain. And we may think it also worth our Notice, that by this means the English have acquainted themselves with the Weakness of the Spanish Sea-ports; and in consequence, with how little Difficulty they may be taken.

Sir Fran.
Veremade
Governor
of Briel.

The Queen gave them a very courteous Reception at their Return, and bestow'd many Thanks on those of better Quality; especially on Essex and the Lord-Admiral, in whose Commendations she was very liberal. And having occasion to pitch on some Person, qualify'd for the Government of Briel, a Port-town of great Consequence, and deliver'd as a cautionary Security for Moneys she had lent; upon the Lord Sheffield's voluntary Resignation of that Post: she bestow'd it upon Sir Francis Vere, an English Colonel in the Service of the States; as a Person every way accomplish'd for so important a Trust. And altho' some of the first Nobility would have got themselves recommended to that Honour;

and Essex himself oppos'd Vere; and others likewise were of opinion, that so honorable a Place would better suit one of higher Quality: yet the Queen was no Stranger to his Worth and Family, (he being Nephew to John Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford) and having had Experience of his Loyalty and Courage, as well in the Instance of the Spaniards Defeat at Rhinberke, as his taking the Castles of Littenhoven and Burick, and recovering the Fort of Zutphen; after mature Deliberation and Advice, she not only made choice of this Gentleman, but permitted him to hold his Command under the States; a Preferment which others were now looking out for: though she was ready enough to acknowledge at the same time, that a Person who took the States Pay, was upon that account less fit to be entrusted with a Town, which the States had mortgaged to the Queen. This was a Proceeding which highly disoblige'd the Earl of Essex, who had recommended others to the Place: But it rais'd in him a greater and more apparent Discontent, that Sir Robert Cecil was chosen Secretary in his Absence; whereas he had some time before recommended Sir Thomas Bodley, on the score of his great Wisdom and Experience in the Affairs of the Low-Countries, and had run very high in his Commendations; but with so much Bitterness, and so little Reason, disparag'd Cecil, that the Queen (who had by this time a mean Opinion of Essex's Recommendations) was the more inclinable to refuse to make Bodley Secretary; neither would she let the Lord-Treasurer join him in Commission with his Son: both which Honours were design'd him, till Essex, by too profuse and lavish Praises, had render'd him suspected as a Creature of his own.

In the mean time, the King of Spain, to regain the Credit he lost at Cales, and recover his Damages in some measure, caus'd his Fleet to be repair'd at Lisbon, and call'd in Ships from all parts: He likewise furnish'd out all the foreign Vessels which were then in the Spanish Ports, and sent some new-raisd Forces, and a great Number of Irish Fugitives, to Farol; from whence they were order'd for Ireland and England: But a Storm arising (as the Report went) in the midst of the Voyage, several of the Ships were split upon the Rocks, some sunk downright, and others were cast away; so that the very Elements seem'd to be on the Queen's side, who had the News of her Enemies Fate, before she receiv'd any Account of their Design. However, that she might be the better provided against any Accidents, she order'd that the Castles of Sandsfort, Portland, Hurst, Southsea, Calshot, S. Andrews, and S. Maudites, should be new fortify'd, and furnish'd with all Provisions necessary for their Defence. And to tie the Knot faster between England and France, a mutual League offensive and defensive, was sign'd by her Majesty and the French King, against Spain; through the Negotiation of the D. of Bouillon and N. Harlay Saucy. The Terms were as follow.

'The former Treaties shall be confirm'd, and remain in full Force, except such Clauses thereof, as shall be disannull'd by the present Agreement. All Princes and States shall be invited into this League; whose Interest it is, to be ware of the Growth of Spain. An Army shall be rais'd with all possible speed to invade Spain. Neither the Queen of England nor the King of France shall treat of any separate Peace, but act always in Conjunction. Forasmuch as the French Dominions, that lie next the Netherlands, are at present annoy'd by the Spaniard, the Q. shall send 4000 Foot, to serve the King this Year, for the space of six Months, in such Places

1596. *Ann. 39.* Places as do not lie 50 Miles from the maritime Town of *Bologne*. They shall likewise serve as long in the Years following, if the Affairs of *England* will conveniently permit; in which Particular the *French* King is to take her Majesty's Honour and Conscience, for his Security. When the Rebellion in *Ireland* shall be happily extinguish'd, it shall be at the Queen's Pleasure, whether the said Succours of 4000 Men shall be augmented or not. The *English* shall be admitted into the King's Pay, from the day of their Arrival in *France*; and continue so, till they leave the Kingdom. The Queen shall from time to time supply and keep up their Number. They shall receive their Pay monthly from the Queen's Officers, in her Coin. The *English* under the King's Service, shall submit to the Orders and Punishments of his Officers; with this Reserve however, that the *English* Commanders shall be present, and assist at their Trial. Should the Queen be invaded, and want the King's Aid, he shall be obliged to raise 4000 Foot in two days time, to be sent into *England*, at his Charges; not to go above fifty Miles from the Sea-side; and to receive the Queen's Pay, from the day of their Arrival in *England*. The said *French* Soldiers to be subject to the Queen's Officers, in the same manner as is already mention'd. The King likewise to keep up their Number full and compleat. They shall supply one another with all sort of Ammunition and Provisions, so far as they can without Prejudice to their respective Governments. They shall severally defend the Merchants that are their Subjects, in both their Kingdoms respectively. The King shall not suffer the *English* to be disturb'd on the account of their Religion. The Captains and the common Soldiers Pay shall be annex'd in a Schedule.

Treaty
sworn to
on both
sides.

Not long after, another Treaty was enter'd into, wherein 'twas concluded, 'That for this Year, no more than 2000 *English* should be sent over, which should serve only at *Bologne* and *Montreuil*; unless the King himself should come to *Picardy* in person, &c. The Queen took an Oath in her Chappel at *Greenwich*, to observe these Articles, which was done on the 20th of August, before *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Viscount *Turenne*, and Marshal of *France*: The Bishop of *Chichester* gave the Oath, and a great many Noblemen assisted at the Ceremony. In September, *Gilbert Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent Ambassador into *France*, to be a Witness of the King's Oath there; as also to present Sir *Anthony Mildmay*, for her Majesty's Ambassador in Ordinary, in the Room of Sir *Henry Unton*, who died in *France*; and likewise to invest his Majesty in the Order of *S. George*: Which being a Distinction principally intended for military Men, the Queen was willing to honour the Order, in the Choice of a Prince, who had made himself so eminent for martial Bravery. And soon after, Sir *Thomas Baskerville* went over into *Picardy* with 2000 *English* Foot, according to the Articles of the last Agreement.

Whilst these military Preparations were making, there were a parcel of loose Fellows, who went about the Kingdom, under the counterfeit Authority of the Queen's Pursuivants; with sham Warrants and pretended Papers, under the Hands of the Queen's Council and Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and search'd the Houses of Widows and Papists, taking away by Force their Plate, Jewels, and whatever they could find, that bore the Image of Christ; as unlawful Furniture. The travelling Expences allow'd to Men of that Character, they strictly demanded; and

defrauded several ignorant People of their Money, under colour of excusing them from appearing before the Magistrate. Some of these Cheats were taken, and made to return their stoln Goods; and to reward their Project, forfeited their Ears to the Pillory, and were branded in the Forehead for Rogues and Impostors. This however could not totally suppress the villanous Exactions of these Men, till a Proclamation was made, 'That the Queen's Pursuivants should never exact their travelling Fees, till the Persons summon'd made their Appearance; and that they themselves should likewise appear with them before the Magistrate; which if they refused, the Party summon'd should not be oblig'd to appear. If many happen'd to be cited by one and the same Warrant, to appear on the same day, that the Pursuivants should likewise attend them. If the Person summon'd had any Reason to suspect the Pursuivant, he might have him brought before the next Justice of the Peace, in order to be examin'd, who and what he was. That the Persons summon'd should not, upon pain of Imprisonment, bribe off their Appearance; and that the Pursuivants should not take any Money on those Conditions, upon the Penalty of forfeiting their Places, going to Prison, and suffering such other Punishments as the Law might inflict.

This Year did *Thomas Arundel* of *Wardour* return into *England*; who being recommended by the Queen's Letters as her Kinsman, and having done signal Service in the War of *Hungary* against the *Turks* at *Gran*, was created by the Emperor's Letters-Patents, Count of the Holy Empire, and all and every his Heirs and Descendants lawfully born of either Sex, or that should hereafter be born in a perpetual Succession, Counts and Countesses of the Holy Empire: Which Title whoever enjoys, has (they say) these Privileges annex'd: 'That they have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Empire, raise Volunteers to serve in the Army, and cannot be Summon'd to take their Trials in any Court but the Imperial Chamber.

After his return, when this new Distinction had made him Famous among the common People, there was a Query started, Whether such a Title, conferr'd by a foreign Prince upon the Queen's Subject, without her Cognizance, were to be allow'd of or not? Some were of opinion, that the Rewards and Encouragements conferr'd upon any Persons in regard to their Merit, were to be admitted, let them come from what Prince they will: 'For Virtue must needs starve where Merit and Worth are forc'd to go a begging: Besides, *Henry III.* readily acknowledg'd *Reginald Mowbray's* Title as Earl of *Somerset*, tho' he ow'd his Creation to the Apostolical Authority of the Pope. Moreover, *Henry VIII.* complimented *Robert Curson*, (who was made a Baron of the Empire by *Maximilian I.* on account of his Courage and Military Conduct) with the Enrolment of his Title among the *English* Barons, and the allowance of a Salary to support it. There were likewise several *Scotch* Gentlemen, whom the King of *France* had highly prefer'd for their good Service, viz. *Archibald Douglas* of *Wigton* was made Duke of *Tours*, and *John Stuart* Earl of *D'Evereux*. And the Kings of *Scotland* had always look'd upon this as an Honour to their Nation.

But however the Barons of *England*, imagining that this would prove a prejudicial kind of Encroachment upon their Dignity, for them and their Heirs to submit to a mere Upstart-Title, which might continue in the Earl's Family for infinite Ages, took upon them to oppose it upon

1596.
Ann. 39.
Counter-
feit Pur-
suivants
punish'd.

Thomas
Arundel
made
Count of
the Em-
pire.

the following Grounds, viz. ' That such Marks
 1596. ' of Distinction ought neither to be accepted by
 Ann. 39. ' the Subject, nor allowed of by the Prince:
 ' That 'tis the Prince's Right alone to advance
 ' his own Subjects to Preferments of any kind,
 ' and cannot properly belong to any other what-
 ' ever, according to that Saying of the Emperor
 ' *Valerian*; Let those Honours alone be esteemed valid,
 ' which bear the Stamp of our Good-will and Authority.
 ' For 'tis a diminution to the Prince's Preroga-
 ' tive, and a discouragement to the Subject's O-
 ' bedience, when they are allowed to receive
 ' Honours from foreign Potentates, inasmuch as
 ' the Person who receives the Title, seems to have
 ' made a tacit Contract with him that grants it:
 ' That such Advancements are a kind of Lures to
 ' draw away Subjects from their natural Fealty:
 ' That there lies an Action of Theft against any
 ' Man who shall put his Mark upon another
 ' Man's Sheep; and 'tis constru'd an Act of Fraud
 ' in him that shall strew Provender in the way to
 ' allure another Man's Lamb into his own Fold:
 ' That altho' Sovereign Princes are not tied up by
 ' these Laws, yet are they oblig'd by a general
 ' Equity, and the common Voice of Nature:
 ' That in the Commonwealth of *Rome*, no Man
 ' could for that reason be a Denizen of that, and
 ' Free of another City at the same time; where-
 ' upon *Pomponius Atticus* declin'd the being made a
 ' Citizen of *Athens*, lest he should thereby forfeit
 ' his Privilege as a *Roman*: So in the States of
 ' *Venice* and *Genoa*, whoever receives any spiritual
 ' Promotion from the Pope, or temporal Dignity
 ' from a Sovereign Prince, is excluded from
 ' Publick Offices, as a Person Interested, and
 ' therefore Suspected. That however *Henry III.*
 ' might be inclin'd through a natural Softness, or
 ' forc'd by the Iniquity of the Times, to allow
 ' *Mobun's* Title of Earl, when impos'd upon him
 ' by the Pope, in regard that his Father, when
 ' the King and Kingdom lay under a common
 ' Censure of Excommunication, was persecuted
 ' with severe Affronts and Indignities, and com-
 ' pell'd to acknowledge himself a Vassal to the See
 ' of *Rome*, as he himself likewise, thro' meer Fear,
 ' suffer'd the Horse-Leeches of *Rome* to suck and
 ' drain the Wealth of *England*; yet nevertheless
 ' it appears from the publick Records, that *Mo-*
 ' *bun* was never acknowledg'd for an Earl: That
 ' *Henry VIII.* own'd *Curson* as a Baron of *England*
 ' purely to swallow up in that Title the frothy
 ' and insignificant one of Baron of the Holy Em-
 ' pire; but all this while he enjoy'd no Vote in
 ' Parliament; then 'twas no wonder if the *Scots*
 ' receiv'd Honour from the *French*, since the *Lil-*
 ' *ly-Tressure* in their Prince's Coat, speaks them to
 ' be under the Protection of the *French* Flower-
 ' de-luce.

Apostolic
 Counts &
 Viscounts

Counts-
 Palatine.

The Q's
 Opinion.

Others were of opinion, that an Earl of the
 Sacred Empire was but of equal Esteem with
 the Publick Notaries and the common Counts
 and Viscounts of the *Lateran*, the Pope's Crea-
 tures; or that they held much the same Rank
 with the Doctors of Physick, Lawyers, Gram-
 marians and Rhetoricians of the Royal Palace,
 who having been Professors of the Sciences in
 that place for twenty Years, stile themselves, in
 compliment to their Vanity, Counts-Palatine,
 whereas that is at present a first-rate Character,
 and signifies one who has a kind of Royal Juris-
 diction in his own Courts, and an uncontrollable
 Prerogative in the point of Fiefs, Inheritances
 escheated, &c.

The Queen being ask'd her Opinion in this
 Case, answer'd, *That there was a close Tie of Affe-*
ction between the Prince and Subject; and that as
chaste Wives should have no Glances but for their own
Spouses, so should faithful Subjects keep their Eyes at

home, and not gaze upon foreign Crowns: That she,
 for her part, did not care her Sheep should wear a Stran-
 ger's Mark, nor dance after the Whistle of every Fo-
 reigner.

Within the compass of this Year, several Per-
 sons of Note and Distinction were summon'd to
 their great Change; and among the rest these
 Gentlemen of worthy Memory, viz. *John Puc-*
kering, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, who
 was himself a Person of exact Probity, tho' he
 had the ill Luck to lie under the Censures of the
 Clergy, by reason his Servants dealt so much in
 Simony, and the infamous Trade of selling
 Church-Preferments. His Place was supplied by
Thomas Egerton, the Attorney-General, of whose
 fair and equal Deportment every one had con-
 ceiv'd mighty Hopes and Expectations.

The next Person worthy to be take notice of,
 was *Richard Fletcher*, Bishop of *London*, a consum-
 mate Courtier, who endeavouring to smoothen
 the Cares of an unlucky Match in the smook of
 Tobacco, which he took to excess; and falling
 under the Queen's Displeasure, (who thought it
 enough for Bishops to be Fathers of the Church)
 between the Experiment and the Misfortune, lost
 his Life.

Next follows *Henry Cary*, Lord *Hunsdon*, who
 was Lord-Chamberlain of the Queen's Household,
 Governor of *Berwick*, and Knight of the Garter.
 He was a Man of Spirit enough, but intempe-
 rately Cholerick. His Advancements he ow'd to
 the Relation he bore of Cousin-German to the
 Queen. He had a competent Estate, and never
 look'd after a great one. His Title descended to
 his Son *George*, and the Office of Lord-Chamber-
 lain to the Lord *Cobham*, who survived him but a
 few Months.

After him we must not forget Sir *Francis Knolles*,
 who married the Lord *Hunsdon's* Sister, and liv'd
 for some time an Exile in *Germany* for the sake
 of the Gospel and a good Conscience. He was
 Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen, then Captain
 of the Guard, and afterwards Treasurer of the
 Queen's Household, and made Knight of the Gar-
 ter; after whose decease the Treasurer's Place
 was conferr'd upon *Roger Lord North*, and the
 Comptroller's was given to Sir *Francis Knolles* his
 Son.

Towards the end of the Year the Nation lost
 likewise *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, the
 third Earl of the Family, and President of the
 Council in the North. He was a Person of a
 sweet and candid Temper, but wanted not a
 Warmth and Zeal for the reform'd Religion,
 and spent a great part of his Estate in the Sup-
 port of those Ministers who were the forwardest
 Sticklers for the simple and primitive Purity of
 the Gospel. He was interr'd at *Ashby de la Zouch*
 in the County of *Leicester*; and upon his de-
 cease *Francis Lord Hastings*, his Nephew by his
 Brother *George's* side, was advanced to his Honour
 and Title. Afterwards the Dignity of President
 of the Council for the North was conferr'd on
Matthew Hutton Archbishop of *York*, with all man-
 ner of Privileges thereto belonging, except only
 the Title of President.

Amidst these Gentlemen, I must take the Li-
 berty to mention one of the other Sex, viz.
Margaret Clifford Countess of *Derby*, the only
 Daughter of *Henry Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, by
Eleanor Brandon, Niece to King *Henry VIII.* 'Tis
 remarkable of this Lady, that through an idle
 mixture of Curiosity and Ambition, supported
 by sanguine Hopes and a credulous Fancy, she
 much used the Conversations of Necromancers
 and Figure-Flingers; upon which account she
 lost a great share in the Queen's Inclinations a
 little before her death.

The

The Fourtieth Year of her Reign.

Being engag'd in the pursuit of something more important, I must leave it to the Pens of those who manage the History of the Low-Countries, to do right to the Courage and Bravery of Sir Robert Sidney and Sir Francis Vere, and to let the World know how bravely they behav'd themselves with their Auxiliary Forces the beginning of this Year, in the Battel of Turnhout in Brabant, which was carried on under the happy Conduct of that great Person Maurice of Nassau, and in which were slain 2000 Neapolitans and Germans, with their General, the Count Varaxi, &c. To proceed then:

The Queen having Intelligence early in the Spring, that the Spaniard was preparing to make a new Descent upon Ireland with the remainder of their shatter'd Fleet and a few Vessels they had in Galicia: In order to prevent or divert the Design, she got ready a small Fleet, consisting of 10 of her own Men of War, and as many Hollanders. But this number being thought too small, it was afterwards augmented, and 5000 Men rais'd, besides 1000 old Soldiers whom Vere had brought out of the Netherlands; so that the Fleet was judg'd to consist of 120 Ships, whereof 17 were the Queen's, 43 were smaller Men of War, and the rest Tenders and Victuallers. They were divided into three Squadrons; the first commanded by the Earl of Essex, who was entrusted with the Management of the whole Expedition; the second by the Lord Thomas Howard, and the third was committed to Sir Walter Raleigh; Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy commanded the Land-Forces under Essex; Sir Francis Vere was appointed Marshal D'Camp, Sir George Carew Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blunt first Colonel.

The Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords Grey, Cromwel and Rich, with several Knights and Persons of Quality, list'd themselves Volunteers in this Expedition; and they set sail from Plymouth on the 9th of July, making a fine Show with their Plumes of Feathers and rich Accoutrements, (a Vanity which few Nations imitate the English Soldiers in). Two days after, every Ship receiv'd their seal'd Instructions relating to the Course they were to steer, which was indeed to Farol and the Groine, to surprize the Spanish Fleet in their Harbours, and to intercept the Indian Fleet at the Azores.

This was, upon mature Advice, judg'd to be the best Course for the Security of the Nation, as well as the surprizing the East and West-India Fleet, which had but slender Convoys, as likewise for taking the Azores, a Port at which those rich Fleets do generally touch in their return from the Indies to take in fresh Water: Besides, that by this means the Queen would have the entire Command of the Seas, and the Spanish King, upon the loss of his Fleet, be brought to more reasonable Terms of Peace, or else be oblig'd to make new Provisions for War, to his very great great Detriment and Inconvenience. Essex was resolv'd (as he often declar'd himself) Either to defeat this new Armada, which had threaten'd England for a Year together, or else to perish in the Attempt, for his Country's sake.

They had not got above 40 Leagues from Plymouth, when they were caught in a violent Storm, the Wind blowing hard at North-West, and rending their Sails and Rigging to pieces: It occasion'd likewise so unusual a Darknes, as hinder'd their Prospect on all sides, and that was seconded with terrible peals of Thunder, so that the Air

and Water were in a most troubled state, and so continued for four Days together, insomuch that the Seamen were under a great surprize, and so were the Soldiers, for the Fleet was dissipat'd to that degree, that the several Ships had much ado to recover Plymouth and other Ports thereabouts. The Admiral was so damag'd and batter'd, as to be render'd almost unfit for Service; and some of the Passengers who were of nicer Constitutions, were so miserably disorder'd by their Sea-Phyric, and so afraid of the force of the Elements, that they quitted the Service, and did not care to venture a second Experiment.

When the Fleet had in some measure recruited itself after its double Loss both as to Number and Strength, they attempted to sail again several times, but the Winds continued so unfavourable, that they could not get out in a Month's time, so that it look'd almost as if the Heavens frown'd upon their Undertaking. By this time their Provisions were pretty well exhausted, and there was no Supply to be had from the Eastern Parts of England under a considerable time; 'twas therefore thought adviseable to discharge all the Land-Soldiers, except only the 1000 old Soldiers mention'd before, and to dismiss several of the lesser Vessels, since there was no farther Design upon the Groine or Farol. A Consultation was then held, whether 'twere best to sail away to the Azores? And all subscrib'd to the Affirmative, except Vere, who said, 'It would neither be for her Majesty's Honour nor Advantage: That 'twas highly improbable that so few Ships and such slender Forces should produce any Effects answerable to these Men's Expectation; and that 'twould be much easier for the Spaniards to invade England, at a time when the Queen's principal Commanders and part of her Navy were out of the way. Hereupon Essex and Raleigh rode Post to consult the Queen upon the Matter: Essex, for his part, propos'd great Things, answerable to the Complexion of his Spirit and Courage, if so be he might be allow'd one half of the Fleet and Army to be at the beck of his Inclinations. But the Queen not thinking fit to grant that, he undertook to defeat the Spanish Fleet in their Port of Farol, would her Majesty permit him to venture the thousand old Soldiers and those two Ships, the St. Andrew and St. Matthew, taken from the Spaniard, in pursuit of the Design. He propos'd to leave the rest of the Fleet without the Harbour, and to try the Hazard of the Engagement with some few Ships which he should single from them. But neither would the Queen submit to this, unless with certain Limits and Restriction; so that at last the whole matter was resign'd to their entire Conduct, with this Proviso, That they should take care, if possible, to set Fire on the Ships in Farol-Harbour, and to intercept the Indian Fleet; and that, upon the whole, they should manage themselves according to the Nature and Circumstances of every new Turn or Emergency.

Being return'd again to Plymouth, they made shift to get clear of the Port on the 17th of August, tho' with a scanty Wind; but before they got sight of the Spanish Coasts, they were scatter'd by another severe Tempest, in which the large Ship call'd the St. Matthew, having spent her Main-Mast and Yards, split upon a Rock, and the St. Andrew was parted from the rest of the Fleet. The remainder of the Fleet being in a little time got together again, sail'd in sight of Asturia and Galicia, but very unadvisedly in the Judgment of such as know best; forasmuch as those pompous kind of Discoveries had been of ill Consequence to Drake in his two last Voiages

1597.
Ann. 40.Parted by
another
Storm.

to America, and had prejudic'd Norris in his Portugal-Expedition: For an Enemy forewarn'd, is the better prepar'd for Defence.

1597.
Ann. 40.
Raleigh
left behind

Not far from the Land's-End, the Cross-yard of Raleigh's Ship was broken down by stress of Weather, which as he staid to mend, the Fleet left him behind; and he happening afterwards to receive a false Intelligence, that the Spanish Fleet were sail'd from Faval towards the Azores, dispatch'd a Pinnace to Essex upon a fruitless Errand, as it prov'd. Whilst they were expecting Raleigh, a general Resolution was taken to quit the Project of Firing the Enemy's Ships in the Harbour as a thing impracticable, because they had been already discover'd from the Shoar. Wherefore they agreed to sail directly for Azores, every Squadron being allotted its proper Station. Essex was to Anchor at Fyal, Howard and Vere at Gratioufa, and Raleigh at Rio, who was by this time shaping his Course for the Azores, and after a long compass fetch'd, recover'd the Fleet at the Isle of Flores, whilst some were apt to charge him with straggling from it on purpose (perhaps with design to inflame Essex the more, who had already but indifferent Thoughts for him). However Essex seem'd to give him a very cheerful Welcome, and excus'd his having sent Letters to England, wherein he had represented him to his Disadvantage, Raleigh being short of Water, ventur'd to go ashore and take some in without leave; but scarce had he began to fill his Casks, but he receiv'd Orders to follow Essex to Fyal. Thither he sail'd, and not finding Essex there, he narrowly observ'd the Harbour, and found the Inhabitants were securing their Goods, and the Garison ready to intrench themselves. He advis'd hereupon with the other Commanders, and they jointly agreed to attack the Place; and the Seamen were hot upon the Attempt, as being loth to quit a Booty which seem'd just in their Teeth.

They steer
for the
Azores.

But Sir Gilley Merrick, a Creature of Essex's, mightily urg'd them to attempt nothing in the absence of Essex. They waited therefore his coming for four Days together, when Raleigh, wanting fresh Water, and being befriended by a fair Opportunity, was prompted on both sides to land about four Miles from the Haven, in a very steep place, and at a time when the Sea run high. He was however accompanied with these Volunteers, William Frake, William Harvey, Arthur George, John Scot, Thomas Ridgeway, Sidney, Henry Thinn, Charles Morgan, Walter Chute, Bret, Berry, and other Officers. The Spaniards came down upon him, and made what Resistance they could, but were soon put to flight. Raleigh being thus on Shoar, and having water'd his Ships, march'd forward to the Town through Ways very difficult and dangerous; and finding the Birds were fled, he seiz'd upon the Nest.

Raleigh
lands at
Fyal.

He takes
the Town

The next Day Essex, who had been roaming about in quest of the Spanish Fleet, came to Fyal. Sir Gilley Merrick inform'd him what Raleigh had done; and insinuated withal, that he had made this Attempt on purpose to rob him of the Glory of the Action. Which fair Tale, Essex was too ready to listen to; his natural Ambition, join'd with his Jealousy and Ill-will to Raleigh, having prejudic'd his Thoughts to receive the worst Impressions against him. Others perswaded Essex to call Raleigh before a Council of War, and dismiss him from the Service; and there wanted not some who were for having him executed, for daring to land his Men without the Admiral's leave, perswading Essex at the same time, that he could not not have a fairer Occasion of dispatching his Adversary out of the way, and which, if he mis'd, he might live to repent it. Hereupon

Sidney, Bret, Berry and others, who accompanied Raleigh, were cashier'd and confin'd; Raleigh was sent for, and every one view'd him with an eye of Displeasure. Essex reprov'd him sharply for having slighted his Authority, ran counter to the Discipline of the Navy, and so far disobey'd those Orders which were enjoin'd upon pain of Death, as to land his Men without the General's command.

He answer'd in his own Defence, 'That the Captains, Pilots, and others under Command, were bound by that Law, but not the three Generals, whereof himself was one: That he had expected his coming a great while, and would have done so longer, had not the Inhabitants of the Place denied him Water, which he wanted in that Extremity, that he was oblig'd to win it by the Sword. The Lord Tho. Howard interpos'd in favour of Raleigh, that he might not be severely Treated, and perswaded him withal to acknowledge his Fault; which he presently did, and so himself and the cashier'd Officers were receiv'd again into Favour. For Essex being of a temper patient and merciful enough as to the point of Injuries, was willing to bury these private Feuds and Discontents in the Publick Safety. But they were rather occasionally laid aside, than totally forgot or suppress'd, as afterwards appear'd.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Spanish Garison quitted the Fort near the Town, in which were found two Englishmen with their Throats cut. Some were sent away to search the Island, which they pillag'd here and there, and so return'd, without performing any great Feats; and a few days after the Town was burnt down to the Ground, after they had carried off the Ordnance found there.

From thence they sail'd away to the Isle of Gratioufa, the Inhabitants whereof threw themselves on Essex's Mercy, as Flores had done, and so receiv'd Quarter. Here he resolv'd to land, to take a view of that delightful Island, and to wait for the India-Fleet. But being unfortunately dissuaded from it by one Grave a Pilot, under the pretence of its being no commodious Harbour for Ships, he sail'd from thence with his whole Fleet for St. Michael's Isle, and commanded Vere and Sir Nicolas Parker to be upon the Scout betwixt the Island of St. George and Gratioufa, the Earl of Southampton and Sir William Mounson to post themselves on the West of Gratioufa, and some others to wait at other Places. But so strangely it happen'd, that the English had scarce been from Gratioufa above two Hours, before the American-Fleet, consisting of 40 Sail, (7 whereof had Plate on board) arriv'd there, and having Intelligence that the English were not far off, made away directly for Tercera. At Midnight they fell in with Mounson's Squadron, who gave the Fleet a Signal by firing some great Guns: They were heard a great way, and the Seamen were overjoy'd, and prepar'd themselves very chearfully for an Engagement. Mounson, Southampton and Vere, who were nearest, gave them chase, but at some distance, because they waited for more Ships to come up. In the mean while the Enemy's Fleet got to Tercera in good order, three Ship only being taken, which straggled from the rest: Southampton and Vere attempted to crowd into the Haven with great Boats at Midnight, and to cut the Cables of the nearest Ships, that they might be forc'd to Sea by the Gulfs which blew from the Shoar. But the Spaniards keeping a very strict Watch, that Project unhappily miscarried. A Pinnace was therefore presently sent away to Essex at St. Michael's, to inform him what had pass'd, and that they would under-

1597.
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English
give up
their de-
sign on the
India-
Fleet.

Gratioufa
& Flores
yield to
Essex.

Villa-
Francis
taken.

A Cara-
burnt.

English
Fleet
turns
home.

1597. to Sea.

undertake to hinder the Enemy from getting out
Fleet together, came and consulted with the o-
ther Commanders what Measures were to be ta-
ken. Some of the first Officers were for attack-
ing the Town and Fleet, and thought it a very
feasible Attempt; and Essex join'd in the same
Opinion. The Seamen thought otherwise, but
however very readily offer'd their Service both
by Sea and Land. But Essex himself and Montjoy,
with some others, having afterwards taken a view
of the Place, and finding that the Ships were
drawn up closer under the Protection of the
Forts, and that the Haven was secur'd by good
Fortifications and a convenient Situation, with a
strong Garison, and several Guns mounted, and
that the Wind was so contrary that their Grana-
does and Bombs could do them no service, they
who were most forward in the Proposal, were
the most backward in the Adventure. Essex
therefore return'd to St. Michaels, and came to
Anchor before Cividade, after having first con-
fer'd the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earls
of Rutland and Southampton, William Evers, Will-
iam Brodon, and Henry Docwray. The Soldiers be-
ing pleas'd with the Place, (as being the chief
City of the Island) they had a Month's mind to
plunder it; and the General himself, forgetting
his Character, took a Boat and sought for a con-
venient Place to land; but the Sea was too boi-
sterous, and the Shoars too well lin'd with Sol-
diers to encourage his Attempt. Raleigh was
commanded to lie there with his Ships, and a-
muse the Enemy with the Apprehensions of his
Landing, whilst Essex made a Descent in some
other Place. He went at last to Villa-Franca, a-
bout six Miles off, a pretty neat Town, well
stock'd with Merchandize, particularly Wine and
Wood, and the Place he took without any con-
siderable Opposition. He made here a stay of six
Days, and the Soldiers found a tolerable Booty:
But Raleigh expected his return to St. Michaels
with some impatience.

Much about this time they discover'd under
sail an Indian Carack not far from St. Michael's,
which she perceiving by a Signal given from a
Low-Country-Vessel, and finding herself hard be-
set by the Enemies Ships, ran herself a-ground
under the Town, and got out her Cargo as fast
as she could, after which she was set on Fire,
and kept burning for two Days together. Thus
were the English so miserably defeated in their
Hopes during all this War, that Fortune seem'd
to owe them a Spight. And tho' nothing is more
common than odd Changes and turns of Fortune
at Sea, yet the Disappointments of the English
seem'd to have been of their own creating, and
their ill Success chiefly owing to a peevish Spirit
among them, which studied to prevent or eclipse
the Honour of any glorious Attempt. Essex now
gave Orders, that all the Ships should, upon a
Signal given, make ready to weigh Anchor and
sail for England against the 9th of October, which
is observ'd to be a Month of very foul and tem-
pestuous Weather. But three Days after there
happen'd a violent Storm, the Wind at North,
and dispers'd the Ships to a great distance; and
it had the same effect upon the Spanish Fleet,
which had in the mean time quitted Farol, and
had steer'd another Course, with great Designs
and Preparations against England; so that both
the English and Spanish Fleets quite lost sight of
one another. The English lost not a single Ship,
but, 'tis said, the Spaniards lost several of theirs,
and had one driven by the extremity of the Wea-
ther into Dartmouth-Road, the Seamen and Sol-
diers being almost famish'd. The Crew confess'd

that the Spaniards design was to seize upon some
Port in Cornwall, as lying most convenient, by
reason of its situation upon the Mouth of the
British Channel, both to receive Succours out of
Spain, and to keep the English to closely employ'd
in defending themselves at home, that they should
not be at leisure to make any farther Attempts
upon Spain and the West-Indies. Thus did the Al-
mighty, who determines the Events of War,
keep these two Nations asunder, and baffle their
Projects at a time when they were fully and de-
perately bent upon each other's Ruin. Essex re-
turn'd to England about the end of October with no
contemptible Booty; but his Ships were misera-
bly batter'd and leaky through badness of Wea-
ther.

There were not a few Censures, and those
very different ones, pass'd upon this Expedition,
according as People were inclin'd in regard to
Essex, or from an Aversion to Raleigh. For the
Queen's Favour, in which they had each a libe-
ral share, happen'd to produce Effects strangely
opposite; for it excited in the People a kind of
Odium against Raleigh, which was fomented by
a jealousy they had of his Unfaithfulness to his
Country; and it procur'd on the other side a
mighty Veneration for Essex, which he took care
to cherish by all the Artifices of Address, and
they to improve through the high Opinion they
had conceiv'd of his great Qualifications. Most
certain it is, that neither of these Gentlemen
came short in any instance of Courage, Sagacity
or Conduct; But true Happiness is the gift of God,
and no Man can carve out his own Portion. The
Quarrels between these Gentlemen began now
to appear more publick and fierce, each laying
the blame of the late Mismanagement upon the
other.

Essex was likewise very much offended, that
Sir Robert Cecil, whom the Queen had the last
Year made her Secretary, tho' in spite of his
Endeavours to the contrary, should in his ab-
sence be created * Chancellor of the Duchy of
Lancaster: For he had always stood in the way of
his Advancement, as a Person who was an equal
Match to himself in all points of Policy and good
Management, and a great Friend of Raleigh's in-
to the bargain.

He took it likewise very heinously, that Charles
Howard, the Lord-Admiral, was advanced, du-
ring his absence, to be Earl of Nottingham, with
this Character insert'd in his Patent: That by the
Victory obtain'd Ann. 1558, he had secur'd the King-
dom of England from the Invasion of Spain, and o-
ther impendent Dangers; and did also, in conjunction
with our dear Cousin Robert Earl of Essex, seize by
force the Isle and strongly fortified City of Calais in the
farthest part of Spain; and did likewise entirely rout
and defeat another Fleet of the King of Spain, prepared
in that Port against this Kingdom. All this Essex
conceiv'd as a diminution of that Honour which
he thought to be the right of his own peculiar
Desert. And he look'd on it moreover, as a
Prejudice to himself, that the Lord-Admiral,
who being then no more than a Baron, was
therefore his Inferior, should now take Place of
him under the Privilege of his new Title of Earl.
For it was enacted in the Reign of Henry VIII.
That the L. Great-Chamberlain of England, the
Earl-Marshall, the Admiral, the Steward of the
Queen's Household, should claim Precedency of
all Persons of the same Degree. But the Queen,
who always look'd on Essex's Merit through a
magnifying Glass, that she might at once ease
his Thoughts, and fortify his Reputation, by
giving him the Precedency of the Admiral, tho'
now advanc'd to an Earldom, was pleas'd to ho-
nour him with the Title of Earl-Marshall of Eng-
land,

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Spanish
Fleet de-
sign for
Cornwall.

Piques be-
tween
Essex and
Raleigh
increased.

This is
mistaken
for the
Master-
ship of the
Wards.

E. of Essex
made Earl
Marshal of
England.

English
give up
their de-
sign on the
India-
Fleet.

Villa-
Franca
taken.

A Carack
burnt.

English
Fleet re-
turns
home.

land, which had been buried ever since the death
1597. of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Ann. 40. This Year arrived in England Paul Dzialin Amb-
Polish Embassa-
dor. bassador from the King of Poland, a Person of a
right Polish Assurance, and who express'd in his
own Deportment the Genius of his Country.
Having had his Audience of the Queen, who ex-
pected to receive his Master's Thanks for the
good Offices she had done him, in procuring a
Peace for Poland from Amurath the Turkish Empe-
ror, instead of that, he withdrew from her Ma-
jesty, as she sat in her Chair of State attended
with several Lords, a great many Paces back-
wards, with his Face still towards the Queen,
till he had got to the lower end of the Room ;
(a Compliment which I suppose the English Cour-
tiers were surpriz'd at) here he complain'd in a
Latin Speech, deliver'd with some vehemence,

His Speech

That the ancient Privileges of the Prussians and
Polonians who traded into England, were not
only infringed, but that her Majesty had, con-
trary to the Law of Nations, prohibited their
Commerce with the Spaniards, under which
Pretence the Polanders Goods had been seiz'd
and sold: That the King of Poland could by
no means brook this Treatment, as well, by
reason of the Inconveniences which his Sub-
jects suffer'd thereby, as of the near Alliance
there was between himself and the King of
Spain, and the House of Austria. They de-
manded therefore satisfaction for the Goods
which had been arrested, and an allowance of
a free Trade into Spain from that time forward.
If not, he declar'd that his Master, the King of
Poland, would take a course to assert himself and
vindicate his Subjects, as well as make them
repent who had been the Abettors of this In-
justice.

Queen's
answer.

The Queen made him a prompt and pertinent
Answer, as a check to his Confidence, much to
this effect: 'I confess I am under a Disappoint-
ment, for I find an Herald here in the Chara-
cter of an Ambassador. The Speech you have
made, is certainly an Original; for 'tis the first
I have heard of the kind; and the Pertness of
the Address I cannot help admiring at. But if
your Commission extends thus far, (which I
much doubt) I presume 'tis, because the King,
your Master, is a young Man as well as a young
Prince, elected and not born to the Crown of
Poland; so that he does not rightly understand
the quality of these Negotiations, nor what
has formerly pass'd betwixt us and his Prede-
cessor. You, Sir, do indeed, for your part,
appear to be better vers'd in Books than Poli-
ticks; for whereas you make so great a bustle
in your Speech with the Law of Nations, you
must know, that whilst Princes are engag'd in
a state of War, 'tis lawful for one Party to in-
tercept the Forces and Succours sent to the o-
ther, and to prevent, as well as he can, any
mischievous Consequence to himself. This I
affirm to be agreeable both to the Law of Na-
ture and Nations, and has been frequently pra-
ctis'd, not by us alone, but also by the Kings
of Poland and Sweden, in their Wars with Mus-
covy. And whereas you lay such a mighty
stress upon your Master's new Alliance with
the House of Austria, you may remember that
some of that House would have stop't the King's
Passage to the Throne, and have rest'd the
Sceptre of Poland out of his Hands. As for o-
ther things, I shall leave it to our Council to
signify our Will and Pleasure. After this An-
swer, her Majesty withdrew into her Privy-
Chamber.

Dzialin, the better to excuse himself, at a
Conference held with some of the Council, pro-

duc'd before them his Oration in Writing, and
declar'd it was deliver'd him by Thelitzky Chan-
cellor of Sweden, and drawn up by some others
in his absence, without the knowledge of Za-
mosky.

The Queen commanded her Privy-Counsell-
ers, Burleigh Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Admi-
ral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue, to ac-
quaint Dzialin with the following Particulars,
viz.

That the Privileges of the Cities of Prussia, Privy,
as well as the rest of the Hans-Towns, were Councils
justly alienated from them in the Reign of
Henry VI. yet the Queen had granted them a
Liberty of Trade in common with the English,
and any greater Privilege she was not capable
of allowing them, unless she should so far act
the unnatural Mother, as to cherish other Peo-
ples Children and neglect her own: That to
intercept Succours sent to the Enemy, was far
from being against the Law of Nations, be-
cause the Law of Nature had instructed all
Men to defend themselves; and that is a Law
not wrote in Characters, but congenial to our
very Beings. That those Towns were for-
bidden to relieve the Enemies of England
with any Provisions, by these express Words
contain'd in their Articles of Privilege: It shall
be lawful for the Merchants aforesaid, to carry, and
cause to be carried, their Goods whithersoever they
please, as well within our Kingdom and Dominions
as without, except to the Lands of our open and pro-
fess'd Enemies. Moreover, That 'twas yet fresh
in memory, how the Kings of Poland and Swe-
den had seiz'd and sold the Ships and Wares of
the English, upon a bare suspicion only, that
they assisted the Muscovite with Provisions.

Being demanded what he could answer here-
unto? he reply'd, That he had it not in his Orders to
make any formal Answer, but to deliver the Substance
of what was given him in Charge, and then to bring
back an Answer. After this he was courteously
dismiss'd.

But those of the Hans-Towns interposed so
effectually with the Emperor, that the English
Merchants of the Company, term'd with us Ad-
venturers, were prohibited all Traffick in Ger-
many, because they practis'd their Trade and
sold their Wares there by the Laws of England
and not those of the Empire. When the Queen
had applied to the Emperor by Sir John Wroth,
and to the Princes of the Empire by Stephen Le-
sure, to have this Edict suspended, and Matters
brought to a Composition, but without effect,
she issued out a Proclamation in London, That
the same Day the English were commanded to
leave Germany, those of the Hans-Towns should
be prohibited to trade or tarry in London, or any
other place within the Kingdom of England; and
the Lord-Mayor of London was order'd to dis-
possess all those of the Hans-Towns, of their a-
bode in the City, call'd the Stillyard.

Hereupon they call'd an Assembly of the
Hans-Towns at Lubeck, to form an Association
for preventing, by all possible means, the Trade
of the English in Germany and Poland. To hinder
which Project, George Carew, a Master in Chan-
cery, was sent into Prussia, to inform the King
and the Estates of Poland, and the Cities of Prus-
sia, what was the Answer which had been given
to Dzialin; and to acquaint him moreover, That
her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to permit
them the free Transportation of Wheat and all
other Commodities into Spain, except Ammu-
nition, &c. tho' by the Law of Nations, and
the Civil Law, she might intercept any kind of
Goods sent over to an Enemy: And that those
of the Hans-Towns should enjoy their ancient
Pri-

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Privileges in England, on Condition they would ask them as Favours conferr'd by the Bounty of the Kings of England, and not challenge them as legal Rights or formal Contracts. For Privileges conferr'd by the Courtesy of Princes upon their own Subjects, may be revok'd, and much more those bestow'd on meer Strangers, according as the state of the Times, the good of the Community, and other Reasons and Exigencies may advise and require. That the Hans-Towns had experimentally found this to be true in Denmark and Sweden, and in England too in the Reigns of Edward VI. and K. Philip and Q. Mary: That the Case of Kingdoms and private Cities is vastly different; and that Princes are oblig'd to support and assert their Royal Dignity, and not encourage the Avarice of Merchants, lest they should grow to be an overmatch to crown'd Heads.

His Nego-
tiation
with those
of Dant-
zick.
Poland.
Ebing.
Carew so manag'd the matter with those of Dantzick, that they forbore sending any Commissioners to the Convention at Lubek, or joining with the Hans-Towns of Germany. So that when he had done his Business here, he cross'd over into Sweden, where he met with the King of Poland, who lay at Stockholm under great Difficulties through the means of his Uncle Charles. However, he could work no good effect upon him, for that the Laws of Poland had provided (as the King was pleas'd to urge himself) That the Kings thereof should not make any Contract or Treaty with Foreigners singly and by himself. This Answer he receiv'd by Letters open and unseal'd, and some others which the Vice-Chancellor would have deliver'd to him seal'd and made up, he refus'd to receive, because the Queen's Title in the Superscription was not full and entire, being very loth to allow the least Instance of Disregard to the Dignity of his Prince, which an Ambassador ought to assert above all things, and even to the nicest Puntillo. From thence he came back to Elbing, which owes a great part of its Beauty and Splendor, and the vast Confluence of People thither, purely to the Trade and Intercourse of the English. Here he had the good luck to compromise Matters in some measure between the Citizens of that Place and the English Factory. But these Things fell within the compass of the following Year, only I thought it convenient to insert them here, that I might not distract or draw off the Reader's Mind by starting too often out of the way.

Embassy
from
Denmark.
Queen's
Answer.
This Year was Arnold Whitfield, Chancellor of the Realm, employ'd on an Embassy from Christian IV. King of Denmark, and he was attended by Christian Bernick, who brought back hither the Order of the Garter which had been presented by the Queen to Frederick the King's Father, and desir'd likewise, that the ancient Leagues between England and Denmark might be reviv'd, and that the Danes Goods might not be seiz'd at Sea. He complain'd, that the English, contrary to the Treaties, made use of the Fishery of Norway and Ireland, and offer'd his Master's Mediation towards settling a Peace between England and Spain. She gave the Ambassadors a very honourable Reception, promised a Renewal of the former Treaties, and the Restoration of whatever Goods had been seiz'd, and engag'd likewise, on certain Terms, that no Seizure should be made for the future, and that the Fishing Trade should be regulated according to the Terms and Articles formerly agreed upon: But she thought it no way suitable to the Royal Dignity to make use of a Proxy in procureing Peace from the Spaniard, when the K. of Spain himself was the first Aggressor, and when she was moreover so sufficiently

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secur'd in the Courage and Loyalty of her Subjects, as not to fear the Arms of any Prince whatever, much less would she condescend to ask it at a time, when he was engag'd in a bloody and barbarous War against her Ally and Confederate, the K. of France. For the Spaniards had now taken Amiens, the largest and strongest City of Picardy, by the contrivance of oversetting a Cart in the Gate, which was the Stratagem of Ferdinando Toglio, a Person of a small stature, but adorned with a wise Head and a stout Heart; and this had oblig'd the King to ask a second Supply of 4000 Men. The Queen was ready to grant it, provided they should be under his Pay; for the Fleet, which was gone to the Leeward Islands, and her Army in Ireland, had pretty well drain'd her Exchequer. But he protested he was not able to pay them; and the better and sooner to gain his Point, advertis'd her Majesty by Resax, That the Pope's Nuncio had made him some advantageous Overtures of Peace, and a full and absolute Restoration of all Places in France, except only Calice and Ardres, if he would totally abandon the Queen's Interest: And moreover, that his Subjects in general were inclin'd to embrace these Motions.

The Queen replied, 'That she could never believe that so great a Prince, and one who was so firmly engag'd to her Interest, and so many ways oblig'd by her, as himself had always acknowledg'd, and who had likewise given her the Security of a new Oath, would suffer himself, under any Pretence or Colour whatever, to dispense with Oaths so sacredly made, and so solemnly repeated, purely because her own domestick Troubles and Disorders made her incapable of paying him at present the Service he expected. This was warmly expostulated with the King by Sir Anthony Mildmay, her Majesty's Residentiary. He was indeed a Gentleman of a true honest English Principle, and would now and then take the freedom to charge the French King's Council with Trick-ing and Legerdemain; and used to say, That they made a Property of the English, by shifting them off with trifling, loose and ambiguous Answers.

But forasmuch as several were of opinion, that the King of Spain's grand Design was to dissolve the Union and good Agreement between England and France, and by that means to gain the Advantage of an easier Descent upon England from Calais; the Queen thought it the most provident Course to send the French King a Supply under her own Pay, on condition he would lay the Scene of War either in Picardy or Bretaign, in order to remove the Enemy farther off; and that he would likewise add a greater number of his own Men, and assign the English a Place of Retreat; for otherwise she would by no means consent that the English should be sent abroad merely to be knock'd on the Head, and furnish out a Slaughter-house for the Convenience of the French. However she sent him a great Sum of Money; as Security for which, and his other Debts, he frankly offer'd the Town of Calais, provided the Queen would recover it out of the Enemies Hand, within such a time, at her own Expence, and with her own proper Forces: And the better to enable her for the regaining of it, he propounded Bologne as a Retreat, and a Magazine for her Forces, taking it for granted, that Amiens would comply upon easier Terms if the Enemies Forces were divided. But whilst these Matters were in agitation, Amiens was, after a long and difficult Siege, most happily reduc'd; a Piece of Service which he freely own'd, by some Letters dated in September, was greatly owing to

the good Management of *Baskervil*, (who died 1597. during the Siege) and the Bravery of Sir *Arthur Ann. 40. Savage*, another excellent Commander; together with the Valour of the *English*: And to make the *French* King's Happiness yet more complete, the King of *Spain* being now oppress'd with the double Weight of Age and Business, grew the more inclinable to embrace a Peace: For, when he began to reflect, that the Foundation of his Government was supported rather upon the Pillars of a Popular Reputation than a real Strength; that he had not Money enough to oppose the Designs of the *English*, to carry on the *Low-Country*-War, and at the same time to defend his late Conquests in *France*, and that he was now under a Declension of Years and Strength, his Son but young and unexperienc'd, and the *French* King a Prince fam'd for Military Skill and Courage, he judg'd it a more prudent Method to treat with the *French* King about a Peace, (who, through the Pope's Mediation, appear'd at that time not un inclinable thereto) than to leave his Son in the Government of a State miserably embroil'd, and expos'd to so many powerful Enemies at once: And a Peace was afterwards consummated between them, to their mutual Satisfaction, as shall be made appear in its due place.

As soon as the Queen began to have Thoughts that this Treaty of Peace was on foot, she apprehending it might turn to the Disadvantage of *England*, resolv'd to provide against the worst Effects, by furnishing her Exchequer with Monies, and securing the Love and Affections of her People.

A Parliament called.

Having therefore summon'd the Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, she made several good and acceptable Laws; for restoring and making good any Damages committed upon Country-Farms, and punishing the Transgressors; for prohibiting the converting Arable Land into Pasture; against imbezelling any Goods or Lands bequeathed to the use of the Poor, (a Practice which was become the Scandal and Reproach of the present Age) concerning the erecting of Hospitals and Workhouses for the Poor, the Endowments of which not to exceed two hundred Pounds *per ann.* for preventing the Frauds of the Queen's Receivers, Collectors, &c. for the Relief of Soldiers and Seamen, for building Houses of Correction in every County for Rogues and Vagabonds, for punishing Extortion and Rapes, concerning the Deprivation of Popish Bishops in the first Years of the Queen's Reign, namely, 'That the said Deprivation was and should still be accounted legal and valid, and that the Bishops substituted in their room, should be adjudged as lawfully created. For passing these Laws, and restoring Religion to a better State, as well as for her Majesty's wise Administration, the Security of the Kingdom from the common Enemy, and the Defence of *Ireland*, the Relief of *France* and the *Netherlands*, the Parliament return'd the Queen a Joint-Compliment of Congratulation.

Subsidies granted.

And, that there might be always a sufficient Fund at hand to answer the Exigencies, and provide for the Defence of the Nation, the Clergy made a voluntary Offer of three Subsidies; and the Laity humbly requested the Queen to accept of three whole Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths; and intreated her withal, (as they had done in the Year 1593.) not to advance this special Instance of their Bounty into a Precedent, unless upon some pressing Necessity of the like nature.

L. La Ware *Thomas* Lord *La-Ware* was, after the Death of his Father, call'd to attend at this Parliament;

and he presented a Petition to the Queen, desiring that he might be restor'd to the ancient Privileges of his Family and Predecessors the Lords *La-Ware*. For his Father, having attempted to poison his Uncle the Lord *La-Ware*, in Expectation of his Estate, was, by Order of Parliament, in the Reign of *Edward VI.* excluded from any Estate or Honor, that might accrue to him from his Uncle's Death. The said *William* was, in *Q. Mary's* Reign, condemn'd of Treason; and afterwards his Attainder taken off, as if he had never been arraign'd: But whereas, by reason of the former Sentence, he could not by Law enjoy the Honour of his Ancestors, he was, by the Queen's special Favour, created Lord *La-Ware*, by a new Patent; and as long as he liv'd, claim'd Precedency according to the Date of his Creation: The Queen refer'd the whole Matter to the Lords in Parliament; who finding that the former Sentence concern'd only the Person of *William*, and that his Children were no way involv'd in the same; and that the Attainder in *Queen Mary's* Reign was no manner of Bar, because 'twas impossible for him to lose a Title which he never had; besides that he was afterwards fully and entirely restor'd, and the ancient Dignity no way extinct by the new Creation, but only laid aside in his Life-time, because he was not in Possession of it, when he receiv'd his new Patent: For all these Reasons, he was adjudg'd to hold the same Rank with his Predecessors, betwixt the Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby* and the Lord *Berkly*; wherein he was accordingly reinstated, with the usual Ceremonies.

A Writ was likewise issu'd out, to summon *Thomas Howard*, the second Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and lately made Knight of the Garter, to pay his Attendance on this Parliament, under the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*. And because he was then indisposed, the Lord *Scroop* was conducted in his stead into the Upper House between two Barons, in his Parliament-Robes; himself carrying the Writ, and the principal King at Arms ushering him into the House: When the Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal had publicly read the Writ, he was placed below all the rest of the Barons, tho' elsewhere the younger Sons of Dukes take place of Viscounts. For it appear'd by the Records of Parliament, that in the sixth Year of *Henry VIII.* when *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, being call'd to the Parliament, claim'd the Precedency of Earls, whether in sitting or walking; because he was the eldest Son of a Duke: It was then adjudg'd that he should sit in Parliament, according to the Order of his Creation; and in other Places enjoy the Dignity and Prerogative due to a Duke's eldest Son.

This Year died *William Brook* Lord *Cobham*, Knight of the Garter, Lord-Chamberlain to the Queen, Constable of *Dover-Castle*, Lord-War-den and Chancellor of the Cinque-Ports; and left his Title and Estate to his Son *Henry*, whom he had by *Frances Newton*. As also *William Powlet*, the third Marquess of *Winchester*; a Person more eminent for his many and great Titles, and the ample Estate of his Family, than upon any other account. He left behind one Son only, born in *Wedlock*; viz. *William*, by *Ann Howard* of *Effingham*.

The Kingdom of *Ireland* being at this time involv'd in great Disorders, *Russell* was call'd home: for the whole Province of *Ulster* beyond *Dundalk*, and almost all *Connaught*, was up in Rebellion, except seven Garrison-Castles, viz. *Newry*, *Knockfergus*, *Carlingford*, *Green-Castle*, *Armagh*, *Dondrom*, and *Olderfleet*. *Thomas* Lord *Borough*, a Gentleman of fine Parts, was sent over Lord-Deputy in

in his Room; but tho' he had Courage as well as good Sense, yet was he to seek in point of military Conduct. This Promotion of his was beside the general Expectation, especially *Norris's*, who, by reason of his Deserts and Abilities, had almost promis'd himself this Dignity: But when he saw, that through the Interest of the Court-Party, who were none of his Friends, and the Unsteadiness of those whom he thought such, his Corival was now mounted above him, tho' he had no Reason to think himself much inferior as to Quality, and knew that he was more than his Equal in respect to the Experience of warlike Affairs: And finding moreover, (to his greater Mortification) that he was continu'd still President of *Munster*; and being also much disturb'd, that *Tir-Oen* had so often impos'd upon him by his hypocritical Condescensions; he resented things so deeply, that after all his Conquests, he was overcome by the most effeminate of his Passions, which turn'd to Dis temper, and carry'd him off in a little time. He was beyond all Dispute a Person of incomparable Worth, and as brave a Commander as any this Nation afforded at that time. He was second Son to *Henry Lord Norris*, by the Daughter and one of the Heirs of the Lord *Williams of Tame*; and laid the Groundwork of his After-Experience, in the Civil-Wars of *France*, under the Admiral *Coligny*. When he was but young, he had the Command of a Regiment in *Ireland*, under the Earl of *Essex*. He was Colonel of the *English* Troops in the Service of the States in the *Low-Countries*, Marshal of their Army under grave *Hollack*, President of *Munster* twelve Years, tho' he was much absent; and General of the *English* Forces in *Bretagne*. All which Places having discharg'd as it became his Character, he deserv'd the utmost that Fame could say, or his Country could do for him.

Tir-Oen finding that *Norris* had almost quitted his Hopes; as low as his own were sunk upon this occasion, yet had he Craft enough to mind his main Chance, and court the new Lord-Deputy, by several Letters, to make a Truce with him, or (in the *Irish* Phrase) a Cessation of Arms. And in truth it appear'd convenient enough to grant one for a Month; tho' the Lord-Deputy was always of opinion, that such kind of Truces and Protections were pernicious to the Government. The Month being now expired, the Lord-Deputy got his Forces together and marcht against the Rebels, which seem'd to be a Circumstance of Credit and Advantage to him upon his entrance to his new Government; and after a doubtful Skirmish with them in the narrow and difficult Passes, he forc'd his Way through, and courageously seiz'd upon the Fort at *Blackwater*, newly fortified by the Rebels, and which was their last and securest Retreat, (the Bogs and Marshes only excepted) besides that it was an Avenue to the Country of *Tir-Oen*. And this Action was a plain demonstration how easily the Rebels might have been defeated, had there been any to venture upon a vigorous Onset or Pursuit. The very same day, whilst the Lord-Deputy and his Army were returning God Thanks for their good Success, they were alarm'd of a sudden by the appearance of the Enemies Forces from an Hill hard by. *Henry Earl of Kildare* march'd immediately after them with a Troop of Horse, and some Gentlemen who serv'd as Volunteers, and presently put them to Flight. However there were slain on the side of the *English*, *Francis Vaughan*, Brother to the Lord-Deputy's Lady; *R. Turner*, a stout Man, and Sergeant-Major; and two Foster-Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, for whose death he was so deeply concern'd, that he follow'd them in a few Days

after (it being remarkable, that the Affection of Foster-Brothers in *Ireland*, is of an extraordinary kind); there were besides a great many wounded, and among the rest *Sir Thomas Waller*, an eminent Soldier.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy had repair'd the Fort, supported it with new Breast-Works, and brought his Army home; the Rebels being divided between Hope, Fear, and Shame, thought it the best way to lay close Siege to it; for it was a Place of great Consequence, for annoying them; and *Tir-Oen* look'd on himself as absolutely ruin'd, if it were not recover'd. He therefore closely begirt it on all sides, and the Lord-Deputy advanced once more to its Relief; being fully resolv'd to pierce farther into *Ulster*. But in the midst of his glorious Advances and Designs, it pleas'd God to call him off the Stage. His Death was much lamented by all good Men, but prov'd an Advantage to the Malecontents; for, had he liv'd, he had, in the opinion of all wise Men, quite defeated the Hopes of the Faction, and secur'd *Ireland* from those Hazards it fell into afterwards. The Rebels grew very outrageous upon the News of the Lord-Deputy's Death, and assaulted the Fort several times with great and violent Shouts; but were always repuls'd with Loss, those that scal'd the Walls being thrown down backwards and trodden under foot in the several Sallies of the besieged: Inasmuch that they began now to despair of taking it by force, and took up another Resolution, to starve it out by degrees; persuading themselves, that there was but a few days Provision left in the Garrison, and that it would be oblig'd therefore to surrender, upon meer Necessity. But through the singular Bravery of the Governour *Thomas Williams*, it held out to Amazement, altho' they were reduced to the last Extremities; having no Horse left, and being forced to feed upon the Herbs growing upon the Bulwarks, so distress'd a Condition were they in. The Army in *Ireland* was now, by the Queen's Order, committed to the Charge of the Earl of *Ormond*, under the Title of Lieutenant-General of the Army; and the Care of the Government was deliver'd up to *Adam Loftus* Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Chancellor; and to *Sir Robert Gardiner*: who were thereupon styl'd Justicers of *Ireland*; *Sir Thomas Norris* having enjoy'd that Title not above a Month. *Tir-Oen* makes a long Repetition of all his Grievances, in a Letter to the new Lieutenant, of which I have already given an exact Account, without omitting the least Circumstance, relating to the Sawciness and Misbehaviour of the Soldiers or Sheriffs. He made but very faint Excuses for the Breach of his Engagements with *Norris*; and the main Heads of Complaint were, That *Feagh Mac-Hugh*, an intimate Friend of his, was fool'd out of his Life: That his Letters to her Majesty were intercepted, and that the Nobility and Commons labour'd under most intolerable Taxes and Impositions. He added moreover, That he easily foresaw that the Estates of all the Lords in *Ireland* were going to be shar'd amongst the Gentlemen of the Gown and the Sword, the Lawyers and the Soldiers of *England*: Upon this he assist'd the Sons of *Feagh Mac-Hugh* to raise new Commotions in *Leinster*; and at the same time presented a dissembling Scroll to the Lord-Lieutenant, humbly beseeching him to admit him into Favour, and promising to do all he could to deserve his good Opinion; tho' at the same time, 'twas notoriously known to all the World, that let his Pretences be what they will, his chief Design in stirring up this Rebellion, was to extirpate the *English*, and drive them out of *Ireland*.

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Ann. 40.
E. of Kildare dies.

As does L. Deputy.

Ormond made Lieutenant-General.

Justicers of Ireland.

Tir-Oen submits.

1597.
Ann. 40.

Death of Norris.

Tir-Oen desires a Truce.

L. Deputy takes Blackwater.

1598.

Ann. 41.

French K.
about a
Peace
with Spain

The One and Fourtieth Year of her Reign.

In the midst of these Combuſtions in Ireland, there ſprang up new Troubles from the French Quarters: for tho' the King of France had recover'd Amiens, yet being fatigu'd out with the Wars, the daily Importunities of his Subjects, and the Solicitations of the Pope, he gave the Queen to underſtand, by *Mafy*, about the end of the laſt Year, That he had held ſome Conferences with the Spaniſh Miniſters in relation to a Peace, but was reſolv'd however not to make any farther Steps without her Conſent and that of the Confederate-States, becauſe he had made with them a League Offenſive and Defenſive under thoſe Reſtrictions. He therefore deſir'd that ſome fit Perſons might be diſpatch'd from England and Holland to diſpatch that Matter, and hear what Propoſals were likely to be offer'd.

Commif-
ſioners
ſent to
France.

The Queen, to ſatiſfy his Chriſtian Maſteſty, ſent away into France her principal Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, John Herbert Maſter of Requeſts, and Thomas Wilks, who died there preſently after his landing. The States ſent Juſtin Naſſau and John Oldenbarnevelt, and at the ſame time ſome others into England, to diſſuade the Queen from any Thoughts of a Peace. The Engliſh Envoys had theſe Inſtructions given them among others, 'To enquire out the Ground of theſe Propoſals relating to a Peace, and what Progreſs was made therein; whether there were really and actually any ſuch Overtures made, becauſe the Spaniards had prevaricated in the Treaty of Burgh: As alſo what Security the Confederates were like to have if they conſented to the Treaty: And to propoſe withal, (ſince the French King had intimated, that this Treaty ſhould proceed after the manner of that of Cambray, to reſtore every one their own) that Calais ſhould be reſtor'd to the Engliſh for the Money owing by the French King, which was far more than ſo ſmall a Town could fairly be valued at. There was alſo a Clauſe inſerted, That they ſhould come to no Reſolutions without the conſent of the States.

French K.
Speech to
Cecil, &c.

The King was juſt now ſetting out for Breſtain, in order to reduce that Country; for the D. of Mercour and the Spaniards held no good Correſpondence, by reaſon he refus'd to deliver Nants into their Hands. Cecil travell'd faſt enough to overtake him at Angiers; and after the King had paid his Acknowledgments for the Queen's many Civilities, he ſpoke to this effect to her Ambaſſador: 'Tho' the Queen has enter'd on a War with Spain, which was begun upon honourable Grounds, and has been carried on with an unſwerable Succeſs, yet unleſs ſhe proſecutes it in a way different from the Meaſures hitherto taken, the longer Purſe muſt of neceſſity carry it at the long run. For my own part, though I have a particular Inclination for the Field, as beſt ſuiting the nature of my Education, yet I conſider too, that I am a King, and have a People under my Care and Protection, and therefore cannot but make a Conſcience of expoſing my Subjects to the Hazards and Difficulties of War; and I ſhould think it a great Crime, for any private Ends of Ambition, to reſect a Peace when offer'd, to the great Prejudice of my own Affairs, and the general Detriment of the Confederates, eſpecially when otherwiſe it muſt coſt a great expence of Blood, and bring upon me the Odium of neglecting my Subject's Safety.

Cecil's
reply.

Cecil reply'd, 'That the Queen was no way un inclin'd to a Peace, ſince ſhe had now made

made herſelf a ſufficient Reparation, as to Spain, and had no other Concern upon her at preſent, than to ſecure her own and her Subjects Tranquility.

After this, he deſir'd to learn upon what Terms the Propoſals of Peace with Spain were offer'd, and what Methods muſt be taken, ſhould the Confederate-States of the Netherlands reſuſe to comply with 'em?

The King own'd that the Queen had ſufficiently incommoded the Spaniard; but that himſelf had been a Sufferer: That however the King of Spain was very cordial and ſincere in his Motions of a Peace: That he would reſtore all the Places he had taken in France, not excepting Calais itſelf; and that he would in a little time ſo order the matter, that the King of Spain ſhould accept a Peace upon reaſonable Conditions, both with England and the Confederate States. He farther declar'd publicly, That if he did not cloſe with theſe Offers of a Peace, his Kingdom muſt of neceſſity be embroil'd with freſh Trouble; for he could diſcern already, that his Subjects were ripe for Mutiny, were they but thus provok'd.

During theſe Tranſactions, the French King He makes a private Treaty. minds his own Buſineſs, and claps up an underhand Peace with Spain, and the Articles were privately lodg'd in the Hands of the Archduke Albert, till a Commiſſion came from Spain to make a perfect end of the Buſineſs. Which the Queen having ſome Intelligence of, expoſtulated the Matter with him. But he urg'd in his own Defence, the Delays uſed by the Queen, the great Neceſſity he was under, and the fair Opportunity which then preſented itſelf; and ſeeming to have ſomething elſe in his Thoughts, he reſerr'd the matter to his Council: To whom Oldenbarnevelt made the firſt Declaration, to this purpose: 'That the Condition of the States was, by God's Mercy and the Queen's Aſſiſtance, ſo happily ſettled, that they had been able hitherto not only to defend themſelves, but to lend France ſome Aſſiſtance in her Troubles: That the French King had appear'd very preſſing to enter into a League Offenſive and Defenſive with them; and that they had very readily embraced it upon her Maſteſty's account, out of a firm hope that a general Peace would enſue from thence; and not dreaming in the leaſt that ſo conſiderable a Prince would ever have entertain'd a Thought of receding from the Treaty: That the States were not ſlighted and uſed at that contemptuous Rate, when the Kings of England and France had before now form'd the moſt ſacred Alliances with them. He then made out at large, how unweildy the Power of Spain muſt needs grow, and on conſequence, how dangerous 'twould prove to the French, as well as their Neighbours, ſhould the Confederate Provinces, which were ſo conſiderable for Wealth and Power, be reduc'd once more under their Government. He appeal'd to the Conſcience of the King of France, whether he could in Honour diſcard their Intereſt, when he had eſpous'd it with ſo many repeated Oaths, and they had given him no manner of provocation to break with them? Then, for a Concluſion, he told them, (after many Reaſons offer'd for their Non-acceptance of a Peace with Spain) That ſome Kings indeed there had been, who had ſo high an eſteem for Grandeur and Prerogative, as to bear none at all to the moſt ſolemn Leagues and Obligations; but that the Conſequence of ſuch Proceedings had generally been fatal; for, where Princes have parted with their Faith and Honour, 'tis next to impoſſible they ſhould ſupport themſelves by meer Power. He

1598. in the States behalf.

Ann. 41. That if the K. would lay aside the Thoughts of a Peace, and undertake the Siege of Calais, they would at the same time attack some other Place at their own Expence, and so keep the Enemies Forces divided: That they would moreover advance Pay for 7000 Men towards carrying on the Siege of Calais, and furnish out 25 Men of War with all necessary Provision, on condition he would at the same time supply 3000 Horse, 6000 Foot, and 6 Pieces of Ordnance.

These things the Chancellor of France own'd to be Propositions of Weight and Consequence, and promis'd to make the King acquainted with them, and that all due Civilities should be paid to the Confederates who had deserv'd so well at the French King's hands; but he replied withal, That France, which had been so long harra's'd with the Inconveniences of War, was in no Condition to reject the Offer of a Peace, but ought rather to court it with the utmost Application.

Cecil's Speech to the French Council.

The States absolutely refusing all Proposals of Peace, Sir Robert Cecil, who was empower'd to negotiate a general Treaty, could proceed no farther. But he went so far, as to make it appear to the Council, That the Queen had us'd no Delays, but dispatch'd them as soon as possible into France to transact about a Peace; nor did she refuse to assist the King, provided he could carry on the War against the common Enemy, in such a way, as might redound to the general Advantage of the Confederates. That the Necessity, which they took so much pains to amplify, was not so extremely urgent, since all France, except a Province or two, were reduc'd to their just Obedience and Subjection. Then, in reference to the Opportunity they were so loth to lose, he declar'd, That he did not much care to dispute with Persons who suffer'd their Word and Honesty to buckle to the Times and Occasions, and make Convenience the measure of a Prince's Honour, as if Profit and Advantage were the only Standard they were to go by. He left it to their own Judgments, whether their Prince had made the Queen a suitable Requit for her Kindness, when she had referr'd herself to him as an Umpire in the matter, and had offer'd him a Supply of 6000 Men, if he appear'd more inclinable to carry on the War, than accept a Peace? Upon the whole, he desir'd another Day to consider and canvass Matters; but that being refus'd, he intreated them to remind his Majesty of the solemn Vows and Obligations he had us'd in the Earl of Shrewsbury's Presence, after the Treaty was concluded, and before, by several Letters subscribed by his own Hand. And he ventur'd to affirm, That the Queen had not receded one Inch from the Articles of the Treaty, but had rather exceeded her own Obligations; whereas the King of France had stuck to nothing. And hereupon he produced a Copy of the Treaty. He likewise recommended to their Consideration, the finding out some way to repay those vast Sums which had been borrowed of the Queen: for since she was thus abandon'd on a sudden, she was warn'd tho' by an after-Prudence, to take care of the future, and not lavish her Favours on those who appear'd so unworthy of them. At length, both he and the rest were dismiss'd with smooth and mollifying Answers; and the King acknowledg'd the Queen's extraordinary Civilities, and promis'd not to be wanting in any returns of Gratitude she could expect.

The Queen however was much dissatisfied by these Measures, and would now and then put his Majesty in mind, both by Letters, and her Secretary for the French Tongue, Sir Tho. Edmonde, how much he was concern'd, in regard to God, his Honour and Conscience, to make good his Compact, and not suffer himself to be enjoin'd by the Artifices of pernicious Counsellors; and among some graver Reflections, she thought it not amiss to intermix these stinging Expressions: That if there was such a Sin as that against the Holy Ghost, it must needs be Ingratitude: That if he obtain'd from Spain any honourable Conditions of Peace, he might thank England for them: That he should not forsake an old Friend for fear the new one should not match him: That solemn Oaths and mutual Compacts were never design'd for Snares, unless by the worst of Men: That, as a bundle of Twigs, the readiest way to ruin two Friends acting in Conjunction, was to dissolve the Union. These Observations were too true to be any way acceptable to the French King, and he could find no way to answer them, but the pretence of an absolute Necessity, which made him closely pursue the Peace till he brought it to a conclusion, fortunate enough for France; tho' in England the common People us'd the French King's Name as a Proverb to reproach Ingratitude.

But, to give him his due, he was very industrious to procure the same Terms for England, as a Salvo to his Reputation, and manag'd the matter with the Archduke Charles to get a Truce agreed on for some Months. He endeavour'd likewise to persuade the Queen, That whereas he had hitherto been a Burden to her, he would be sure to be her Friend and Security now the Peace was establish'd, and would never abandon the Interest of a Sister to whom he had such high Obligations. And to say truth, he express'd an extraordinary Value and Regard for her, when the Peace was treated of at Verdun in France. For the French were particularly concern'd for her Honour, after the Dispute which happen'd there between the Commissioners, about Precedency, was made up.

Treaty of Verdun.

I have a few Words to offer relating to this Controversy, and hope the Digression may be pardon'd, when 'tis for the Interest of Posterity to have some light into the matter, which I have borrow'd from the Original sent under the Commissioners Hands to the Archduke. The French Agents peremptorily demanded the first Place, according to a Decree of Pius IV. The Spanish Commissioners would not abide by the Determination, as having been formerly rejected by their Prince; and as conceiving the right of Precedency belong'd to them by the Laws of good Breeding, forasmuch as they were come into a Town within the French Dominions, which they would not have done, but in pure Respect to the Pope and the Legate his Representative. It was at length concluded by the Interposition of the Pope's Legate, that he himself should sit at the upper end of the Table, and the Pope's Nuncio next him on the right Hand; and then the French had their Choice, whether they would sit on the right Hand next the Nuncio, or else next the Legate on the left. They chose the left Hand, next the Legate: The Agents for Spain were very ready to accept the right Hand, as being the more honourable Place, and the Nuncio was not of their Number, and besides, they thought the King's Honour was by this means preserv'd to a Nicety: For if Calgariton, General of the Franciscans (a considerable Party in this Affair) had taken Place of them, and sat above them, next the Legate on the left Hand, whereas, like a modest

modest *Franciscan* as he was, he placed himself at the lower end of the Board, over-against the Legate, they had resolv'd to declare in the open Assembly, that they knew the Place which was due to his Catholick Majesty, and would have preserv'd it, had they been his Delegates. But seeing they were appointed and commissioned by the Archduke, who would not presume to place himself on the level with his Christian Majesty, and were expressly stil'd the Archduke's Delegates in the Letters of Protection they receiv'd from the Christian King, they would willingly resign the Place to the *French*; for the King of *Spain*, to preserve his own Character, was so prudent to empower the Archduke to depute others in his Room, lest he should be driven upon an invidious Contest of Precedency, immediately with the *French* King himself.

As soon as the Business was compounded, and their Commissions open'd on both Sides, the *French* resented it very highly, that in the Archduke's there was not the least mention made of the Queen of *England*, whereas the Duke of *Savoy* was therein nominated. The answer was, That she was design'd to be comprehended with the Confederates. But this not satisfying the *French*, they said the Reason was, Because she had always acted as an Enemy to *Spain*, and was at this very time annoying them with her Fleet. But neither did this content the *French*, till they had solemnly engag'd their Word, that the King of *Spain* should appoint some to treat with her Majesty, if there appear'd on her side any inclination towards a Peace.

Character
of Hen. 4.
from
Jannin.

But the Peace being now concluded between *France* and *Spain*, the *French* King, who had hitherto maintain'd the Reputation of a very Martial Prince, being now altogether intent upon Peace, did so highly advance the Honour and Glory of his Kingdom (which had hitherto been shock'd with the Storms and Convulsions of Civil War) by the defence and support of Religion, both the Catholick and Reform'd, as well as by the encouragement of Learning, the revival of good Laws, the restoration of Traffick, and the adorning the Kingdom with fine and sumptuous Buildings, that he far exceeded the Character of his Predecessors, and obtain'd the Name of *Henry the Great*.

English
debate a-
bout Peace
with Spain

The Queen being now oblig'd to have a more watchful Eye upon her Affairs at home, sent Sir *Francis Vere* over to the States, to learn whether they would concur with her in the forming a Treaty of Peace; or if not, what they would contribute towards supporting the War? She likewise began now to be in earnest with them about their paying back what Charges she had been at upon their account.

Reasons
for it.

In the mean while, a very close Consultation pass'd in *England*; whither it would turn to the Kingdom's Account, or not, to admit a Peace with the *Spaniard*? They which were for the Peace, produc'd these Arguments to support their Opinion: 'That besides the Pleasure and Convenience of Peace, 'twould moreover clear the *English* of a foul Aspersions which lay upon 'em, 'That they were the general Incendiaries and Disturbers of *Christendom*, as if they placed their Security and Happiness in the Dangers and Misfortunes of other Men. That the Queen would be more secure from treasonable Plots and Attempts: That it would put an end to an expensive War with *Spain* and the Archduke: That it would be a means to extinguish the *Irish* Rebellion, when the Malecontents were quite stript of the hopes of Succours from *Spain*: That there would be a free and open Trade, for which the Queen and the King-

dom would fare much better: That the Trade of *Spain*, which had formerly brought in such handson Advantages to the *English* Merchants, would again be open'd to them, and their Grain fetch them good current Money: That the Emperor would revoke his Mandate against the *English* Merchants in *Germany*: It would be the best way to prevent all Broils and Comotions at home, occasion'd commonly by frequent and excessive Taxes and Pressing of Soldiers: The League of *Burgundy* would probably be renewed, and so there would be no ground of Apprehensions from the *French* Quarter: *England* would enjoy a little Respite to provide and fortify herself against any future Emergence. It would likewise make for her Majesty's Honour, who upon the States offering to put themselves under her Royal Protection, anno 1585, declar'd publicly, and in Print, That she aim'd at nothing in the Relief of the *Netherlands*, but their Freedom, and the Security of *England*. If it appear'd at that time a wise and reasonable Resolution to Succour the *Netherlands*, and an act of Justice to wave the Honour of being their Stadt-holder, when 'twas offer'd purely to carry on the Charges of the War; it must now appear an instance of the grossest Weakness to prosecute the War, upon a fair offer of Peace from *Spain*, and not the least shadow of a Proposal from those who find it their Interest to lengthen out the War. Besides, 'twere worth while to weigh these Points: Whether *England* be really able to maintain a War against *Spain*, in *Ireland*, in the *Low-Countries*, and in other Places at the same time? And, Whether there were any Hopes, by continuing the War, to draw the *Spaniard* to any more convenient Terms of Peace than what were now offer'd? And this likewise was to be thought on more than once, since it is without all question, more convenient for the *English* to make an Offensive War, (it being a wretched Case to be put on the Defence of one's Country at home) What Parts it were best to begin the War in: If on the Coasts of *Spain* or *Portugal*, 'twere indeed an easie matter to plunder the Sea-Ports in either Kingdom, but the Expence of keeping them, would eat up the Profit: If the Isles of the *Azores* were made the Seat of War; they might, 'tis true, be very probably reduc'd, and the *Spanish* King be greatly incommoded by that means, but were not to be preserv'd without too big an Expence: If *America*, they have Ships now in all those Ports, every way well furnish'd, and the Sea-Coasts are provided with more and stronger Garisons than before, and there is not a Grain of Gold, Silver or Pearl, but what must be got thro' the Fire: If in the *Low-Countries*, 'twould be an Undertaking hardly practicable, considering that Country is so well stor'd with fortified Towns, and every one of them able to endure a long Siege. Nor was it possible that the States, tho' the *English* acted in conjunction with them, could do any more than defend themselves, till the *Spaniards* were quite drawn off to attend the War with *France*. And then, 'twas no true Politick Axiom, in the last place, That they who are able to stand out a War, may obtain Peace on their own Terms; whereas they that cannot, must be contented to bear the brunt. It was farther urg'd, what Trouble the *Athenians* and others brought upon themselves, meerly for refusing the offers of Peace. There were some likewise who alledg'd, (but it was rather from a personal Pique against the Men, than any real dislike of their Cause) 'That the States, whatever pother they make about Religion and Property, do

1598. Ann. 41. do in effect extirpate all Piety, by a general Toleration of all Persuasions, but Popery: Then for Liberty, 'twas but a Cloak for Advantage and Interest, which they most heartily promoted, by laying burdensom Impolls on Provisions, imbasing of Coin, and railing the Value when they pleas'd, and other Practices of the same sort: By these Tricks they make a shift to maintain the War on Foot, and enrich themselves by that which all but themselves are great losers by. Besides this, they have erected so many Monopolies, that all Trade and Commerce is in their own Hands; and, like all true Sticklers for Democracy, they hate Monarchy at the bottom of their Hearts, and have extruded all their Nobility, except one or two Persons they make use of in their Wars. And 'tis clear as day-light, they mean nothing more nor less (a dangerous Precedent against crown'd Heads!) than to form themselves into Parties, in opposition to the House of Austria, as the Helvetians did formerly against the House of Habsburgh, to which the other is allied; and this they would willingly do at the Expence, not only of their own Lives, but those of the English, French and Scots, who for the sake of a little publick Fame, are too ready to spend their Blood in other Men's Quarrels.

Against the Peace. Those who appear'd against the Peace, proceeded upon these Considerations: That the Spaniard would hereby heap such a Mass of Treasure, that should he once have a mind to quarrel again, he would prove an over-match for all his Neighbours. That a firm and lasting Peace was by no means to be expected from him, without a Dispensation from the Pope, when he so grossly trick'd us at Bourbourg, ann. 1578, and is of this Opinion to boot, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks. That 'tis impossible he should put up the Damages he has receiv'd, without attempting at one time or other to make Reprisals. If a Peace be concluded, the Queen must abandon the States of Holland and Zeland, and so lose all the Money expended upon that War, or else deliver the Cautionary-Towns into the Enemies Hands: The first of which would be to her Damage; and the latter to her Discredit. The States, when she has once quitted their Interest, must of course come under the Subjection of Spain, which would gain thereby a vast accession of Naval and Land-Forces to disturb England; besides that those Countries would be a very convenient Seat for carrying on a War against their Neighbours, and so confirming and settling a Spanish Monarchy; admitting the Difficulty of maintaining an Offensive War in the Low-Countries, the Uncertainty and Hazard of supporting it in the Azores, and the little Advantage of carrying it on in Spain or Portugal, and the very great Expence and Charge, be it in any of these Places; yet to have the Seat of War in America, must needs turn to a very gainful Account; for that vast Country is so thinly stockt with Inhabitants, and they live at such Distances, that they would find it very difficult to relieve one another: Were care taken therefore to land an English Army of 10000 Men in those Parts, there to continue and follow planting, no doubt in the least of reducing Carthagena in Golden Castile, Panama, and the River Chibagre which is navigable up thither, together with Porto Bello; and upon consequence, the Treasure which is transmitted through those Places into Spain from Peru and Golden Castile, must needs be intercepted, or else detained in America. This would be a means to hinder the Spaniards Trade, and lessen the King's Customs,

1598. Ann. 41. to his unspeakable Inconvenience. Nor could there be any fear of the Natives, for they are great Cowards, and live in an effeminate Climate; and for the Spaniards who might possibly be sent thither, they would find themselves too much fatigu'd by their Voyage, and every way in too ill a case to dispossess old Soldiers of their Garisons and places of Defence. And then there could be no fear of wanting Victuals, since that might be supplied as easily from England as 'tis convey'd from Spain. For as soon as it came to be known that they had settled themselves in those Parts, there would be enough from all Nations to furnish them with all Necessaries, for the Europeans desire nothing more than a free and open Commerce with America. Objections against the Hollenders concerning Religion and Monopolies are meer Slanders, and the Inventions of such as bear no good-will to the Reformation; for the States do heartily espouse the true Religion, and assert it, together with their ancient Liberty, and differ in no Fundamental Point from the rest of the reform'd Churches, but agree in all Doctrines relating to Salvation. In things indifferent, and not so material, they do indeed grant a general Toleration, in compliance with the Condition of the Times, just as the primitive Church did; for it must be expected that some Cockles will grow amongst the Corn. As for other matters, the Miscarriages of particular Men ought not to affect the whole Body, and the Community ought in all fair Construction to stand exempted from the Faults of any Individual. There were some Corruptions found among the very Apostles, and the Angels themselves were not without Blemish: We ought not therefore to bespatter a well-manag'd Government, nor discourage and cry down the good Husbandry of a free People, if they have stolen the Receipt from the rest of the World, how to thrive and grow rich upon War and publick Disorder.

The Advocates for a Peace, endeavour'd to invalidate these Arguments by others here set down: That the Queen and the Confederates had as fair an Opportunity of laying up Mony, while the Peace held, by which they might make as good a Provision for their own Defence, as the King of Spain could to annoy them: That there was good Reason to expect a firm and lasting Peace with Spain, since that Kingdom has suffer'd enough to reflect what ill Steps have been taken in the tyrannical Government of the Low-Countries, and by so doing, to correct that Error, by submitting to a Peace. There have been several Treaties of this nature formerly agreed to by the Dukes of Burgundy and the Kings of Castile, the King of Spain's Predecessors, which had always been duly observ'd to the real Advantage of the English Nation. Suppose the King of Spain, to serve a Point of Interest, play'd a little fast and loose in the Business of Bourbourg; 'tis in our Power likewise to treat of a Peace with our Swords in our Hands. There are numerous Examples of Faith duly kept between Popish Princes and Hereticks, without the Pope's being made a Party in the Case; witness Charles V. and his Successors, who preserv'd inviolably their Faith with the excommunicated Protestants of Germany, whom they esteemed Hereticks: As likewise Francis I. K. of France, who solemniz'd the Funeral of Henry VIII. at Paris, tho' the Pope had excommunicated him. And we may instance in Henry the present King of France, who after his Reconciliation to the Church of Rome, and his being adopted for her eldest

A Reply
for Peace.

1598. *Ann. 11.* eldest and dearest Son, made a League Offensive and Defensive with the Queen of England. Besides this, the Appetite of Revenge flags apace, the power of Action decays. The Queen may very lawfully and fairly abandon the Cause of the States, since she oblig'd herself to protect them no longer than they could procure from the Spaniard convenient Terms of Freedom and Security, which if they would now refuse, she is disengag'd from lending 'em any farther Assistance. 'Twas neither a just nor reasonable Demand on their side, That the Cautionary Towns should be deliver'd into their Hands. 'Twould be easy to recover the Money lent out of the Queen's Purse, upon account of the War, were but a Peace concluded. 'Twill require a considerable time to reduce the Low-Countries under Subjection, and Time may produce a thousand things which at present are little dreamt of. But if they are reduc'd by a pacifick Treaty, they can never secure themselves, but by securing their Profit and Interest: But whatever became of 'em, France and England, whilst they acted in Conjunction, would easily ballance Spain, and check any Exorbitance on that side. Publick Convenience would prove the firmest Ligament to keep the Treaty together. In sum, the Reasons for a Peace are deducible from the Law of Nature, which has made Self-preservation one of her first and most forcible Dictates; and may be fetch'd also from the Law of Nations, which makes the Peoples Safety the highest Law: And the Christian Law, which is the best and purest Reason, pleads hard against the effusion of human Blood, and for the Union of Christendom, against Pagans and Infidels; whereas the Arguments for living in a state of War, (which one would think were effectually confuted by Drake's ill Success, whatever golden Dreams may possess those whose Thoughts are rambling to America) these are merely bottom'd upon human Wisdom, and a politick kind of Providence and Foresight as to some future Dangers: But sure 'twere better to commit these Issues to the Conduct of a divine Wisdom and Care, and in the mean time direct our Aims and Councils to the publick Good, and discharge an honest Conscience at home, rather than be so intent upon Points which carry a bare appearance of Convenience or Necessity. These were the Reasonings and Debates on both sides.

Burleigh
declares
for Peace

Burleigh, the Lord-Treasurer, upon the force of these Arguments, and in respect of certain great and necessary Advantages to ensue from thence, declar'd himself for Peace, as well knowing that the Issues of War were precarious, and the Expences great; besides, that the Treasure of England was much wasted, and the People apt enough to grow Mutinous, if they found themselves loaded with too heavy Impositions; that the common Sort had a natural Aversion to the Nobility, and that there was but little Hopes of any Assistance from the States; not to mention the Treachery of our own People at home, the little Dependance that was to be fix'd on our Neighbours, and the flowing and opulent state of Spain. So that, as he said, England was like to reap no real Advantage by this War, but only a sort of negative one, which amounts to little more than the shadow of a Good.

Essex
against it.

Essex labour'd hard against any Motions for Peace; and having been bred to the Sword, and gain'd some Reputation by it, he would by no means consent to an Accommodation, but stiffly urg'd the Impossibility of making any honourable Treaty with Spain, or indeed any Terms, but

what they would break, upon these and the like Suggestions: That the Spaniards were a subtle and enterprizing People, and very ambitious of extending their Empire; that they bore a most inveterate Aversion to England, and profess'd a Religion quite contrary to it; that the Pope's Dispensing Power was unlimited, and that Axiom generally espous'd, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks.

These Arguments, and the Apprehension of future Dangers and Inconveniencies, he much insisted on; insomuch that the Lord-Treasurer was provok'd to say, *that he seem'd intent upon nothing but Blood and Slaughter.* And after a very warm Debate upon this Point, he took out a Prayer-Book, and without using any Words, pointed to this Passage; *Men of Blood shall not live out half their days.*

Some however there were who approv'd Essex's Measures, as conceiving he was principally concern'd for the Honour and Welfare of his Country. Others condemn'd him as a designing and ambitious Person, who was for advancing himself and his Creatures at any rate. To silence these Men, he wrote a formal kind of Defence; in which he exhibited what has been already mention'd, and discover'd withal, that Anthony Rolston, an English Runagado, was some time before sent into England by the Spanish Ministers, and Creswel the Jesuit, under colour of concerting a Peace, but really and in fact, (as Rolston afterwards confess'd) to discover the Queen's Military Strength, to embolden the Papists, and by Promises and Bribes to debauch some Persons, especially Essex, from their Duty and Allegiance.

There follow'd after this a pretty warm Dispute, between the Queen and Essex, about the matter of a Peace, and the choice of some fit and able Persons to Superintend the Affairs of Ireland, at which none were present but the Lord-Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil Secretary, and Windebank Clerk of the Seal: For whereas the Queen lookt upon Sir William Knolles, Uncle to Essex, as the most proper Person for that Charge, and Essex contending on the other side, that Sir Geo. Carew would much better become that Post; (perhaps on purpose to get rid of him) and when the Queen could by no means be persuaded to approve his Choice; he quite forgot himself and his Duty, and turn'd his Back upon his Prince in a kind of Contempt. The Queen was not able to bear his Insolence, and so bestow'd on him a Box on the Ear, and bad him go and be hang'd. He immediately clapt his Hand on his Sword, and the Lord-Admiral stepping in between, he swore a great Oath, that he neither could nor would put up an Affront of that nature, nor would he have took it at the hands of Henry VIII. himself; and in a great Passion he immediately withdrew from Court. The Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal advis'd him in a serious and considerate Letter, to apply himself to the Queen for Pardon, alledging, that 'twas the best way to stoop to her Anger for the present, remembering that Passage of Seneca; *If the Law punishes a Guilty Person, he must submit to Justice; if one Innocent, he must yield to Fortune.* If he had given the Queen a just Offence, 'twas not in his power to make her Amends; whereas if he had done him an Injury, he was oblig'd in Prudence, Duty and Religion, to bear with his Sovereign, to whom he had so many Obligations, for that there was a vast difference between a Prince and a Subject. He sent the Lord-Keeper his Answer in a long and passionate Letter, which his Friends did afterwards unadvisedly divulge; wherein he appeal'd from the Queen to God Almighty, in Expressions something

Essex
receiv'd
again into
favour.

The death
of Lord-
Treasurer
Burleigh

His Cha-
mber.

with.

1598. thing to this purpose, 'That there is no Temper so boisterous as the Resentments of an angry Prince: That the Queen was of a flinty Temper: That he well enough knew what was due from him as a Subject, an Earl, and Grand-Marshal of England, but did not understand the Office of a Drudge or Porter: That to own himself a Criminal, was to injure Truth, and the Author of it, God Almighty: That his Body suffer'd in every Part of it, by that one Blow given him by his Prince: That 'twould be a Crime in him to serve a Queen who had given him so great an Affront. What! was it impossible for crown'd Heads to wrong, and so to stand accountable to their Subjects? Was any Power below of an unlimited Nature? And did not Solomon say, *that he is a Fool who laughs when he is stricken?* They only that are Gainers by the Miscarriages of Princes, were oblig'd to take the Indignities they offer'd; and those who suspected the Omnipotence of the Deity, might, if they pleas'd, place it in earthly Princes; for my part, I have suffer'd so many and great Injuries, that I cannot but resent them from my very Heart.

1598. Essex receiv'd again into favour. However, in a little time he became more pliant, receiv'd his Pardon, and was readmitted into the Queen's Favour, who always thought it a less Crime to offend a Person, than to prosecute him with a perfect Hatred. However, his Friends were apt to date his Ruin from this unlucky Circumstance; having made this Remark, That Fortune seldom Caresses a cast-off Favourite a second time; and Princes once oblig'd, are seldom heartily reconcil'd.

The death of Lord-Burleigh. In the midst of these Discontents died William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Lord-High-Treasurer of England, having exhausted himself with Study and the necessary Fatigue of his Employment; so that growing old, and being troubl'd with the Gout, he requested the Queen's leave to lay down his Place. Upon the receipt of his Letter, she was pleas'd to pay him some Visits, and to support him with the most kind and encouraging Expressions. However he resign'd his Soul to God in a very few days after he had liv'd long enough to answer the Demands of Nature, and Reputation, and every thing but the Expectations of his Country. He left the World so fairly, that the greatest Enemy he had freely declar'd that he envied him nothing, but that his Sun went down with so much Lustre; whereas generally publick Ministers are not blest with such calm and fortunate Periods. He was, without doubt, an extraordinary Person, so liberally furnish'd by Nature, (to say nothing of his Presence and Aspect, which had a commanding Sweetness in them) and so handsomely improv'd by Learning and Education, that he had few or no Superiors as to the several Qualifications of Probity and Prudence, Industry, Temperance and Justice. He had besides these Accomplishments, an easy and flowing Eloquence, which consist'd not in a Pomp and Ostentation of Words, but in a Masculine Plainness and Significancy of Sense. He was Master of a Prudence form'd upon Experience, and regulated by Temper and Moderation; then for his Loyalty, 'twas true and would endure the Touch, and was only exceeded by his Piety, which indeed was eminently great. To sum up his Character in little; the Queen was blest'd in so worthy a Minister, and the Kingdom indebted to his Memory for the happy Influence of his Ministry. Perhaps future Ages may be curious to know the Place of his Nativity, which was at Bourn in Lincolnshire, *ann. 1521.* His Father was Richard Cecil of the Family of Alstyerns, which belong'd to King

Henry VIII's Wardrobe. His Mother's Name was Jane; she was an Heiress of the honourable Family of Ekinton, and of the Walcots.

1598. Education. In his younger days, he was a Student at St. John's College in Cambridge, where at twenty Years of Age he married Mary the Sister of Sir John Cheek, a Gentleman of known Learning, and buried her in a Year or two; after which having studied the Law for a Year or two at Grays-Inn in London, he married Mildred, the Daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, who was Preceptor to Edward VI. She was a Woman very well vers'd in the Latin and Greek Tongues. Being admitted into the Duke of Somerset's Family, who was Protector of England, he was made his Master of Requests, being the first, as himself told me, who wore that Title in England: Shortly after, he was Secretary to King Edward VI. and receiv'd from him the Honour of Knighthood. Upon his opposing the pretended Conveyance of the Crown from the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, he got into Favour of the Former, tho' he was in the Number of those that subscrib'd it; and his dexterous Management prefer'd him to a perfect Intimacy with Cardinal Pool, Tonstal, and Sir William Peter. But whereas he had a real and hearty Veneration for the Protestant Religion, (however he might humour the present Occasions) and finding the Road to Preferment lay quite another way, he made his Court to the Lady Elizabeth, who made use of him as a necessary Instrument whilst she was a private Person, and when she came to the Throne, advanc'd him to be her Secretary and a Privy-Counsellor, and after the death of Sir Thomas Parry made him Master of the Wards in the third Year of her Reign; which Office he discharg'd, as he did all others, like a good Husband for the Queen and the Wards, very modestly in respect to his private Advantages, and not unprofitably for his Followers and Dependants, tho' without the least Blemish upon his Integrity; so that the Queen did so far rely upon the Prudence of his Conduct, as in a manner to lay the whole weight of the Government on his Shoulders. His great Interest with the Queen, and a plentiful Estate besides, drew upon him the Envy of some of the Nobility, which, he us'd to say, was sooner overcome by giving way, than making opposition against it. The Q. having had a thirteen Years Experience of his Prudence and Loyalty, was pleas'd to honour him with the Title of Baron Burleigh, and then to make him Lord-High-Treasurer of England: In which Post he considerably augmented the publick Purse and his own private Estate, tho' he abhorr'd the base and corrupt Methods of scraping up Money; for indeed he seldom or never suffer'd any thing to be expended, but for her Majesty's Honour, the Security of the Nation, or the Support of some Neighbouring Allies.

He had a strict Eye upon the Farmers of the Customs, but without Harshness or Pedantry. He us'd to say, *That he never car'd to see the Treasury swell like a disorder'd Spleen, when the other Parts of the Commonwealth were in a Consumption.* And he us'd all possible means (and with good Success) to enrich the Queen and the Kingdom by his Administration, it being a common Expression with him, *That nothing could be for the Advantage of a Prince, which makes any way against his Reputation.* Wherefore he would never suffer the Rents of Lands to be rais'd, nor the old Tenants to be put out. The same Method he observ'd as to his own private Estate, which he manag'd with that Discretion and Probity, that he never sued any Man, nor was sued himself. I shall forbear too lavish a Commendation of him; but this I

may venture to affirm with truth, That he was
 1598. one of those few who lived and died with a sound
 Ann. 41. and large Reputation. Indeed he was in all re-
 spects so considerable a Person, that I agree with
 the opinion of the Ancients, and conceive a si-
 lent admiration of him to be the handsomest Cha-
 racter.

His Issue. He had by his first Wife, *Mary Cheek*, *Thomas*
 now Earl of *Exeter*, a Person remarkably blest'd
 in a numerous Issue. By his last Wife, *Mildred*
Coke, he had *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury*, who suc-
 ceeded him in his most honourable Employments,
 (an Happiness which is very rare and unusual)
 besides two Daughters, both of which he out-
 lived, viz. *Ann* Countess of *Oxford*, who had
 three Daughters, *Elizabeth* Wife to *William* Earl
 of *Derby*, *Bridget* married to the Lord *Norris*, and
Susan Wife to *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*, as like-
 wise *Elizabeth* married to *William Wentworth*, who
 had no Children. He made his Executors *Gabriel*
Goodman Dean of *Winchester*, a very Reverend
 and Worthy Person; and *Thomas Bellot*, his Do-
 mestick Steward, to whom he left a large Sum
 to be distributed in charitable Uses, which was
 very faithfully perform'd.

vid. 595 The Lord *Burleigh's* strenuous Endeavours for a
 Peace, tho' they produc'd not the desir'd Effect,
 yet did they tend to pare off a great part of
 the Charge of the War: For when he lay Sick,
 and almost past recovery, the States sent over
John Duvenvoord Admiral of *Holland*, *John Olden-*
barnewelt Keeper of the Seals, *John Verke*, *John*
Hooting, and *Andrew Hessel*; and joined in the
 same Commission *Sir Nowel Carron* their Agent
 in *England*, who being mightily for promoting
 the War, did in the Month of *August* hold a Con-
 ference with *Sir Thomas Egerton* Lord-Keeper of
 the Great-Seal, the Earl of *Essex* the Admiral,
George Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Buckhurst*, *Sir Wil-*
liam Knolles, *Sir Robert Cecil*, and *Sir John Fortescue*,
 Commissioners appointed by the Queen, and
 subscrib'd to the following Articles: That the
 Treaty made An. 1585, should be ratified and con-
 firmed, excepting some Articles relating to the Civil
 Administration: That the Confederate-States should pay
 to the Queen 800000 l. of English Money, viz.
 30000 yearly during the continuance of the War, to be
 employ'd against the common Enemy, until 400000 l.
 were paid: And if a Peace were agreed on between the
 King of Spain and the Queen, there should be paid of
 the remaining Sum 20000 yearly till the 800000 were
 fully discharged: That 1150 English Soldiers who
 were in the Garisons of *Flushing*, *Briel*, and the ad-
 jacent Ports, should be paid by the States: That they
 might have the liberty to levy Men in *England* under
 English Officers, who should serve under their Pay:
 That if the Spaniard should make a Descent on the Isles
 of *Wight*, *Guernsey*, *Jersey* or *Silly*, the States
 should be oblig'd to assist the Queen with 5000 Foot
 and 500 Horse: That if 'twas necessary to equip a Fleet
 in *England* to serve against Spain, they should pro-
 vide an equal number of Ships: That if any English
 Forces were sent over into *Flanders* or *Brabant*, they
 should provide and furnish out the same number of Men:
 As for the Money due to *Pallavicini*, the Queen should
 reimburse herself from *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and
 the rest of the Provinces which were not within the
 Union.

Thus was the Queen eas'd of a vast Expence
 by this new Treaty, no less than a yearly one of
 120000 l. English; and this by the provident Con-
 duct of the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, and the Ma-
 nagement of *Sir Thomas Bodley* and *George Gil-*
pin, who succeeded him in the Council of the
 States.

Bodley's Bodley, being at present unengaged from Af-
 Library. fairs of State, set himself a Task which would
 have suited the Character of a crown'd Head, I

mean the promotion and encouragement of
 Learning: For he began to repair the publick
 Library at *Oxford*, and furnish'd it with new
 Books: 'Twas set up by *Humfrey Duke of Glou-*
cester, but through the Iniquity of the Times, was
 in the Reign of *Edward VI.* stript of all the Books;
 but he having made the choicest Collection from
 all Parts of the World of the most valuable Books,
 partly at his own Cost, and partly by Contribu-
 tions from others, he first Stock'd, and after-
 wards left it so well Endow'd at his Death, that
 his Memory deserves to bear a very last-
 ing Date amongst Men of Worth and Let-
 ters.

Whilst these Matters were treating of between
 the English and the States, the Lord *Zouch*, and
Christopher Parkins Doctor of Law, being sent to
Denmark to Congratulate the King upon his Mar-
 riage with the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Daughter,
 obtain'd with much ado the Reimbursement of
 30000 Dollars, for some Goods which the *Danes*
 had seiz'd belonging to the English Merchants, to
 the value of 100000 Dollars, on pretence that
 the English had not acted justly and honestly in
 the Business of Customs. For it seems there
 were about this time several Disputes rais'd as to
 that Matter, and the Queen, suspecting that the
 King of *Denmark* acted more favourably by the
 Spanish than the English, could not forbear com-
 plaining, that the Customs were rais'd to an un-
 reasonable Height; and he made complaint on
 the other hand, that his Subjects were miserably
 abus'd and Rifled by the English Pirates, and that
 the Council of *England* had a nearer Regard to
 the Avarice of some particular Merchants, than
 to the publick Welfare and Good of both King-
 doms.

About this time, *Philip* the second King of
 Spain engag'd *Infanta Isabella*, his Daughter, to
 Cardinal *Albert*, and gave her for her Portion the
 Low-Country-Provinces and the County of *Bur-*
gundy. Whereupon the Cardinal, having in a
 solemn way sent back his Cap to *Rome*, and re-
 ceiv'd a consecrated Sword from his Holiness,
 made all the haste he could to Spain. In the
 mean time, the King of Spain being above Seventy
 Years of Age, took leave of this World in the
 end of *September*, and died much lamented for the
 evenness of his Temper under all Events. He
 was a Prince of so wide and extensive an Autho-
 rity, that there was no Impertinence in his Mo-
 to, *Sol mihi semper lucet*, i. e. The Sun shines al-
 ways upon me. He was likewise a Prince of sin-
 gular Conduct, through the Benefit of some of
 his Father's Maxims, which he had apply'd and
 improv'd by his own Experience; but he was
 generally unsuccessful in the Field; for being
 himself but of a weak Constitution, he was but
 slow in Action, and forc'd at last to depend on
 the Advice of others. By this means, the three
 Keys of the Spanish Empire, for so his Father call'd
Guletta in *Africa*, *Flushing* in the Low-Countries,
 and *Cales* in Spain, over which he was advis'd to
 have a watchful Eye, happen'd to be look'd after
 not so carefully as they should; for one of them
 was taken by the Turks, another by the Confe-
 derate-States of the Low-Countries, and the third
 seiz'd upon by the English, to the irreparable Di-
 shonour of so great a Prince: So that he had
 good Reason for advising his Son (as 'tis said he
 did) to make up the Differences with the English
 and the Netherlanders.

About this time return'd home into *England*
George Clifford Earl of *Cumberland*, who had some
 time before furnish'd out a Fleet of eleven Ships
 at his own proper Expence, in order to inter-
 cept the Portugal Caracks as they sail'd from the
 River *Tayo* for the East-Indies; but they hearing
 that

that they lay Busking about the Coasts of *Portugal*, staid so long in the River under the Protection of the Fort of *St. Julian*, which was furnish'd with an hundred great Guns, that they lost their Voiage for that Season. Whereupon he sail'd away first for the *Canaries*, where he took and plunder'd the Isle and Town of *Lance-rosa*: From thence he steer'd for *Boriquen*, and landing his Men, dispos'd them into Order, and made an Attack on *Porto-Rico*; and when they had taken one or two of the Forts, he made himself Master of the Town with the loss of not above 30 Men, tho' there were in the Town above 400 Soldiers, besides Inhabitants. This Place being for the Advantage of its Situation accounted by the *Spaniards* the Key of *America*, he resolv'd to make the Seat of War, and remov'd all the Inhabitants out of it, tho' they offer'd a plentiful stock of rich Goods, besides gold and silver Plate in ransom for it: But shortly after the *English* were so wretchedly handled by the Bloody-Flux and the Gripping of the Guts, that in their forty Days stay there, 700 Men were swept away by these Distempers; so that he was forc'd to return home with more Honour than Booty, tho' he carried off above 50 Brass Pieces of Cannon: However he did a considerable Damage to the *Spaniard*, in hindring the Caracks from making their Voiage to the *Indies* for this Year, and the return of the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet from *America*.

Much about the same time was *Edward Squire* arraigned for Treason; a Man of no Family, and who had rose from a little Pettifogger to be an under Groom in the Queen's Stable, then entered a Soldier under *Drake* in his last Expedition, and being taken Prisoner and carried into *Spain*, commenced an Acquaintance with *Walpole* the Jesuit. *Walpole* got him into the Inquisition as an Heretick, where having suffer'd Hardships enough, he was easily persuaded to change his Religion, and often tamper'd with to distinguish his Zeal by doing something extraordinary for the sake of it. At length the Jesuit told him, after several Preambles, (as *Squire* himself confess'd) That it would be a meritorious piece of Service to kill the Earl of *Essex*, but a much nobler Act to take off the Queen, which he told him might be done without Noise or Danger, by poisoning the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle upon which she was oblig'd to lay her Hand as she rode.

When *Squire* had consented to this villainous Project, the Jesuit bound him up by several Vows, under pain of *Damnation*, to execute and conceal the Design. Thus having given his Instrument of Wickedness proper Instructions, and fed him with fine Promises of Saintship and Salvation, and given him his Blessing as an Earnest, he deliver'd him the Poison; and to prevent any Suspicion on the account of his being just return'd from *Spain*, he contriv'd that he and another should be employ'd as Agents to redeem some *Spaniards* who were at that time Prisoners in *England*. Not long after he very artificially rubb'd the Poison upon the Pommel of the Queen's Saddle, pretending to be busy about something else, and crying out, *God save the Queen*; but through God's Mercy the Poison took not its Effect. Mean while, to avoid all Suspicion, he list'd himself under the Earl of *Essex*, who intended for the *Azores*, and went out of *England* a Soldier in his own Ship; and there he belmeard the Earl's Chair with the same Poison, but to as little Effect. After this he return'd into *England*, and liv'd secure and without the least Apprehension that *Walpole*, his Confessor, would have turn'd Informer against him: But he

being, it seems, very much nettled at the ill Success of his Enterprize, and suspecting that *Squire* had chous'd him for all his Vows and Engagements, bent himself wholly to Revenge; and 'tis most certain, that a Person was sent to *England* to impeach *Squire* for Treason in general Terms. Whereupon (the thing being of that Weight and Importance) *Squire* was Examined, and at first denied the Fact; but being afterwards more closely tax'd upon certain Circumstances, and suspecting that his Confessor had prov'd a *Judas*, he freely confess'd all that *Walpole* had contriv'd; that he had given his Consent, and how far he had proceeded, &c. However, both at the Bar and at the Gallows he protested, that tho' *Walpole* and others had persuaded him to the Fact, yet he entred upon it with the greatest Reluctancy. *Walpole*, or somebody for him, printed a Pamphlet, wherein he utterly denied the whole Sum and Substance of *Squire's* Confession. However the Matter was, there were some *English* Runnagadoes that took mighty pains to work the Ruin of others, and to brand themselves with a perpetual Infamy: For I am concern'd to say, that some of the Clergy had both espous'd and broach'd this pestilent Doctrin, that to take away the Lives of excommunicate Princes, was no more than weeding the Cockle out of the Lord's Field.

There was about this time a Gang of dissolute and ill-princip'd Men, who seem'd very well pleas'd with disturbing the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation: In order to which, they dispers'd abroad several Reports; (upon what Grounds I know not) that the King of *Scots* was a Favourer of the Catholick Religion, and but indifferently affected to her Majesty's Person and Interest; and to reconcile the more Credit to 'em, the Queen had presented her the Copy of a Letter to the Pope, written by the Queen's Secretary, a Person of slender Value and Credit, and subscrib'd by the King's Hand, which he had procur'd from him unawares. But the Queen, being not apt to be overcredulous, slighted these Whimies, as the fanciful Projects of some ill-designing Men, contriv'd on purpose to rob him of the Hearts of the Protestants, and present him with those of the Papists in their room. Nay, when one *Valentine Thomas*, a great Debauchee, and arraign'd for a certain Robbery, upon his Request to be permitted to offer something of great Consequence in the Queen's Ear, did in a private Audience acquaint her Majesty with the King of *Scots* Disaffection to her Interest, so far was she from giving the least heed to such idle Rumours, that she look'd on the Author thereof as a meer Slanderer and Incendiary employ'd to set the King of *Scots* and her at Variance, or else having invented this Story to save his own Life. The Business she order'd to be smother'd up, and would not have *Thomas* executed for fear of drawing any unhandson Reflections upon the King; because Calumnies against crown'd Heads find too easy Credit with the Vulgar.

In the midst of these Reports, the Queen sent the King these Heads of Reflection to entertain himself with, viz. *Whether there was any Prince who had it in his power to do him more Prejudice or Service than herself? Whether he had receiv'd greater instances of Kindness and Generosity from any other? Whether he could think of any that had fewer Turns to serve upon him than herself, who desired nothing at his hands, more than to promote the Honour of Religion, and regard his own Interest and Concernment?* The latter part of the Advice he closely follow'd. For, to confute and lay asleep these kind of Forgeries, there were several Instruments employ'd

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through

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Reports

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by Walpole

1598. through all *England* and *Ireland*, to excite the Peoples good Inclinations towards him, by saying very great things of his Steadiness to Religion, and by applauding the Wisdom, Justice and Clemency of his Administration. There were likewise several Books dispers'd to assert his Title to the Succession of the Crown of *England*, (which had been oppos'd by one *John Colvil*, an ungrateful *Scotchman*, tho' he soon after wrote his Recantation) as also to make out that his admission to the Throne would be more commodious for both Kingdoms, than the setting up of any other Title, and that for these Reasons. ' Because his Title was founded upon the firmest Right; as he was a King already; because it would enlarge the Kingdom of *England* by the addition of *Scotland*, a thing so much and often desir'd; because it would be a means to put an end to the Wars of *Ireland* and *Spain*; because it would open a free Trade and Commerce; as he was moreover a Father of Children, which are the main Props and Supports of a Government; and had a Strength sufficient to defend himself and his Subjects; and lastly, because he had the Love and Respect of all the Princes of *Christendom*. Others endeavour'd to shew at the same time the miserable Ends of Usurpers, and such as adher'd to or asserted their Titles, particularly of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, who lifted *Edward IV.* into the Throne, and of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who put the Crown on *Richard III.*'s Head; and to urge the Queen to nominate and declare a Successor, such Expressions as these were scatter'd here and there in the abovemention'd Papers: ' That 'tis not in the power of Princes to rob their nearest Kinsmen of the Crown: That Kingdoms are lineal Rights, and convey'd by Descent: That the native Rights of Children cannot be vacated by their Parents Act of Disinheriting, nor transferr'd by Parliament to one more remote in Blood. Forasmuch as God Almighty did not spare the *Israelites*, but gave them over for a Spoil, because in contempt of the House of *David*, they made *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*, their King; it appear'd that the alienation of a Crown from the next Successor was repugnant to the Laws of God as well as Man. As those who wait for the Reversion of a Crown, ought to expect with Modesty and Patience the determin'd Period of those who possess it, let it be as long as Providence shall think it; so are the present Successors obliged to give their Successors some kind of Assurances, that their Expectations are not precarious, lest between fond and disappointed Hopes on the one hand, and repeated Demands and Solicitations on the other, both Parties happen to be tir'd out, and scarce to know which are to complain first.

But these Books were nothing to one put out under the Title of *Basilicon Doron*, and wrote by the King to his Son; describing, in a most accurate Style and Method, the Duty of a well-accomplish'd Prince. 'Tis scarce credible how much this Piece made him respected and belov'd, and how great Hopes and Expectations were hereupon conceiv'd of him. Queen *Elizabeth*'s opinion of this matter I could never learn; but this I am assur'd of, that the general method she took to allay and qualify the Cares of her Crown, was to write or read something every day. She had some time before translated *Salust. de Bello Jugurthino*, and now she was taken up in rendring into *English* the greatest part of *Horace de Arte Poetica*, and a little Book of *Plutarch's de Curiositate*, and all under her own Hand; tho' at the same time the Rebellion in *Ireland* was grown to

a formidable Height, as I shall make appear, when I have paid what is due to the Memory of those Gentlemen of most Note who died this Year. They were but three in all, besides the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*, already mention'd; but they were Persons of that Learning and Worth, which the World has with great Justice represented them.

The first was Dr. *Thomas Stapleton*, born in *Sussex*, and brought up in *New-College* in *Oxford*, and he was likewise Ordinary-Professor of Divinity and Polemicks in the University of *Douay*; for in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign he went over to the *Netherlands*, out of the singular Zeal he bore to the Catholick Religion, where his publick Lectures and Writings got him a very great Reputation.

The next was *Richard Cofins*, a *Cambridge-man*, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the Arches, who purchas'd himself a considerable Name by the Piece he publish'd in Defence of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

The last was *Edmund Spenser*, born at *London*, and a Student in *Cambridge*, who had so happy a Genius for Poetry, that he outwent all the Poets before him, not excepting his Fellow-*Londoner*, *Chaucer* himself; but through a Fate common to that Fraternity, he was always Poor, tho' he had been Secretary to the Lord *Grey*, Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*. For he had scarce fix'd himself in his new Retirement, and had got a little Leisure to pursue his Studies, but the Rebels ris'd and threw him out of House and Home, so that he return'd into *England* in a bare Condition, where he died not long after, and was interr'd in *Westminster* not far from *Chaucer*, at the Earl of *Essex*'s Charge. His Hearse was attended by the Gentlemen of his Faculty, who cast into his Tomb some Funeral-Elegies, and the Pens they were wrote with.

The Rebellion rag'd in *Ireland* this whole Year: For tho' *Tir-Oen* had procur'd his Pardon under the Great-Seal of *England*, having beg'd and obtain'd it at the Earl of *Ormond*'s hands by a well-dissembl'd Submission; yet did he surprize and seize on the Fort at *Blackwater*. The Lieutenant-General of the Army (there being at present no Lord-Deputy) singl'd out some choice Troops and sent them to raise the Siege. They consisted of thirteen Companies of Foot, under Sir *Henry Bagnal*, *Tir-Oen*'s profess'd Enemy. On the 14th of *August* they form'd themselves into three Bodies, and march'd from the Camp near *Armagh*: The Van was led by the Marshal himself and *Percy*, the main Body by *Cosby* and *Thomas-Maria Wingfield*, and the Reer was brought up by *Cuin* and *Billing*: The Horse were under the Conduct of *Callisthenes Brook*, *Charles Montacute* and *Flemming*.

They had scarcely march'd a Mile over some little Ascents, and in scatter'd Parties, at too great a distance from one another, with a marshy Plain on one hand and Woods on the other, but *Tir-Oen*, out of the inveterate Spleen he bore against the Marshal, attack'd his Parry very briskly; and having slain him as he fought amongst the thickest of his Enemies, soon surrounded and vanquish'd that small Body of Men with his unequal Number, whilst in the mean time they were not observ'd by their Friends that follow'd behind, by reason of an Hill which was between them. At the same instant the Gunpowder took fire in the middle Battalion, and blew up and maim'd several Persons; and *Cosby*, who was sent to rally the remaining part of the Vanguard, receiv'd a total Defeat. However, they were brought off by *Montacute*, tho' with great Difficulty and Danger. *Wingfield* return'd with the Reer

Basilicon Doron, written by *K James*.

1598. Rear to *Armagh*, as soon as he found the Powder began to fail; And thus did *Tir-Oen* triumph over his biggest Enemy, and the *English* Forces at the same time: 'Tis most certain, they never receiv'd a more absolute Defeat, since they first set Foot in *Ireland*; For there were slain 13 Stout Captains, and 1500 Common Soldiers, who were shamefully knock'd on the Head, as they were flying or skulking about the Fields: They that escap'd, blam'd the want of Experience in their Commanders, not any Defect of Courage in themselves (a very Modish Excuse, it seems at that Time): Nor, to say the Truth, were the Officers altogether excusable, especially for marching at that Distance from their Ranks, (clean contrary to the Discipline of the Field,) and against an Enemy too, that always fight in Crouds, and Conquer by main Strength, rather than by Art, Conduct or Courage: Soon after, the Fort at *Blackwater* surrendered; the Garrison, who had held out to the utmost, and were now almost starv'd, despairing of any manner of Succour or Relief.

This Victory was of great Consequence to the Rebels, for it furnish'd them with Arms and Provisions, and got *Tir-Oen* such a mighty Name, all the Kingdom over, that he was look'd on as the Saviour of the Kingdom, and the Patron of the Common Liberty; And valued himself on that Score as highly as his greatest Flatterers could do. All *Munster* began now to revolt of a sudden, not so much, 'tis probable, from any great Hopes they had conceiv'd upon Occasion of the late Victory, as out of a rooted Enmity to the *English* Planters and Labourers; who had been settled upon the Forfeited Lands, after the Earl of *Desmond's* Rebellion, and in Expectation of being Protected at least, if the Success did not Answer. For 'twas grown now a most pernicious Fashion in *Ireland*, for Rebels and Malefactors to be allow'd the purchasing of Protections, and Instruments of Indemnity, with the very Money which they had got together by Rapine and Plunder.

To promote and encourage this Defection *Tir-Oen* sent into *Munster* *Ouny-Mac-Rory*, *Og-Omore* and *Tyrell*, (the latter an *Englishman*, but a mortal Enemy to his Country) with a 1000 Men to plunder and ravage the Country; Sir *Thomas Norris*, President of the Province, advanc'd against him with a pretty good Army, as far as *Kilmalock*, but perceiving that the Irishmen that serv'd under him, were projecting a Revolt, and that the new Planters from *England* could not furnish out above 200 Men, and those without proper Arms, he dispers'd his Forces and retir'd to *Cork*: Which the Rebels understanding, got together a Pack of Rascally Fellows, who flock'd in to them from all Parts, and began to waste and pillage the Country, and to set Fire on the Castles and Houses of the *English* Farmers all about, and to slay and Murther all that came in their way; a Thing they could not so easily have done, had the first Undertakers of those Lands stock'd them with a full Number of Planters, and as well provided as their Contract had oblig'd them. The Rebels taking heart upon these Successes, proclaim'd *James Fitz-Thomas*, a most vicious and immoral liver, but a Kinman of the Earl of *Desmond's*, Heir of that Title and Dignity, but with this Limitation, that he should still be Vassal to *O-Neal*, i. e. to the Earl of *Tir-Oen*; He, it seems, was now so puff'd up with his good Fortune, that he boasted of his Conquests, in a Letter to the King of *Spain*, and intreated him withal, that if there went about any Reports of his Transacting a Peace with the *English*, He would give no Credit to them, for

he had hardned himself against any Propositions of that Kind, whatever appearance of Convenience or Advantage they brought with them, as being fully Resolv'd to keep his Word and Faith with the King of *Spain*. Nevertheless, he was at the same time, playing his old Game, and Treating by Letters and Messages full of Trick and dissimulation, about a Surrender to the Lord Lieutenant; But the Conditions he requir'd were most unreasonable.

Sir *Richard Bingham* was now pitch'd on, as the Person most capable to tame the Insolence of this Grand Rebel; Forasmuch as his Courage, and good Fortune had been already approv'd against the Malecontents in *Ireland*. He is now therefore sent back thither in the Quality of Marshal of *Ireland*, and General of *Leinster*, who had been, but a little while before, turn'd out of his Government of *Conaught*, (upon some Complaints made of his extream Severity) and sent for into *England*, and there imprison'd on that Account; But he died at *Dublin* soon after his Arrival: He was a Gentleman of an Antient and Nored Family in *Dorsetshire*, but more Eminent for his Experience and Behaviour in the Camp, For he was a Soldier at *St. Quintin's*, at *Conquet* in *Bretaign*, in the *Hebrides*, at *Leith* in *Scotland*, in the Isle of *Candie* against the *Turks*, and likewise in *France* and the *Netherlands*, besides the good Services which I have already mention'd to have been perform'd by him in *Ireland*.

The Fourty Second Year of her Reign.

1599.

The State of *Ireland* was at this Time, next to desperate, for the whole Nation almost was up in Arms, some pretended they were abus'd and ill-treated by the Garrison-Soldiers; others, the great Fear they were in, from the several opposite Factions, which were now grown very prevalent; Some again were stirr'd up by the good Success of the Rebels, and others were provok'd, because they were left defenceless, and lay expos'd to the Robberies and Insults of Thieves and Villains; Some the Priests cajol'd into Munity, and some were led into it, through a false Report, spread about by the Head of the Faction, that the Queen was absolutely resolv'd to make a Conquest of *Ireland*, and to cut off, and destroy them Root and Branch.

'Twas therefore closely debated in *England*, who was the fittest Person to employ, in order to suppress this Rebellion; The Queen and most of the Council were for *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Montjoy*; But the Earl of *Essex* dropt an Hint, that all the Experience *Montjoy* had, as to Martial Affairs, was owing to his having once had a Commission in the *Low-Countries*, and a Second time in *Bretaigne*; That he was moreover a Person of a very slender Estate, and as narrow an Interest, and minded Books too much, to attend the Government; That *Ireland* requir'd a Person of the First Quality, and One, who being Considerable for Honour, Interest and Estate, might make himself acceptable to the Soldiers, upon which account, an old General would be the most suitable Deputy; which was a broad sign that he thought none so proper as himself: Hereupon the Queen resolv'd to make him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army. This he slightly refus'd at first, and desir'd Her Majesty to think on some Abler Person, for a Charge of that Importance; Though at the same Time, he had an Objection ready, against any Person she should have Named: Nay he carried himself at such Rate, as made his Adversaries believe he aim'd at nothing so much as the having an Army at his beck, and engaging the Soldiery to his Interest;

1598.

Ann. 41.

Sir Rich.

Bingham

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His Death.

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The Earl

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Munster

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1599-
Ann. 42.
terest; so that some Persons, observing the eagerness and warmth of his Pursuits, were apprehensive that he had some dangerous Project in his Head, especially since he treated the Queen with more Insolence than before, as if he had forgot the many Favours she had heap'd upon him; And to increase the suspicion, his Creatures began to make a great Noise about his Descent, as if he was of the Royal Family of the Scots, by the Eldest Daughter of Alan of Galloway, (who at the same time was not of the Blood-Royal,) and Allied likewise to that of England, by Cecily Bouchier his Great-Grand-Mother, who was descended from Thomas of Woodstock, the Youngest Son of King Edward III. and also from Richard Earl of Cambridge; Upon which account, they pretended that he had a fairer Title to the Crown of England, than any his Corrivals, whose pretensions Doleman had overthrown (except only the Infanta of Spain's Title) in a Book dedicated to the Earl of Essex: Nor was it enough, for them to cry up the Greatness of his Extraction, without running Extravagant Encomiums upon his Courage, his Prudence, his Piety, &c. These particulars were urg'd, to his disadvantage, with all possible Malice and Application, by such as were very willing to get rid of him, so that they were for lending a Spur to an Ambition, which rather wanted a Bridle, and fill'd his Head with fine Notions of a lasting Fame from Posterity, and the present Love and Veneration of the People; They therefore intreated him to express that Real and Affectionate Regard, he had ever born to his Country, by accepting this Honourable Employment, towards the Discharge of which, they assur'd him of the utmost Services that lay in their Power: But whilst these smooth Tongu'd Adversaries, were bestowing upon him such high and lofty Commendations, and raising a mighty Expectation of him in the Minds of Men; They were in the meantime using all Arts to undermine him, as knowing well, that the vehemency of his spirit would conspire with their endeavours to ruin and undo him, and that there was not any likelier Method to trip up the Heels of an aspiring Man, than to push him upon an Office he was altogether unfit for: To be short, as quick and penetrating a Person as he was, he either did not, or would not perceive the bottom of their Aims, as long as he thought no Employment too big for his grasp, and his Friends or Flatterers supported him in that Opinion: Hereupon he was to the general satisfaction, made Lord-Deputy of Ireland, with an unlimited Commission to Carry on, or make End of the War, as he should think fit, and he likewise extorted from the Queen, the farther Liberty of Pardoning Crimes of High Treason, and if occasion were, to Tir-Oen himself: This was an Authority, which in all other Patents Granted to former Lord-Deputies, had been limited in these Words, *Treasons touching Our Person, Our Heirs and Successors excepted*: But it was a prudent Part in him, to secure this Privilege, because the Lawyers tell us, *That all manner of Rebellions touch the Person of the Prince*.

An Army appointed him.
He had an Army assign'd him, as large as he could wish, and such an one as Ireland had not seen before, consisting of 16000 Foot, and 1300 Horse, and it was afterwards made up 20000. Indeed he could desire nothing but what the officious Treachery of his Enemies was ready to procure for him; And the better to trepan this unsuspecting Gentleman, they took care to set Spies upon every Action and Expression which pass'd from him, and they were sure to fix scurvy and ill-natur'd Glosses upon whatever they observ'd; His Instructions (not to mention such as were less material, as the Conferring the Honour

of Knighthood on none but Worthy Persons, &c.) were chiefly to pursue the Ring-Leader of the Faction, Tir-Oen, and to hem him in if possible, by placing Garrisons at Lough-Foile and Balishannon: This was what himself had urg'd, as a very necessary Point, and he had often charg'd the former Lord-Deputies and Norris with his neglect, also with protracting the War, by allowing such frequent Parleys with the Enemy. A Proclamation was dispatch'd into Ireland beforehand, Declaring: 'That the Irish Rebels had so long abus'd the Queen's Clemency, that she was now constrain'd to make use of Her Power, to curb and subdue them: But she was so far from designing to subdue them, that she never admitted one Thought to that Purpose, nor had she any Reason for it, because the much greater Part of the Nobility and Gentry, continu'd firm to their Duty and Allegiance; As for those Rebels who submitted themselves, She promis'd them Mercy, but as for those who continu'd obstinate, Death was what they ought to expect: To this Purpose she had made choice of the Earl of Essex, as a proper Instrument to dispense Pardon or Punishment in Her Name; Forasmuch as his Conduct and Courage, his Fidelity and Prudence, had discover'd themselves upon several Occasions. About the End of March, the Earl of Essex set forward for Ireland, and was accompanied out of London with a Fine Appearance of Nobility and Gentry, and the most chearful Huzzas of the Common People; But the Weather happen'd to be Rainy, and a Storm of Thunder went before the Shower; The Wind prov'd contrary to him and obstructed his Passage, but at last he arriv'd safe in Ireland; where having receiv'd the Sword, according to Form, he immediately made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, clean contrary to his Instructions, and through the Persuasions of some of the Queen's Council there, who lov'd their own Interest to well, he advanc'd his whole Army against a contemptible Handful of Mutineers, in the Province of Munster, and quite neglected the Grand Leader of the Rebellion, and all this without the Queen's cognizance. He seiz'd on Cabir-Castle, belonging to Edmund Butler, Baron of Cabir, which being incompass'd by the River Swire, prov'd a convenient Harbour for the Rebels; And insus'd a strange Terror into the Minds of the Inhabitants, by forcing the Rebels into the Woods and Thickets, and driving away vast Herds of Cattle; however a Party of the English were shamefully defeated, through the Cowardice of some, who were under the Command of Henry Harrington, the Principal of whom, he took care to punish as they deserv'd: He did not return 'till the middle of July; by which time, his Men were harass'd and weakn'd to some Purpose, and the Army in a most pitiful Condition. Besides, the Earl himself was much dissatisfied at the Queen's having, in the mean time, bestow'd the advantageous Place of Master of the Wards, upon Sir Robert Cecil, whereas he had a mind to it himself. The Queen was as little pleas'd with Essex's Conduct, through which so many Men had been thrown away; and when she urg'd him to pursue Tir-Oen, who was then in Ulster; He wrote Her word, that blame ought to lie on the Irish Council, to whose long and thorough Experience in the Affairs of that Country, he could not but readily subscribe; But he promis'd withal, to make the best of his way for Ulster. Upon the heels of this Express he dispatch'd another, acquainting the Queen that he was oblig'd to march out of the way, to Ophalie, a Country near Dublin, to quell the O Conors O-Moils, who were

1599. were up in Arms there; and these he suppress'd with very little Trouble.

Ann. 42. Upon his Return he found his Army in so lamentable a Plight, that he was forc'd to press for a new Supply of Men, to attend his *Ulster* Expedition; and got the Hands of the *Irish* Council to favour his Demand: He was now fully resolv'd to turn his Forces upon *Tir-Oen*, and so order'd Sir *Coniers Clifford*, the Governour of *Conaught*, to march towards *Belick* with his Light-Horse, and so put the Rebels Forces into disorder, whilst he fell upon them in another Part; *Clifford* immediately dispatch'd away with 1500 Men, fatigu'd as they were with a long March, and tenderly provided with Powder, towards the *Curlew-Hills*, when having pass'd the greatest part of them, the Rebels attack'd them unawares, being led on by *O-Rork*, the Son of him who was hang'd, as was before noted: The *English* easily repuls'd them at first and continu'd their March; the Rebels follow'd them, and perceiving that their Powder fell short, they charg'd them afresh and put them to flight, for they were too much harass'd by their long March, to make any great opposition: *Clifford* himself, with Sir *Alexander Ratcliff* of *Ordsal*, and several old Soldiers beside, were slain upon the Spot.

Clifford slain.

In the mean time, the Recruits which the Lord-Deputy requir'd, were rais'd in *England*, and sent over; but in a very few Days, he sent the Queen Word, that nothing more could be done this Year, beside marching with 1300 Horse and 300 Foot, to the Confines of *Ulster*.

As soon as he had got thither, *Tir-Oen* shew'd himself and his Men, at some distance, for a Day or two, upon the Hills, and then sent *Hagan* to desire a Parley with the Lord-Deputy. He refus'd it, and sent *Tir-Oen* word, that if he would he might speak with him the next Day, at the Head of his Army: There happen'd then a small Skirmish, and after 'twas over, an Horse-man belonging to *Tir-Oen's* Party, cried out as loud as he could, that the Earl had more a mind to a Parley than to fight, but did not intend however, that the Conference should be held between the two Armies.

Tir-Oen asks a Parley.

The next Day, as the Lord-Deputy was marching forward in good Order, *Hagan* met him, and acquainted him that *Tir-Oen* desir'd a Peace, and threw himself upon the Queen's Mercy, humbly desiring to be heard in the mean time, which if he would please to Grant, he would be sure to attend his Excellency at the Ford of a River, not far off, called *Balla Clinch*, lying near to *Louth*, the Principal Town of the County. The Lord-Deputy sent some Persons before, to take a View of the Place; they found *Tir-Oen* there, and he assur'd them, that though there was an high Tide at that Time, yet they might very well hear one another cross the River, whereupon the Lord-Deputy came down alone, after having plac'd a Troop of Horse upon the next Hill: *Tir-Oen* rode his Horse up to the Belly, and saluted the Lord-Deputy with great respect, who was on the opposite Bank; and they spent near an Hour in Conference, not one Person being admitted to hear them. An Hour or two after, *Con*, the Base-Son of *Tir-Oen*, followed the Lord-Deputy, and in his Father's Name, requested an Interview, and some Men of Quality on both sides to be present at it. The Lord-Deputy agreed to it, provided there were not above Six in Number. At the Day appointed, *Tir-Oen* appear'd at the Ford with his Brother *Cormack*, *Mac-Gennys*, *Mac-Guire*, *Mac-Cowley*, *Henry Orvington*, and *O-Quine*; The Lord-Deputy came thither soon after with the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *George Bouchier*, Sir *War-*

A Conference between him and the Lord-Deputy.

A second Parley.

ham *St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, and Sir *William Constable*; All which Persons *Tir-Oen* saluted with very great Civility, and after the exchange of a very few Words, 'twas thought convenient that Commissioners should be appointed to Treat of a Peace the next Day: And 'twas agreed between them, that there should be a Cessation of Arms, from Six Weeks to Six Weeks, and so on successively, to commence from that Day, and to continue till the First of *May*: However both Parties were to be at liberty to renew the War, upon giving Fourteen Days Notice, and if any of *Tir-Oen's* Party, dissented from these Proposals, he left him altogether to the management of the Lord-Deputy.

During these Transactions, the Letter, which I mention'd a little before, was deliver'd to the Queen by *Henry Cuff*; by which as soon as Her Majesty understood that the Earl had done just nothing, in so long a Time, with so Brave an Army, and at so vast an Expence, nor was like to perform any thing considerable that Year, the Queen was much surpris'd at it, and could not forbear blaming his Conduct, as rash and precipitant, Beside the slight and disrespect he had shewn to Himself: However that was, she was heard to say, (upon what ground of suspicion I cannot determine) That *Essex* had something else in his Head, than to do much service to his Queen or Country, in that Government: Nevertheless she would not consent to recal him, (as some perswaded Her) as conceiving it a Piece of Folly indeed, to provoke him at a Time when he had the Sword in his Hand, considering She had once incens'd him already, and then invest'd him with a dangerous Authority; But She wrote to him and Her Council in *Ireland*, to this Effect: 'That She could not sufficiently

The Q. disoblig'd by the L. Deputy.

admire, why the Lord-Deputy had lost so much Time, and fram'd so many Excuses and Delays, instead of doing some considerable Service against the Rebels, for that, when he was in *England*, he thought it most adviseable to attack *Tir-Oen* in the first place, and had made several Promises in his Letters, that he would do so; She therefore demanded the Reason, why he had, contrary to his most deliberate Opinion, undertook those Expeditions in *Munster* and *Ophalie*, which had prov'd every way so detrimental, without acquainting Her with any part of the Design beforehand, whereas had she been consult'd in the Case, she would have absolutely Countermanded it: If his Army was now shatter'd and weakn'd, why did he not pursue the Enemy, when it was in a sounder Condition? If it was not convenient in the Spring to carry the War into *Ulster*, certainly the Summer and Autumn were not to be neglected; for one Time or other of the Year could not but answer his Design: The Queen at length foresaw, that the Nation was like to be drain'd and squeez'd by unreasonable Expences, and that she should be foully reflect-ed on by Foreigners, for the bad Conduct of this War, and that whoever wrote the History of Her Reign, would transmit this Truth to After-Ages: That She, for her Part, had left nothing uneffected, for the preservation of Her Kingdom of *Ireland*; But that *Essex* on the contrary, had done all he could to lose it, unless the War were manag'd at another rate hereafter, than hitherto it had been; She therefore roundly charg'd both Him and the Council of that Kingdom, to take a more circumspect Care of the Government, and not to run into Wild and Preposterous Measures, upon the Biass of naughty and corrupt Counsels; She likewise Commanded them to give Her an Account of the

Her Letter to him & the Council.

1599. *Ann. 42.* the State of the Kingdom from that time, and to provide against such mischievous Consequences for the future.

The Lord-Deputy was much incens'd by these Letters, and could not well digest some other Matters with which the Queen had upbraided him to the quick; one of which was, That he had not, according to her Orders, displaced the Earl of *Southampton* from being General of the Horse: For, it seems, the Queen was offended at *Southampton* for marrying *Elizabeth Vernon*, Daughter to the Earl of *Essex's* Aunt, without her Permission, which Men of Quality used to ask in such cases. But that which nettled him most of all was, the Queen's having made Sir *Robert Cecil* Master of the Wards, as I hinted before. He began for these Reasons to grow cloudy and discontented, and fell at last upon this unhappy and unwarrantable Project, to return into *England* with a select Party of Men, and there to endeavour the reducing his Adversaries under his Power by force of Arms; a Design which he persuaded himself he should find enough to assist him in, either out of Respect to him, or Fondness for Change and Innovation. But the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Christopher Blunt*, who had married his Mother, dissuaded him from this Attempt, as carrying the face of a barbarous, wicked and detestable Design.

Essex discontented.
Forms dangerous Designs.

Forces rais'd in *England*.

Whether the Queen had any private Intelligence of this I cannot tell; but this is most certain, that upon a flying Report, which People appear'd willing enough to believe, of a *Spanish* Fleet's being prepar'd, there were 6000 well-disciplin'd Foot-Soldiers rais'd in *London*, 3000 of which were to guard the Queen's Person, and the rest to be ready upon any Emergency; and a greater Number was order'd to be levied in the Countries of the briskest and stoutest Fellows that could be found. The Command of the whole Army was given to *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord-High-Admiral of *England*, with the Character of Commander in Chief; and his Commission extended as well to foreign Enemies, as Malecontents at home. But in a few days these Forces were disbanded again.

Essex returns to *England*.

In a Month's time the Lord-Deputy came over to *England* in great haste, and when he was least thought of, being accompanied by some of his best Friends, viz. the Earl of *Southampton*, who was remov'd from being General of the Horse, the Baron of *Dunkellin*, Sir *Christopher St. Lawrence*, the Baron of *Houth's* Son, Sir *Henry Danvers*, who was not yet recover'd from a desperate Wound he had receiv'd, Sir *Henry Docwray*, and some other Commanders, besides some other Gentlemen of his Household, who disposed of themselves several ways as soon as they arriv'd. The Earl went on to *Nonfuch* (where the Queen then was) with six Persons only in his Retinue, on purpose to acquaint her with the State of *Ireland*. The Lord *Grey of Wilton*, one of his most inveterate Adversaries, overtook him on the Road, and pass'd by him without any Compliment. And whereas *Essex* was jealous lest he should do him some ill Office at Court, and Sir *Thomas Gerard* had requested him to the contrary, tho' to no purpose, *St. Lawrence* offer'd his Service to take him off by the way, and to Dispatch the Secretary in the Court; but the Earl abhorr'd so base an Action, and would not agree to it. But made haste enough to present himself on his Knees before the Queen in her Privy-Chamber, early in the Morning, and when her Majesty least dreamt on him. She entertain'd him with some Marks of Grace and Favour, tho' not with that Freedom he used to find. She order'd him to his Apartment, and there to continue; for he

Visits the Queen.

had disobligh'd her before, and had now given her a fresh Provocation, by leaving *Ireland* without her permission, and for clapping up a Truce which might at any time be broken at fourteen Days warning; whereas he might have made an entire and final Composition with the Rebels, and was impower'd to give them a general Act of Indemnity.

When the Council demanded the Reasons of his making such a Truce, his answer was, That *Tir-Oen* relied so much on his Forces, that he utterly rejected all Conditions of Peace, unless a general Amnesty were granted to all the Rebels, the *Irish* restor'd to their Estates, at that time possess'd by the *English*, and the free Exercise of the *Romish* Religion allow'd of all over the Kingdom. And these Conditions he persuaded the Queen to agree to. But when every-body disapprov'd these Terms, as very unconscionable, and his sudden return to *England* rais'd an universal Jealousy concerning him, which was increased by his Enemies at Court by all the Contrivances they could invent, the Queen thought fit to commit him to Custody, but made choice of the Lord-Keeper's House rather than any common Prison, that she might not tempt him to conclude himself an absolutely discarded Favourite. The reason of his Confinement was the preventing any bad Influence which the corrupt Counsels of designing Men might have upon him, in reference to the drawing off his Duty and Allegiance yet farther. However he very much repented it, that so ill a Construction should be made of his returning into *England* with a small number of his Friends; for I have seen a Writing under his Hand, wherein he had methodically rang'd all the Objections which he suppos'd would lie against him, viz. First, That he had ran counter to his Instructions, by delaying his Expedition into *Ulster*, whereby he had lost his Opportunity, and exhausted the Queen's Treasure and Forces in the wrong Place. Then, That he had made a Truce directly to the Advantage of the Rebels: And lastly, That he had left the Country in a very unsettl'd Posture, contrary to the Queen's Orders, and with a parcel of Swords-men at his heels, which was not allowable.

Under the foregoing Objections he subjoin'd these Answers, 'Before my leaving *Ireland*, I left all things relating to the War in the same State and Posture in which they appear at present, in every Province respectively; and since that time, viz. for the space of nine Months, there hath no Inconvenience ensued. There can't be tolerable Ground for suspecting those who attended me into *England*; for besides that they were very few, their own Occasions oblig'd 'em to a speedy return, and not above six of 'em came along with him to Court. Now was it possible any Harm should be done by such an handful of Men? It would have been as easy for me to have acted ill, as to design Honesty, when I had the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* under my Command, and a good Army at my beck. Had I entertain'd any Thoughts of Revenge, I had no need to call in the Assistance of others; for he that values not his own Life, has the Lives of other Men in his own custody: But I am not to learn whose Maxim that was, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay*. Must then so much Credit be given to Calumny and Abuse, that my return to *England* must needs render me a suspected Person, when I have spent my Blood and Sweat in my Prince's Service, and wasted my Estate for her, and ask'd her Majesty's Pardon on my Knees? Sure I am,

Copy of a Paper wrote by the Lord-Deputy.

1599. Ann. 42. I am, these kind of Suspitions do not consist with either Justice or Charity, unless there were better Grounds for them, especially when taken up against Persons whose Principles and Quality seems to Privilege 'em from such Disadvantages. Besides, ought I to fall under a Jealousy of this nature, who have lost a Father and Brother in the Service of my Country? I, who have serv'd her Majesty the space of thirtie Years out of thirty three, and have for seven of 'em been a Privy-Counsellor? I, that have incurr'd and sufferr'd the worst Effects of some Mens Spleen and Ill-nature, purely for supporting Religion, and ministring what I could to the Queen's Safety, which they envy at their very Hearts? Is it for my constant Loyalty and good Services, that I stand the Mark of my Adversaries Malice and Revenge; and to such a degree, that I cannot promise myself any Security any where but in this Kingdom, and that no longer than it shall please God to preserve her Majesty's Life?

He refuses to be rescued. Nor was he single in these Complaints, but found a great many to second him, and some too that endeavour'd to rescue him by force from his Confinement, which he still countermanded, as desirous to preserve the Reputation and Character of a good Subject. But to return to the Affairs of Ireland.

Tir-Oen breaks the Truce. The Truce agreed on for six Weeks was scarce expir'd the second time, when Tir-Oen got together his dispers'd Forces, and prepar'd to give his Country new Troubles. Hereupon the Council of the Kingdom sent Sir Will. Warren Kt. to demand the Reasons of this breach of Contract: He made answer in an haughty manner, That he had not broken the Articles, because he had given fourteen Days notice that he would renew the War; and he had just cause to do so, since he understood the Lord-Deputy, the Earl of Essex, on whom his hopes of Pardon and Protection entirely center'd, was kept in Custody in England: And as for the Council of Ireland, he should have no manner of Regard to them for the future, since they had dealt so unfaithfully by him already. That he could not at present renew the Truce, if he would, for he had sent O'Donel into Connaught, and others of his Party into other Places. In

Distracted state of Ireland. the mean while, Reports were spread among the Rebels, (and we may venture to guess that Tir-Oen was their Author) that England would soon be involv'd in new Disorders; and as for Ireland, it began to abound more and more with lewd and desperate Fellows; and the Native Irish began to assert their primitive Liberty and ancient Heraldry.

Those Englishmen that were stanch and honest, were entirely disheartned when they perceiv'd the Queen's Money had been employ'd to so little purpose, and they complain'd one against another, that they were shut out from publick Offices and Employments, as much as if they were absolute Foreigners. In the mean time, Tir-Oen made boasting Pretences of asserting Religion and publick Liberty; the Rebels and Malecontents he every where Protected, and gave them both Countenance and Assistance; and to keep 'em fix'd and steady, he used all Endeavours to beat down the Authority of the English in Ireland, the King of Spain having rais'd both his Vanity and Expectation, by sending him lately some Supplies of Ammunition, Money and Provisions. The Pope likewise furnish'd him with a large stock of Indulgences, besides mighty Promises, and a Phoenix-Plume for Earnest; perhaps because Urban III. had formerly sent a Coronet of Peacock's Feathers to John the Son of Hen-

ry II. when he was appointed Lord of Ireland.

1599. Ann. 42. In the mean time some disaffected Persons were very lavish in the Earl of Essex's Commendations, and he was made not only the Theme of their Cabals, but by some the Echo of their Pulpits too. There was likewise scandalous Libels disperfed by these Men, or some of the same Kidney, against her Majesty's Council, the Design being to wound her through their Sides, by insinuating, that they took little care of the Government, and altogether neglected the State of Ireland.

Hereupon, the Day after the end of Michaelmas-Term, when the Council met, as they used to do, in the Star-Chamber, the Lord-Keeper, after a short Premonition to the Nobility and Gentry to go down to their respective Seats in the Country, and maintain Hospitality among their Neighbours, and a Charge to such as were Justices of the Peace, to punish such as were the Breakers of it, and to restrain, as much as possible, the Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity. And after he had bestow'd a brisk Reprimand upon the Authors of scurrilous, abusive and dangerous Reports, he proceeded to declare how indefatigable her Majesty had been in promoting and recovering the Tranquillity of Ireland, how oddly and indirectly the Earl of Essex had manag'd himself in the Prosecution of the Rebels, and what unreasonable and (in respect of the Queen) dishonourable Terms he had made with Tir-Oen, who had hereupon took the Insolence to report, That he resolv'd in a little time to come over to England, and parcel out a good part of it for his own Share.

The Lord Buckhurst, who was made Lord-Treasurer in the Lord Burleigh's room, (after some sharp Reflections upon the infamous and barefac'd Libels that were abroad) represented, how brave and well-regulated an Army had been sent into Ireland, and how compleatly furnish'd with all manner of Provisions; and likewise, that her Majesty had expended upon this War in six Months time, the Sum of 600000 Pounds, all which the E. of Essex must own to be true.

The Earl of Nottingham, Lord-Admiral, did likewise set forth, how the Queen had consulted Persons of the best Judgment and Experience, and who were very well acquainted with the State of Ireland, and were not to learn the Temper and Humour of the People of that Nation; and all these her Majesty had seriously advis'd with upon the Business of the Rebellion: That the major part of them were of opinion, that Ulster was to be reduc'd in the very first place; that the Earl of Essex was of the same mind, and had frequently said, That the young Branches of the Faction did not so much want lopping, as the Root did to be pull'd up; but he was sorry to have occasion to say, that the Earl had acted clean contrary to his Sentiments. He affirm'd moreover, that five of the Queens Ships, which were sent into Ulster for present Service, lay six Months together in the Harbour to no purpose at all.

Secretary Cecil set forth in the first place her Majesty's extraordinary Care in the Defence and Security of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland, by forcing the French out of Scotland, by protecting the reform'd Religion in France and the Low-Countries, and defending Ireland from the Insults both of the Pope and the King of Spain; and that with so happy Success, that for seven Years before; there had not appear'd one single Rebel in Ireland; and the Queen likewise from thence receiv'd greater Revenues than her Father King Henry, her Brother King Edward, or her Sister Queen Mary had done before her. He proceeded

1599. afterwards to recount at large, how powerful an Army the Lord-Deputy had under his Command, and what a scandalous Defeat *Harrington* and *Clifford* suffer'd: Then, to answer the Cavils of some who pretended, that as absolute as the Earl of *Essex's* Commission was at first, yet 'twas afterwards retrench'd by private Orders from *England*, and other Instructions given that did not so well square with his own Sentiments; and that the Expedition into *Munster*, with the neglect of *Tir-Oen*, were in compliance with the Advice of the Council of *Ireland*; He alledged, That his Authority was not any ways clipp'd or lessen'd, nor any new Orders given him, but what himself had approv'd and resolv'd on from the very beginning. For the truth of which he appeal'd to the Earl of *Essex* himself, and produc'd those very Letters wherein he endeavour'd to excuse his Miscarriage as to *Munster*: Whether he undertook that March in respect to his own Judgment, or that of the *Irish* Council, he must leave to God, the Searcher of Hearts, the said Council having given it under their Hands, that they were so far from persuading him to that Undertaking, that they did not in the least approve it: And whereas some Persons were for palliating his abrupt return into *England*, he could not but own the Queen had, upon his earnest Request, given him leave to return upon any warrantable Occasion; but however, that she did afterwards expressly command him, upon his sending her an Account of the desperate Condition of *Ireland*, as he tender'd his Duty and Allegiance, not to return hither, till he had given her a satisfactory Account of what he had done in *Ulster*, and what Person he thought most proper to intrust with the Government in his absence. All these Directions he took not any notice of, but presum'd to return into *England*, contrary to her Majesty's Command.

In the last place, he repeated the Articles which *Tir-Oen* insisted on, at a time when Success had bloated him up, of which I have already given some Account. He could not but lament the ill Conduct of that Affair, which Foreigners would not fail to turn to the Discredit of the *English* Nation, which had hitherto maintain'd so glorious a Character; besides the Dishonour it might reflect upon her Majesty, who had appear'd so Considerable in the Eyes of all the World: That this Procedure had moreover so flush'd and encourag'd the Rebels, that the next day after the Earl of *Essex's* return to the Court of *England*, *Tir-Oen* could not forbear using this Expression, *That he did not question but he should in a little time see as surprizing a Change in England as any Age had produced, and that 'twould be his turn then to appear there, and come in for a share with his Neighbours.*

What Reasons he had to support himself in such Hopes, or how he came to the Intelligence of what related to the Earl of *Essex*, in a few Hours time, he was not, as he said, able to conjecture. Thus much *Cecil*.

As for what was said by others then present, I need not take notice, since all their Declarations were much to the same purpose. 'Tis now time to take leave of the Earl of *Essex*, who being in the Lord-Keeper's Custody, began to centre his Thoughts upon things of a divine and heavenly Concernment; and by the pious and devout Strain of several Letters which he wrote to his Friends under that Confinement, one might perceive that his Mind was unthring'd from earthly Pursuits, and had bid a solemn Adieu to all worldly Satisfaction.

In the mean time *Andreas of Austria*, Son by the Lady *Welfera* to the Cardinal and Archduke *Ferdinand*,

the Emperor *Maximilian's* Brother, and who acted as Vicegovernor of the *Low-Countries* in the absence of *Albert of Austria*, who was gone into *Spain* to concert Matters relating to his Marriage, employ'd *Charles Lanfranck* and *Hieronymo Camano* to negotiate a Peace between the Queen and *Philip III.* King of *Spain*. The Queen, for her part, shew'd no Aversion to it, provided the King of *Spain* would appoint a sufficient Commission to treat about it, and if the Confederate Provinces might some way find their Shares in it: For she sent back word, That she esteem'd it an unpardonable Crime to abandon them, or submit to Terms that might turn to their Prejudice, or her own Dishonour. However, this Proposal of a Treaty prov'd the occasion of some Jealousies and Misunderstandings between the States and the Queen, because there went about at the same time very Confident Reports, that a new Armada was fitting out in *Spain*: But 'twas thought that this Blow was diverted by the *Holland-Fleet*, which took the Isle and Castle of *Cannary* much about that time, and likewise plunder'd the Isle of *St. Thomas*.

Nor were these Reports without Foundation, for there were several Gallies got ready in *Spain*, by the Directions of *Frederick Spinola*, a *Genoise*, who was Master of an Estate too big for a private Man: 'Twas he that persuaded the King of *Spain*, when he serv'd him in the *Low-Countries*, to send some Gallies into *Flanders*. They were dispatched away under his Command, and cruising along the Coasts of *France*, by the advantage of those *Etesian* Winds, which in the Dog-Days blow generally from the N. W. in our Climate, they got into the Harbour of *Schuse* in *Flanders*, without being discovered by the *English* and *Holland* Ships that lay ready to intercept 'em: For they went North about through the Channel; and whether they were driven by the Tide, or were not acquainted with those Parts, or were purely beholden to their Luck, it so happen'd, that they quite defeated the Hopes of the *English* and *Dutch* that waited for them. They were indeed strangely surprized at first at the Arrival of these Gallies, having found by Experience, in the Year 1545, when *Francis I.* attempted to no purpose the bringing of them through the Mediterranean to the Coasts of *England*, that the British Channel was too rough and boisterous to carry such flat-bottom'd Vessels. However, they became soon after formidable enough; for they were built by skilful Workmen, much in the form of those Vessels which sail'd as far as the *Azores* in the Year 1593, which was lookt on as a wonderful Performance. Indeed, they were able to endure a greater Sea than taller or bigger Ships; and were very serviceable in a Calm, being easily rowed about with Oars, as occasion required; whereas Vessels of greater bulk, built at a great Expence, were good for nothing when the Wind fell, but to serve as Marks for the Enemies Shot.

Much about this time, one *Hill* an *Englishman* was sent to the Queen from *Charles*, intitl'd, (By the Grace of God, the Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, the Goths and Vandals) to acquit him to her Majesty from some Aspersions he had fallen under, in being represented as an Abettor of Change and Innovation, and a Competitor with his Nephew *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, for the Crown of *Sweden*. He requested her Majesty not to listen to such Reports, or the Authors of them, and to join her Endeavours with his for the Establishment of the true and orthodox Faith. The Queen vouchsafed him a publick Audience, and promptly answer'd him, 'That she heartily wish'd he might act faithfully by his Nephew, lest

1599. Ann. 42. he committed an Offence against the Laws of Nature, Justice and Relation, and appear'd to regard his Duty rather from Complaisance than Principle.

The death of Mr. R. Hooker. This Year did Richard Hooker quit this Life for a better. He was born in Devonshire, a County that has produced the chiefest Wits, and from thence he removed to Corpus Christi College. He discharged all the Duties and had all the Virtues of a good Divine, being a Person of most exemplary Modesty, to which he added an exact Temperance, and had made himself Master of several Parts of Learning; a Specimen of his good Sense we have in his Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, which were written in English, but do very well deserve a Translation into a more universal Language.

The Three and Fourtieth Year of her Reign.

1600. Doubtful Title confirmed. A Proclamation against Exporting Gold and Silver. The beginning of this Year the Queen employ'd about National Affairs; and that she might not want Money under the vast drain of it, which went to support the Irish War, she appointed Commissioners, for a certain Sum, to confirm such of her Majesties Lands to the Possessors, as were of most doubtful Title: For, it seems, the Owners of them were miserably pester'd by a vexatious and chargeable sort of Vermin call'd Concealers. She likewise put out a Proclamation, commanding the Execution of those Laws of Edward IV. Richard II. Henry IV. and some others, against the Exportation of Gold and Silver, either in Coin or Bullion; and she seem'd to be at present totally intent upon the Affairs of Ireland. For Tir-Oen being strangely elevated upon the Earl of Essex's return, behaved himself as if he had been the absolute Monarch of that Kingdom; and that he might blow up the Flame which he had kindled in Munster by his personal Appearance there, he made a Journey thither in the depth of Winter, under pretence of a religious Visit to a piece of our Saviour's Cross, which is pretended to be kept at St. Crofs's Monastery in Tipperary; and there he drew several Persons in to share in his Rebellion. He created James Fitz-Thomas, a Relation of James Earl of Desmond, and already dubb'd an Earl by the Rebels, in good earnest Earl of Desmond; and advanced Florence Mac-Carty to the Title of Mac-Carty-More. Those whom he most suspected, he oblig'd to deliver Hostages, and sent a pack of Villains to rifle such as were in the Queen's Interest, with Mac-Guire at the Head of them, who was one of the prime Actors in the Rebellion: But he happening by chance to meet with Sir Warren St. Leger Kt. receiv'd his death's Wound from the other's Lance, and ran him thro' with the same Weapon.

Mequire S. Leger slain. Deplorable state of Ireland. The Rebellion being now got to an Height too great to be suppress'd by the Earl of Ormond, who was appointed General of the Army, and Sir George Carew Treasurer, (both of them Lords-Justices of Ireland) the Queen, who was always successful in her Choices, in the depth of Winter, and contrary to the general Expectation, was pleas'd to send over Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy into Ireland in Quality of Lord-Lieutenant, as judging him of a Temper as well Qualified for Government as Duty. He arriv'd in Ireland in the Month of February with a small Retinue, and without any Pomp or Bustle, and found the Kingdom in a very declining and almost desperate State; for Tir-Oen had gone the whole Island over without any Opposition, and pass'd as it were in Triumph from the remotest Part of Ulster into Munster, as I before observ'd. 'Twas a great Discouragement to all sober Persons, to

observe the Government under so sad a Declension, with scarce any Prospect or Hope of Recovery; whilst ill Men were pleas'd to find the Stream run in their own Channel, and expected to find their Account in the publick Disorders; and there is no manner of question but the Nobility strove hard to revive their Liberty, which they complain'd had been so long dead and buried; and they were incited thereto by an Indulgence which Pope Clement VIII. sent them (to use their own Phrase) out of the Treasury of the Church. Herein (to be as short as I can) he bestow'd in the first place great Commendations upon the Bishops and Noblemen of Ireland, for having lent so powerful an Assistance to James Giraldine and John his Cousin-German, and lately also to his beloved Son Hugh Prince O-Neal, Earl of Tir-Oen, Captain-General of the Catholick Army in Ireland; and then proceeds in Words to this effect: 'We being willing to encourage you, your General and Soldiers in your Proceedings against the Hereticks, with all spiritual Blessings and Assistance, and that you may go on with the more Cheerfulness and Resolution in assisting the Expedition that is forming against 'em, to which we have been incited by the Example of our Predecessors, and relying upon the Mercy of Almighty God, and the Authority of his blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, we, I say, do graciously grant and bestow in the Name of God to all and every of you that shall follow your General Hugh Earl of Tir-Oen, and his Army, in the defence and support of the Catholick Faith, and shall join themselves with 'em in this Expedition, and assist 'em with their Advice and Friendship, Provision and Arms, with all things necessary to maintain the War, and by what other Services and Methods you are capable; and likewise to the said Hugh your General, and all and every Soldier of his Army, upon the true and sincere Repentance and Confession of all respectively, and their participation of the Holy Communion, full and plenary pardon of all their Sins, in as ample a manner as was ever used to be granted by the Popes to such as went to the Holy War against the Turks, for the recovery of the Holy Land. Notwithstanding, &c.

Given at Rome at St. Peters under the Seal of the Fisher, in the Ninth Year of our Pope-dom.

M. Vestrius Barbiamus.

The Rebels, on purpose to terrify the new Lord-Deputy, were so presumptuous as to sound their Trumpets in the very Suburbs of Dublin: But he was not so easily daunted, being resolv'd, if possible to way-lay Tir-Oen as he return'd out of Munster. Having therefore at a short warning got together what Forces he could, (the stoutest Men being then absent in Munster with the Earl of Ormond) he hastned away into Fereal, to intercept and engage him: But Tir-Oen being inform'd of his Design, (for some of the Queens Council were still too much at his Devotion) prevented him by hasty Marches through difficult and unfrequented Roads. Upon the Lord-Deputy's return to Dublin, he made it his chief Business to select a Party of brave old Soldiers to ship away to Lough Foil and Balishanon, near the Mouth of the Lake Erne, that so Tir-Oen might be shut in and surrounded on all Sides: He likewise took care to furnish the Garisons in Leasie and Ophalie with fresh Supplies, which was a difficult and hazardous Undertaking, considering what a vast number of Rebels were disperfed thereabouts.

1600. Ann. 43.

The Pope encourage the Rebels by a Bull.

L. Deputy marched against Tir-Oen.

In the beginning of *May*, his Army advanc'd towards *Ulster*, on purpose to give the Rebels some diversion on that side; whilst Sir *Henry Dockwray* settled a stronger Garrison at *Lough-Foil*, and Sir *Matthew Morgan* at *Balishanon*. These two Persons arriv'd the same Month at *Culmo*, near the Mouth of *Lough-Foil*, with 4000 Foot and 200 Horse: Where having rais'd a Fort, and another at *Ellogh*, they came to *Derry*, a small City in a Peninsulæ of not above 40 Acres compass, on one side 'tis for a great way encompass'd by a River, and on the other, the Marshy Ground and Bogs, render it inaccessible; In this Place were left the Ruins of a Monastery, a Bishop's Palace, of two Churches and an old Castle. Here they built a Magazin and Places for their Stores, of Oaken Planks, and fortified the Town with rough Stone, which they pick'd up from the neighbourhood, and out of the Rubbish of decay'd Buildings; and their Lime they made of Shells burnt to Powder.

Tir-Oen was in the mean time, kept in play by the Lord-Deputy; and every Skirmish prov'd so unlucky to him, that Fortune seem'd to have chang'd Sides, and to force him upon his old Shifts, to retreat among the Bogs and Marshes. The Lord-Deputy having fix'd these Garrisons, return'd in the middle of *June* to *Dublin*; and demanded from *England* some recruits of Provision, Men and Arms, in order to furnish a Garrison in *Armagh*, more on this side, that the Rebels might be by that means, the more closely straitned and block'd up. Mean while he advanc'd towards *Lease*, the common Retreat of the *Leimster*-Rebels, where among others of the lewd Gang, he slew *Ony-Mac-Rory-Og*, the Chief of the Family of *O-More*, a Man of a desperate and daring Spirit, and the chief Author of the late Commotions in *Munster*: He then proceeded to spoil their Country, and drive the Rebels into the Woods and Thickets; so that few or none of them could shew their Heads in those Parts. As soon as the new Recruits arriv'd from *England*, tho' he was extremely straitned both for Money and Provisions, and the Air began to grow very cold in that Climate, the Sun having got beyond the *Aequinox*, he march'd once more into *Ulster*, and went up the Streights of *Moghera*, beyond *Dundalk*: This is look'd on, to be the most difficult and troublesome Pass, which Nature has made in that whole Kingdom, for it lies among Hills, Woods and Bogs, and all of them clog'd and barricado'd by the Rebels, with Ditches, Planks and Timber, and a sort of Pallisadoes, fill'd up with Stone and Turf, with great Art, and indefatigable industry; beside which, the Waters were out, and made Travelling the more dangerous, by reason of some great and continu'd Rains, which had swollen the Rivers above their Banks. As soon as the Waters fell, the *English* manfully broke through all those Oppositions, and having put the Enemy to flight, and surmounted all Difficulties, the Lord-Deputy erected a Fort about 8 Miles from *Armagh* (the Rebels having spoil'd and ransack'd all thereabouts): This he order'd to be call'd *Mount-Norris*, in memory of Sir *John Norris*, under whose Conduct, he had learnt the Elements of War, and he made *Edward Blany*, a Person of good Courage and Resolution, Governour of it: By whose means the Malecontents in those Parts, were afterwards severely punish'd, and at last totally suppress'd: In his Return, he gave the Rebels a notable Defeat near *Carlingford*, where they had block'd up the Road; and several other Skirmishes pass'd, of which I shall take no Notice. However there fell on the *English* Side, amongst a great many

more, Dr. *Latware*, Chaplain to the Lord-Deputy, and his Secretary *Crammer*, both of them Persons of great Learning, and upon that score, in singular esteem with him.

The Lord-Deputy being now return'd, and there hapning something that made it necessary to defer Sir *Matthew Morgan's* Expedition to *Balishanon*, 'till another opportunity, *Tir-Oen* and the rest of the Rebels, advanc'd their whole Strength against Sir *Henry Dockwray*, and between frequent Skirmishes, and fraudulent and base Practices, they put him very hard to it; but for all that, his Courage and Bravery carried him safe through all Difficulties, and he went so far as to spoil the little Country of *O-Caban*, through the assistance of *Arthur O-Neal*, the Son of *Turlogh*; he seiz'd likewise on *Dunalong* in view of *Tir-Oen*, and plac'd *John Bowles* over that Garrison: And not long after he took *Liffer Castle*, (to the great regret of *O-Donel*) by the help of *Neal-Garve* of the Family of the *O-Donels*; whom he won to his Interest, by giving him some hopes of the Lordship of *Tirconnel*, to which he laid an Hereditary Claim: About this time a *Spanish* Ship arriv'd at *Calebeg*, with Money and Arms, and the Rebels flock'd to Her as fast as possible, in hopes of a good Booty, leaving those Parts to be taken and possess'd by the *English* Garrisons: On the other hand the Lord-Deputy, to lose no time, enter'd into the Glins, or Valleys in *Leimster*, in the very midst of Winter, and reduc'd *Donel Spaniab*, *Pbelim Mac-Pheeli*, and the Mutinous Clan of the *O-Tools*, of whom he receiv'd Hostages; he then advanc'd into *Fereal*, and drove *Tirel*, the best Soldier of this Rebel-Party, out of his Fastness, (to use their own Term) that is, a Marshy Place all over-run with Thorns and Briers; at last he got to *Ulster*, through many troublesome and winding Passages, and had the good Fortune to Conquer still as he advanc'd: The first Act he perform'd here, was to waste the County of *Ferney*, and kill the two Sons of *Evar Mac-Cowley*; after which, he sent Sir *Richard Morrison* to destroy the little Province of *Fues*: In *Brenny* he fix'd a Garrison, under the Government of Sir *Oliver Lambert*, and then mov'd away to *Drogheda*, and took into his Protection *Turlogh Mac-Henry*, a Grandee in *Fues*, *Evar Mac-Cowley*, *O-Hanlon*, who pretended himself to be Hereditary Standard-Bearer, to the King in *Ulster*, together with several of the *O-Raleis*, and *Mac-Mabons*, who fell on their Knees, and tender'd him Hostages.

Thus far did the Lord-Deputy *Montjoy*, proceed the very first Year; and Sir *George Carew* made a Progress in *Munster*, equally successful, for he was lately made President of that Southern Province of *Ireland*; which was desperately harass'd by a Rebellion, which the Titular Earl of *Desmond* had promoted through every Part of it: For in the first place, he so order'd the matter with the Commanders of the hired Troops from *Conaught*, (which they call *Bownies*) that when the Rebels had sent for them, he got *Dermitz O-Conar* out of the Country by a Wile, sent away *Redmund a-Burgh*, by giving some hopes of retrieving his Ancient Estate, and dispatch'd *Tirell*, by alarming him with the Apprehension of being murder'd unawares; He moreover so dexterously fomented a Suspicion, he had before rais'd among the Rebels, by sham and counterfeit Letters, that they grew jealous and ran away from one another: After this, he and the Earl of *Twomond*, his Constant and Inseparable Friend and Assistant, march'd against them, took the Titular Earl, who was rescu'd afterwards by the Rebels, and either seiz'd, or took by Capitulation, the Castles of *Logher*, *Crome*, *Glan*, *Carigfoil*, *Corrag*, *Rathmore*, and *Cabir*.

1600.
Ann. 43.

His march
towards
Ulster.

Derry fortified.

Tir-Oen
repuls'd.

A second
March into
Ulster.

Fort
Mount-Norris
built.

Latware
and *Crammer*
murder'd.

1600.
Ann. 43.

Dockwray
hard pressed
by the
Rebels.

Lord-Deputy
arrives at
Ulster.

Sir *George*
Carew
does good
Service in
Munster.

Several
Castles taken
by him.

1600. *Ann. 43.* *W*hir: Sir Charles Wilmot, whom he had made Governor of Kerry, subdu'd Lixnaw, Castle Mainy and Liffwill, and Sir Francis Barkly, took Glanemire. Captain Gream pursu'd the Titular Earl so close, that he was forc'd to quit the Province; and several Rebels were frighted into Submission, by his good and happy Success: and fled to the Queen's Mercy and Protection, and amongst the rest, Florence Mac-Carty, a true Master of the Art of Dissembling, as most of them prov'd themselves upon this Occasion; for it was discover'd that a great many of them, sent away Priests to Rome to ask his Holiness's Pardon, for this Tergiversation, (a Term they us'd for their not persisting Rebels) and requested a Dispensation for not appearing in open Arms, whilst Matters remain'd in the present Posture: To be Brief, the President, who had found that Province so miserably out of order upon his Entrance in April, manag'd Things with that Conduct, that by December, all things were in a quiet Posture, and not one single Fort stood out against the Queen.

A new debate concerning a Peace with Spain. Whilst these things were carrying on in Ireland, there was a Consultation held in England, about a Peace with Spain, and it was grounded on the very same Reasons I mention'd *ann. 1598.* The Arch-Duke Albert, had made a motion this way not long before, upon his return from Spain with his Lady the Infanta, when his Holiness presented him with a consecrated Sword. And although the Queen had utterly refus'd, to engage in a Defensive League with the King of Spain, as well as to deliver up the Cautionary Towns, or prohibit a free Trade with Holland and Zealand; Articles which he much insisted upon, nor would She be brought to yield the Point of Precedency to Spain; yet did both He and the French King press for a Peace by repeated Embassies, and indeed the King of Spain, was formost in the Request, for he began now to affect a Peace, not only from Temper and Inclination, but by the Advice and Direction of his Council: He knew indeed very well, that his Father before him, was extremely desirous of settling a Peace with England, after he had made one with France; that he might have the Glory of leaving his Kingdoms to his Son, at a time when they were in a settled State of Peace and Tranquility; and he was likewise perswaded, that such a Treaty would prove to the Advantage of the Catholick Cause, and turn to his own Profit and Convenience. Without all doubt, they entertain'd mighty hopes at Rome, (as I found by a certain Piece, written there about that time) that this would occasion a more favourable treatment of the Roman Catholicks in England, who would be permitted upon their Return, to exercise their Religion with more Freedom, and disperse it to better Advantage. It was thought moreover, that this would conduce as much to his Honour, as the having discover'd a New World did to that of his Predecessors, and that he should find the more Respect and Observance, from the Petty Princes about him, when they found him disengag'd from the incumbrances of War, so that, he might then sit and act as the Umpire and Moderator of all Europe. Nay that he would likewise prove a Gainer hereby, for by this means, the Estates of Holland and Zealand would be the sooner brought to Reason, and the Money be spar'd, which went every Year to maintain his Forces in the Netherlands, and to bring home his Indian Fleets; which, provided they made a safe Return, must needs enrich the Kingdom of Spain: And beside this, the English would by Degrees, throw of their Care, as to Shipping and Navigation, when

they found it brought them no Grist from Spain, and this might prove the way to take them Napping, in a golden Slumber of Ease and Peace; when after a long dispute, they had almost forgot the Trade and Business of War.

Though the Queen was no way ignorant of all this, yet being of Opinion (upon serious Thoughts) that a Peace would tend much to Her own Honour, and the welfare of the Kingdom, she was contented to resign herself to the French King's importunity, and left to him, the appointment of the Time and Place for concluding the Treaty: For the Time, he determin'd the Month of May, and the Place nominated was Bologne, a Sea-Port in France formerly call'd Bononia, and Gessoriacum Navale. And because there was some reason, to guess there would arise some dispute about the Point of Precedency, there were certain Commissioners appointed, to enquire into the Matter; and they made an observation, that in the Book concerning the Ceremonies of the Court of Rome, which (as the Canons observe) is the great Directress and Mistress of all the other Courts, the First Rank among Princes, belongs to the King of France, the Second to the King of England, and the Third to the King of Castile; and that the English without Molestation, enjoy'd that Place, in the General Councils of Pisa, Constance, Sena, and Basil, though in that of Basil, 'twas indeed, unhandfomly contested by the Ambassador of Castile: Besides, the Kingdom of Castile, which is a Title the King of Spain values above all the rest, is but a Young State, in comparison of England, and was an Earldom, not a Kingdom, till the Year 1017, and then the Prince had no solemn Inauguration: That amongst those Princes, who were Styl'd High and Mighty, the King of England was reckon'd the Third, and the King of Spain the Fourth; and that his Holiness, Julius III. had pronounc'd in Favour of Henry VII. King of England, against Ferdinand of Castile; that the Queen of England, was both in respect of Birth and Regal Dignity, above the King of Spain, and this was the very Argument, which the Spaniards made use of in the Council of Basil, against Henry VI. King of England; That, in short, the Lawyers have jointly resolv'd, That a Precedency held Time out of mind, or by Immemorial Prescription, is to be look'd on, as a Fair and Uncontestable Claim; They remark'd farther, that whereas in the First Session of the Council of Trent, under Paul III. there appear'd but one Ambassador to represent the Person of Charles V. both as Emperor and King of Spain, who in his Master's Right, took Place of the French King's Ambassador, the Spaniards have accordingly demanded this Priority ever since, as well in the Emperor's Right as the King of Spain's, because it had never been disputed against them. At the same time, the English could not forbear taxing the French King's Ambassador, with a Point of Indiscretion, for not withstanding it; and entering a Publick Protest against the Emperor's Ambassador, should he presume to take the Precedency of the French King, in the Name of the King of Spain. They observ'd moreover, that the Spaniards demanded the Upper-hand, in respect of the largeness of their Dominions, and the Extent of their Princes Sovereignty beyond that of others, besides that he had deserv'd so highly of the Church of Rome, and had taken Place of the French King, in the Council of Trent in Pius Quartus's Time; though 'twas done indeed out of Rule: But enough of this.

1600. *Ann. 43.*

A Treaty at Bologn.

Observations about Precedency of England and Spain.

On

1600. On the Day appointed, there appear'd at *Bologna*, these Commissioners for the Queen, viz. *Ann. 43.* Sir Henry Nevill, Her Majesties Leiger in France, John Herbert, who was at this time, made one of the Secretaries; Robert Beal, Secretary to the Council in the North, and Sir Thomas Edmunds, Secretary for the French Tongue. For the King of Spain, appear'd Balhazer Lord of Zuniga-Fonseca, one of the Privy-Council, and Embassador in the Netherlands, and Ferdinando Carillo, Licentiate of the Order of St. Jago, the King's Solicitor in Castile: The Arch-Duke employ'd John Richardot, Seignieur de Barley, Chief President of the Council, and Lodowick Verrekeim, Auditor and Principal Secretary. The English had these Instructions amongst others; 'Above all things to take care of the Queen and Kingdom of England, and 'Welfare and Reputation of the Publick. That, 'in Point of Honour, they should by no means 'yield the Precedency to the King of Spain, but 'challenge it rather, in a Discreet and Sober 'way, for the Reasons already mention'd: That, 'If the Spanish Commissioners would not submit, 'some Middle temper should be found, lest the 'English should be represented, as more concern'd 'for a Punctilio, than a Matter of Weight and Con- 'cernment; They were to propose, for instance 'the taking Place by turns, and the First to take his 'chance for it. Then, in regard to Public Good and 'Advantage, they were to be extremely careful 'that the Trade of England and the United-Provin- 'ces, were not prejudic'd by any Unjust and Frau- 'dulent Practises; that the English should enjoy 'an open and free Trade into the Indies, foral- 'much as the same Liberty was granted them, in 'all the Dominions of Charles V. in the Treaty 'of 1541. In those Places at least, where the 'Spaniards have no Plantations, and with those 'Indian Princes who are not under their Govern- 'ment: That the Spaniards should offer their 'Terms, because they had first propounded a 'Treaty: That as to Rebels and Fugitives, 'there should nothing be mention'd (tho' ac- 'cording to the Ancient Contracts with Burgun- 'dy, they were to be expell'd out of the King- 'doms of each Prince respectively, and by that 'of France, to be deliver'd on demand). But if 'the Spanish Commissioners should propose it, 'they should then declare, that none were en- 'tertain'd in England from the Netherlands, but 'only Merchants and Tradesmen; whereas sever- 'al of the English were supported with Pensions 'in the Netherlands, on purpose to disturb and 'embroil the Government.

Excepti-
ons on
both sides.

Having produc'd on both sides, their Creden- tials, the Spaniards made an exception against the Epithet of *Most Illustrious*, which in those on the Queen's Side, was inserted in the Arch-Duke's Title, who borrowing his Descent, as they ob- serv'd, from Sacred Emperors, and being Brother and Son-in-Law to two Kings of Spain, and Hus- band to the Most Serene Infanta Isabella, Eldest Daughter of Spain, was by all Princes Dignified with the Title of *Most Serene*. The English then alledging, that an Arch-Duke ought not to be on the Level with Crown'd Heads as to Chara- cter, and that no other Distinction was allow'd in former Treaties to Arch-Duke Philip, Father to Charles V. than that of *Most Illustrious*; the Spaniards replied, that 'twas no Wonder, if that Age presented the Arch-Duke with no other Title than that of *Most Illustrious*; since in the very same Treaty, Henry VIII. Himself, was Styl'd by no other. The English on the other side, found these Flaws in the King's Commis- sion: That there wanted a Form of Subdelega- tion, that the Commission was confus'd, and made obscure by a mixture of Commissioners, that

'twas seal'd by the King's privy Signer, whereas her Majesty's was under the Great Seal of Eng- land; and that there was a Clause missing, in reference to the King's obliging himself to rati- fy whatever should be concluded on. They made answer, That the form of appointing Sub- delegates, was compriz'd in these Words, *par Trattar y Hazar Trattar*; that the distinction of Privy and Great Seal was a thing not known in Spain, and that the King's Commission was sub- scribed by his own Hand in the presence of his Secretary, and confirm'd under the publick Seal of the King and Kingdom; and that all Rati- fications run in this Form, *Estar y passar Estare y passare*.

A few days after, the Title of *Most Serene* be- ing inserted in the English Credentials where- ever the Archduke was mention'd, the English Commissioners, who till now had manag'd the Business with those of the Archduke purely by Letters and private Conferences, demanded a publick Meeting in order to a Treaty, and that the Precedency might be allow'd to her Majesty. The Spaniards being offended that the English had made the first Claim, as if 'twere true in such Cases what they use to say, *Le premier Demandeur est le Vainqueur*; i. e. *That the Conquest belongs to the first Challenge*, made answer, 'That 'twas a strange and unprecedented thing for the Kings of England to be upon the same Foot with his Catholick Majesty. The English replied, *That the Precedency of the Crown of England was known all the World over, and to be maintain'd upon good Grounds; and that the Queen's Leiger Ambassador ought to take Place of a bare Delegate, as he had a double Power invested in him. Edmunds alledged also, That he had acquainted Richardot before the Conference, that the Queen would not give up the Point of Precedency; and when press'd for an Answer from him, he had nothing to say against it, but said, 'He would give his Answer when they came to a Meeting; and that he did not think so small a Circumstance would put a stop to the Treaty.*

After this the Commissioners invited one ano- ther to private Debates at their several Apart- ments, on pretence that their Interviews would be less interrupted, but in reality to trick one an- other in point of Distinction and Priority: But this matter sunk likewise on both Sides. And tho' the Netherlands wrought hard to make the Spaniards more complying, yet they could never be brought to admit of an Equality between their Prince and the Queen of England, because he must then of course acknowledge the French King for his Superiour, it being agreed on all hands, that the Kings of England have yielded the Pre- cedency to those of France. However the English held tite to their first Resolution in asserting this ancient honourable Claim, and declar'd withal, that the Spaniards had no Reason at all to take it ill, *because to use one's own Right, is no Injury to that of another Man*; nor could they assign any Reason why they should deny her Majesty at least a Pa- rity of Honour, she being as absolute a Monarch as the King of Spain, and had as ample if not greater Power and Prerogative within her Do- minions.

After this, Edmunds was sent back into Eng- land, and return'd with these Directions: 'That 'if any Method were propounded to adjust the Point upon a Equality of Title, which should be no way prejudicial to the Queen, they 'should admit of it, without insisting too nicely upon their first Instruction: That a perpetual Peace should be establish'd between both Prin- ces and their Successors, and that no mention 'should be made of a Truce: That Trade should 'be

1600.

Ann. 43.

English

Spaniards

Archduke

English

Treaty

New Pro-
posals, but
in vain.

1600. *Ann. 43.* be reduced to the same Foot it was upon *Ann.* 1565: That it should be solemnly agreed and settled, that no Ships should be arrested without the consent of the Prince to whose Subjects they belong'd: That they should not upon any Account grant the *Spanish* Men of War the free use of the Queen's Ports: That if they went so far as to deny a free Traffick in the *Indies*, the matter should be conniv'd at, just as it was by the *French* in the Treaties of *Cambresie* and *Vervin*: Every one therefore should be left to venture at his own Cost and Peril: For were a Restraint of this kind allow'd of, the Trade of the *English* into those Parts would for the future be quite shut up and forestall'd. They were likewise ordered to take no notice of the Rebels and Fugitives, according to the Examples of the *French* in the Treaties of *Blois* and *Vervin*. They should engage that the *English* Garisons in the cautionary Towns should act barely in defence of those Places, without serving in the Field against the King of *Spain*. They were to declare moreover, that the Queen was fully resolv'd to preserve the Trade of her Subjects in the Archduke's Provinces, and yet not to recal the *English* Soldiers, who were in the State's Service, and under their Pay: That they should in the last place accommodate every thing to the Circumstances of Time and Place, because they supply Men with better Expedients than they can otherwise apply to every Exigence and Occasion; and that they should have an Eye to the main Drift of the *Spaniards* in this Negotiation, whether 'twere only to amuse the Queen till they could get an Opportunity of Invading *England* or *Ireland*, or else to win the United-Provinces to their Party, and unhinge them from the *English* Interest.

Archduke's complaint. In the mean time, the Archduke, who had his Head and Hands full of the War in *Flanders*, complain'd of the Queen's sending Recruits to the States, and preparing Ships for the *Indies*. The Commissioners answer'd, That they were in the dark as to this; but supposing it true, 'twas no new act of Hostility, but a continuation of what was begun before the Treaty, and was to be dispensed with till the consummation of a Peace. They retorted upon the King of *Spain*, his having furnish'd the *Irish* Rebels with Money and Arms; that he had receiv'd Hostages from them, and promis'd them Supplies: That this was clear enough from his own Letters, which the Rebels sent the Queen to gain her Favour, and which, if they pleas'd, were ready to be produc'd; and that this indeed was a new Encroachment, forasmuch as the King of *Spain's* Father never ventur'd to relieve them, otherwise than privately and underhand.

Treaty dissolv'd. Whilst these things were under Debate, and both Sides began to suspect that Peace was but a bare Pretence to cover other Designs, the *Spanish* Commissioners declar'd that his Catholick Majesty would by no means yield up the Priority, or so much as admit of a Parity of Title, and therefore had expressly order'd them to break off the Treaty. The Archduke's and the Queen's Delegates were much concern'd at this Resolution, and therefore to prevent an absolute Breach, the *English* propos'd, That the Question of Precedency might be laid aside, and they permitted to treat with the Archduke's Delegates, by Letters, Conferences, or Messages, as they before had done.

New Proposals, but in vain. The *Spaniards* mov'd, That if they would agree to a Meeting to be had in *Holland*, and the States to assist at it, they would come to a Treaty in any place in *Holland* not under the Queen's

Possession: Or if they would Confer in any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, they would entertain the *English* with all the Respect and Civility due to Strangers.

There was likewise a Motion started, to have the Business put off for sixty Days, which would rather look like a Discontinuance than a final Dissolution of the Treaty; and in the mean time all Parties should apply themselves to bring Matters to an Accommodation, if both Princes thought fit: But all this was to no purpose, for immediately did the *Spanish* and Archduke's Commissioners hasten home before they were look'd for, and the Queen likewise call'd back hers, having first made her publick Protest: 'That she had done all that became a good Christian and a free Princess to settle a firm and lasting Peace, to prevent the shedding of any more Christian Blood: And tho' there were scurvy and suspicious Appearances of foul Play and unsincere Dealing, forasmuch as there were Supplies of late sent to the Rebels in *Ireland*, yet at their request she did not refuse to send Commissioners to the Treaty: And since she saw no reason to give the *Spaniards* the Upper-hand, as she had intimated to *Edmunds* before the Treaty, she had insisted upon an Equality; and if they would not submit to that, she was willing still to carry on the matter by the interchange of Messages and Papers. Thus, after three Months time, did the Treaty of *Bologne* dwindle into nothing.

Mean while, the States having been Successful beyond Expectation, were so far from harbouring any desires of Peace, that they were studying at the very instant to possess themselves of the Sea-Coast of *Flanders*, the better to guard their Trade, (*Spinola's* Gallies being very busy at Sea) as also to relieve *Ostend*, the only Town they had in *Flanders*, and which was begirt and hemm'd about with several Forts and Sconces rais'd by the *Spaniards*. These Projects appear'd very feasible, the Enemies Affairs being in an ill Condition, and the old Soldiers at the same time bent upon Mutiny or Revolt. Having therefore made up an Army of 14000 Foot and 3000 Horse under the Command of *Maurice* of *Nassau*, and engag'd the Chief of the States to act in conjunction with him, they resolv'd to land at *Ostend*; but the Wind being contrary, they disembark'd at low Tide at *Philippine-Sconce* in *Flanders*, by the advantage of their Flat-bottom'd Boats, wherein they got to Land at high Water; and their landing put People into such a general Consternation, that the Garisons surrender'd as fast as they approach'd them, not excepting the strong Fort of *St. Albertus* near *Ostend*; and on the 8th Day after, they waded over a small Ford, and got to *Newport* without any Difficulty. The next Day, just as they were ready to sit down before it, the unexpected News was brought them, that the Archduke was marching towards them with 7000 Foot and a 1000 Horse: For it seems he follow'd them closely Night and Day, regain'd most of the Sconces, defeated 800 *Scots* that were placed in the way to intercept his Passage, and cut off their harass'd and straggl'd Troops almost as far as *Newport*. Here the *Spaniards* thought convenient to make an Halt to recover *Albertus's* Sconce, and to draw a Trench in order to cut off Supplies of Provision from *Maurice's* Army. But this was look'd on as a cowardly Project by the Archduke, who was too much flush'd with his good Fortune to listen to it. On the other hand, *Maurice* had dispos'd all things for an Engagement: The Foot, which compos'd the Van, he committed to the Conduct of *Sir Francis Vere*, (as he himself has given

1600. *Ann. 43.*

The States designs on the Sea towns in *Flanders*.

Newport attempted

Archduke comes to relieve it.

given it us in his Commentaries) and the Horse was Commanded by Count Lodowick of Nassau: A Resolution was then taken up to repass the Ford as soon as the Tide serv'd. Vere forbid his Men to strip themselves, assuring them, that in a little time they should either get better Cloaths or need none at all. He then sought out a piece of Ground most convenient for the Battel, being a narrow Plain between the Sea and some Banks of Sand, which rose to a pretty Height to Landward as well as towards the Sea. The English were placed in the highest part of these Hills, being not above 1500, with 2500 Musketeers of Friesland. Maurice now propos'd whether 'twere better to advance forward against the Enemy, or wait for them in that Posture: And most were of opinion, 'twas the best way to march on, that being the likeliest method to surprize the Enemy, and carry the Day; whereas by waiting their Approach, their own Party would be disheartened, and the Enemy take the Advantage; besides that, they would gain the Opportunity of better fortifying themselves, and of cutting off any prospect of Provisions or Retreat. Vere was of a different Judgment, and thought that the Enemy's Army, which was rais'd in haste, could not possibly be in a Condition to hold out long in a Country which the War had left bare and unfurnish'd: That on their own Side, there was no reason to fear a Scarcity, for they had Provision enough in their Ships, and an open Sea to convey what they wanted: That the Enemy being fatigued by the hot Weather, and a long March up and down steep and tiresome Hills, would be easily routed by fresh and unharrass'd Forces.

Grace Maurice approv'd of these Measures, and fix'd in the Place where he was, having appointed some Companies to prevent a Sally from the Garrison of Newport. He likewise order'd the Shipping to shear off to a greater distance, that his Men might grow Bold upon Necessity, when they had lost the hopes and prospect of any Retreat. Then he began to dispose his Men into Order, and placed six Pieces of Canon before the first Battalion. The Archduke had got by this time pretty near to Newport, and held an Hour or two's Debate, whether 'twere best to stay there or give his Men some Refreshment, and wait the coming up of the Troops which were still behind; by which means he lost his Advantage both as to Time and Place. However he had conceiv'd Hopes which made him advance with great Cheerfulness; and finding the Pass too narrow, by reason of the coming in of the Tide, for his Horse, which could now find no other way than by those sandy Hills, he dismiss'd a Prisoner on purpose, who was to alarm the Enemy, by crying that the Scots were all put to the Sword, and that the Archduke would not stand an Engagement; but his Mouth was soon stoppt. Vere's Advice was, to send out the Cavalry to stop the Enemy's approach; but the General of the Horse, unwilling perhaps that Vere should reap the Glory of that Design, withstood it: The Canon therefore was by Vere's Orders drawn down upon them, and the Enemy receiving a speedy Defeat, retir'd to the Hills, and there waited for the coming up of their Foot, who march'd along the Shoar, and now and then play'd on Maurice's Men with their great Guns, the Ships at the same time discharging upon them as the Tide came in. By this time they were oblig'd to double their Files the Place was so narrow, and being put into some Disorder, they were forced to climb the Hills till they were almost spent. Vere took his Post on the top of the foremost Hill, that he might view the Enemy's Motions from above, and 500

Spaniards endeavouring to gain the Ascent in a confus'd and disorderly manner, the Friesland Musketeers receiv'd 'em with a Volley of Small-shot, and drove 'em back; after which there happen'd a kind of wild Skirmish, such as the unequal risings and descents of the Grounds thereabouts would admit of, the Sand being so loose and yielding that they could not take any sure Footing. However, the Fight was briskly maintain'd by Supplies of fresh Troops on both Sides, each Party mounting the Hills by turns, and gaining a kind of alternate Conquest. Vere, whilst he acted the Part of a good Commander and Soldier, receiv'd a Wound in his Leg and another in his Thigh some time after, both which he conceal'd for fear of discouraging his Men; and his Forces were so hard press'd, that they were forced to retreat under their Canon by the Sea-shoar, and he himself being forced to follow 'em, had his Horse shot under him, which fell and lay upon him, till Sir Rob. Drury and Higham helpt him up, and mounted him upon Drury's Horse, and that at a time when the Enemy was just upon him. Just by the Canon he found his Brother Horace with 300 Foot, and immediately order'd 'em to play upon the Enemy, who appear'd now in great Numbers upon the Shoar. He commanded his own Troop of Horse and Bales to attack the Enemy, and Horace Vere to lie for a Reserve with his Foot. He beat the Enemy back to the Hills, and from thence they were repuls'd with a Shower of Small-shot; and as soon as they saw Maurice advancing with the main Body, the Horse began to fly in confusion, and the Foot follow'd them, and both were cut off in great Numbers. There were slain about 9000; and among the Prisoners were the Admiral of Arragon, Vigilare, Sapena, and many other Persons of considerable Quality. There were wounded the Archduke himself, after having discharg'd the Office of a brave General; the Duke D'Aumale, Alphonso Davales, Aid de Camp; Roderico Lasso, and several others. But these Particulars I refer to those who shall give the World the History of the Netherlands. 'Tis sufficient for me to have made these short Remarks out of Sir Francis Vere's own Commentaries, who has left us to make an Estimate of the English Courage from this Particular, That out of 1500 there were 800 slain and wounded, 8 Captains kill'd, and but two of the Commanders escap'd unhurt. The Spaniards attributed this Defeat to the Number of the Enemy, which was double theirs, and pleaded the fatigue of a long March, that the Sun was in their Faces, that the Wind blew the Dust in their Eyes, that the Ground was unequal, and in a word, that their own Horse behav'd himself like Cowards, and the English like good Soldiers. Among those who deserv'd the first Commendations, were the two Brothers Sir Francis and Horace Vere, Edward Cecil, Calisthenes Brook, Thomas Knolles, Daniel Vere, John Ogle, Taxley, Fairfax, Valvasour, Holcroft, Dennis, Tirril, Hammond, Sutton, Foster, Garnet, Morgan and Scot.

The English and French took up this whole Year and the last in making Complaints about Reprisals, which indeed through the frequent Piracies which were practis'd became too common on both sides. But a Measure was at length propos'd towards an Agreement by Monsieur Thunier Roissin the French Ambassador, a Person of Sense and Gravity, to this effect, viz. 'That the Subjects of each Prince respectively should be taken into Protection, and permitted to follow their Traffick in a lawful manner, according to former Treaties: That sufficient Security should be demanded for Merchantmen, and other Vessels set out with Provisions for War and Reprisals, double

A Treaty concerning Reprisals between French & English.

1600. *Ann. 43.* double to the Value of Provision in the Ship, and to the naked Value for these without Reprisals. That if the Officers of the Admiralty should either neglect to take Security, or accept what was not sufficient, they should be oblig'd to answer for all the Damages occasion'd through their Default. That Care should be taken of the Cost and Charges of the Merchants, and that their Causes should be dispatch'd, if possible, within six Months. That Judgments given in Actions brought at Civil Law, should from that time be duly executed against all Offenders. That the several Bailes should answer the Penalty agreed on, but till Satisfaction were made to the Party injur'd. That upon the refusal of Justice after 3 Months Request made by either Prince, or his or her Leiger Ambassador, it should be lawful to grant Reprisals on either side. That no kind of Arms or Ammunition should be transported into the King of Spain's Dominions. That if any thing should be detain'd or seiz'd by the King or Queen's Officers, without laying down the just Value, their Majesties should take care to make due Payment in convenient time. That all Ships fitted out by the immediate order of either Prince, or made use of by their Admirals in the publick Service, should be adjudg'd and taken for the King or Queen's Ships; and if any thing were done by them amiss, they should oblige themselves to make Reparation. That Reprisals should not be barely suspended, but absolutely revok'd on both sides. That publick Proclamations should be made, not to suffer or permit any Dividend, Transportation or Alienation of Goods taken; and that no Man should purchase, receive or conceal them, unless they should be first adjudged to be lawful Prize by the Verdict of the Judge of the Admiralty. That no Pirates should be harbour'd in the Cities, Ports or Towns on either side, or permitted to lie at Anchor, but should be arrested and brought to trial, and submitted to the Penalties of the Law, with Cost of Suit, and Interest. However, That every thing herein should be interpreted with this restrictive Proviso, That if any thing should be found contrary to former Treaties, nothing should be here constru'd in derogation from them; but that due Care might be taken against Piracies, such as the badness of the Times requir'd, this should be lookt on meerly as a present and occasional Provision, till a more full and absolute Treaty could be form'd to the mutual Satisfaction of both Princes.

Other difference with the French. There were likewise some Demurs started concerning the Imposition of some new Customs on the English Wares, contrary to the Treaty of Blois; as also about the deceitful and fraudulent making of English Cloths, to the great Disgrace and Scandal of the Nation. The Queen likewise made a modest Demand of what was formerly lent to the King; some part whereof he paid back with large and handsom Acknowledgements for the Favour.

1600. *Ann. 43.* But besides this Contest with France, there arose a new Dispute with the Danes, upon the Article of Trade, and the Privilege the English took of Fishing on the Coasts of Norway, and near Iceland, and that upon this occasion; the King of Denmark being the last Year offended at this practice, and the Piracies committed by the English, surpriz'd and took some Englishmen belonging to Hull, as they were Fishing upon the Norway-Coast, with some of his Men of War; Their Ships and lading he order'd to be sold, to a considerable Value, and put the Seamen to the Tor-

ture, alledging that he had two Years ago signifi'd his mind in England, as to the Prohibition of the Fishing Trade, and that they must expect to be thus serv'd, if they would presume to use it without his Leave. These Proceedings the Queen resented as Arbitrary, because there was no hearing allow'd, and took them as so many Invasions upon her Person, her Subjects, and the Antient Treaties between them; She therefore interpos'd in Favor of the Hull Men, in Letters dispatch'd by Stephen Leisler, and Thomas Ferrar: She own'd that Whitfield and Bernick, had barely pretended that the English had inroach'd on the Fishery of Norway and Iceland, contrary to the Treaties, but had produc'd no Proof for what he said; she convinc'd him that several Privileges had been Granted to the English, in this very respect, by the former Kings of Norway, before the Union of the Crown of Denmark to it, and that the same Grants, were afterwards confirm'd by John and Christiern, Kings of Denmark. It being then objected, that by King John's Agreement, the Patent for Fishing was to be renew'd every Seven Years, the Queen replied, that it had been discontinu'd for many Years, and that 'twas through the neglect of the Danes, not the default of the English; for 'till the extrusion of King Christiern, *ann. 1521.* that Septennial Licence had been still demanded by the English; and since that Time, 'twas never exacted by Frederick the King's Great-Grand-Father, nor his Grand-Father Christiern, nor his Father Frederick: But the last of these Princes promis'd, in his Letters *ann. 1585,* that if the English would forbear any Insolences and Abuses, they should enjoy the same Privileges they us'd to do, without Sueing for any new Grant; that upon this Account, the English were injuriously treated, because they had of late, refus'd to ask a Licence from 7 Years to 7 Years, as they had formerly done, and that the Ablest Lawyers had given their Opinions, that the Sea is free and public by the Law of Nations, and ought not to be the Monopoly of any Prince whatever; in short, the Queen seem'd desirous, either to have the Matter compos'd by Proper Deputies on both Sides, or else to refer it to the Elector of Brandenburg, the King's Father-in-Law, the Duke of Mecklenburgh; and Henry Julius Duke of Brunswick, the King's Brother-in-Law, as Umpires, but this the King would not consent to; and when the Matter could not be adjust'd by either Stephen Leisler and Ferrar, who were sent into Denmark on purpose, nor by Crag, a Person of good Learning, sent from thence into England, 'twas at length resolv'd on both Sides, to send Delegates to Embden; the Queen sent thither Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, Christopher Parkins and John Swale, Doctors of Law, to concert Measures with the Danish Commissioners; But the English being detain'd by contrary Winds, or prevented by some unlucky Mistake or other, from appearing at the Day prefix'd, the Danes were for getting home as fast as could be, on pretence that the Date of their Commission was expir'd; but some thought the Reason was the scarcity of their Provisions, (for the Danes allow their Embassadors, a certain Quantum of Victuals, in the room of Money, that other Princes give) nor would they hearken to the Proposal made them, of desiring their Prince to extend the Date of their Commission: Hereupon the English complain'd that the Danes had no Design of renewing the state of things in reference to them, but were for exacting new Customs every day at their Pleasure, upon their Vessels in Oresund-Key, for making sale of their Effects by new Orders and Decrees, and resolv'd to stop their Fishery, in

the free Northern Ocean, and their Passage that way into *Muscovy*.

1598. The Queen however was about this time, pleas'd to erect an *East-India* Company, and to Endow them with large Privileges; for the Improvement of Navigation, the Glory of the Kingdom, and the encrease of Trade; and they immediately sent thither with three Ships, *James Lancaster*, the Person whom we mention'd in the Year 1594, to have taken by his Courage *Fernambuck* in *Brasil*; and every Year since, they have dispatch'd a Fleet thither, with an answerable Success and Advantage; besides, they have, to the Honour of the *English* Nation, plac'd Factories in *Surat*, in the Great *Mogul's* Country, in *Maslipatam*, *Bantam*, *Patane*, *Siam*, *Sagad*, *Macassar*, and likewise in *Japan*, having obtain'd glorious Successes, big enough to curb the Insolence and baseness of their Adversaries; but whither it be for the real Advantage of the Kingdom to have such a Mass of Money exported, and so many Men yearly lost in the Voyage, I leave Posterity, and wiser Judges to determine.

Whilst the Queen was labouring at this rate to enrich her Subjects, Pope *Clement VIII.* being sensible of her declension in Years, and very desirous to establish the Interest of the Catholic Religion in *England*, sent two Briefs (as they are call'd) into *England*, one to the Popish Clergy, and the other to the People, wherein he caution'd them, Not to admit any Person, how near Allied soever to the Crown, after the Queen's Death, unless he were not only inclin'd to Tolerate the Romish Persuasion, but to Advance and Establish it, to the utmost of his Power, and would oblige himself, as his Ancestors had done, to perform the same upon Oath: But these Briefs were kept very privately, and the Contents of them, communicated but to a very Few; but here was laid the first Platform of that Execrable Plot, the *Powder-Treason*: As the main Design of sending these Briefs from *Rome*, was the Exclusion of King *James*, from his Right of Succession to the Throne of *England*, so were there private Attempts us'd in *Scotland*, by the Fraternity of the *Retbuen*s, to take away his Life; for their Breasts glow'd with Revenge, for the taking off their Father, the Earl *Goury*, by Process of Law, in the King's Minority, upon which Account, they got the King, to whom they had been much oblig'd, by a sort of Stratagem into their House, and there design'd like Villains to make him away, and doubtless they had done it, had not God Almighty, the Guardian of Princes, so supported the King, that by grappling with them, and through the timely Assistance of *John Ramsey* and *Thomas Areskin*, he turn'd their lewd Design to their own Destruction. For they were kill'd in the very Enterprize, and their Accomplices Executed, their Estates being forfeited by Act of Parliament, their Houses raz'd to the Ground, their Bodies quartered, and set upon Poles in several Towns, and All that bore the Name of *Retbuen*, commanded to change their Sirname, that their very Memory might be Extinct and lost for ever: I hope I shall not be charg'd with an Indecency, in mentioning Extinction of Name, since other Writers have given a very large Account of it.

Much about this time, there was a general Complaint of a sad Scarcity of Corn in this Kingdom, occasion'd partly by immoderate Rains about the end of the last Year, and partly by the Coldness of the following Spring, not to mention the engro Spirit of some, who had got a Licence to transport great Quantities abroad, and made as great Gain thereby. The Populace, who generally turn more upon the Hinge of Opinion and Jealousy, than a true Judgment, cast a great deal of Dirt

and Reproach upon the Lord-Treasurer *Luckhurst*, for Granting them a Licence; and these Aspersions wrought so upon him, that he applied to her Majesty, who clear'd him by publick Proclamation, from this Charge, and cast the Fault upon some private Hucksters, who were for making a Market; and withal, order'd those that were most clamorous upon this Occasion, to be seiz'd and punish'd: But they, being true as Steel to a Mobbish Principle, rail'd and grumbl'd the more, and privately tax'd him with having acknowledg'd the Action.

The Earl of *Essex* had now lain Six Months under the Lord-Keeper's Custody, and his good Nature at length, with the Sense of his Misfortune, and the Advice of his Best Friends, particularly the Lord *Henry Howard*, began to work in him a very serious change of Sentiment, to put him upon removing his Evil Counsellors, Sir *Gill Merrick* and *Cuff*, and giving such Demonstrations of a patient, humble and modest Temper, as made his Friends conceive the best Expectations of him, and render'd him esteem'd by all, and envied by his Adversaries; The Queen moreover was so well reconcil'd by the Submission of his Letters, that she permitted him to go home to his own House, under the Custody of Sir *Richard Barkly*, and several Times protested, that all she did or design'd against him, was for his Reformation, not his Ruin.

But because the Common-People made his Innocence the publick Theam and Subject of Discourse, her Majesty thought fit, to qualifie all Suspicions of a severe Treatment towards him, to give it out by Order of herself and Privy-Council, that he should have a publick and fair Hearing, (not in the Star-Chamber, lest it should fall too heavy on his Purse or Person) But in the Lord-Keeper's House, before the Queen's Council, Four Earls, Two Barons, and Four Judges, and that some Judgment or Censure should pass upon him, but short of an Impeachment or Charge of Treason: The chief Heads of the Indictment against him were these: 'That he had, contrary to his Orders, made the Earl of *Southampton*, General of his Horse; that he had Confer'd upon so many, the Honour of Knighthood. That he had drawn his Forces into *Munster*, instead of pursuing *Tir-Oen*, the Head of the Rebels: That he held a Conference with him, contrary to the Duty owing to her Majesties Royal Dignity, and the Character of a Lord-Deputy, and in private too, which made it liable to the worse Construction: All these Points were largely insisted on by the Queen's Council, who produc'd out of his own Letters, written above Two Years before, and dispers'd up and down by some of his Followers, some abrupt Passages to this Purpose: That no Tempest was more violent, than the Resentment of an inflam'd Prince: That the Queen's Heart was Obdurate: That 'twas very possible for Princes to Err, and wrong their Subjects: That he knew his Duty as a Subject, and his Privilege as Earl Marshal of *England*, &c. From hence they concluded; 'that he represented the Queen as a very Passionate and Irrational Princess, and compar'd her to *Pharaoh*, on the score of her Heart being hardned, and made her void of all Sincerity and Justice; so that, excepting a bare Allegiance, he ow'd her neither Thanks nor Service: They likewise charg'd him with some Heads and Articles, taken out of certain Book, Dedicated to him, about the Deposing *Richard II.*

He then kneel'd down upon one Knee before the Table, and thanked Almighty God for his great Mercies, and his Sovereign, for not ordering him an Hearing in the Star-Chamber, but that

The East-India Company settled.

The Popes Briefs against the Scots.

The Conspiracy of the Gourys.

Complaints of scarcity of Corn.

1599. Ann. 42.

Essex repents himself.

Is brought before Commissioners.

His Sentence.

The Queen's mild and gentle Temper.

1600. Ann. 43. that she had commanded that Cup to pass from him (to use his own Words) and had permitted him to be Tried in a private House; he declar'd therefore, that he would not dispute his Case, or go about to excuse the Failings of his green and inconsiderate Years; he likewise protested, that he still kept himself a Loyal Subject, and neither had, nor would depart from his Allegiance so much as in Thought: In a Word, he profess'd his Intention to have been sincerely Honest, whatever Appearances might happen afterwards to the contrary, and that he now took a most hearty Farewel of this World: At this he shed abundance of Tears, and the Company express'd their satisfaction and hopes of him in the same manner. However he could not forbear urging some Excuses on his own behalf; such as these: That he made Southampton General of the Horse, out of an Honest, tho' mistaken Opinion that the Queen would Approve his Choice, when she knew the Reasons he acted upon, which her Majesty having rejected, he immediately displac'd him; that he had Knighted so many, with design to keep the Gentlemen-Voluntiers firm to his Interest. That he advanc'd into Munster upon the Ill-weigh'd directions of the Council of Ireland; that Ormond, the Principal Person of them, had paid for those Measures with the loss of his Sight, and Sir Warham Sr. Leiger, by the loss of his Life: As he was going to proceed, The Lord-Keeper reminded him of his first Resolution, and advis'd him to stick to that, and betake himself to the Queen's Mercy, who did not design to have him impeach'd of Treason, but only tax'd with the Breach of Orders, for 'twas but frivolous to pretend Obedience, when he had giv'n so few Signs of it, so that if he went about to palliate his Fault, it might prove a means to lessen the Queen's Gracious Intentions towards him; beside 'twas very absurd, to masquerade an Express and Formal Act of Disobedience, under the Pretext of a Loyal Inclination: 'Tis not very Material to respect what was observ'd upon this Occasion, by others there present, since 'twas in a manner much the same with what was said then, or some time after, in the Star-Chamber. In fine, the Lord-Keeper pronounc'd his Sentence, *That he should be remov'd from the Council-Board, suspended from his Offices of Earl-Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and kept under Confinement during the Queen's Pleasure.* This Sentence was approv'd of by all the Rest; and a great many entertain'd hopes of his being again receiv'd into Favour, because the Queen had expressly order'd, that he should not be remov'd from being Master of the Horse, as if she design'd to employ him again, and that the Judgment awarded against him, should not be enter'd upon Record.

His Sentence.

The Q. of a mild and gentle Temper.

There were some likewise, who observ'd the Temper of the Queen, and the Inclination of the Earl and his Enemies, with the usual Consequences in such Cases, that were apt to conclude much, in Favour of the Earl, upon these probable Grounds: That the Queen being a Princess of a mild and intreatable Disposition, was not to seek that the Throne is Establish'd by Merit: That 'twas both in her Power and Inclination, to express Compassion, and thereby speak herself a Wise Woman: That she would by no means, provoke so considerable a Person, for fear of driving him to the last Extremity: That she would by no means consent to his ruin, in respect to the Government, which would be so great a loser by it; that her Majesty had hitherto form'd her Actions, upon the Model of a strict and regular Justice: That she had declar'd her Design to be the Earl's Re-

formation and not his Ruin; and that the Word of a Prince was Sacred as an Oracle. That 1600. Princes, like God Almighty, act in consistency, and without Contradiction: That moreover she was of Mitbridates Temper, and hated those that trode on the Neck of Virtue, when abandon'd by Fortune. That the Queen was as constant in the Continuance, as discreet in the Disposal of her Favors. That there were Instances of Persons who had grossly offended her Majesty, and yet were not totally laid aside; particularly the Earl of Suffex had been impeach'd, as an Abettor of the Troubles of Ireland, the Duke of Norfolk had been accus'd by Crofts and Sadleir, for not obeying his Orders in the Siege of Leith, and the Lord-Keeper Bacon, about a Book written by Hales, relating to the Succession: Henry Earl of Arundel, Henry the Father of Southampton, and Lumley, were charg'd for holding private Correspondence with the Queen of Scots; Crofts for a Secret Correspondence with the Prince of Parma, Walsingham for Assisting Goury in seizing the King of Scots, and the Earl of Leicester about some Mismanagement of his in the Low-Countries: But yet all these Persons were perfectly reinstated in the Queen's Favour: As for the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who had join'd themselves in a Foreign Conspiracy to work the ruin of their Country, and had in order thereto, appear'd in open Rebellion, they had justly paid for their Treason with their Lives; and the Duke of Norfolk's Fate was equally Just, because he had committed the same Fault twice, and attempted, contrary to his Promise and Oath, to Marry the Queen of Scots, concealing in the mean time all the Designs she carried on Abroad, and assisting those Scots who were proclaim'd Enemies to England; indeed the Queen of Scots herself, fell under the same Character, (however she might be protected by the Prerogative of a Crown'd Head) when she once took violent and irregular Courses to procure her Liberty, insomuch that the Queen and Kingdom's Safety were endanger'd thereby, and the State had no other way to secure itself: But now there was nothing of this Nature objected against the Earl of Essex, whose Miscalriages both to the Queen and Council, had already been acquitted from the Imputation of Treasonable Designs: That the Queen, on purpose as it were to keep his hopes alive, had advanc'd none of his Enemies upon his Fall, tho' they had made their Suit, with all possible Application for much higher Promotions.

That the Earl had been singl'd out by the Queen, and distinguish'd while he was but Young, by several signal Favours, on the score of his Quality, (being, at some distance, Ally'd to the Blood Royal) and the Appearance of a very promising Virtue. That he had receiv'd among other effects of her Displeasure, a Box on the Ear: That he had done his Country very Eminent Services both at Home and Abroad; that there was not a Man in England, so happily furnish'd for a General, and who was so capable of managing a War, keeping off an Enemy, and gaining the Hearts of the People as himself; that therefore he was the properest Person to extinguish any Troubles that might arise, and keep the Government from Fermentation, nor did any Man deserve the Queen's Grace and Compassion, more than himself. That all Persons would find themselves concern'd in the severe Treatment of a Person who had deserv'd so highly; that nothing could inspirit the Enemy more, than to see those Persons us'd Ill, whose Merits rose higher than those

those of others, and whose Innocence had pass'd
 1600. the common Vote. That what was formerly said
 Ann. 43. of Germanicus, might be applied to him, *That his
 worst Enemies were his great Accomplishments*: that
 his bitterest Adversaries could lay nothing to his
 Charge, but that he acted in a Sphere above
 them. However, that they need not fear being
 admitted again into his Friendship, since he was,
 like Pompey, Courteous to his Enemies, and easily
 reconcil'd upon Submission and good Behaviour:
 Besides, that his Adversaries did not agree a-
 mong themselves, but were differently inclin'd
 as to his Case, so that, when he was some time
 ago to have been summon'd to an Appearance
 in the Star-Chamber, some of them were of O-
 pinion, that he was to be proceeded against
 without Rigour and Severity. That the Secre-
 tary would not be brought to admit any frau-
 dulent Endeavors or foul play against him:
 That his Adversaries durst not do all they had
 a mind to; besides, they were so prudent to
 consider that Affairs at Court do not always run
 in the same Channel, but that Love and Ha-
 tred, Jealousies and Suspensions, Favor and Ri-
 gour are acted by certain Springs, and de-
 pend on Changes and Periods, that we know
 little of. That no Man alive knows whether
 he shall be a Favourite, or cashier'd before the
 next Sun-setting: That they were sometimes
 oblig'd to offer their best Ministers as Victims to
 Fury and their own Reputation: Witness,
Empson, Dudley, Cromwel, Cardinal Woolsey, &c.
 That just as Men find Princes to have acted by
 others, the same will their Case be, when their
 own turn comes about. His Enemies ought
 therefore to take Care, not to engage too far
 in this business, lest they should hurt them-
 selves most, at the long run, besides the Inhu-
 manity of adding Tears to the afflicted; and
 that they should not exasperate the Queen, and
 raise groundless Jealousies in Her, in reference
 to a Person of that Figure, for tho' Men could
 not but wonder at such a Procedure, God
 who is a Just Being, would not fail to Protect
 such as were injuriously oppress'd.

Upon these Reasons, and others of the same
 Nature, did several ground a Conjecture that
Essex would once more be taken into Favour; and
 'twas made a Point of Deliberation among them,
 how the Earl was to Demean himself, during this
 Interim of Suspense, whether it was his best way
 to get himself dispatch'd on a *Free Embassie, and
 so Travel abroad into some forein Parts, 'till this
 Storm blew over, or else to retire within himself,
 and raise his Mind by the same gradual Move-
 ments, by which his Fortune had declin'd; or
 whether 'twere properest, to enter on a mix'd
 Kind of Life, and so stand ready for whatever
 Fate should accost him. By this means 'twas
 possible, that his obscur'd Virtue might in Time
 shine out, and recover from its Eclipse.

In the mean time he appear'd, for his own part,
 extremely mortify'd with the sense of his Con-
 dition, and declar'd both in his Discourses and
 Letters, that he had discarded all the Gayeties of
 Life, and drowned his Ambition in his Tears,
 and that he had but one Request to make the
 Queen, viz. *That She would* (to use his own
 Words) *let her Servant depart in Peace.* The Queen
 was extremely pleas'd with this Deportment, and
 in a little time remov'd Barkley from him, under
 whose Custody he was, and left him at his own
 Liberty, to retire if he pleas'd into the Country;
 but she advis'd him however, to keep within the
 Eye of his own Discretion, and not on any Ac-
 count to venture to Court, or come near her Per-
 son.

After this Sentence was pass'd, Cuff, who had

always persuad'd the Earl to Plead *not Guilty*, but
 to insist upon his Innocence, as the Safe-guard of
 his Honour, began to charge him so bluntly for
 a fanit-hearted and timorous Man, and was so
 very liberal in bestowing Reproaches upon all
 that persuad'd him to the contrary, that *Essex*
 was disoblig'd at his Freedom, and order'd him
 to be cashier'd his Service; but Merrick his Stew-
 ard, who was of Cuff's Opinion, did not perform
 his Order, lest Cuff should be tempted to gratify
 his Revenge, by joining against his Master with
 the rest of his Enemies.

The Earl was now at his Liberty, and being
 just upon going into the Country, he gave this
 Account of himself to her Majesty, by the Lord
 Henry Howard: *That he kiss'd her Majesties Hands,*
and the Rod she us'd in correcting him, but that he
could never recover his usual Cheerfulness, 'till he
was vouchsafed an Admission to that Presence, which
had always influenc'd his Happiness, and in which he
was sufficiently bless'd, as long as he mov'd within his
Sphere; That he had now resolv'd to make amends for
his Error, and to say with Nebuchadnezzar, Let
my Dwelling be with the Beasts of the Field; to eat
Grass as an Ox, and to be wet with the Dew of Hea-
ven; 'till it shall please the Queen to restore my Un-
derstanding to me. The Queen was very much
 pleas'd with these Expressions, and Replied, *That*
she heartily wish'd his Actions might prove of a Piece
with them: That he had tried her Patience a long while,
and therefore she ought to take some time, to make proof
of his Submissions: That her Father would never have
pardon'd so much Obstinacy. But that she would not look
back, for fear of incurring the Fate of Lot's Wife: That
all is not Gold that Glisters; That if the Furnace (of
Affliction) produc'd such Effects, she should hereafter have
the better Opinion of Chymistry.

As soon as Cuff got admission to the Earl, he
 fill'd his Ears with the same pernicious Counsels
 as before; Telling him that he had ruin'd him-
 self by his Confession: That he had incur'd
 such a disreputation thereby, as could hardly
 be conceiv'd, and which he ought to make
 good again, though with the price of his Blood:
 That the Lord Henry Howard and others, had
 appear'd his Friends in some trivial Points, on
 purpose to trepan him in Matters of higher Im-
 portance, and to deliver him up, as a Prey to
 his Enemies. That he could never hope to be
 so free a Person as he once was, unless he pur-
 chas'd his Liberty, by some very hazardous Ex-
 ploit; that therefore he ought to undertake
 some great Action, to recover his Credit and
 Liberty; In his Friends Defence, and the Pro-
 tection of his Country from Corrupt Ministers.
 These Suggestions *Essex* very little regarded, being
 firmly persuad'd, that he should once more creep
 into Favour, and obtain a new Grant for Farm-
 ing the Sweet Wines, (for so they Term all, but
 French and Rhenish) his Patent being almost out
 of Date, and he having been a considerable Gainer
 by it: The Queen gave him some hopes of her
 Favor, by Messages and Letters; but in reference
 to the Farm, she sent him these short, but cut-
 ting Answers, *That she must first learn the Value*
of it, and that Benefits were not to be bestow'd at
Random: At the same time she permitted the
 Perquisites thereof to go to others, saying, *That*
an ungovernable Beast, must be stinted in his Provender,
that he may be the better manag'd: She likewise
 much applauded that Physical Aphorism: *That*
corrupt Bodies, the more they are pamper'd, the worse
it is for them.

The Earl of *Essex* was touch'd with these An-
 swers to the very quick, so that he suffer'd his
 Passion to steal the Reins from his Reason, and
 gave himself up to Cuff and some other warm
 Spirits, who did all they could to possess him,
 that

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1600. that 'twas now apparent, the Queen, the Council, and his Enemies were resolv'd to crush him, and sink him into the Condition of a very Beggar, and if he once was forsaken by the Queen and his Money, he must expect to lose his Friends, and be loaded with the Scorn and Reproaches of his Enemies: Hereupon, the Earl of Southampton was call'd home out of the Low-Countries, a Consultation was held among some Divines at Oxford, the Subject of which I have not learnt, and the Earl returns to London, Sir Christopher Blunt, being very much concern'd, that he had by his Advice involv'd the Earl in these Difficulties, (for as I observ'd before, he had perswaded him to venture into England with a slender Retinue) and hearing that the Lord Henry Howard had labour'd to little purpose, in making up the Breach between him and his Adversaries, did now advise him to venture boldly into the Queen's presence (as himself afterwards confess'd), And gave him some Hints withal, that several Gentlemen were ready to secure him, both in his Access and Return. But the Earl's Answer was, that he was held from that Attempt by a Scruple of Conscience, and that he must take the Judgment of some Divines upon that Point; however he intimated to Blunt, not long after, by his Servant Cuff, that he would speedily come to some Resolution, and would be sure to acquaint him with it; he began now, to give free access to all Comers, and Merrick, his Steward, kept open House for all Swordsmen, Male-contents and broken Gentlemen, and admitted Buffoons and Parasites of all sorts: Some of the warmer Clergy set up popular Lectures, which the Tradesmen mightily frequented; and the Earl receiv'd daily Visits from his Sister the Lady Rich, who had lost the Queen's Favour for abusing her Husband's Bed: And whoever seem'd to disapprove these Measures, was censur'd as an avow'd Enemy to the Earl's Honour and Liberty.

The Death of the L. North. In the very last Month of this Year, did Roger Lord North, make an happy Exchange of this Life for a Better; he was Treasurer of the Queen's Household, and the Son of Edward Lord North: A Person of great Briskness and Vivacity, that had an Head and Heart fit for Service; I have mention'd him before in the Years 1587, and 1574: His Estate fell to his Grandson, Dudley North, whom his Son had by Dorothy, the Daughter and Heiress of Valentine Dale, a Gentleman well vers'd in the Civil-Law: He was succeeded as Treasurer, by Sir William Knolles, whose Place of Comptroller of the Queen's Household, was Confer'd on Sir Edward Wotton, a very Able and Eminent Minister of State.

1601. The Fourth Year of her Reign.

Embassies from Morocco and Russia. The Beginning of this Year, the Queen gave Audience to several Foreign Embassies; In the Southern Parts, Her Alliance was courted by Hamet, King of Morocco; and Boris Pheodorick, Emperor of Russia, address'd to her from the North; for the same Favor: She likewise gave an Honourable Entertainment to Wolf-Gang-William, Son of Philip-Lodowick, Count Palatine, Duke of Zueibruck and Newburgh, Virginus Ursinus, Duke of Bracciano in Tuscany, and the Robans, two Brothers, in their Return from paying a Visit to the King of Scots, they being Descendants of James I. King of Scots: All these Noble Personages paid Her Majesty a pure Visit of Respect.

Essex drops some unflattering Expressions. Mean while the Earl of Essex liv'd retir'd, and gave himself up to the Service of God, the Conversation of his Friends, and the Devotion of the Church. However, he let fall some Expressions now and then, which shew'd how much he re-

gretted the powerful Interest which his Enemies held in the Queen, and which indeed his Friends condemn'd as relishing too much of an indolent Resentment; and therefore advis'd him, as the Lord-Keeper had done before, 'not to neglect himself, his Friends and his Country: That Persons otherwise at the greatest Variance, ought to unite for the Publick Good and Advantage: That he should by no means seek the Cure of his own Private Grievances, in those of the Publick. That he ought to submit to the present Exigence: That he should make the most submissive Applications for the Queen's Favour, who had been so Generously Kind to him, and not to lend his Enemies an Handle to insult: But this Advice was quite thrown away, and receiv'd much such an Answer as the Lord-Keeper's had done, viz. 'That, where he expected Plenty, he met with an Hurricane, that if he was wanting to his Friends or his Country, 'twas long of others, not of himself: That the Queen had Degraded him to the State of a Private Man, and he could not Fawn himself into an Higher Post: That he had been unjustly Confin'd: That Princes had but a limited Power, and were not Infallible. That his Enemies had wounded him in every Pore of his Body: That their Insolence could not exceed his Constancy and Resolution: That let them look as big as they pleas'd, he would never be the Slave that should Cringe to them.

These Expressions coming to the Queen's Ear, The Q. strangely warp'd her Affections from him, but what she resented most, was the Affront he offer'd to the Make of her Person, for (to name but one Expression) He had declar'd, 'That she was now grown an Old Woman, and was as Crooked within, as without: This was a Wrong, which some Court-Ladies, whose Hopes and Intreigues he had formerly disappointed, took care to aggravate to the highest Degree, so that she did as good as flatly deny him a Licence for Farming the Wines; This put his Spirit into a new Ferment, and to increase it more, the Lord Grey of Wilton drew upon his intimate Friend the Earl of Southampton, as he rode along the Streets; for which however he was by the Queen's Order, committed to Custody, and his Enemies gall'd and fretted him one Day after another, with giving out base and unhandson Insinuations.

Hereupon, he laid himself open to ill Impressions, and went again upon the same Clandestine Designs in which he had embark'd, when in Ireland, endeavouring to remove by Force, his Enemies at Court. He was every Day putting some new Project on the Anvil, and there were enough to help him to form them into shape. He now made use of all the Arts of Popularity to gain the Crowd, which he perceiv'd were perfect Idolizers of his Virtue; and labour'd to curry Favour with the King of Scots, by respectful Letters, and Complaints of his Adversaries, tho' he was thought to have injur'd and disoblig'd him before. He was very particular in setting forth the Interest of his Adversaries, viz. That in the West of England, Raleigh was Governour of the Isle of Jersey, that in the Eastern Parts the Lord Cobham was Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, the Lord Burleigh President of the North, and the Lord Carew President of Munster in the South of Ireland: That these were the most convenient Places for the Spaniards to Land; that these Persons were every one of them, well affected to the King of Spain, and at Secretary Cecil's Devotion, who, together with the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, and the Lord Admiral, One of whom had the Queen's Purse, and r' other her Navy, and both were Cecil's Creatures, steer'd the Helm of Government

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Essex tampered with the King of Scots.

1601. *Ann. 44.* vernment just as they pleased: He therefore pra-
 1601. *Ann. 44.* tised with the King of *Scots* to send Ambassadors
 into *England*, to press a publick Declaration of
 his Title to the Succession. He prepares a
 Scheme of Instructions for them; wherein he
 lays down several Proofs of the exorbitant Power
 of his Adversaries, as likewise of their ill Affe-
 ction to the King of *Scots*, and their great Re-
 spects for the *Infanta*.

I do not affirm, that all this was done with a
 design to remove his Adversaries, as opposers of
 the Succession, provided such a Declaration were
 not made: However, as nothing works more on the
 Affections of Men, than a shew at least of Reli-
 gion, the Earl endeavour'd to gain the Puritans,
 and their Preachers, to his Party, a sort of Peo-
 ple the Queen did not care for. He likewise
 courted Papists, by a seeming Commiseration of
 their afflicted Condition: He hir'd up a parcel
 of Soldiers, and other Fellows of a desperate
 Fortune and Courage, and placed them near his
 House.

Mean while he made very few privy to his De-
 signs, therein following *Cusse's* Advice, who had
 suggested to him, that he ought to have a Mul-
 titude at his Beck, but few of his Council: These
 were the Earl of *Southampton*, whose Firmness he
 had made trial of; Sir *Charles Danvers*, a Person
 entirely devoted to *Southampton*, as being obliged
 to him for his Life; Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Gover-
 nor of *Plimouth-Fort*; Sir *John Davis*, Surveyor
 of the Ordnance under him, and a most exqui-
 site Mathematician; and *John Littleton* of *Frankel*,
 a Man well vers'd both in the Cabinet and Camp,
 but one whom his Father had disinherited for
 some Misbehaviour towards him, unworthy of a
 Son to offer, or a Father to receive. This Junctō
 met frequently in *Drury-House*, to avoid Suspi-
 cion, and the Earl of *Essex* produc'd before them
 a Catalogue of such Noblemen as he conceiv'd
 best inclin'd to his Cause; it was reckon'd to con-
 sist of about 120 Earls, Barons, Knights, and
 Gentlemen of good Estates. He then advised
 them to deliberate among themselves, whether
 'twere best first to seize on the Court, or on the
Tower of London, or on both at once? and what
 Methods were to be taken with the City itself?
 They were all of opinion, that the best way was
 to assault the Court in the first place; and this was
 the Method they propos'd: Sir *Christopher Blunt*
 was with a choice Detachment to possess himself
 of the Palace-Gate, *Davis* was to seize the Hall,
Danvers the Guard-Chamber, which was but
 slightly watch'd, and the Presence-Chamber, and
Essex was to rush in from the *Meuse* (which were
 Stables belonging to the Court) with a select
 Party at his heels, and to beg the Queen on his
 Knees to remove his Adversaries from her Pre-
 sence: 'Twas afterwards confess'd that he had
 resolv'd to bring them upon their Trial, and then
 to call a Parliament and make a Change in the
 Government.

Whilst the Party were expecting Ambassadors
 from *Scotland*, and a favourable Opportunity to
 advance these Projects to a conclusion, the Jeal-
 ousies as to *Essex* were much increased, not only
 by reason of a much greater confluence of Peo-
 ple than ordinary under the pretence of hearing
 Sermons at *Essex's* House, but because the Prea-
 chers themselves had let fall some Expressions, as
 if Kings themselves stood accountable to the Su-
 perior Ministers of the Realm. Hereupon, or
 else perhaps on some slight Intimations, *Robert*
Sackville, the Lord-Treasurer's Son, gave the
 Earl a Visit on the 7th of *February*, in a pretend-
 ed way of Complaisance, but really with a de-
 sign to observe what Company he kept. The
 Earl of *Essex* was soon after sent for by Sir *John*

Herbert, one of the Secretaries of State, to ap-
 pear before the Council then met at the Lord-
 Treasurer's House, in order to receive some In-
 structions as to the Management of that Liberty
 the Queen had given him; and at the same time
 a Note was privately deliver'd into his Hands,
 advising him to take care of himself. Hereupon
 the Earl suspecting that something had taken Air,
 and fearing a second Confinement, excused his
 not appearing, on pretence of being at that time
 under some Indisposition; for he was resolv'd
 not to forfeit his Liberty but with his Life. Thus
 was this Contrivance quash'd which had been
 four Months in agitation, and the Actors were
 forced by their Fears to enter upon new Mea-
 sures.

Essex was under a strange Perplexity, and sent
 for some of his nearest Friends, whom having
 inform'd of the Danger they were in of being
 forthwith order'd to Prison, he consulted with
 them, whether 'twere better to surprize the
 Court directly, or to try the Inclinations of the
 City, and make use of their Assistance, or else
 to fly for it? Seize the Court they could not,
 for want of Men and Arms, and other Conve-
 niences; besides, they were told that the Guards
 were doubl'd: Moreover, 'twould carry a very
 foul appearance of Treason against the Queen,
 to commit an Outrage upon her Palace. As they
 were debating the Point of the Citizens Affection,
 and the unsteadiness of Humour common to the
 Vulgar, in comes a Person, as if commission'd
 on purpose, and makes large tenders of Service
 and Assistance from the City, against all the
 Earl's Opponents. Wherewith *Essex* was so far
 inspir'd, that he began to talk of the large In-
 terest he had in the City; and to flatter himself
 from the popular Noises formerly bestow'd on him,
 and the loud Complaints that went about against
 his Adversaries, that he had a very powerful Party
 ready to assert his Cause and protect his Fortune.
 He likewise believ'd the Report of others, that
 Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Sheriff of the City, would
 be ready to stand by him with a Thousand of the
 Train'd-Bands which he had under his Com-
 mand.

He resolv'd therefore, since Things were come
 to that pass as to make Delay as dangerous as too
 much Speed, to go the next day (which was *Sun-
 day*) with 200 Gentlemen into the City, just be-
 fore the Sermon was done at *S. Paul's*, and there
 give the Aldermen and People the Reasons of
 his coming, and crave their Assistance against
 his Enemies; and if the City appear'd backward
 to espouse his Cause, he determin'd to withdraw
 to some other Part of the Kingdom; but if they
 shew'd any inclination to assist him, then to
 make use of their Assistance in getting access to
 her Majesty.

All that Night Messengers were sent up and
 down from *Essex's* House to give his Friends no-
 tice, that the Lord *Cobham* and *Raleigh* lay in wait
 for his Life. Hereupon the Earls of *Rutland* and
Southampton came to him on *Sunday* the 8th of *Fe-
 bruary* betimes in the morning, with the *L. Sands*,
Parker, *L. Monteagle*, and about 300 Gentlemen
 more of good Quality; who were all receiv'd by
 him with great Civility. He told some of 'em,
 that he went in danger of his Life; that he was
 resolv'd to go to the Queen and acquaint her
 with it, because his Enemies had abused her Ma-
 jesty's Name to his Prejudice: Others he assur'd,
 that the City of *London* appeared for him, and
 that he would go thither and make use of their
 Assistance to bear down the Power of his Adver-
 saries.

In the mean while his House was lock'd up,
 and not a Man suffer'd to go in or out, unless
 he

Essex
 courts the
 Puritans
 & Papists.

His Coun-
 sellors.

The Court
 to be sur-
 priz'd.

Essex
 suspected.

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 He is sent
 for to the
 Council.

Refuses to
 appear.

Some of
 the Coun-
 cil sent to
 the Earl.

He con-
 sidered

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he were very well known. But whereas Sir Ferdinando Gorges was permitted to wait on Raleigh, who had lent for him, and waited in a Boat for his coming, Blunt persuaded him to seize on Raleigh. Some People do not stick to say, that Gorges did at this time discover the whole matter to Raleigh. However, 'tis certain that Raleigh advised Gorges to take care he were not clapt up for being so long absent from his Government without leave; and that he likewise bid Raleigh look to himself, for that several Gentlemen were plotting against him and some others who were lookt upon to have abus'd the Queen's Authority.

Some of the Council sent to the Earl.
The Queen about this time order'd the Lord-Mayor of London to see that the Citizens were all ready in their Houses to execute such Orders as they should receive; and she sent the Lord-Keeper to the Earl of Essex, with the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knolles Comptroller of her Household, the Earl's Uncle, and Popham, Lord-Chief-Justice of England, to learn the meaning of this tumultuous Convention. They were with much ado let in at last through the Wicket, and all their Servants kept out, except the Purse-bearer with the Seal. The Court-yard was fill'd with a confus'd Rabble, and in the midst was Essex himself, with Southampton, and several others, who flock'd in upon this Occasion. The Lord-Keeper applied himself to Essex, and let him know, that he was sent with the other Gentlemen from the Queen, to understand the reason of this unusual Concourse; and if they had suffer'd any Grievances, he promis'd them a fair and equitable Redress: Essex answer'd him in a louder tone than ordinary; *That there was a Conspiracy against his Life; that some were employ'd to murder him in his Bed: That a great deal of Treachery had been used against him; and that Letters had been counterfeited under his Hand and Seal: That they were met in defence of themselves, and for his Security, since all he could do or suffer would not satisfy his Adversaries, unless they might have his Blood.* Popham spoke something much to the same effect as the Lord-Keeper had done; and promis'd, if he would fairly tell him what Attempts had been used against him, to give the Queen an account of it, and procure him a fair and candid Hearing. Southampton complain'd, that the Lord Grey had drawn his Sword upon him: But then, replied Popham, *he was Committed for it.* Then the Lord-Keeper pressing him once more to discover his Grievances, (as privately as he pleas'd) the Rabble interrupted him, crying out, *Let us be gone, they do but abuse your Patience: They design nothing but to destroy and abuse you; and in the mean while we lose time.* The Lord-Keeper thought it now time to apply to the Throng, and bad them, upon their Allegiance, lay down their Arms.

Mean while Essex retir'd into the House, and the Lord-Keeper with the rest follow'd him, on purpose to have some Discourse with him in private, the Mob in the mean time muttering out some Expressions to this purpose; *Cut their Throats; away with that Great-Seal; clap 'em up in Custody.* When they had got into the inner Apartments, Essex order'd the Doors to be bolted upon 'em, and then told 'em, *That if they would have a little Patience, he would go and advise with the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs, and be back again in a very short time.*

Thus were these four Gentlemen of the Privy-Council confin'd and left in the Custody of Sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Owen Salisbury, an old Soldier, and one that neither wanted Courage nor Confidence, with a Guard of some Musketeers.

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Essex had forgot to provide Horses and to secure the main Point by reason of this unlook'd-for Visit from the Gentlemen of the Council, so that he left his House in haste (Sir Gilley Merrick being appointed to defend it) with a small Party of 100 Men or thereabouts, all of them indeed lusty and able Fellows, but unfurnished with proper Arms, the greatest part of them having their Cloaks cast over their Shoulders, and no other Weapons but their Swords by their Sides; the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and other Gentlemen, joined with them as they went along. As soon as he was got into the City, he cried out, *For the Queen, for the Queen; my Life is in danger.* And thus he went forward through the chief Streets of the City directly to Sheriff Smith's House near Fenchurch. The Citizens got together in a sort of Amazement, and Essex desired them to arm themselves, or else they would be capable of doing him no good Service. However there was not a single Person in the whole City, tho' well Disciplin'd, and very Populous, that ventured to appear in his Interest, not even those of the lowest Rank and Condition. For tho' the Citizens were, according to the Temper of the Vulgar, desirous enough of Change, yet their Wealth made them somewhat Cautious, and ready to express their most faithful Loyalty to the Queen. And to say the truth, *Poverty is that which above all things prompts the English to Mutiny.* Having pass'd through the greater part of the City, he got at last to the Sheriff's House, in a great Disturbance, and in such a Sweat, that he was obliged to shift himself.

The Sheriff, whom he entirely depended on, upon the uncertain Reports of others, immediately withdrew himself by a Back-door to the Lord-Mayor's House. Mean while, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and Detbick Garter King at Arms, came into the City, and proclaim'd Essex and his Adherents Traitors, tho' they met with some Opposition. The same Method was taken by the Earl of Cumberland, and Sir Tho. Gerard Knight-Marshal, in other parts of the City. As soon as Essex understood this, he got out of the Sheriff's House as fast as he could in a dejected melancholy Condition, crying out, *that England was to be made over to the Infanta of Spain, and desiring the Citizens to take up Arms, tho' to no purpose.* When he saw that no body was ready to engage in his Cause, and that his own Party slunk away from him by degrees; and hearing withal, that the Lord-Admiral was advancing with a strong Party against him, he began to grow Desperate. He resolv'd therefore to return home, in hopes of obtaining the Queen's Favour by the means of the Lord-Keeper and the rest of the Council which he had confin'd in his House. But when Sir John Levison, who commanded a Party of Men at Ludgate, had refused Gorges the liberty of a free Passage for Essex, Gorges, consulting his own Interest, persuaded the Earl to send him to his House to discharge the Counsellors, and with them to interceed with the Queen for his Pardon, while there was yet some Hope, and no Blood spilt, and the Queen remaining in some Suspense as well as the Citizens. The Earl consented that the Lord-Chief-Justice Popham should be released, and none else; but he refusing to accept of his Liberty except the Lord-Keeper might enjoy the same, Gorges discharged them all, and went with them by Water to the Court.

Mean while Essex, when he thought of returning home, found a Chain drawn cross the Street near the West-Gate of St. Paul's Church, and a Company of Pikemen and Musketeers placed against him, by the Care of the Bishop of London, and

He enters the City.

Council released.

and under the Conduct of Sir John Levison. This was the first time that the Earl drew his Sword; and here he order'd Blunt to Fight his way thorough, which he perform'd with great Resolution, and fell briskly upon Waite, a Person that Leicester, Blunt's Rival, had formerly sent into Holland to murder him. Waite was slain, and Blunt himself wounded and taken Prisoner. There fell besides, Mr. Henry Tracy, a young Gentleman, much in favour with Essex, and two or three Citizens. The Earl being repulsed there, and his Hat shot through, and several of his Party flinking away from him, he got to Queen-Hithe with a few Friends that stood firm to him, and there he took Boats, and retir'd to his House.

Essex fortifies his House.

He is summoned to Surrender.

He was very angry to find the Council were discharged, and a great many of his Papers he threw into the Fire. *that they might not, as he phrased it, tell any Tales:* And now he began to prepare for his Defence. He had now laid aside all Hopes of receiving any Assistance from the City, and so began to make his own House as strong as he could. The Lord-Admiral immediately besieged it to Landward, and assigned several Posts to the Regiments of Horse and Foot, under the Command of the Earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Grey, the Lord Burleigh, the Lord Compton, and others; the Admiral himself, with his Son the Lord Effingham, the Lord Cobham, Sir John Stanhope, Sir Robert Sidney, and Sir Fulk Grevil seiz'd upon the Garden by the Thames-side. Being just ready to make an Assault, he sent Sidney to summon the Earl to Surrender. Southampton asked, *Whom they were to yield to? Was it to their Adversaries? That were perfectly to court their own Fate; and if to the Q. that were a plain confession of their own Guilt.* However the Earl promised to yield, and appear before the Queen, if they would allow him Hostages for his Security; if not, 'twas, *he said,* the common Resolution to sell their Lives at as dear a Rate as they could. The Lord-Admiral sent word by Sidney, *That Rebels were not to make their own Terms, nor any Hostages to be deliver'd to them:* But withal he let Essex know, *That he had that Respect for the Female-Sex, as to permit the Countess, the Lady Rich, his Sister, and their Waiting-Gentlewomen, the privilege of safe Conduct, they having fill'd the Place with their Shrieks and Cries.* This Essex took as a Favour, and only desired an Hour or two's time to strengthen the Place they were to pass by, which was likewise granted. Before the Hour was expired, Essex grew Desperate, and resolv'd to Fight his way out; and the Lord Sands, who had more Years over his Head than the rest, egg'd him on to it, by frequently repeating this Saying, *That the boldest Counsels are the safest; and that 'tis more commendable for Men of Honour to die by the Sword, than by the Ax or the Halter.*

He yields.

Nevertheless Essex could not easily determine himself, but began to entertain Thoughts of submitting, and gave notice, that upon such and such Terms he would yield up the Place. But the Lord-Admiral refusing to grant any Conditions, he said, *that his intention was to accept, not to propose them;* but three Things however he requested the grant of; *A civil Treatment for himself and his Friends;* which the Lord-Admiral engaged for: next, *A fair and impartial Hearing;* to which the Admiral answer'd, *that there was no reason to suspect the contrary:* and in the last place, he desired, *that one Mr. Ashton, a Clergyman, might be permitted to assist him in Prison, for the benefit of his Soul:* the Lord-Admiral replied, *That he would use what Interest he had with the Queen, that all these things might be allow'd him:* Then all the Noblemen immediately falling on their Knees, deli-

ver'd up their Swords to the Admiral, and yielded up themselves at Ten of the Clock at Night. There were none kill'd besides Owen Salisbury, and one or two who were shot within-doors, and about as many of the Assailants without.

Essex himself and Southampton were first conducted by the Admiral to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth: They were not sent directly to the Tower, because the Night was dark, and there was no passing thro' the Bridge. However they were soon remov'd from thence by Water to the Tower, by the Queen's Orders; and Ratland, Sands, Cromwel, Monteagle, Sir Charles Danvers, and Sir Henry Bromley, were dispos'd of into other Boats; the rest were committed to the common Gaols. Thus did 12 Hours time put an end to this Commotion; which some were pleas'd to call a Surmize or Misapprehension, others a Mistake: Those that judg'd more severely of the matter, term'd it Perversness, and an impatient thirst of Revenge; and they that spoke worst of it, gave it no harsher Name than that of an indiscreet Forwardness; and to this day few there are that lookt upon it as a capital Offence.

The next day the Queen was pleas'd by publick Proclamation to Commend the unshaken Loyalty of the City, in Terms very Obliging and full of Acknowledgment; and advis'd them withal, to preserve carefully the publick Tranquillity, forasmuch as the Infection of this late Mutiny had spread itself too far: She warn'd 'em also, to keep a strict Eye upon such as were suspected to be Favourers of Change and Innovation, and acted as publick Incendiaries, by seducing the Populace, or disparaging the Ministry.

On the 12th of February, Thomas Lea (a Kinsman of Sir Henry Lea's, who had wore the Honour of the Garter) told Sir Robert Crofts, Captain of a Man of War, that 'twould be a glorious Enterprize for six brave mett'd Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her to Discharge Essex, Southampton, and the rest that were in Prison. He was a Man himself of great Assurance and Resolution, had Commanded a Company in Ireland, was very intimate with Tir-Oen, and an absolute Creature of the Earl of Essex's. This Crofts immediately discover to the Council; in somuch that Lea was sought for, and found in the dusk of the Evening about the Door of the Q.'s Privy-Chamber. He seem'd very Thoughtful, was extreamly Pale, and in a great Sweat, and frequently ask'd, *Whether her Majesty was ready to go to Supper?* And, *Whether the Council would be there?* In this Posture he was seiz'd and examin'd, the next day had his Trial, and by Crofts's Evidence and his own Confession, condemn'd and carried away to Tyburn, where he own'd that he had been indeed a great Offender; but as to this Design, was very Innocent; and having moreover protested, that he had never entertain'd the least ill Thought against the Queen, he was there executed. And this, as the Times were, appear'd a very seasonable piece of Rigour.

Upon the 15th of this Month, there was an Order issued out, *That all Vagabonds should upon pain of Death, forthwith depart the City; with all notorious Frequenters of Ale-houses and Taverns, and such as ran about the Town, fetching and carrying Stories and Reports, and were prepared on all Occasions to disturb the publick Peace.*

About this time, some or other of the Conspiracy being brib'd with the Hopes of Life or some kind of Recompence, discover'd the whole Plot, as it was form'd in Drury-House; but who the Person was, I could never learn. This as

1601. *Ann. 44.* soon as the rest observ'd, by some particular Hints in their Examinations, they concluded that the whole Design had taken Air, and that it would be but a ridiculous piece of Secrecy to conceal that which was sure to come to light, if others had not divulg'd it already: So that not being able to promise themselves any Advantage from their Silence, they made a free and full Discovery.

Essex and Southampton were on the 19th of February arraign'd in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord *Buckhurst*, Lord-Treasurer of England, who was made upon this Occasion Lord-High-Steward of England; their Judges or Peers, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, *Suffex*, *Hartford* and *Lincoln*, the Lord Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Barons of *Hunfdon*, *Delaware*, *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Stafford*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Windsor*, *Rich*, *Darcy* of *Chiche*, and *Howard* of *Walden*, who was at that time Constable of the *Tower* of *London*. Their Assistants were, *Popham*, Lord-Chief-Justice of England; *Periam*, Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; *Gawdy*, *Fenner*, *Walmsley*, Clerk and *Kingsmill*.

The Names of the Peers being called over, *Essex* demanded, whether they had not the same Privilege with private Men, of excepting against some of their Peers. The Judges answer'd, That the Reputation and Character of the Peers of England was such, that they were not oblig'd to take their Oaths upon any Trials, nor did any Exception lie against them. After this they were joined in the same Impeachment of Treason, viz. 'That they had conspired to take away the Queen's Crown and Life, and consulted how to surprize her at her Palace; and that they had broken out into a publick Rebellion, by shutting up the Council of the Nation, and exciting the *Londoners* to Mutiny and Sedition, by false Stories and Reports, by assaulting the Queen's faithful Subjects in the publick Streets, and fortifying the Earl's House against the Queen's Forces.

Being demanded, Whether they were Guilty or not Guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge? They answer'd, *Not Guilty*; and put themselves, for their Trial, upon God and their Peers. *Essex* alledged, That he had done nothing but according to the Dictates of Nature and the Laws of Self-defence. Then *Talverton*, the Queen's Serjeant at Law, open'd at large the Particulars of the Charge; and made out, That a bare Intention of Mischief against a crown'd Head, was High-Treason: He then drew a Comparison between *Essex* and *Cataline*; for as the latter got to his Party a medly of People of all sorts; so had the former entertain'd a mixt Crowd of Atheists, Papists and even Stigmatiz'd Persons, in his Service. He upbraided him with the abuse of those many Favours the Queen had conferr'd upon him, since she had been still loading him with fresh Honours and Preferments, and began her Bounties to him when his Age was too green to plead either Merit or Service. He farther charg'd him for having abus'd and mismanag'd his Trust and Preferments, by courting the Breath and Applause of the Soldiery, and cherishing an Ambition, which, like the Crocodile, grows in Bulk, as it advances in Years; and profess'd himself amaz'd at their pleading *Not guilty*, when their Crimes were so notoriously known and publick.

And Coke. *Edward Coke*, the Queen's Attorney-General, prov'd out of *Fitz-Herbert*, a very eminent and famous Lawyer, That a meer Intentional Contrivance of Mischief against the Prince, was

Treason, tho' not to be adjudged such, till it discover'd itself by some Overt Act, either in Expression or Fact. He argu'd upon this, That those Persons were contriv'd to be Contrivers of the Prince's Ruin, who run into Commotions, get together a Multitude in Arms, refuse to separate and disjoin at the command of their Superiors, or else endeavour to bring the City, the *Tower*, the Court or the Prince himself into their power: That the Earl could not borrow the least colour of Defence from the Law of Nature, because the Majesty of a Prince is too sacred a Thing to be made a Sacrifice to private Revenge. He then proceeded to a particular enumeration of those Honours the Queen had bestow'd on *Essex*; as for instance, her having made him Master of her Horse, admitted him to the Council-Board, constituted him Earl-Marshal of England, and Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and given him in a very little compass of time a round Sum of 30000 *l*. He likewise mention'd his imprisoning the Lords of the Privy-Council, and the Menaces used to put them in fear: He charg'd him with holding Correspondence with *Blunt*, *Danvers* and *Davis*, Persons all Popishly affected; and made some Remark on their going to the City rather than the Court, since their Guilt, it seems, would not bear a nearer approach to the Lustre of a crown'd Head, which is a Ray of the Deity. He also commended very highly the Confessions to be produc'd against them, because they were free, consistent and ingenuous, and not extorted through fear or force. And after having summ'd up the main Substance of the Charge by way of Narrative, how he would have seiz'd the Queen, and call'd a Parliament, he ended with this smart Observation; *That it were much to be wished that this Robert might be the last Earl of Essex of the Name, since he had ambitiously attempted to be Robert the First, King of England.*

To the whole of this Charge, *Essex* answer'd with a visible Briskness and Courage: 'That Rhetorick was the Talent or Trade of those, who valu'd themselves upon the knack of pleading innocent Men out of their Lives: He therefore desir'd the Peers to form a Judgment upon the Reality of Things, not from the bare Pomp of Words: He protest'd his sincere Affection to the true Religion; and that he never look'd on *Davis* as Popishly affected, when he attended every day upon Divine Service: That in all the Clutter and Confusion made by the Rabble, he heard nothing like a Threatning utter'd against the Council: That for his part, he honoured and respected them as his particular Friends: That he was forced to shut them up, for fear of any ill consequence from the Multitude; and that he was oblig'd to act as he did in his own Defence, having understood, not by idle Reports and uncertain Surmises, but by expresse and most undoubted Messages; That his Enemies had a design of taking him off; That he had hitherto, and would hereafter preserve a most inviolable Loyalty to his Prince, (to whom he had such infinite Obligations) and be always firm to the Interest of his Country; That he had no other design but to cast himself at her Majesty's Feet, to acquaint her with his own Grievances, and the palpable Dangers which threaten'd his Country.

Popham, Lord-Chief-Justice of England, being sworn, and demanded what he could say relating to the Prisoners; laid before them the unworthy Usage which the Counsellors had receiv'd from them. The Earl made answer; 'That he had not the least ill Intention against those Honourable Persons, but profess'd a most high

1601. *Ann. 44.* Value and Regard for them: That he had observed, that the Royal Orders were not sufficient to keep his Friend, the Earl of *Southampton*, from being publickly Insulted, the Lord *Grey* having drawn his Sword upon him in the Street; for which reason he made use of the Assistance of his Friends, to repel the Attacks of his Adversaries in the same way they were offer'd: That he was however a good Subject to the Queen, and a true Friend to the Kingdom for all this; nor did he say thus much to preserve a Life of which he was heartily weary, but purely for the sake of his Associates, who had both Integrity and Courage enough to do their Queen and Country good Service: That it plainly appear'd from hence, that some Mischief was intended, that *Raleigh* had given *Gorges* an Hint to shun his Conversation, as he would a Vessel just ready to split. He complain'd, that Priests had been dealt with to accuse him, and that his Hand had been counterfeited. And true it was, that a certain Impostor had forg'd it on purpose to get Mony, as we shall shew in its place.

Gorges's Evidence. Then was *Gorges's* Evidence produc'd, viz. That *Essex* had resolv'd to seize upon the Court, and call a Parliament, and that his last Hopes were placed in the *Londoners*; all which *Gorges* was sent for from Prison hard-by to testify to his Face. As soon as *Essex* saw him, upon the Supposition that he had made upon one Motive or other, a full discovery of the Business, and came as a voluntary Witness against him, (because his Evidence was first produc'd) bestow'd upon him several smart and severe Reflections, and endeavour'd to invalidate the credit of his Evidence by the paleness and discomposure of his Looks.

Southampton's defence. Now came on the Charge relating to the Consultation held in *Drury-House*, about seizing the Court and *Tower* into their hands. *Southampton* made a short and modest Defence, and ask'd pardon for his Crime, which was purely owing to his Affection for the Earl of *Essex*; and after a declaration of his steadfast Loyalty to the Queen, he answer'd, 'That some Proposals of that kind were made indeed, but nothing resolv'd upon, the whole matter being refer'd to *Essex*: That what was acted, was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. Their going into the City, which was with no other design than to facilitate *Essex's* access to the Queen, there to make a personal Complaint of the Wrongs that were done him: That his Sword had not been drawn all that day: That he heard nothing of the Proclamation wherein they were declar'd Rebels: That he hinder'd as much as in him lay, the firing of any Shot from *Essex's* House. He then desir'd that the Cause might be decided by Rules of Equity, not the Niceties and Quirks of the Law. This the Queen's Attorney call'd a colourable Evasion, and demanded whether it were not Treason to seize upon the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy-Chamber, &c. hereby to get the Queen into their hands? *Southampton* calmly ask'd him, what he thought in his Conscience they design'd to do with the Queen? The same, reply'd he, that *Henry of Lancaster* did with *Richard II.* He went to the King, and fell on his Knees, pretending nothing but the removal of his Evil Counsellors: But when he had once got the King in his Clutches, he robb'd him of his Crown and Life.

Attorney-General's reply. The Judges Assistants being ask'd by the Lords, whether the Consultation in *Drury-House*, were Treason? They jointly agreed, that it was so, and that the Commotion in the City was the im-

mediate Result of that Debate; for could they have rais'd Forces enough in the City, they would immediately have fallen upon the Court. 1601. *Ann. 44.* 'Twas then demanded, whether this Cabal was form'd by *Essex's* Means and Endeavours? And there were several Testimonies brought to prove, that the main Heads of this Consultation were written with his own Hand; and that he threw some Papers into the Fire, that they might not (as his own Words were) tell any Tales. When he heard all this objected, which he imagin'd had hitherto been kept as a profound Secret, he said, 'That the hopes of Life and Pardon had drawn these kind of Confessions from some Men, and that he wish'd them an happy enjoyment of their Lives, whereas his own was become a burden to him: That *Cobham*, *Cecil* and *Raleigh's* Attempts had drove him to a necessary defence of himself; and that whatever Construction the Law might put upon his Visit to the City, 'twas a great satisfaction to him, that his Conscience did not tax him with the least Thought of disloyalty to the Queen. *Cobham* then rose up, and declar'd, That he had never born any ill-will to *Essex*, but neither could he bring himself to approve his Ambition. To this *Essex* replied, 'That he would for all that have remov'd such a base Informer from the Queen's Person, though at the expence of his Right Hand.

Francis Bacon, one of the Queen's Council at Law, endeavour'd after this to weaken *Essex's* Excuse for his Rebellion, on pretence of a Plot laid for his Life, by an excellent Speech to this purpose: That *Cobham*, *Cecil* and *Raleigh*, were Gentlemen of that unquestion'd Worth and Probity, and Persons withal of such plentiful Estates, that they would never have brought the one or the other into Hazard by so base and dishonourable an Action. He shew'd, that those Fictions of a Plot upon his Life, were destroy'd by their own Inconsistency, forasmuch as *Essex* never continued long in one Tale; but pretended sometimes that he was to be murder'd in his Bed, then in a Boat, and lastly by the Jesuits; besides the vanity of his Suggestions, since, it seems, he had given out that the Kingdom of *England* was sold to the King of *Spain*. He said moreover, That 'twas a common thing for Rebels to attack Princes through the Sides of their Ministers, and tax'd *Essex* for an Hypocrite, and one that had conceal'd the worst Designs under the Mask of Religion. He resembled him likewise to *Pisistratus the Athenian*, who cut and wounded his own Body, and made the People believe his Enemies had done it; whereby having procur'd himself a Guard of Soldiers, he reduc'd the Commonwealth under a state of Slavery. He was going to proceed, but *Essex* interrupted him, and put him in mind, That 'twas not so long since he had written an affectionate Letter to the Queen on his behalf, and against those very Adversaries he had been speaking of. And this, 'tis true, he had done as a Friend, when he thought there was room to introduce *Essex* once more into the Queen's Favour. *Essex* rejoind, That he was inform'd that Secretary *Cecil* had once told the Council, that the *Infanta* of *Spain* had as fair a Title to the Crown of *England* as any of her Competitors. *Cecil* tax'd by *Essex*.

As soon as he had dropt the Word, in came *Cecil*, who lay perdue in a Room hard by, and beg'd the Lord-Steward upon his Knees to permit him to clear himself of so base and scandalous an Accusation. Which being granted, he thus applied himself to *Essex*: I confess, my Lord, you have a flux of Wit to which I cannot pretend; and in point of Heraldry I must yield to your Lordship, for I am

1601. am not a Peer of the first Rank; though I think I may
 Ann. 44. call myself a Nobleman: And I will as freely own,
 that you are the better Soldier of the two. But still,
 I wear the Guard of Innocence; and in this Court I
 bear the Character of an honest Man; whilst you ap-
 pear here as a publick Criminal: on which account I
 challenge you to name, if you dare, the Counsellor, to
 whom I said those Words. Essex refused this: up-
 on which Cecil was ready to conclude it a Ficti-
 on of his own; which Essex however deny'd.
 Then Cecil turn'd to Southampton, saying, I in-
 treat you, Sir, by that Nearness and Intimacy, which
 has been between us from our Youth, as you are a Chri-
 stian, and a Man of Honour, that you name the Per-
 son. Southampton refer'd it to the honourable
 Board, whether he might, by the Rules of Ho-
 nour and Decency, nominate the Person: They
 then judging it very reasonable that he should
 be named, Sir William Knolles, the Earl's Uncle,
 and Comptroller of the Queen's Household, was
 mention'd as the Man. He being, at Cecil's
 Request, sent for, came accordingly, and ac-
 knowledg'd, That he had heard Cecil say, about
 two Years since, that one Doleman had asserted
 the Infanta's Title to the Crown of England, in
 Print; and that this was all he could say. But,
 said Essex, these Words were spoke to me with a quite
 different Air of Construction. Then Cecil reply'd,
 'The Odium, which your Lordship's Malice
 'would endeavour to bring me under, with all
 'the World, is purely owing to that peaceable
 'Temper, whereby I have aim'd to promote
 'the Good of my Country; and to your Lord-
 'ship's Love of Fighting; as it turns to the ac-
 'count of some, whom you affect to have your
 'Creatures. For this Reason it was, that you
 'publish'd your Declaration against the Peace;
 'and the same Motive has rais'd in you a Disaf-
 'fection to all those who are Well-wishers to a
 'Treaty; as if they were in the Interest of
 'Spain. For my own part, I am so far from
 'espousing the Infanta's Title, that I cannot,
 'without great Disturbance of Thought, admit
 'the Supposition of her being receiv'd here.

Sir Will.
 Knolles
 appears in
 Court.

Whilst Knolles was expected, the Attorney
 charged Essex with having acted under a Dis-
 guise; for that, being himself a Protestant, he
 had promis'd Blunt a Toleration of the Romish
 Religion. This Essex deny'd, but own'd at the
 same time, that he knew Blunt to be a Papist,
 because he was educated under Allen, who was
 afterwards a Cardinal; and that he had heartily
 endeavour'd to make a Convert of him. He de-
 clar'd moreover, that he could never approve,
 that Christians should be persecuted for the
 Faith they profess'd.

Southampton did now a second time urge in his
 own Defence, the great Respect he had for Es-
 sex; together with his Ignorance of the Laws;
 and cast himself, with a great deal of Submission,
 upon the Queen's Mercy, whom he acknow-
 ledg'd to be a most superlative Pattern of Good-
 ness; and against whose Crown or Person he
 never had harbour'd one Thought amiss.

The assistant Judges being ask'd their Opinion
 concerning the Earl's repeated Protestations, that
 no Harm was design'd the Queen; were pleas'd
 to declare, That whoever attempted to make himself
 so powerful, that the Prince should not be in a condition
 to oppose him; he was guilty of Rebellion, that in the
 Sense of the Law, every Man is interpreted to be a Re-
 bel, who conspires against the King's Crown or Life;
 for a Rebel will never suffer a Prince to reign; lest he
 should afterwards call him to an Account for a Traitor.
 This they proved from the Imperial or Civil-
 Law, which makes any Attempt against the
 Prince to be Treason; And also from the Rea-
 son of the thing; because 'tis impossible, that he

that has presum'd to give Laws to his Prince,
 should ever submit to his Authority, or spare
 him his Life, in order to recover it. He pro-
 duced likewise several Instances from the Chro-
 nicles of England, as of Edward II. and Richard
 II. who being once betray'd into the Hands of
 their Subjects, were soon depos'd and murder'd.
 Sir John Levison, who stood by, did then give a
 full Account of the Scuffle, which I before men-
 tion'd to have happen'd near S. Paul's; after
 which, they proceeded to read the Confessions
 of the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Cromwel, and
 the Lord Sands.

The Earl of Essex began now to be more calm
 and moderate in his Answers; and said, That
 his Design was meerly to oppose violent Mea-
 sures by Force; and that he would not have
 made so unadvis'd an Entrance into the City,
 had he not foreseen that his Life was in Dan-
 ger. Then Mr. Attorney-General insist'd upon
 Lea's Plot, and some high Transactions; and
 charged him again with Ambition, Popery, and
 Atheism: All which he flatly deny'd, and said,
 he made no doubt, but to make so Christian an
 End, as would quickly clear him of all those
 Slanders. Bacon told him afterwards the Opini-
 ons of the Judges, and that they were both ad-
 judg'd to be guilty of Treason; and he prov'd
 them incapable of producing any Excuse for
 this Fact, because they refus'd to lay down their
 Arms, at the Lord-Keeper's Command, and
 when they had been publicly proclaim'd Trai-
 tors. Essex reply'd, that he saw no Herald, but
 an infamous sort of Fellow, whom he should ne-
 ver have took for such an Officer: That had he
 intended any thing more, than to defend him-
 self against his private Enemies, he would not
 have ventur'd abroad, with such an inconsidera-
 ble Handful of Men, and those without Arms;
 for they had no other or better, than their
 Swords, Bayonets, and Pistols. Bacon reply'd,
 that this was a piece of Policy in him, since he
 depended on the Assistance of the City, and ima-
 gin'd no less, than that they would provide them-
 selves and his Friends with Arms, upon his Ac-
 count: wherein he follow'd the Pattern of the
 Duke of Guise, who made his Entrance, not ve-
 ry long ago, with a very small Number, into
 the City of Paris; but gather'd such Numbers
 in his Progress, as to force the King himself out
 of the City. He concluded, that let the Herald
 be a Person of never so ill a Reputation, he was
 yet invest'd with the Queen's Authority. Soon
 after the two Earls were, by the Lord-Steward's
 Command, order'd to withdraw; and then the
 Lords quitted their Seats, and went aside to a
 Conference; and having held a Debate of about
 an Hour, they return'd to their Places, and by
 a general Vote found Essex and Southampton gui-
 ty of Treason. The Prisoners were then call'd
 again to the Bar, and the Clerk of the Crown
 acquainted them with the Sentence, according
 to Form; and ask'd them severally, if they had
 any thing to offer, why Judgment should not
 pass upon them: Essex requested the Peers to
 interpose with the Queen in favour of Southam-
 pton, who was capable of doing her Majesty
 good Service. As for his own Life, he profess'd,
 he did not value it: That all his Desire was, to lay
 down his Life with the sincere Conscience of a good
 Christian, and a loyal Subject; whatever he might ap-
 pear in the Sense of the Law: That he was loth how-
 ever to be represented to the Queen as a Person that
 despis'd her Clemency, though he should not, he believ'd,
 make any cringing Submissions for it. And you, Gen-
 tlemen, concluded he, I most heartily intreat, that
 though you have condemn'd me at this Tribunal, you
 would acquit me in your Opinions, as one that never
 had

1601.

Ann. 44.

Essex's
 Answers
 to several
 Objec-
 tions.

They are
 pronoun-
 ced guilty.

Essex's
 Speech
 hereupon.

1601. *Ann. 44.*
 And Southampton's. *had any ill Intentions against my Prince.* Southampton humbly implored the Queen's Mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him, and to urge on his behalf, what their Interest with her Majesty, and their own Consciences should dictate to them; again protesting, that he never harboured a Thought that was ill against the Queen. And this he did in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a Compassion in all who were there present.

The Lord-Steward did now make a very pathetic Speech, and advis'd Essex to implore the Queen's Mercy; after which he pronounced the Sentence of Death against them, in the usual Form, that they should be hang'd and quarter'd, &c. The Edge of the Ax, which was from them before, being now turn'd towards them, Essex said, *If her Majesty had pleas'd, this Body of mine might have done her better Service: However, I shall be glad, if it may prove serviceable to her any way.* He desired to have the Benefit of the holy Sacrament, before his Death; and that Mr. Ashton, a Clergyman, might assist him in his spiritual Concerns. He ask'd Pardon of the Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Chief-Justice of England, for detaining them in Custody; and of the Lord Morley, and the Lord La-Ware, for bringing their Sons into Danger, who were unacquainted with the whole matter. Then the Lord-Steward brake his Staff, and the Court broke up. I was present myself at these Proceedings, and have related them with all Fairness and Impartiality; and as succinctly as I could, without omitting any material Point, but what may have escap'd my Notice.

Several others try'd. The next day came on the Trials of Sir Robert Vernon, Sir William Constable, Sir Edmond Bainham, Knights, John Littleton, Henry Cuffe the Earl of Essex's Secretary, Captain Whitlock, the two Brothers John and Christopher Wright, and Orel an old Soldier. They had no sooner held up their Hands, according to Custom; but a Letter came from the Queen, who had been inform'd by Sir Fulke Grevil, that most of them had been drawn in at unawares; commanding, that Littleton, who was then sick and past Recovery, together with Orel, and Bainham, a Person of lewd Principles, and one that ridicul'd the Laws, should be brought upon their Trials, and the rest remanded to Prison. Bainham and Orel pleaded Ignorance, and that their Adherence to the two Earls, was purely out of Respect and Complaisance. Littleton, being clearly cast by Danvers's Evidence, could not deny but that he assisted at the Consultation: And when, among other Heads of his Indictment, he was charged with some ill Design, by reason of the great Number of Horses, and Quantity of Arms, he had then at his Inn: His Answer was, that he had an Estate able enough to keep a good Stock of Horses; and that he had always taken a particular Delight in Horses and Arms. When he receiv'd Sentence of Condemnation with the rest, he lifted up his Eyes, and only repeated these Words: *We praise thee, O God! We acknowledge thee to be the Lord!* Their Lives, however, were given them by the Queen. 'Tis said Bainham paid Raleigh for his Pardon. Littleton died soon after of his Disease; and Orel was kept in Prison for some time. Essex, in the mean while, was so disorder'd in his Thoughts, either from the Alarms of his Conscience, or the Impressions left upon him by the Minister; that he could think of nothing but Damnation, unless he discover'd the whole Scene, and confess'd who were his Accomplices. Hereupon he desired to speak with some of the chief of the Privy-Council, and with Cecil in particular. Accordingly

Their lives spared. The Queen was, in the mean time, unresolv'd how he should be disposed of. On the one side her former Esteem and Affection for him prompted her to some degree of Tenderness; and so she sent her Orders by Sir Edward Cary, to countermand his Execution: But then his Obstinacy on

1601. *Ann. 44.* the Lord-Keeper, the Lord-Admiral, the Lord-Treasurer, and Cecil, went to him; and after he had ask'd the Lord-Keeper's Pardon for detaining him in Custody, and Cecil's for accusing him in the matter of the Infanta; there was made on both sides a very fair and Christian Reconciliation. Then he told them, that the Queen could never be safe as long as he liv'd; and desired them, that he might suffer privately in the Tower. He very much blamed some of his Accomplices, as aiming at nothing less than the Ruin of their Country; and desir'd particularly to speak with Blunt and Cuffe. As soon as he saw them, he accosted Cuffe after this manner: *Essex. Be sure you ask Pardon of God and the Queen, and behave yourself so as to procure it. As for my own part, I have fix'd my Thoughts upon a better World, and have resolv'd to deal sincerely before God and Man: And I must tell you plainly, that this Instance of Disloyalty is purely owing to your Advice.*

Cuffe was surprized at this, and in few Words, but to the purpose, charged the Earl with Weakness and Levity in betraying his best Friends; and this was all that he said.

Essex impeach'd likewise, as privy to the Design, Sir Henry Nevil, a Person of Note, who was just going into France, in Quality of Ambassador, there to reside, in order to ratify the Treaty of Blois, and prevent any Outrages on either side: Whereupon he was countermanded, and order'd into the Custody of the Lord-Admiral. He discover'd several more in Scotland, France and the Low-Countries, and charged the Lord Montjoy, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, as accessory to the Design; besides several more in England. But there being such a Number of them, and Ireland proving very happy under Montjoy's Administration, the Queen was so prudent, to dissemble what she had heard as to this matter.

But still Essex thought a verbal Confession too little; and therefore being mov'd by the dismal Scene presented to his Conscience, by the Person whom he chose to guide it; he deliver'd the same in Writing under his own Hand, which his Enemies shewing to King James some time after, brought the Earl and his Friends into great Disesteem with that Prince.

On the 25th of February, (the day appointed for his Execution) Dr. Thomas Montford and Dr. William Barlow, together with Ashton the Minister of the Parish, were sent to him betimes in the Morning, to prepare him for Death: In the Presence of whom, he return'd hearty Thanks to Almighty God, for disappointing those Designs of his, which would have prov'd so pernicious to the Government. He told them he had now taken a View of his Crime in its full Dimensions, and was deeply concern'd, that he had endeavour'd to put so fair a Face upon a foul Cause, at his Trial: He acknowledg'd the Queen's Goodness in permitting him the Benefit of a private Execution, to keep his Thoughts from that Discomposure, which the Noise of a Crowd must needs have engaged them in; protesting withal, that he had learnt by a sad Experience, the dangerous Emptiness of popular Applauses. He own'd himself a corrupt Member, and fit to be lopt off from the Body of the Commonwealth; having attempted an Enterprize, which, like a publick Leprosy, had spread its Contagion far and near.

The Queen was, in the mean time, unresolv'd how he should be disposed of. On the one side her former Esteem and Affection for him prompted her to some degree of Tenderness; and so she sent her Orders by Sir Edward Cary, to countermand his Execution: But then his Obstinacy on

1601. on the other side, in refusing to ask her Pardon, and in declaring openly, that his Life could never consist with her Safety, did so far provoke her to use Rigour, that she presently after sent fresh Orders, by Darcy, that he should die.

Ann. 44. Accordingly he was conducted between the Divines, to a Scaffold set up in the Court-yard of the Tower of London; near to which sat the Earls of Cumberland and Hertford, Viscount Howard of Bindon, the Lord Howard of Walden, the Lord Darcy of Chiche, and the Lord Compton: There were likewise present some of the Aldermen of London, and several Knights and Gentlemen. Among these was Raleigh, with a Design, if he may be believ'd, to answer for himself, should Essex object any thing to him, at his death. But some did not stick to expound the Meaning of his Presence, in such a barbarous Sense, as if he came to feast his Eyes with the Tragedy of the Earl's Sufferings: But being advis'd not to press upon him at his Death, he retired farther off, and saw him executed out of the Armory.

As soon as the Earl came upon the Scaffold, he pull'd off his Hat, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, confess'd that he had in his younger Years been guilty of many and great Sins; for which he put up his most ardent Prayers for God Almighty's Pardon, through the Merits of Jesus Christ; and more particularly for this last Sin, which he branded with the Epithets of bloody, crying, and contagious; as having drawn so many Persons in to offend their God, their Prince, and their Country. He then ask'd Forgiveness of the Queen and her Ministers, and pray'd for her Majesty's long Life and Prosperity; protesting to the last, that he never intended the least Violence to her Person: He gave God Thanks, that he never had been popishly affected, nor atheistically inclined; but had ever fix'd his Hopes upon the sole Merits of his Redeemer: He then pray'd God to fortify his Spirit against the Terrors of the last Enemy, and begg'd of the Spectators to join with him in a short Ejaculation, which he utter'd with all the Signs of a serious and inward Devotion. After this the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveness, which he freely granted: Then having repeated the Apostle's Creed, he placed his Neck upon the Block, and having repeated the first Verses of the 51th Psalm, he said, *In all Submission and Obedience do I prostrate myself to receive the Punishment I have deserv'd; Have Mercy, O God, upon thy penitent Servant, for into thy Hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit.* Then was his Head taken off at the third Blow; but the first depriv'd him of all Sense and Motion.

This was the fatal, but withal pious and Christian End of Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, in the 34th Year of his Age; though the French Marshal Biron, and some other lewd Persons, did ridicule his Piety, as a way of dying fitter for a Gown-man, than a Soldier; as if a Christian might not startle at the Terrors of Hell, without forfeiting his Courage. However this speaks his Father's Precaution to have had something prophetic in it; he having warn'd his Son, upon his Death-bed, to take heed of the 36th Year of his Age; so that 'twas an Hint which appear'd to be inspir'd from above. But this we have taken Notice of under Ann. 1576.

His Character and Family. He was indeed a most accomplish'd Person, and had all those good Qualities in perfection, that become a Nobleman. His Family was not only great, but ancient; and borrow'd its Surname from Eureux, a City in Normandy. His Estate and Barony he ow'd to his Marriage with Cecily, the Daughter of William Bourchier, whose Grand-mother was Sister to Edward IV. King of England, and her Great-grand-mother Daughter

to Thomas of Woodstock, (Son of King Edward III.) by one of the Daughters of Humphrey Bobun Earl of Hereford and Essex. Hereupon the Title of Viscount Hereford was conferr'd upon his Great-grand-father Walter, by King Edward VI. and that of Earl of Essex upon his Father, by Queen Elizabeth. This Gentleman, Robert Earl of Essex, was bred up in his younger Years at Cambridge; where he devoted himself to the Study of Humanity and Religion, and being introduc'd to the Queen by his Father-in-law the Earl of Leicester, 'twas with some Difficulty he rais'd himself to the Condition of a Favourite, the Q. happening to have no great Respect for his Mother. But he had no sooner wrought himself into her Majesty's Esteem, by a Deportment that seem'd to deserve it; but she was pleas'd to forgive him a Debt, which his Father ow'd to the Exchequer, made him Knight of the Garter, and advanced him to the Honour of a Privy-Counsellor, when he was scarce 23 Years of Age. He was several times appointed General of her Majesty's Forces, though Fortune did not always smile upon him: (I do not pretend to fetch the Reason from Astrology, and place his ill Successes upon the malign Aspect of Mars, which happen'd to be in the Eleventh House, at his Nativity.) However it was, the Queen heap'd upon him fresh Honours and Favours every day, and had a particular Value for him, because he was a brave Soldier, and cut out for a Camp. As soon as he had got a secure and real Interest in the Favour of his Royal Mistress, he made it his business to outstrip all Persons, whether of his own or a superior Rank; and this was a Quarrel which the more politick Courtiers had to him; especially when he took upon him to disparage all whose Actions were not of his own Square, and to brow-beat those who had not the Advantage of the Royal Ear or Favour. Add to this, the Pains and Expence he was at to gain the Caresses of the Vulgar, which are always precarious and short-lived; and to recommend himself to the Army, which is equally fatal and hazardous. Nor was he excusable in his Deportment to the Queen herself, whom he treated with a sort of Insolence, that seem'd to proceed rather from a Mind that wanted Ballast, than any real Pride in him; tho' it look'd the more ungrateful, because acted when he had more than once been restored to the Queen's Favour, and receiv'd fresh Instances of her Bounty. However, this unhandsome Carriage, and a way which he had of skrewing (as it were) Favours from her, join'd with a Coldness and Disrespect towards her Person, and back'd by the sly Management of some that wish'd him not well, fail'd not by degrees to lessen, and at the long run to extinguish entirely the Queen's Affection for him.

Indeed he was a Person not rightly calculated for a Court, as being not easily brought to any mean Compliances. He was of a Temper that would readily kindle an Injury, but would not so easily forget one; and so far was he from being capable of dissembling a Resentment, that (as Cuffe used to complain to me) he car'd his Passions in his Forehead, and the Friend or the Enemy were easily read in his Face. He marry'd Frances the Daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Philip Sidney's Widow; a Match that the Q. did not approve, as being without her Consent, and, as she thought, beneath the Dignity of the Essex-Family. He had by her one Son, named Robert, and two Daughters, viz. Frances and Dorothy: He had likewise another Son, whose Name was Walter, by one Southwell, a Mistress of his.

On

1601. Ann. 44.

Education and Pre-terments.

Great Favour which the Q.

Disrespectful Carriage to her.

His Wife and Children.

On the 15th of March, Sir Christopher Blunt, 1601. Sir Charles Danvers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gilley Ann. 44. Merrick and Cuffe, took their Trials in Westminster-Hall, before the Lord-High-Admiral of England, the Lord Hunsdon Lord-Chamberlain, Secretary Cecil, Sir John Fortescue Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord-Chief-Justice of England, and some other Commissioners. They were impeached of the same Crimes with the Earl of Essex, viz. 'That they had plotted and contrived the Death of the Queen, by consulting to seize upon her Person, to raise a Rebellion in the City, &c.

Others
arraigned.

The three first propos'd this Question, *Whether they might not own the first part of the Indictment, and plead not Guilty to the other?* since they utterly denied any Plot or Conspiracy against the Person of the Queen. Merrick and Cuffe being taken from the Bar, the Judges declar'd, as they had done before, 'That whoever takes up Arms with an intention to over-rule his Prince, or abridge the Royal Prerogative, he is guilty of a Plot upon the King's Crown and Life, and ought so to be adjudged.

This they made out by some Precedents of People in the Country, who within the Memory of some lately alive, were condemn'd for a Rising in Oxfordshire and Kent. The Kentish-men rose in Arms to have an Augmentation of their Day-wages and Salary, and the other to get the Ditches and Fences remov'd from Pastures and inclosed Grounds. To this purpose several other Proofs were produc'd, shewing very plainly, that whoever went so far as to contrive the securing of his Prince's Person, would on consequence make as bold with his Life; because Insolence is inseparable from Conquest, and the Rage of the Multitude knows not how to pity or distinguish, especially when their own Safety is at stake.

Sir Christopher
Blunt
tried,

Blunt was tax'd from his own Confession, and that of the Earl of Essex, who had impeach'd him as a principal Abettor of the late Treason. As soon as he heard his Confession read, and saw it sign'd by Essex's own Hand, he seem'd very much startl'd at it, and desir'd to be allow'd the liberty of a Conference upon that matter with the Lord-Admiral and Cecil in another Place: He then fetch'd a deep Sigh, and with his Eyes lifted up, us'd this Expression; *Thou, O GOD! knowest from what Designs I endeavour'd to dissuade the Earl.* After this was read Thomas Lea's Confession, a Person I have mention'd before: He acknowledg'd that by Blunt's leave, who was General in the Wars of Ireland, he had sent to Tir-Oen, and was inform'd by the Messenger, that Tir-Oen should say, *That if the Earl of Essex would be rul'd by him, he would make him the greatest Man in England.*

'Twas urg'd moreover, that Lea had said, That he knew that Essex, Tir-Oen and Blunt, were all engag'd in one Aim and Design, nor could Blunt himself deny, but that he had, by Essex's Orders, given leave to Lea both to send and go in Person to Tir-Oen. There were likewise read several Papers, which were sent out of Ireland, tending to prove the Correspondence between Essex and Tir-Oen.

Danvers's
Trial.

Then Flemming, the Queen's Solicitor, applied himself to Danvers, and acquainted him, that 'twas the Sense of the Law, 'That if a Man shall join himself as an Associate with treasonable Persons, he is guilty of High-Treason, admitting he know nothing of any design to take up Arms against his Prince; And that Danvers could not therefore, upon any account, appear Innocent, when he had been convicted by his own and other Mens Confessions, as

having been once himself of the treasonable Cabal.

To this he answer'd no more, than that the Respect he had for the Earl of Southampton had in this Affair overborn any regard to his own Life and Estate: For, it seems, Danvers having been obliged to fly for killing a Man, Southampton first conceal'd and then convey'd him into France, where he behaved himself commendably in the Field, till the Queen was pleas'd, after a great deal of Importunity, to grant him his Pardon.

Davis being condemn'd in his own Conscience, and cast by his own Confession, had not a single Word to say: And being charged with being Popishly affected, he could not deny but that his Tutor at Oxford had ground'd him in the Principles of Popery, and that Blunt had confirm'd him in the same whilst he was a Soldier in Ireland. At which perceiving that Blunt was a little mov'd, he soon satisfied him, by saying, that he was induced to approve of that Persuasion, not so much upon the force of Blunt's Arguments, as the Lustre and Integrity of his Life and Conversation.

Then were Cuffe and Sir Gilley Merrick brought to the Bar; and Cuffe was confronted with the Confessions of Danvers, the Earl of Essex and Sir Henry Nevil. Danvers acknowledg'd that Cuffe had attended upon all the several Meetings, and had always advis'd to attack the Court. The Earl himself had declared before the Council, and given it under his Hand, that he had been the main Instrument that put him upon these disloyal Measures: And Sir Henry Nevil ingenuously confess'd, (unless my Memory fails me, for I was then present and heard his Confession read) That Cuffe told him at his return out of France, that he must expect to be blam'd for the miscarriage of the Treaty of Bologne; that he made him several Visits afterwards, and perswaded him to come and pay the Earl one, which he did once afterwards: That after all this, when he was just ready to return to France, he desir'd him to go to Drury-House, and hear what Measures they were going upon; protesting withal, that nothing was to be there debated on, but what was for the Earl's Advantage and the publick Good, and which he might hear safely, without calling his Loyalty into question: That he requested him, in the last place, to be with the Earl when he seiz'd on the Court, and so discover'd to him the whole Design; which when Nevil disapprov'd of, as a very dangerous, leud and difficult Undertaking, and withal said pleasantly, *'Twas one of those Experiments which had never any Commendation till it was over.* Cuffe did all he could to extenuate the Hazard and Difficulty of it; assur'd him, that the Earl had the City of London and several of the Aldermen at his beck, and then applied that of Lucan to the Occasion:

— — — *Arma Tenenti*
Omnia dat, qui justa negat.

'He that the juster claim of Power denies,
'Gives all that such an injur'd Power can seize.

Nor indeed was Cuffe able to deny one Syllable of all this.

Hereupon the Attorney-General began to argue with him in a Logical method, and Cuffe manag'd himself so well in Mood and Figure, that Cecil could not forbear calling him a very subtle Sophister. But Anderson, the Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, being unable to keep his Temper, and telling them that they were both but indifferent Disputants, press'd him close with the

1601. *Ann. 44.* the Statute of Treason made in the Reign of Edward III. To be brief, *Cuffe's* Defence was chiefly made up of these two Pleas: 'That whereas he was impeach'd of Treason for being present in *Essex* House on the Day of the Insurrection, by the same Logick might a Lion within a Grate undergo that Charge. That he had indeed lamented that whole Day the miserable Case of the Earl, which was all that he was concern'd in: That he used all the Persuasions he could with him to implore the Queen's Mercy. And then for the Consultation in *Drury*-House, 'twas with no better Priority to be stil'd Treason, than an Embryo to be call'd a perfect Birth, forasmuch as it never took effect.

In answer to this the Council pleaded; 'That he had no occasion at all to stay in *Essex*-House, and that every one had their Office assigned them; some were to Defend the House, (and himself was one of that Number) Others were to secure the City, and both Parties were to join in a mutual Assistance of one another. That in the point of Treason, there were no Accessories, but every one was adjudg'd a Principal, and all guilty alike: That the Conference in *Drury*-House was a formal Treason of itself, because they consulted about taking off the Queen, and afterwards proceeded to put that Debate in execution. In the last place, the Judges deliver'd it as the Sense of the Law, That if several Persons conspire against the Life of their Prince, and execute their Designs in different ways, yet is it adjudg'd to be one and the same Crime in all respectively, because they were all engag'd in one and the same mischievous Design.

These Answers of the Judges, together with the Confessions of *Essex*, *Nevil* and *Danvers*, did fully invalidate whatever *Cuffe* could say for himself.

Merrick's *Merrick* was indicted in the next place, 'For having invited by certain Letters his Brother *Salisbury*, *Groine*, and several other resolute Persons, to his Party; and for undertaking the defence of *Essex*-House; for fortifying and holding it out against the Queen's Forces; for having procur'd the outdated Tragedy of the Deposition of *Richard* II. to be publicly acted at his own Charge, for the Entertainment of the Conspirators.

This the Lawyers constru'd as done by him with a design to intimate, that they were now giving the Representation of a Scene upon the Stage which was the next Day to be acted in reality upon the Person of the Queen. And the same Judgment they pass'd upon a Book which had been written some time before by one *Hayward*, a Man of Sense and Learning, and dedicated to the Earl of *Essex*, viz. 'That 'twas penn'd on purpose as a Copy and an Encouragement for deposing the Queen. A dear Performance it prov'd to the Author, for the unseasonable Publication cost him a long Imprisonment, particularly one Expression in the Preface relating to the Earl; That he was a Person of the most promising Hopes, and seem'd reserv'd for very great Things.

Merrick heard the whole Charge with a composed Bravery, and said no more but this; That the Earl of *Essex* had been the occasion both of his Rise and his Ruin.

Requests of Blunt, Danvers & Davis after Condemnation They were every one of them found guilty of High-Treason by a Jury of 12 Men; and after Sentence of Death was pronounc'd, *Blunt* and *Danvers* requested, that they might be Beheaded; (a Privilege allow'd to Noblemen) and indeed they were both honourably Descended: *Danvers's*

Mother being the Daughter and one of the Heiresses of *Nevil* Lord *Latimer* by the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Worcester*, his Grandmother was the Lord *Mordant's* Daughter, and his Great-Grandmother of the Family of the *Courtneys*. The other was a Branch of the *Blunts* Family of *Kidderminster*, who were of the same House and Line with the Lords *Montjoy*. *Davis* desir'd to suffer the same way, tho' he was of a Quality inferior to them; if not, that he might not be Quarter'd, but be allow'd Christian Burial.

1601. *Ann. 44.* On the 13th of March were *Merrick* and *Cuffe* drawn to *Tyburn*, and the Substance of *Cuffe's* Speech at the Gallows was as follows: 'I am brought hither to pay my last Debt to Nature, and to suffer for Crimes committed against God, my Prince, and my Country; and as I cannot but discern the infinite Justice of God, when I reflect on the multitude of my Offences, so can I as little doubt but the Severity of my Punishment will make way for my admission into the Embraces of his Mercy. We are expos'd here as sad Spectacles and Instances of humane Frailty; the Death we are to undergo carries a frightful Aspect, (for even the best of Men desire Life) besides that 'tis as full of Ignominy as Terror: However 'tis the Portion of the best of Saints, with whom I assuredly hope to rise again in Christ: Not that I would be thought by any one to depend on my own Merits, which I absolutely discard; but I place my entire Trust and Dependence in the Attonement of my Saviour's Blood. I am fully persuaded, that whoever feels a secret Consolation within himself, whilst he groans under the Infliction of any earthly Punishment, is chastis'd by God with a paternal Tenderness, and not in an angry and judicial way. But to come to the cause of my Death: There is no body here can possibly be ignorant what a wild Commotion was rais'd on the 8th of February, by a particular great, but unadvised Earl: I do here call God, his Angels and my own Conscience to witness, that I was not in the least concern'd therein, but was shut up on that whole Day within the House, where I spent the time in very melancholy Reflexions. Here he was interrupted, and advis'd not to disguise the Truth by distinctions, nor palliate his Crime by specious Pretences. Then he proceeded in these Words: 'I confess 'tis a Crime as black as Treason, for a Subject, who has lost his Prince's Favour, to force his way to the Royal Presence. For my own part, I never persuaded any Man to take up Arms against the Queen, but am most heartily concern'd for being an Instrument of bringing that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Henry Nevil*, into danger, and do most earnestly intreat his Pardon. And whereas I said, that One and twenty Aldermen out of the Twenty four were devoted to the Earl's Interest; I only meant, that they were his Friends, and ready to serve him, but not in the way of open Rebellion. Here he was again interrupted, and so began to apply himself to his Devotions, which he manag'd with a great deal of fervour; and then making a solemn Profession of his Creed, and asking pardon of God and the Queen, he was dispatch'd by the Executioner. He was a Person of admirable Learning and equal Wit, but of an unquiet and turbulent Spirit.

After him, Sir *Gilley Merrick* suffer'd in the same way, and with a most undaunted Resolution; for, as if he were weary of living longer, he once or twice interrupted *Cuffe*, and advis'd him to spare a Discourse, which however Rational, was not over seasonable, when he was taking

Cuffe's Speech at his Execution.

Merrick executed.

1601. *Montjoy* from having any acquaintance with the Design, and intreated those Noblemen that stood by to interceed with the Queen, that there might not be any farther Proceedings against such as had unwarily espous'd this unhappy Cause.

Two Days after, Sir *Christopher Blunt* and Sir *Charles Danvers* were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. *Danvers*, notwithstanding he had offer'd 10000 l. for his Life, tho' under perpetual Confinement, yet bore his Death with a most Christian Clearness and Composure; having first crav'd God's Pardon and the Queen's, to whom he wish'd all Prosperity, as also the Lord *Grey's*, who was there present, to whom he acknowledg'd he had been ill affected, not from any Injury he had suffer'd from him, but purely on the E. of *Southampton's* account, to whom the L. *Grey* profess'd an absolute Enmity.

As soon as *Blunt* was upon the Scaffold, he spake to the People to this effect: 'Tho' it may appear more proper to employ the present Juncture in craving forgiveness of God for my Sins, than upon things forein to that; yet since I am accus'd for having persuaded the Earl of *Essex* to this great Crime, I will declare the Truth, as I hope for the Salvation of my Soul. 'Tis above three Years since I observ'd the Earl's Mind to be ruffled with Discontents, and many Motions of Ambition. In *Ireland*, whilst I was ill of my Wounds at the Castle of *Rheban*, as likewise at *Dublin* afterwards, he told me, That he resolv'd to send over his best Troops out of *Ireland* to *Millford-Haven* in *South-Wales*, to gain them entirely to his Interest; and when he had gather'd more Forces, to march up to *London*. I consider'd well of the matter, and endeavour'd to dissuade him from it, as a desperate Design, and one that would occasion the effusion of a great deal of Blood. I cannot deny but I advis'd him to get the Court into his Power, and so to make the most reasonable Conditions for himself: And tho' 'tis very true, that in all our Debates we fully intended not to touch her Majesty's Person; yet had the business succeeded, I cannot say but it might have cost her Majesty her Life. After the Earl was absolutely discharg'd, he treated with me upon the same Subject at *Essex-House*, but fixt upon nothing. After which he sent for me out of the Country, not many Days before this treasonous Enterprize was acted. As for other things, I have already made a particular Confession of them before the Right Honourable the Lord-Admiral, and the most worthy Secretary, to whom, I request you, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to present my Respects, and I likewise ask Forgiveness of you all. Then he lookt up to Heaven, and beg'd of God, to preserve and defend the Q. And thou, O GOD, continu'd he, forgive my evil Intentions and profligate Life. I desire you all to bear me witness that I die a Catholic, but such an one as relies solely and fully on the Merits of Christ's Death and Sufferings; and I also desire your Prayers for me. Then he took leave of the Lord *Grey* and the Lord *Compton*, who were present; and having said a short Prayer to himself, he submitted his Neck to the Ax, with a Resolution worthy of him.

Thus was the Rebellion crush'd, the Tranquillity of the Government secur'd, and the rest of the Conspirators reduc'd by the Execution of the Earl of *Essex*, *Cusse*, *Merrick*, *Danvers* and *Blunt*. Those that had the best Purfes were fined, but very few paid their Fines: The rest had their Lives spared, and enjoyed the benefit of a free

and gracious Indemnity: *Southampton*, and *Smith* the Sheriff of *London*, were kept Prisoners in the *Tower*: But *Smith* having been falsely accused, and put to a great deal of Trouble upon the Informations of some few, and *Essex's* Credulity, was either by the Queen's Goodness, or on the score of his own Innocence, permitted to be bail'd out of Prison.

On the 8th of *July* was Sir *Henry Nevil* brought before some of the Queen's Judges and the Privy-Council at *Tork-House*, and charged, with having attended upon the Consultation in *Drury-House*: That he had not discover'd the Designs which were in agitation; and that he had communicated to *Essex* the private Transactions relating to his Embassy in *France*. He confess'd, That at the Earl's request he had given him a Journal of what had pass'd during his Administration: That he was present only at one Meeting: That he had always laugh'd at their Projects as so many Chimera's, and consider'd them as the Dreams of a crazy Brain: That he was afraid to reveal any thing that *Essex* and Persons of his Figure were concern'd in, for he hated the Character of an Informer, and was in great hopes they would change these wild and indiscreet Measures, for better and more sober Resolutions, since as yet nothing had been determin'd or fix'd on; or else, that he might take a fairer Opportunity, and less suspected, for disclosing their Purposes, after he had got again into *France*. However, he was by the common Vote of them all order'd to the *Tower*, and briskly Reprimanded, as one that deserv'd the Severity of the Law.

There was a Verdict likewise about this time pass'd in the *Star-Chamber*, which having a relation to the present Cause, ought not therefore to be omitted in this place. I took notice before of the Earl's having complain'd that some Letters of his had been counterfeited. There was an Inquiry made into this Business, and it produc'd a very remarkable Discovery. The Countess of *Essex* apprehending that in Times so troublesome, neither her Husband nor herself were free from Danger, concealed some particular Letters which she had received from him, in a certain Cabinet, which she committed to the care of one Mrs. *Ribove*, a Dutchwoman: She hid them somewhere in her House; but by chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, found and read them over; and observing there was something in them which might affect the Earl's Safety and provoke the Queen, he got them transcribed by one who was very dexterous in the Imitation of Hands and Characters: And just upon the Countess's Lying in, he told her, That he would most certainly deliver them into the Hands of the Earl's Adversaries, unless she would immediately give him 3000 l. The Countess, to avoid the Hazard, paid him down directly the Sum of 1170 l. which as large as it was, procur'd her only the bare Copies; the Impostor, it seems, having a design to put off the Originals at a round Rate to the Earl's Adversaries. He was for this Cheat condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, fined 3000 l. whereof 2000 was adjudg'd to the Countess, and to have his Ears nail'd to the Pillory, with this Inscription, *A most notorious Impostor*.

Not long before this, the *Scotch* Ambassadors, the Earls of *Marr* and *Kinloss* (whom I observed before to have come something of the latest) were introduced to the Queen, and after a Compliment of Congratulation, upon the happy prevention of the Effects of this Rebellion, they had some Discourse with her Majesty upon the Business of *Valentine Thomas's* escaping condign Punishment, and the Fraud that was practis'd in carrying

1601. carrying off two Englishmen, William Evers and Ashfield from Scotland. They likewise demanded the Assignment of a certain portion of Land in England for the King's use. The answer given them was; 'That their Gratulatory Address was very acceptable, and that the Queen wished the Scotch might never transcribe so bad a Copy; or if such a Commotion should happen, that one Day might put an end to it, as it had done to this: That Valentine Thomas was pardoned on purpose to prevent the opening of a closed Wound, forasmuch as a Slander, be it never so false and ill-grounded, finds Credit and Countenance easily enough with bad Men: That Evers had render'd himself suspected of ill Designs, by his flat Denials and false Protestations: That Ashfield was a Man of seditious Principles, and had trick'd the Warden of the March, and got a Licence to travel into Scotland; and that the Warden had paid him in his own coin, and fetch'd him back again: That to harbour the seditious Subjects of another Prince, was the same thing with raising Troubles and Commotions at home. As to the Assignment of such a portion of Land, the Queen said, she had given a sufficient answer before; however she condescended to advance a yearly Augmentation of 2000 *l.* as long as the King maintained a firm Alliance with her, and did not listen to the Suggestions of such as valued their own peculiar above the publick Concernment.

Privateers built in England. The Spanish Gallies lying at *Scuis*, did at this time infest the Coast of *Kent*, but more especially the *Holland* and *Zealand*-Ports; infomuch that the Queen built several Privateers, and mann'd them with Persons freed from the several Jails; and the *Londoners* contributed very liberally to the Design, tho', as it happen'd, to little purpose. However, to free themselves from any apprehensions on the score of these Gallies, the *Confederate-Provinces* were so careful as to send an Army once more into *Flanders*, to seize the Sconces about *Ostend*, and so ravage the Country round about with the more freedom; besides that they would by that means secure Contributions from those Parts, get the Sea-Port Towns of *Flanders* under their power, and prevent the Enemies Gallies from receiving any Harbour or Protection thereabouts: And the better to conceal their Design, and divert the Enemy, they thought convenient to send *Grave Maurice* at the same time into *Gelderland* to besiege *Rhynberck*. They acquainted the Queen herewith by *Sir Fran. Vere*, and desired her to permit 4000 Men to be raised in *England*, and transported at their charge; to which the Queen gave her consent. But before *Vere* was returned out of *England*, *Maurice* was marched towards *Berck*, and the Archduke *Albert* had besieged *Ostend*; infomuch that the States were now obliged to go upon new Measures, and endeavour rather to preserve *Ostend* than to take any of the Spanish Forts: In order to which they conferr'd on *Vere* the Title of *General of all the Forces within and without Ostend*; and gave him an absolute Authority and Commission. From *Berck* they sent for twenty Companies of English; but *Grave Maurice* having already began the Siege, and expecting the Enemy would attack him, sent but eight Companies, under the Command of *Sir Horace Vere*, and that with some reluctance. *Sir Francis Vere*, relying on their Promise, that the rest should follow soon after, and that he should have a sufficient recruit of Provisions, arriv'd in *July* at *Ostend* by Night, over against the old Town, in a place that lay much exposed to the Enemies Shot, they having just before his coming, block'd up the Haven: And 'twas not long after that *Sir Edward Cecil*,

as young a Soldier as he was, ventur'd upon a bold Exploit, and reliev'd the Belieged with Men, Victuals and Ammunition.

Ostend, which was within a very late Remembrance no better than a poor Fishing-Town, was at the beginning of the Troubles in the Low-Countries, first Pallisado'd, and then Strengthened with a Garison, and Fortified with many Works, as affording a very commodious Haven: By which means *Sir John Conway*, and after him *Sir John Norris*, did so annoy *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* was forced to lay Siege to it, tho' to little purpose. *La Motte* attempted it by Stratagem, but was beaten off with considerable loss, and the Archduke *Albert* surrounded it with 17 Sconces; but the Garisons to be maintain'd in these proving no less burdeasom to *Flanders* than the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient for the Spanish Gallies, and likely to spoil the Navigation of the *Zelanders* and *English*, the Spaniards resolv'd to get it into their Hands at any rate; and the States were as resolutely bent to defend and preserve it; and to say truth, this Age cannot afford an Instance of a Siege so bravely carried on and so stoutly opposed; there was never more Men kill'd on the like occasion, nor any Service that continu'd so long: But I shall not stand to give you a second Journal of the Siege, which is to be had in print; it shall suffice to glance a little on the following Particulars.

Sir Francis Vere, finding his Forces considerably diminish'd by frequent Sallies from the Town, when it had now been besieged for five Months, besides the Damage done by the Enemies Shot, and the Sickness which rag'd in the Place, and the Sea having at the same time swallow'd up one part of the old Town, their Provision likewise growing short, and the Winds proving so contrary as to give them no hope of any Supplies which had often been demanded; and he being moreover inform'd, that the Enemy design'd to make a general Assault upon the Town, desired to capitulate with the Archduke about Conditions for a Surrender; and Hostages being exchanged on both Sides, Commissioners were sent to manage this Affair. But General *Vere* had no other intention but to spin out the time, and feed them with the hopes of a Surrender, till some fresh Recruits were sent in to him; so that he dismiss'd the Commissioners with baffled Expectations, and excus'd himself by that military Axiom; *That to impose upon an Enemy, has a mixture in it of Pleasure and Convenience, as well as Equity.* He us'd likewise a sharp piece of Raillery with them, and said, *He hoped they would excuse him if he should find himself obliged to play the same Game a second time; since he could not in Honour act otherwise, when he had received the Supplies he wanted, and all other Necessaries.* The Archduke was touch'd to the Quick at this Procedure, and tax'd *Vere* as a Person that was like to gain a Conquest by Craft sooner than Courage; and fourteen Days after, he play'd 18 great Pieces of Cannon upon the Counterescarp for the whole Day; in the Evening he forced 2000 old Soldiers to make an Assault upon the old Town at Low-water, and sent some Troops of Horse after them to press them forward: But General *Vere*, who appear'd with his Brother *Sir Horace* in places of greatest Danger, with a select Party, bravely beat them off three several times. Those that were to make the Attack upon the East-side of the Town, came something too late, but retir'd seasonably upon the coming in of the Tide, though not without some Damage. They who were appointed to attack the Fort *Helmont*, and another call'd the *Hedge-Hog*, with the English

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For-

1601.

Ann. 44.

Ostend describ'd.

Spaniards attempt it several ways.

Briskly assaulted.

1601. Fortification, made a shift to gain them with little Trouble, the Soldiers being call'd off to the Defence of other Places; but they were soon oblig'd to quit them again: Two thousand were dispatch'd to an Avenue on the West, call'd the *Gullez*, and made themselves Masters of an Half-Moon which was abandon'd; but they were soon dislodg'd from thence, and several of them perish'd, whilst to avoid drowning, they fled away in confusion: There were planted on the West-Gate nine Pieces of Cannon, which continually discharged such terrible Showers of Chain-shot and pieces of Iron, with other destructive Materials, on those who storm'd the Western Bulwark and the Sand-Hill, that they fell in great Numbers; and the Tide happening to flow in upon them in the midst of the Assault, they were struck with such a Consternation, that they threw away their Arms, Ladders and Draw-Bridges, and left themselves to the Fury of the Waves, and the Sword of the Enemies, who were ready to Sally out upon them. The Archduke was not so far discouraged by this terrible Slaughter of his Men, but he still continued the Siege, tho' with poor hopes of gaining the Town, since he was neither capable of cutting off Supplies from it, nor of springing any Mines, by reason there were so many Works and Rampires round the Town. But *Vere*, having now repaired those Parts which were batter'd and damag'd, was call'd away by the States, who thought good to change the Governor, and sent fresh Recruits every five Months; and so he was succeeded by *Frederick Dorp*: And both he, and those who came after him defended the Town for three Years and about an hundred Days, against all that the Enemy, or rather the Sea, could do, to oppose them. It had been happy for the Soldiers if the Sea had broke in and swallow'd it up; for this Place prov'd the common Grave (tho' indeed a most glorious Monument at the same time) to the best Soldiers in the *Low-Countries*, *Spain*, *France*, *England*, *Scotland* and *Italy*, whilst they fought all the while for a meer barren and fruitless Plot of Ground. But this Account is more proper for the History of the *Netherlands*. However it will not misbecome our *English Annals* to insert the Names of such as died at or else bravely maintain'd this long Siege, and by that means recommended their Names to Posterity: Among the last we are obliged to take particular notice of the two *Veres*, *Sir Edward Cecil* and *Sir John Ogle*; and among the former, the most considerable Persons were *Sir Charles Fairfax* Kt. Colonel *Lawrence*, *Dutton*, and *Drake*, Serjeant-Major *Carpenter*, *Holcroft*, *Jeffery Dutton*, *Grevil*, *Wilford*, *Humphreys*, *Drake*, *Broughton*, *Herbert*, *Frost*, *Maddison*, *Gerard*, *Butler*, *Rogers*, *Dennis* and *Conigrave*, all Captains. Nor ought we to omit the mention of *John Carew* of *Antony*, a young Cornish Gentleman, who having his Arm shot off in a Sally, and carried a great distance from him, took it up as if he felt no Pain; and whilst his Fellows were bemoaning the Disaster, brought it in his other Hand into the Town, and shew'd it to the Surgeon, with this Expression; *Look, here is the Hand which but to day at Dinner-time serv'd the Occasions of my whole Body*.

French K. comes to Calais. This Siege brought the French King to *Calais*, from whence is the shortest Passage to *England*, in order to secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom; which the Queen no sooner heard of, but she sent *Sir Thomas Edmunds* to pay him a Visit of Congratulation. He, in return of her Complaisance, sent Marshal *Biron* with *D'Arverne*, *D'Aumont*, and several other Noblemen, into *England*. The Queen happening at that time to take the Country-Air at *Basing*, welcom'd them into the

Kingdom, and gave them so favourable and gracious a Reception, that they went as high as possible in the Commendations both of her Eloquence and Generosity.

But forasmuch as certain French Writers have mention'd, that the Queen shewed to *Biron* and the other Gentlemen the Earl of *Essex's* Skull in her Closet; or, as others affirm, fix'd upon a Pole, it must needs be a Story as ridiculous as false, since that was interr'd with his Body. 'Tis certain indeed, that in some Discourses with the Marshal, she tax'd *Essex* as highly Ungrateful, and no less Obstinate and Indiscreet, for not asking her Pardon: And she took occasion from thence to express her Desires, that the French King would rather use in time such a sort of Rigour mixt with Mercy, than such a Clemency as might prove fatal to his Government, whenever he had occasion to demand the Lives of Traitors, who fought for nothing but publick Change and Disorder.

And this Advice might have aw'd *Biron* out of those desperate Designs he was at this very time forming against his Prince, had he not been under the power of a strong Infatuation: But he was so blinded by the Fate which pursu'd him, that in a very few Months he suffer'd the same Punishment that *Essex* had done before him.

The Queen, upon her return from her Progress, held a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein, among other things, several good Laws were made for the Relief of the Poor, and of maim'd and disabled Soldiers and Seamen; against fraudulent Guardians and Trustees, the Cheats and Impositions of Clothiers, and the Robberies and Outrages committed upon the Borders of the Kingdom towards *Scotland*. But whereas great Complaints were made in the Lower-House, relating to the Engrossing-Practice, (for it seems there were some who under the colour of publick Good, but in reality to the great Damage of the Kingdom, had got the Queen's Letters-Patents, for the sole Privilege and Liberty of vending some particular sorts of Wares) the Queen therefore, to forestall them, publish'd a Proclamation, declaring those Grants to be null and void, and also left them to be tried at common Law: A Method which was so acceptable to the Lower-House, that eighty of that Body were appointed to wait upon her Majesty with their humble Thanks, which the Speaker was to present in the Name of them all. She receiv'd them very graciously, and gave her Answer in the following Speech.

Gentlemen,

I owe you my best Thanks and Acknowledgments for your Respects towards me, not only for your good Inclination, but those clear and publick Expressions thereof, which have discovered themselves in retrieving me from a Mistake into which I have been betray'd, not so much by the fault of my Will, as the error of my Judgment. This had unavoidably drawn a Blemish upon me, (who account the Safety of my People my chief Happiness) had you not made me acquainted with the Practices of these leud Harpies and Horse-leeches. I would sooner lose my Heart or Hand, than that either should consent to allow such Privileges to Engrossers, as may turn to the Detriment of my People. I am not so blinded with the Lustre of a Crown, as to let the Scale of Justice be weigh'd down by that of an Arbitrary Power. The gay Title of Prince may deceive such as know nothing of the Secret of Governing, as a gilded Pill may impose upon the Patient: But I am not one of those unwary Princes; for I am very sensible that I ought to govern for the publick Good, and not to regard my own Particular; and that I stand accountable to another and greater Tribunal: I account

1601. account myself very happy, that by God's assistance I have hitherto enjoy'd so prosperous a Government in all respects; and that he has blest me with such Subjects, for whom I could be contented to lay down my Crown and Life: I must intreat you, that let others be guilty of what Faults or Misdemeanors soever; they may not thro' any Misrepresentation be laid at my door. I hope the evidence of a good Conscience will in all respects bear me out. You cannot be ignorant that the Servants of Princes have too often an eye to their own Advantage; that their Faults are often concealed from their Notice, and that they cannot, if they would, inspect all things, when the Weight and Business of a whole Kingdom lies on their Shoulders.

The death of the Earl of Pembroke. About the beginning of this Year died Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the Son of William, who was created Knight of the Garter, An. 1574, and made President of the Council in the Marches of Wales upon the death of his Father-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney: By whose Daughter, Mary by name, a Lady much addicted to Poetry and other pleasant Studies, he had William, the present Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded to his Father's Title; Philip now Earl of Montgomery, and Ann, who died whilst she was very young.

L. Norris. About the same time departed likewise Henry Lord Norris of Ricot, who was by K. Henry VIII. restor'd to his Estate, after his Father was put to Death, with some strict Conditions relating to the Estate of his Grandmother, who was one of the Heirs of Viscount Lovel; but he was more firmly settled in it by Queen Elizabeth, who was pleas'd to make him a Baron upon his discharge of an Embassy into France, with great Commendations for his good Managery. He had by Mary, his Wife, one of the Heiresses of John Lord Williams of Tame, (who in Henry VIII.'s Reign was Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, and a Privy-Counsellor to Queen Mary, and very much in her Favour) a Race of Children that prov'd Men of extraordinary Spirit and Courage, viz. William, his eldest Son, Marshal of Berwick, who died in Ireland, and left behind him his Son Francis, who enjoy'd the Title of his Grandfather: John, whom I have frequently mention'd; Thomas President of Munster, and for some time Lord-Justice of Ireland, who died of a slight Wound for want of due care: Henry, who died about the same time by the very same Disaster; and Edward, the Governor of Ostend, who was the only Son that surviv'd his Parents.

L. Willoughby. Within a few days after him died Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Governor of Berwick, who had pass'd through all the Offices of a Commander both in the Low-Countries and France with great Commendations: Robert, his Son by the Lady Mary, Sister to Edward Earl of Oxford, succeeded him both in Honour and Estate.

Consultation about the Irish Coin. 'Tis now convenient to turn our Prospect towards the Affairs of Ireland. About this time there was issued out a Proclamation pursuant to an Act made in Henry VII.'s Reign, forbidding the carrying any English Money into Ireland, because the Rebels secured a great part of what went over to buy up Arms and Ammunition; or else the Merchants transported it from thence into foreign Parts, to the great Detriment of England; 'twas therefore taken into Consideration, the altering the Irish Coin, by mixing with it some alloy of Brass, forasmuch as the War there drain'd this Kingdom of an annual Sum of 160000 l. Sterling. By this means some were of opinion, 'That the Expences of the War might be lessen'd: That all the good Money might be drawn out of Ireland into England by Bills of Exchange, and on consequence the Rebels lose their Trade with Foreigners, when the good Money fail'd, which must needs weaken them

very much. Others maintain'd on the contrary, That this Alteration of the Coin would turn to the Queen's Dishonour, and the Detriment of the Kingdom: That the good Money could not be drawn out of Ireland without a vast Expence to the Queen: That should there be a new Coin in England, the Profit arising thereby would not balance the Charge of bringing the old Money over; and the Profit would be less, were it coin'd in Ireland, where they must be forced to set up a Mint at vast Charges, and hire Workmen at excessive Rates: Nor would this in the least prevent the Rebels Correspondence with Foreigners, as long as there was any Silver in new Coin, and the Merchant knew the way to separate it, since 'tis much the same to him whether he receives one piece of Coin or three of the same Value; and that it was to be feared the Soldiers would Mutiny upon this account, forasmuch as their Pay would be considerably lessen'd.

But Buckhurst, the Lord-Treasurer, a Person well vers'd in Affairs of this kind, got the Queen's leave, upon pleading a Necessity, which generally governs the present Occasion, for altering the Money for a certain time, and then reducing it to its old Standard. The Queen herself was averse to this Motion, saying often, That it would reflect upon herself, and disoblige her Army. However the Soldiers continued Quiet and in good Order, an Happiness peculiar to the Queen, who had a way of Commanding by a Power mixt with great Love and Tenderness for her People. But without doubt it prov'd a very great Prejudice to the Army; and whether it turn'd to her Majesty's Advantage or not, I cannot tell. However it could not but fetch in a vast Gain to the Pay-masters and Officers of the Treasury; and perhaps it ow'd its Contrivance to the Avarice of that sort of Men, which is usually very Ingenious where any thing is to be got.

As soon as the Lord-Deputy was inform'd of this Resolution, he got his Forces together early in the Spring, to prevent Mutiny, or any other ill Effects of Idleness; and before they could be well form'd into a regular Body, he march'd with those he had ready, to Moghery; where he kept them closely employ'd: for he order'd the Trees to be cut down, and a Passage made thro' a thick Wood, and there he built a Fort. He then drove the Mac Genises out of Lecale, when they had possess'd themselves of it, and took in all the Rebels Castles, as far as Armagh, into which City he also put a strong Garrison: And so great Advances did he make this Summer, that he removed Tir-Oen from Blackwater, where he had very commodiously encamp'd himself. Mean while, John O-Dogherty being dead in Tirconnel, the Lord-Deputy declar'd his Son to be his Heir, because his Father held his Estate according to the Laws of England; and he deliver'd it into the Hands of Hugh Boy and Phelim Reaugh, his Guardians, who were entrusted with the Care of his Education: O-Neal Garve was mightily nettled at this, and presently seiz'd upon the young Gentleman's Estate, as pretending a rightful Claim thereto; as if he imagin'd himself the sole Proprietor of the Lands of Tirconnel, and all the People in it: And he very much stomach'd the Lord-Deputy's being of a contrary Opinion, though he had resolv'd to carry himself impartially on both sides. However Sir Henry Docwray gave O-Neal Garve such fine Words and fair Promises, that he got him over to the English Party; and to find him some Work, he fell upon Mac-Swine Fanagh, a principal Man among the Rebels, and carry'd off a rich Booty, which he ne-

1601. *Ann. 44.* vertheless restored to him, upon his Submission, taking the Oath, and Delivery of Hostages: But upon his revolting a second time, he hung him up in Effigie, and after having spoil'd his Country, drove him to that Extremity, that he gave Hostages once more, and continued ever after a peaceable Subject. After this he wasted a small Country in *Tir-Oen*, call'd *Sleugh-Art*, a Place full of Woods and Bogs, and about fifteen Miles in Length; by the direction of *Neal Garve*. He then took *Derry-Castle*, and put Garrisons into *Newton* and *Ainogh*.

Takes the
Castle of
Derry,

and Don-
negal.

The Lord-Deputy, upon his Return to *Black-water*, sent for him; but for want of Necessaries, and the Enemy having block'd up all the Ways, he was not able to get to him. Whereupon the Deputy advis'd him, not without some Appearance of Resentment, to repair this Neglect, by some Service that might make Amends for it; which indeed he fail'd not to do, upon the first handfom Occasion: For, being inform'd by *Neal Garve*, that the Soldiers were drawn out of *Tir-Conell*, to march against the Lord-Deputy; and that the Monastery of *Donnegal*, near *Balishanon*, had none but a few religious Persons in it, he sent him thither with 500 *English*, who with great Ease made themselves Masters of the Place. *O-donel*, upon the Lord-Deputy's Return, march'd with all his Forces to *Donnegal*, who had furnish'd themselves with burning Firebrands to destroy the *English*. There were 30 days spent in resolutely maintaining the Siege, and there was as much Noise and Shouting, as if they had got an absolute Victory; for it happen'd, that the Monastery took Fire, and was burnt down in the Night, but yet did the *English* maintain themselves with great Resolution.

Reports
of the
Spaniards
Design on
Munster.

Whilst Matters went on with good Success in these parts, the Lord-Deputy receiv'd several Letters of Information, and built on a much more certain Foundation, than some Reports he had heard before of the same kind, that the *Spaniards* were making for *Munster*. Hereupon he was oblig'd to drop his Design, and to think of securing *Ireland* from a foreign Invasion, rather than the Effects of an intestine War. But however, to prevent the Loss of what he had already gain'd, he first fortify'd the Garrisons in *Ulster*, and then made the best of his way to *Munster*, having with him only two Cornets of Horse, the Infantry being order'd to follow with their Commanders. *Tir-Oen* and *O-donel* did likewise hasten thither as fast as they could, by secret and unknown ways, having now broken up the Siege of *Donnegal*: Upon which *Sir H. Docwray* march'd immediately by Land, and reliev'd the Garrison of *Donnegal*. He placed two Companies in *Ashe-ron*, under the Command of *Edward Diggs*, who took *Balishanon* in a little time; a Place which they principally aim'd at: And he was now pretty even with the *Irish*, for their Treachery in betraying *Newton* and the Castle of *Derry*.

Balisha-
non taken.

The War being now transplanted into *Munster*, the Series both of Time and Fact obliges me to pursue the Scene. *Tir-Oen* and the Rebels of *Munster* had, by their Emissaries, *Matthew Oviado* a *Spaniard*, nominated by his Holiness for Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Clonfort*, the Bishop of *Killaloe*, and one *Archer* a Jesuite, got the King of *Spain's* Promise, that Succours should be sent to the Rebels in *Munster*, under the Conduct of *Don Juan d'Aquila*; a full Assurance having been given, that all *Munster* should revolt, and that the titular Earl of *Desmond*, and *Florence Mac-Carty*, would bring in a considerable Number to their Assistance. In the mean time the President, *Sir George Carew*, to prevent this, immediately impeach'd the said titular Earl, whom

Earl of
Desmond
taken.

he had lately seiz'd in a private Place; where being forsaken of all his Friends, he had very advantageously conceal'd himself. This he did, because should he have died without a Trial, his Estate could not have been forfeited by the common Law without an Act of Parliament. After he was condemn'd of Treason, he declar'd, That he took up Arms for the Restoration of Popery, and the Estate of his Ancestors; and that he was incited thereto by the Insults of the newly-arriv'd *English*, the late Exactions put upon arable Lands, and the way used in *England* of trying by a Jury of twelve Men; besides, that he was buoy'd up with the Expectation of Supplies from *Spain*, which by the Archbishop's account he knew were ready to arrive, he having been sent into *Spain* in February: Besides, that the same was confirm'd by *Florence Mac-Carty*: The President likewise discover'd, that there had pass'd a Conference between *Tir-Oen*, the said Archbishop, and others, about the most convenient Place where the *Spaniards* might land in *Ireland*; and that they had jointly resolv'd that *Munster* was the most proper Part of the Kingdom for that Design, tho' they could not agree as to the particular Port: Some thought it the best way to seize first upon *Limerick*, as lying near to *Connaught* and *Leinster*, and not very far from *Ulster*, and therefore very conveniently situated for joining their Forces; besides that 'twas remote enough from *England* to prevent any alarm from the *English* Fleet. However, *Donat Mac-Cormack* affirm'd, That *Florence Mac-Carty* did for good Reasons give the Preference to *Cork*, as being a more convenient Haven, and a City weaker, and so less defensible; so that the *Spaniards* might from thence directly make an Attack upon *Barry*, *Roch*, *Cormack*, *Mac-Dermot*, and *Mac-Carty Reogh*, who stood firm to the Government; and either draw them to their Party, or else seize upon their Estates. Hereupon the President judg'd it upon all accounts the best way to surprize *Florence*, though he had formerly granted him Letters of Protection, and an Act of Indemnity for his Life: And having secured him, after many Attempts of his to escape, he sent him with *Desmond* into *England*; by reason he had wrong'd a certain Creditor, contrary to the Purport of his Protection: And being now at length most certainly inform'd of an Invasion from *Spain*, which he could not make either the Lord-Deputy or the Council in *England* believe: He order'd Provisions and Necessaries to be brought from all Parts into *Cork*, conven'd an Assembly of the Province there, and seiz'd on some seditious and suspected Persons, to prevent any Mischief that they might occasion. He took Hostages from others, and managed matters with that Conduct and Circumspection, that the Town was supply'd with Provisions, to hold out a Siege of several Months. He likewise receiv'd a seasonable Supply of 2000 Men from *England*.

The President having, in the midst of September, receiv'd a most certain Account of the *Spaniards* being under Sail, did immediately give the Lord-Deputy Notice of it; who being arriv'd at *Kilkenny*, sent for the President thither: He therefore appointed *Charles Wilmot* Governor of *Cork*, and then hasten'd away to the Lord-Deputy. They immediately held a Consultation; whether the Lord-Deputy, who was attended but with a small Retinue, and had no Life-Guard, should return back, or stay at *Kilkenny*, till his Forces were got together. Some thought it best for him to return, and that it was not consistent with the Grandeur of a Lord-Deputy, to go forward with so poor a Train: The President was very positive in the contrary Opinion,

L. Deputy
inform'd
of the
Spaniards
coming.

1601. *Ann. 44.* *W*nion, viz. ' That he could neither stay there, nor return, without being tax'd as timorous and faint-hearted; as well as hazarding the Defection of the whole Province: And that Niceties and Punctilio's are to be dispens'd with, where the Safety of a Kingdom lays at Stake. 'Twas requisite therefore he should advance forward, and use his Authority, as Lord-Deputy, against such as were inclinable to revolt; who would not only in all Probability remain more fix'd to their Duty, when overaw'd by the Lord-Deputy's Presence, who had been so famous for his happy Successes; but would most certainly revolt, should he return back. Some were of opinion, That the best way was, for the Lord-Deputy to march forward, as far as Clonmel on the Edge of the Province, and not venture farther, till his Forces arrived. But the President offering him a Guard of 200 Horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnish'd with all Necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of Chearfulness.

Spaniards arrive in Ireland. In the mean while, the Spanish Fleet, which could not reach Cork-Haven, by reason the Wind slacken'd, enter'd the Mouth of Kingsale-Harbour on the 23th of September, and landed their Forces. Whereupon Sir Richard Percy, who commanded the Town with 150 Men, being not strong enough to oppose them, immediately retreated, according to his Instructions, with his Men, to Cork. The Spaniards finding the Gates open, enter'd with 35 Colours flying, and were congratulated by the Inhabitants; the Mayor going before them with his Staff, and performing the Office of a Quarter-Master in assigning 'em their several Quarters. The President order'd all the Cattle and Beasts for Service, that were on this side the River *Averley*, to be driven away; and sent *Flower* with 400 Foot with light Arms, to spoil the Country all about: And he likewise found it requisite to augment his Army, by lifting every where a great Number of Citizens and Townsmen: not that they were likely to do much Service, but as they would serve for Hostages; besides the Apprehensions, that whilst they lay at home, and had nothing to do, they might through their great Fondness for Popery, or their natural Respects for the Spaniards, whose Descendants they affect to be thought, be induced to revolt, and deliver up the several Towns to the Enemy.

President's Care of things. Don Juan d'Aquila, who was General of the Spaniards, with the Character of The Catholick King's Captain or Superintendent-General in the Holy-War, for the Preservation of the Faith in Ireland, put out some Manifesto's; wherein he endeavour'd to possess the People, That *Queen Elizabeth* was, by several Censures of the Bishop of Rome, depriv'd of her Crown: That her Subjects were absolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver Ireland from the Power of Satan. For after this rate he express'd himself, and the Humor took so well, as to procure the Coming in of a great many loose Fellows to his Party. The Lord-Deputy having gather'd together what Forces he could from all parts, immediately fell upon the Siege of Kingsale: And having dispos'd of his Army all about it, he judg'd it of absolute Necessity to take *Kinturran*, a Castle upon the Haven, and near the Town, wherein were placed 150 Spaniards; because of its being so convenient for defending the English Fleet, as well as annoying the Spaniards, if they should be oblig'd to return. This Place was soon forced by the President to surrender upon Discretion; for being made Lieutenant-General of the Army, he forthwith moun-

ted his great Guns, and repuls'd the Spaniards both by Sea and Land, who came to relieve it.

1601. *Ann. 44.* Much about the same time was the Haven block'd up by the Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Levison, who was sent from England with two or three of the Queen's Ships, to hinder them from bringing Succours to it: And the English began to shoot briskly into the Town from their great Cannon, and besieged it more closely and vigorously than before. Notwithstanding, the Briskness of their Attacks was something abated, in regard Levison was forc'd to draw off his Seamen and make Sail against 2000 Spaniards, who were landed at Bere-Haven, Baltimore, and Castlehaven; five of whose Ships he sunk.

Some Spanisht Ship sunk.

The President was at the same time dispatch'd from the Camp, with some Troops, to prevent O-Donell's joining with these new Succours from Spain; but the Ground being hard-frozen, he got by Night, and through some By-paths to the Spaniards. And 'twas not long after, that Tir-Oen himself, with O-Rork, Reimund Burk, Mac-Mahon, Randal Mac-Surley, Tirell Baron of Killey, and some others of the principal Men among the Rebels, appear'd in View: With whom Alphonso O-Campo having join'd the Spaniards, that were just landed, (both Parties together making up 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse) they were big with the Thoughts of an assured Victory; because their Troops were more in Number, and their Men fresher and less fatigued, and every way furnish'd with all Necessaries. Whereas the English were miserably haras'd with a Winter's Siege, their Provisions short, and their Horses almost spent with hard Service and slack Provender.

Tir-Oen joins the Spaniards.

The Lord-Deputy carry'd on the Siege amidst all those Advantages, with wonderful Vigour and Resolution, and strengthened his Camp with new Works. On the 21st of September, Tir-Oen appear'd with his Forces upon an Hill; and having fix'd his Camp there, he shew'd himself likewise the Day following. The next Night, the Spaniards made a Sally from the Town, and the Irish endeavour'd to possess themselves of it; but they were both repuls'd. On the 23th of December, some Letters were intercepted from d'Aquila to Tir-Oen, wherein he desires that the Spaniards who were newly arrived, might be put into the Town, and an Assault be made on both sides at once, upon the English Camp. The same Night, when the Moon was just rising, the Lord-Deputy order'd Sir Henry Poer to make a Detachment of eight Companies of old Soldiers, and to dispose them in order of Battle, on the West side of the Camp. Sir Henry Greames, who was upon the Scout that night, with a Party of Horse, gave the Lord-Deputy Notice, very early in the Morning, that the Rebels would certainly advance; because he observ'd so many Matches lighted in their Camp. Hereupon a general Alarm was forthwith sounded, and Troops dispatch'd away to all those Posts, where there was any Access to the Town. The Lord-Deputy, with the President, and the Marshal Sir Rich. Wingfield, march'd towards the Centry, and by Sir Oliver Lambard's Advice, look'd out an advantageous Place to receive the Enemy: There were sent thither the Regiments of Sir Henry Folliot and Sir Oliver St. John, with 600 Marines under the Command of Sir Richard Levison. Tir-Oen, who had design'd, as afterwards it appear'd, to conduct the Spaniards and 800 Irish, by the Favour of the Night, into Kingsale, at break of Day discover'd the Marshal and Sir H. Danvers, with their Troops of Horse, and Poer at the Foot of the Hill, with his Regiment of Foot: Being therefore baulk'd of his Design, he made an Halt, and soon after made his Haut-Boys found a Retreat.

d'Aquila's Letters intercepted.

As

Kinturran Castle taken.

1601. As soon as the Lord-Deputy receiv'd an Account that they retreated in confusion, he gave Orders to pursue them, and marched himself at the Head of his Troops, the better to observe their Retreat: But there happen'd to arise so thick a Fog and so violent a Rain, that for some time they lost sight of them; but soon after the Weather clear'd up, and he could discover that they made a very precipitant Retreat in 3 large Bodies, and were cover'd by their Horse: He therefore resolv'd to engage them, and sent back the President with three Cornets of Horse, to prevent the Spaniards falling out of the Town if they should attempt it. The Lord-Deputy pursu'd them so briskly, that he forc'd them to make an Halt on the side of a large marshy Bog, at which they could not come but they must pass a Fort: But the Horse which guarded it being defeated by the Bravery of the Marshal and the Earl of *Clan-Richard*, the English made a resolute Attack upon the Enemy's Horse; and being join'd by Sir *William Godolphin*, who commanded the Lord-Deputy's Wing, Sir *Henry Danvers*, *Minsham*, *Taffe*, *Fleming*, and Sir *John Berkley* Major-General, they renewed the Assault with that vigour, as to put the Enemy's Horse to flight. It was not thought adviseable to pursue them, but they rather chose to rally their Forces and break in upon the main Body of the Enemy's Army, which was in so great a Consternation, that they easily made their way through it. Mean while, *Tirel* with his Forces, and the Spaniards, kept their Ground, and the Lord-Deputy brought up his Rear against them; and that he might shew himself an active Soldier as well as an expert General, he charg'd them with three Companies of Sir *Oliver Saint-John's*, under the command of *Roe*, and gave them such an Overthrow, that they made a confus'd Retreat to the Irish, who immediately abandon'd them to the Swords of the Lord-Deputy's Troops of Horse, under the command of Sir *Henry Godolphin*, which made a prodigious Slaughter of them. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donel*, and the rest, fled away as fast as they could, some one way, and some another, every one throwing down his Arms and shifting for himself. Don *Alphonso O-Campo* was taken Prisoner, with three Spanish Commanders, and six * Ensigns; there were 1200 Men kill'd, and nine Colours taken, whereof six belong'd to the Spaniards. The English lost but few, but had a great many wounded, and among the rest Sir *Henry Danvers*, Sir *William Godolphin* and *Crofts*; so very cheap and yet so considerable a Victory was this to the English.

* *Alferex*.

The Lord-Deputy having order'd the Retreat to be founded, and Thanks to be return'd to God, over the Bodies of the Slain, conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood on the Earl of *Clan-Richard* for his Courage and Service, and return'd to the Camp with Acclamations of Joy and Triumph, finding it safe and no way disorder'd: For the Spaniards in the Town, perceiving that all Posts were well mann'd and secur'd, and had found by Experience, that all their Sallies had turn'd to their own Disadvantage, were under a dismal kind of Perplexity and Suspence: And the English happen'd, as before, to have Fortune still on their side; for the Wind stood in a Quarter that would not suffer the Reports of the Guns to be heard in the Town.

This Victory was glorious in itself, and considerable in its Consequences upon many accounts; for *Ireland*, which was in a reeling kind of Posture, and lean'd towards a Defection, was by this means reduc'd; the Spaniards were driven out of *Ireland*, the Head of the Rebellion, *Tir-Oen* was forc'd into his usual Places of Retreat in *Ulster*;

O-Donel was forced to fly into *Spain*, and the rest of the Rebels were broken and dispers'd: Besides which, the Queen's Authority was reviv'd, the Insolence of disorderly Persons curb'd and restrain'd, Men of better Principles recover'd from their Fears, and a perfect and lasting Peace was settled afterwards in all Parts of the Island.

The next day the Lord-Deputy commanded *Josias Bodley*, the Surveyor of the Works, who had manag'd his Employment with great Bravery and Diligence during the Fight, to finish the Mount which was begun, and to carry on the Trenches nearer the Town: this was six Days a doing.

Mean while, *D'Aquila* sent a Letter by a Trumpet to the Lord-Deputy, and desir'd him to send some Persons of Character into the Town, in order to a Capitulation: Sir *William Godolphin* was pitch'd on for this purpose; to whom *D'Aquila* signified, 'That he had found the Lord-Deputy an honourable tho' a most inveterate Enemy: That the Irish were Weak, Uncourteous, and, he was afraid, False and Treacherous: That his Catholick Majesty had sent him to the Assistance of two Earls, but he much question'd if any such were in Being, since a single Skirmish had drove one of them into *Spain*, and the other into the North; so that he could hear no news of either: He was therefore willing to treat of a Peace which might be advantageous to the English, provided it turn'd not to the Detriment of *Spain*, tho' he wanted nothing to maintain the Siege, and every day expected fresh Succours to enable him to effect the Designs he came upon.

To be short, after a small Conference, the Spaniards and the English, who were both heartily weary of the Siege, agreed to the following Articles:

'That the Spaniards should deliver up *King'sale* to the Lord-Deputy, with the Forts and Castles at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Castle-Haven*: 'That they should march out with their Lives, Goods, and Colours flying; that the English should supply them with Ships at a reasonable Rate, to transport them, at two Voyages, into *Spain*: That *D'Aquila* should depart last: That they should not act in an hostile manner against the Queen of England, till they were landed in *Spain*; and if in their return they touch'd at any English Port, they should be well and civilly treated: That if they lighted on any English Vessels, they should not be molested: That so long as they were obliged to tarry in *Ireland* for a Wind, they should have what was necessary for their Money, and no Affronts nor Injuries offer'd to them; and for the Ships which were to transport them, Security should be given, by the delivery of three Hostages, such as the Lord-Deputy should approve of.

The Fourty Fifth Year of her Reign.

1607

These Articles being on the second of January drawn up in Writing, and sworn to on both Sides, the Spaniards took the Opportunity of good Weather, and set sail from *Ireland*, their Forces being very much diminish'd; and the Irish were very much disturb'd, that they had by Agreement surrender'd to the English all the Forts and Castles, with the Defence and Security of which they had been intrusted. But just as they were going to surrender *Dunboy*, *O-Suillivant Beare*, who had given them charge of it, seiz'd upon it of a sudden, made it very strong, and by his Letters perswaded the Spaniards to return again. But the President, for fear the possession of so convenient

The good Effects of this Victory.

Except *Dunboy*.

1602. convenient an Harbour should prove an occasion of reviving the War, hastned thither by Sea, by reason the Land-Passage was very difficult, prevented *Tirel*, who was ready with some hir'd Forces to hinder his landing; and after a bloody Siege, he took the Fort, raz'd it to the Ground, and by that means cut off the *Spaniards*, whose return was expected thither.

Rebels reduced. Nevertheless *Eugenius O'Hegan*, whom the Pope had design'd for the Bishoprick of *Ros*, by supplying them with Money, and feeding them with the Expectation of fresh Succours from *Spain*, did so far fix the Minds of such as wav'd in their Resolutions, that they still persisted in their Rebellion. But *Wilmot*, Governor in *Kerry*, and the two Brothers, *Roger* and *Gavin Harvey* seiz'd on their Castles in *Carberry*, and by driving away their Cattel, and putting many of them to the Sword, reduc'd them to better Order by force. The President himself seiz'd on *Cormac Mac-Dermot* by Surprise, who was a great Man in *Muskery*, and was supported by many Adherents. He was accus'd as an Abettor of Disturbances, and committed to Custody: But when he saw his Country ruin'd, his Castles seiz'd on by the English, (*Wilmot* having upon his Escape taken *Muckron*, his best Seat, as it was by chance all on fire) and his Son being a Prisoner in *England*, his Wife in *Cork*, and himself under a double Hazard both of Life and Fortune, he submitted himself, and beg'd Pardon, which was granted upon his producing Security for his good Behaviour.

Mean while, *Samuel Bagnal* put *Tirel* to flight, being lately arriv'd in *Muskery* with his Band of hireling Vagabonds, and seiz'd upon his Castles, forced him away into the Mountains of *Dermond*. *Wilmot* did at the same time so warmly pursue the Knight of *Kerry* and his Associates, that they implor'd his Pardon and Protection in the most lamentable Tone imaginable. *Tirel* being pursued by the Lord *Barry* and *Wilmot*, got by some blind Ways into *Leimster*. Not long after, *William-a-Burgh* and *Suillivant Bear*, being surrounded with Fears and Difficulties, left *Bear* and *Bantrey* without any Defence, to the Arms of the English. On the other side, Captain *Taffe*, who was sent out by the President, hotly pursued *Eugenius Mac-Carty* and *Donat Keagh* in *Carberry*, and slew the Bishop, *Eugenius O'Hegan*, as he was fighting in the Crowd with a Sword in one Hand and a Breviary in t'other.

Altho' *Ireland* was now clear of the *Spaniards*, the Queen however, having a tender Regard to her People's Safety, sent out a Fleet of eight Ships from the Royal Navy, with some others of lesser Burden, to the Coasts of *Spain*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Mounson*, on purpose to divert the *Spaniards* from the thoughts of a new Attempt upon *Ireland*. *Levison* set sail on the 19th of *March*, and *Mounson* follow'd him, having made a stay of some few Days, tho' to no purpose, to take the Low-Country Ships along with him. Mean while *Levison* fell upon a Fleet of 38 Spanish Vessels, with Plate in them from *America*, and attack'd them with his small Squadron, but without Effect. When *Mounson* came in with the rest of the Navy, they spoil'd all the Trade on the Coast of *Portugal*. At length they had Intelligence that a vast Carack of 1600 Tuns, and richly Laden from the *East-Indies*, was arriv'd at *Sesimbria* in *Portugal* near *Cape-Spichel*; and that there were eleven Gallies there at anchor, eight of them belonging to *Spain*, and assign'd to *Frederick Spinola* for the Low-Country Service, and the other there were Portuguese Ships. *Sesimbria* is a small City situate upon a Bay within the Road, built with Stone and

fortified with a Castle and twelve great Guns: the Carack lay just under the Fort, and the Gallies on the West-side the Road under a Rock, with their Stems foremost, and had each of them five Guns mounted, so that no Assault could be made without eminent Danger, by reason of the Castle, the Carack and Gallies were all so well provided. However, Sir *Richard Levison*, by the Seamen's consent, was resolutely bent upon making an Assault, and to set the Carack on fire, if they could not take her.

The next day therefore, having the advantage of a gentle Breeze, he, according to Agreement, set up a Flag on the Admiral's Main-Top, and *Mounson* put up another (as is usual at Sea) in the Vice-Admiral's Fore-Top; and entring not long after with five of the Queen's Ships into the Road, they came to anchor just overagainst the Gallies, and play'd upon them with their Guns so furiously, that after seven Hours the Marquis of *Sancta Cruce* retir'd with the Portuguese Gallies under his Command; but seeing *Spinola* did not follow him, he return'd again. But the Gallies being unable to stand the Brunt, endeavour'd every one to provide for themselves by flight; two of them were taken and burnt; and there was found in them a great store of Powder design'd for the *Netherlands*; the rest being torn and batter'd, and most of the Slaves kill'd, with a great deal of Difficulty reach'd the Mouth of the River *Tajo*. *Mounson* was just preparing to set Fire to the great Carack, but *Levison* prevented him, and advertis'd the Captain, by *Sewall* an old Seaman, That the Gallies he depended on were put to flight, and two of them taken: that he was now Master of the Road; and the Castle itself was not able to stand the force of the English Ships, and how then should his Carack? If therefore they refused a good Treatment when 'twas offer'd them, they were like to be handled with the utmost Severity. The Captain desir'd some Gentlemen to be sent to him, with whom he might make Conditions at large. *Mounson* was the Man, and the *Spaniards* insisted on these Terms: 'That all the Persons in the Carack (for 300 Gentlemen came on board on purpose to defend her) should depart safely with their Arms; that their Flag should not be taken down; that the Ship and Guns should remain to the King's use, and that all the Lading should fall to the English. *Mounson* consented that they should all be dismiss'd within three days, but would by no means permit that the Spanish Flag should be hoisted in the sight of the English, except at the Ship's Stern; nor would he agree that the Ship should go to the King of *Spain*: But after a long Dispute, it was agreed; 'That the Portuguese should be dismiss'd in two days time, and suffer'd to go with unlighted Match, that their Flag should be levell'd; that the Ship, together with the Guns and Lading, should fairly be deliver'd up just as it was, and that in the mean time no Guns should be fired upon the English from the Castle. All the Persons were sent out of the Carack the same Night, except the Captain and some others who were put ashore early the next Morning. The same Day the Prize was carried out of the Road, and the English taking the advantage of a fair Gale, brought her home, her Cargo being computed, according to the Portuguese Account, at a million of Ducats, and their loss in the Enterprize no more than five common Seamen.

Mounson was sent back with some Ships to the Coasts of *Spain*, where he staid till the midst of Winter, to keep them from making any new Descent upon *Ireland*. Whilst he was making the best of his way for *Spain*, *Frederick Spinola* entred

on

1602.
Ann. 45.

A Carack
& Gallies
set on in
the Port of
Sesimbria.

2 Gallies
taken.

A Parley
with the
Carack.

Taken;

Bishop O'Hegan slain.

Spanish Plate Fleet attacked, but invain.

1602. on the 23d of September into the British Channel, and kept along the French Shoar with six Gallies, which made their escape at *Sesimbria*, designing to get with them into some Port of *Flanders*: Sir Robert Mansel waited for him with two or three Men of War, and four *Hollanders* were likewise cruizing on the Road. The *Spaniards* first discover'd two of the *Hollanders* Ships, and resolved to set upon them; but happening to spy one of the Queen's Ships nor far off, they shifted their Oars, and stood the remaining part of the Day, hoping by the advantage of the Night to gain their intended Port. Mansel, with the 2 Dutch-men and his own Ships, gave them chase from Eight in the Morning till Sunset. When Night came on, the Gallies alter'd their course for the English Shoar, and came so near it, that some of the Slaves got off their Fetters, leapt overboard, and swam to Land; and before they were aware they fell into a Place where one of the Queen's Ships and the *Hollanders* lay at anchor. Hereupon Mansel taking it for granted that the Gallies must needs fall in with those Ships; in order to make them keep their course with the more assurance, steer'd a little out of the way on purpose to get between the Gallies and the Coast of *Flanders*.

They fall in with the Q's Ships unawares.

Gallies defeated.

The death of Spinola

The Queen's Ship they lighted upon was called the *Answer*. Broadgate, the Captain of her, who had prepar'd to Fight, upon the report of the Guns, which he heard at a distance, bestow'd upon them 38 Shot, and the *Hollanders* gave them as warm a Salute. The Gallies did not fire so much as one Gun, but got away by the help of their Oars; and sailing at random, one of them, in the Night-time, fell in with Mansel; he discharg'd all his Guns at her, and shot down her Main-Mast; and upon hearing a lamentable Cry, made up and offer'd her Quarter by an Interpreter. The other five Gallies came afterwards to her Assistance, at which he let fly a broad-side, but what Execution it did could not be discover'd, tho' the Night was not so dark as usual. After this there was not the least noise of shooting heard, till an *Holland* Vessel fell foul upon a Galley call'd the *Lucra* or *Phosphorus*, took away her Rudder, and so disabled her, that she sunk immediately after with almost all the Persons that were in her. Another Dutch Ship falling foul by chance of the Galley call'd *Padilla*, split her in pieces, and but narrowly escap'd the same Disaster herself. Another of the Gallies was cast away through the Carelessness of the Sailors, in its way towards *Calais*. Two more of them put into *Newport*: Spinola himself, in the Admiral, escap'd into *Dunkirk* with a very valuable Cargo; and after he had refitted the three Gallies, he carried them to *Schuis*, and the Year following was kill'd with a Cannon-Shot in a Sea-Fight with the *Hollanders*, leaving the Character of a very brave Person behind him.

We have before took notice of the Commission of the Bishop of *London*, Christopher Perkins, and John Swale, whom the Queen dispatch'd to *Embsen*, An. 1600, had no effect. The Queen therefore sent away to *Breme* these following Persons upon the same Errand, viz. Ralph L. Evers, Sir John Herbert Under-Secretary, Daniel Dun Doctor of Law, and one of the Masters of Requests, and Stephen Leifer was join'd as an Assistant to them. The King of *Denmark* sent Maude-roppe Presberg, Arnold Whitfield Chancellor of *Denmark*, and Jonas Caristius Doctor of Law. The English complain'd, That they were debarr'd the freedom of Navigation into *Muscovy* by the Northern Channel, and the liberty of Fishing upon the Coasts and Islands of that Country; and that

they were obliged to pay extravagant Impositions merely for their Passage through the Sound: They demanded therefore, 'That the ancient Treaties between Henry VII. King of England, and John King of Denmark, An. 1490, might be revived and put in use; that the precarious and exorbitant Demands of new Customs might be taken off or remedied, and a fix'd Rate set down in Writing, with some stated and certain Laws about Sales and Forfeitures; that their Ships might not be detain'd in the Sound, longer than was necessary; that the Grievances of private Persons might be heard and redress'd; and that no Ammunition might be transported into Spain

Hereupon it was debated on both Sides, 'whether Princes might lawfully raise their Customs as they pleas'd, contrary to former Treaties? Whether this was not against the Laws of Equity, admitting it had been practis'd; since all Customs ought to be founded upon a just and equitable Bottom? Whether what has been determin'd upon mature and serious Deliberation, and for some time allowed and tolerated on both Sides, can be render'd void and null, without a direct Infringement of the Power and Prerogative of those Princes who establish'd the same at first? Whether those Customs impos'd upon the Danes, &c. by the English, in the Reign of Queen Mary, for Wares imported and exported, were not more reasonable than those which the Danes exacted for Passage only; they pretending to demand as their bare Fee, for securing the Sailors, a Rosh Noble of every Ship, one Piece in the hundred Lastage? Whether Customs are demandable for Passage only, since they are paid no where else but for the Landing and Sale of Goods? Whether the Northern Channel be not free for the English to fish in, as well as the Islands and Coasts thereof? and, Whether they may not sail through it into *Muscovy*, the Sea being open to every body, and an Element that is no more in the power of Princes, than the Air itself, according to that Expression of the Emperor Antoninus; I am Master indeed of the Continent, but the Sea is under the disposal of the Law; let therefore the Law of Rhodes determine the matter? Whether, upon this account, it was not against the Law of Nations, to usurp such a Dominion over the Sea, seeing Princes have no Right at all but in those Seas that lie near their own Territories, and that no farther than to secure their Trade from Pirates and Enemies? Besides that, the Kings of England never prohibited Fishing and Navigation in the Irish Seas between England and Ireland, tho' they are equally Proprietors of the Coasts on both Sides, as the King of Denmark is of Norway and Iceland, who yet pretends to this Royalty upon no other claim but that. But if Payments are to be demanded from the English for Passage, the Queen may as reasonably lay as high Imposts upon the Danes, that Trade into her Dominions.

Hereupon the Danes offer'd, 'That since his Majesty's Father did, upon the Queen's account, allow that Privilege of Navigation, tho' considerably to his own Damage and Inconvenience, the English Merchants might think it worth while to re-purchase that Liberty, during the Q's Life, at the cost of 200 * Rosh Nobles per An. That the Goods taken on both Sides should be restor'd in a fair and just Proportion. Then did they proceed to great Remonstrances and Complaints as to the English Pirates, alledging, 'That altho' it was hardly possible to stop the Insolence of Pirates in Times of

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A Treaty with the Danes.

Ann. 45.

A Treaty with the Danes.

Ann. 45.

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A Treaty with the Danes.

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1602. of War, yet there might be Punishments inflicted severe enough to restrain them; at least there ought to be Reprisals granted for the recovery of Damages, because Princes are very much concern'd to see that their Subjects receive no Detriment: That the English need not complain that any Ammunition was transported into Spain, since the Danes furnish'd them with so small a Quantity, that the Spaniards reap'd very little Benefit or Service from it.

When these Things had been canvass'd on both Sides for two Months, and several Papers deliver'd in to the said effect, the Danes told the English all of a sudden, That they had no power to review or reinforce the old Treaties, to take off or abate the Duties and Customs, or to grant the liberty of Fishing in the Iceland or Norway-Seas, without his Majesty's special Licence and Authority, and upon certain Terms and Conditions; and withal, they forbid the English to fish at the Islands of Faroe, (which was most admir'd at of any thing) and that on the same Penalty they had been debar'd the said Liberty upon heretofore.

The English, on the other side, protested against this Inhibition as null and void, as also against any other Declaration that they should make contrary to the plain and express tenour of the Treaties. And when they could come to no other Conclusion but this, That the Points in debate should be refer'd to their several Princes respectively, and the Danes promised to intercede effectually with their King to publish the Rates in his Toll-Books, in order to make appear the certainty of his Numbers, Weights and Measures; and that they should not be alter'd at will, contrary to the Rates set down in those Books, which were also to be lodg'd in the Hands of the Custom-House-Officers; And that as to the Point of Forfeitures, no Goods should be seiz'd but what were conceal'd or unmark'd. The English Commissioners express'd themselves satisfied with the Danes Promises, and the whole Business was put off till another time, with a reserve still of all Rights, Dues and Demands to the Queen of England, her Realm and Subjects.

Whilst these Things lay in dispute between the two Crowns, the Popish Ecclesiasticks in England were at Daggers drawing among themselves; for the Jesuits and secular Priests began to bespatter one another in virulent Pamphlets, and dip their Tongues and Pens in the bitterest Venom. The secular Priests were in a mighty Pet that Blackwel, formerly a Student in Oxford, of Trinity-College, and an absolute Creature of Garnet's, who was Provincial of the Jesuits in England, was made Superintendant over them, and therefore they made bold to disclaim his Authority. On this account, he first strip'd 'em of their Faculties, (as they are term'd) and not long after, upon their Appeal to the Pope, procur'd a Breve for declaring them Schismaticks and Hereticks. But they got clear of this Censure, and that by the Verdict of the whole University of Paris. After which they put out several Books, in which they extoll'd the Queen very highly for having treated the Catholics with great Gentleness and Candor from the very beginning of her Reign.

They made it appear, That in the eleven first Years of her Reign, not one Papist was call'd into Question on the score of Conscience or Religion; and that in the space of ten Years compleat after the Publication of Pius V's Bull against her and the Popish Rebellion, there were were not above 12 Priests put to Death, some of whom were convicted of Treason, till the Year 1580, the time when the

1602. Jesuits had their first footing in England. Then they prov'd at large, That their impious Designs and Practises against the Government put all things into Confusion, prov'd very Prejudicial to the Catholick Interest, and occasion'd the making several severe Acts against the Papists. However, That in the ten Years following, there were not above 50 Priests executed, and 55 more banish'd, (so Merciful was the Queen) though she might have Prosecuted 'em according to Law: That since then there had been English Seminaries erected in Spain, by the Management of Parsons, an English Jesuit; and that there were sent from thence, every Year, a stock of overgrown and mischievous Priests: That this Parsons perswaded the King of Spain to a new Invasion of England and Ireland: That he had printed a Book to assert the Infanta's Title to the Crown of England, and demanded an Oath of the Students of those Seminaries respectively, to maintain the same. That Holt, another Jesuit, incited Hesketh to raise a Rebellion, and tamper'd with Cullen, York and Williams to murder the Queen: And that Walpool, a Jesuit, perswaded one Squire to attempt the same by Poison; insomuch that the Queen, who was of opinion that Conscience was a free Principle, and ought not to be forc'd, was oblig'd to use Severity against this sort of Men, that she might not expose her own and the Kingdom's Safety.

Parsons, whom they nicknam'd Cowbuck, was tax'd for a Bastard; a Fellow sprung from the Lees of the People, a Man of turbulent and seditious Principles, a Sycophant, a prevaricating Hypocrite, a Government-Broker, and what not.

The Libels publish'd by the Jesuits against the Queen they tax'd as false, and charg'd the Authors with Treason against God and her Majesty. They moreover maintain'd with great strength of Argument, that Fire and Sword are no fit Instruments to propagate Religion, which ought to be maintain'd by a Spirit of Mildness and Gentleness. In the last place, they desir'd the English Catholics to send no more of their Children to be bred up in the English Seminaries, where they were like to have no other Principles infus'd into 'em, but those of Treason and Rebellion.

Amidst these Heats and Contentions, which with what design soever they were carried on, the Bishop of London took care to improve and cherish with all the Art imaginable: The Privy-Council easily perceiv'd, that the Jesuits and the greater part of the Seculars, had this private Aim, to draw off the Queen's Subjects from their Obedience, and to excite the People to maintain the Popish Religion by force. The Queen did therefore issue out a Proclamation, commanding the Jesuits, and secular Priests their Adherents, immediately to depart the Land; and those of the more indifferent and moderate Party, to be gone in two Months, unless they would take the Oaths of Allegiance. And that neither they, nor any of their Order should return into England, on pain of suffering the utmost Penalties of the Laws.

And without doubt there was a kind of Providence in the publishing of this Order, since it prevented a notorious Villainy at that time upon the Anvil: For, whilst these things were in agitation, Thomas Winter, (as he afterwards confess'd himself) and Tescmund a Jesuit, were sent over into Spain by the Directions of some of them, where they carried on very dangerous Designs, relating to the Murder of the Queen, and the Exclusion of James King of Scots from his

Rightful Claim to the CROWN of Eng-
1602. land.

Ann. 45. And while these Attempts were forging in England, the mutinous Soldiers in the Netherlands were up in Arms against the Archduke, and several in France against the King; so that all the Princes together seem'd to lie under the Influence of some ill Planet.

Biron be- In France the Duke de Biron lost his Head, for headed in carrying on a dangerous and wicked Design against his Country, and throwing out some provoking Expressions against the King. I know not the Particulars of his Confession; but great Discoveries he made, and amongst others, something that so ruffled the Duke of Bouillon, that when he was commanded to appear before the King, he refus'd it; but apprehending the King's Displeasure, and the great Interest of his Adversaries at Court, he retir'd into Germany. Hereupon the King complain'd of him very heartily to Queen Elizabeth, 'As if he thought his Mar-

Fren. K.'s complaint to Q. Eliz. riage with Mary of Florence unlawful, the Pope's Dispensation good for nothing, and on consequence, his Son a Bastard: That he had design'd the Reversion of the Crown for the Prince of Conde, aim'd at the Destruction of all the Catholics of the first Quality, and conspir'd to betray the Spaniards for a Price to the United-Provinces: That he refus'd to be tried by the Parliament of Paris, and had made his Appeal to the Chamber at Chastres, which could pretend to no manner of Cognisance in such Matters; and had excepted against his Accusers, which is not allowable in cases of High-Treason: That these were but Tricks and Stratagems to evade a Trial, and lift himself into the Regal Authority; and that he therefore ask'd Queen Elizabeth's Advice, what was best to be done upon this Occasion.

She return'd him Answer by her Residentiary Ambassador in France, 'That she was much concern'd to hear these Things; but took it withal for a great Honour to be intrusted with Matters of that high Concernment. She commended at the same time his Evenness of Temper, in hearkning rather to the Advices of his Friends at such a Juncture, than to the Suggestions of a private Person. As for the Advice he was pleas'd to ask, her Answer was, 'That if the Proofs against him were as evident as the Impeachment was scandalous, he would do well to proceed against him according to Law; but till Matters of Fact were clearly made out, it would be unsafe for her to Direct any thing, for fear of offending God, her Conscience, or an innocent Person; lest, however, she should happen to disoblige the King, should he entertain a Thought that she was not duly concern'd for his Safety. She thought therefore that Silence was the best Argument in so doubtful a Point. However, she intreated the King to consult his own Reason and Conscience as closely as might be, and to examin well the Evidences and Confessions, whether they came from Persons of Credit and Probity, and free from all suspicion of Bribery and Corruption, forasmuch as no Man stands free from the Attacks of Malice and Slander. And she insinuated at the same time, That bare Allegations are but slender Proofs to influence the Conscience of an unbiass'd Judge against a Person of so fair a Character for Virtue. That the Crimes objected, till farther Proof, were much too black and heinous to be with any colour or shew of Probability imputed to a Person of his Character. For, who would believe that a Person of so sober and religious an Education, and who had shewn himself so staunch a Loyalist to

the King, and so true a Friend to his Country, in all the Difficulties which had attended both, could ever have harbour'd such vile Designs against his Sovereign, a Prince of that singular Desert; or that he should ever join with a Cabal of Persons of broken Fortunes and Estates, between whom and himself there did not appear the least conformity of Temper or Interest, Religion or Principle, and from whom he could expect nothing but Baseness and Falseness? That it was to be fear'd the Spaniards had the chief hand in these Suggestions, on purpose to imbroil the French once more in the Inconveniencies of a civil War.

The King heard all this with great Dissatisfaction, and thereupon let fall Expressions to this purpose: *That the Queen thought better of Bouillon than he had deserv'd; that he was one of the principal Abettors of the Earl of Essex's design upon the Queen and her Privy-Council; and that when he charged him therewith, he was not able to deny it, but gave him a Smile instead of an Answer.* The Crimes charg'd upon him, he affirm'd most solemnly to be really true, and reckon'd the several Favours he had confer'd upon him, viz. 'That he had made him one of the Household, contriv'd an advantageous Match for him with an Heiress of the House of Bouillon, gave him the possession of Sedan, made him one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, and advanc'd him to the Honour of a Marshal and a Duke: That he was very lately resolv'd to have shew'd him Mercy, if he would have ask'd for it: But since he scorn'd to ask Pardon, and the Guilt of his Conscience had driven him out of the Kingdom, he had no reason to shew him any farther Favour. He added moreover, That he had interpos'd with the Queen in favour of the Earl of Essex, in an Instance not unlike this, but had desisted when he found his Crime was so notorious.

The Ambassador replied, *That the Queen entertain'd a good Opinion of the Duke chiefly for these Reasons:* 'Because he had hitherto, upon all Occasions, signaliz'd his Courage and good Affection to his Prince and Country: That she should be sorry to find any Truth in the Matters he stood charg'd with, as in the Earl of Essex's case she had done; and, if so, she should have an absolute Detestation for him. And as for the Advice she presum'd to give, it was purely owing to the Regard she had for the King's Safety, which she tender'd no otherwise than her own.

But, if any Credit may be given to the French Writers, and the more exact Observers among the English, Biron, Bouillon and some others, who thought that they had secur'd the King's Crown and Dignity at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, when they saw him shew more Favour and Countenance to those who but lately plotted his Ruin, and admit them to his Cabinet before others, as if they had been Men of the greatest Desert and best confirm'd Principles, and would wipe off their past Crimes by their future good Behaviour; and observing likewise, that the Stream of all Preferments ran in their Channel, and that they were intrusted with those very Governments, which in the late Confusions they had seiz'd upon; they could not forbear shewing some Disgust, when they found themselves suspected, as it were, for Traitors: And thereupon, as well as upon some other Accounts, imagining they had deserv'd a much better Treatment at his hands, they began to contrive together how to intail their Governments upon themselves and their Heirs. And when they could not compass their Intentions by fair means,

1602. means, they grew more daring and insolent than profess'd Enemies: For some of them were not asham'd to asperse the King, in a most virulent manner, in some Letters sent by them to the Queen; not only as an ungrateful Person, but also as a weak Prince, and a Coward; and that his way of Conquests was not by real Bravery, but meer Bribes and Promises. The Queen notwithstanding, having a great Concern for the King's Honour and Security, and withal a compassionate Sense of the frequent, dangerous and sudden Revolts of the French, fail'd not to cry him up as the great Preserver and Restorer of the almost-wither'd Monarchy of France.

I have mention'd these Passages in respect to the Memory and Merit of the Queen's judicious and prudent Advices to this Prince, her constant Friendship to an old Ally, and one who was once of the same Religion as well as Interest, and her prudent Management and Instructions for the Advantage of them both. About the same time she sent some Succours to Geneva, the Nursery of the Reformation; which was at present assaulted by Stratagem and Force, by the Duke of Savoy; the Bishops and People all over England contributing very bountifully towards its Relief.

Death of Dr. Nowel. This Year died in the Month of February, at a very great Age, Alexander Nowel, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of St. Paul's, who in Queen Mary's Reign liv'd an Exile in Germany, for the sake of his Religion; which, after his Return he strenuously asserted by his Sermons and other learn'd Discourses. He gave 200 l. per an. to Brazen-Nose-College in Oxford, where he had his Education, for the Maintenance of 13 Students; and was in his whole Life a shining Pattern of Sobriety and Vertue. He was succeeded by John Overal, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and a Person of extraordinary Learning; he being recommended very highly to the Queen, by Sir Fulk Grevil, who was a mighty Favourer of learned Men.

Tir-Oen in great Perplexity. I must now look back, and take a View of what was transacted in Ireland this Year. After the Spaniards were driven thence, Tir-Oen fled as fast as his Fear carry'd him, cross the Country, to recover his Lurking-places in Ulster, and had a great many Men swept away, by the Floods and Swelling of the Tides, occasion'd by the Winter-Rains: And he now began to give up his Hopes, and to fill himself with the most dismal Apprehensions; for an ill Conscience would allow him no Peace, but made him afraid of his own Shadow; insomuch that he was every day looking out for new Places to abscond in, and quitted his Shelter, as soon as he had attain'd it.

L Deputy builds Fort Charlemount. The Lord-Deputy, to refresh his Soldiers, who were miserably haras'd, put them into Winter-Quarters; and having disposed Things in Munster, return'd to Dublin. As soon as the sharp Weather was over, he return'd again by easy Marches, to infuse the greater Terror, with a good Army, into Ulster; designing, as he had done before, to surround the Rebels there, by erecting Forts, and placing Garrisons about 'em, to trepan and hem them in: He transported his Army over Blackwater by Flotes of Timber fastned together; and finding a Ford, not before discover'd beneath the old Fort, he built a Sconce there, which he call'd by his own Christian Name, Charlemount. Tir-Oen being alarm'd hereat, set fire to his own House at Dungannon: The Lord-Deputy march'd forward, and as soon as Sir Henry Docwray join'd him with his Forces from Lough-Foil, he sent Detachments into all the Country, cut down the standing Corn, set Fire to the Villages and Houses, and drove away the Cattle all about.

1602. The Forts in Lough-Crew, Lough-Reab, and Moherleecow, (where Sir John Berkley, a Gentleman of good Courage, was shot) were deliver'd up to the Lord-Deputy, who placed a Fort, and a Garrison in it, at Lough-Eaugh, or Lough-Sidney, which he call'd Montjoy, from his own Title, and made Sir Arthur Chichester, Knight, Governour thereof; who, on the score of his great Courage and Desert, did afterwards succeed the Lord-Deputy.

He sent Sir Henry Docwray back to Derry, and he took O-Caban into favour, after he had surrender'd a great part of his Territory to the Queen's Use; on condition he might hold the rest by Letters-Patents. Then, by the Lord-Deputy's Orders, he wast'd Omye, and made a prodigious Slaughter; driving away Cormac-Mac-Baron's Cattle, tho' with some Hazard to himself. After this he was call'd back by the Lord-Deputy; and when he had taken the Castle of Agar, was sent home to his own Charge, and with him Sir Henry Folliot, whom he made Governour of Balishanon, first with the Limitation of his Deputy, but not long after with a full and plenary Authority, (contrary to all Expectation) the English very much admiring that he was prefer'd before Docwray, who was the Instrument of reducing Balishanon at the first. At the same time (to the equal Surprize of the Irish) he took into his Protection Roderick O-Donel, a notorious Rebel, and let alone Neal Garve, who had hitherto stood firm to the English, and was so provoked by the Neglect, that in a moody Humour he took upon him the Title of O-Donel, (which prov'd fatal to him) and began to tyrannize over the People, and exact from them that Oath, which was the Queen's proper Right.

Just before the Close of the Year, Sir Arthur Chichester and Sir Henry Docwray resolv'd to attack Tir-Oen on all sides, who was then skulking in the woody Valleys: But all the Avenues and Passages were so miry, the March so troublesome, by reason of the Thickness of the Trees; and withal the Weather was so foul, and the Scouts so false, that they were forced to desist from their Design. But in conclusion, the Garrisons which were settled up and down by the Lord-Deputy, did so annoy and disturb the Rebels, by frequent and repeated Attacks, and the several Marches and Countermarches which they made; that finding themselves begirt and surrounded on all sides, and reduced every day to greater Extremities; and that they were forced likewise to skulk and hide, like a parcel of Wild-Beasts, in the Woods and Thickets; a great number of them began to change Sides, as their Fortune had done before them; and strove who should be foremost in submitting themselves, tho' with what Caution they could, to the Lord-Deputy: They complain'd withal, that Tir-Oen had expos'd that Nation to Ruin, purely to cherish a private Disgust; and that this War was carry'd on, to answer his Ends or Interest; but would be sure to prove of the worst Consequence to every body else. Those who submitted were more favourably treated by the Lord-Deputy; whilst, contrary to his Promise, he took but little Notice of such as adhered faithfully to the Queen's Interest: But perhaps he thought it necessary, to give some Respite to a languishing Government, rather than by an over-hasty Cure occasion its Wounds to bleed afresh. Nor was Tir-Oen in the least ignorant, that his bad Fortune had drawn off his Adherents, and diminish'd his Forces: So that being tired out with his ill Successes, he resolv'd to prevent farther Mischief, out of a Principle of Self-preservation, consistent enough with the greatest Courage:

1602. He therefore ply'd the Queen and the Lord-Deputy with submissive Letters; humbly imploring Pardon for his great Offences; and gave withal, such pregnant Evidences of his Sorrow and Concern for what was past, that the Queen empowered the Lord-Deputy to receive him into Favor, provided he would ask it upon his Knees, with the same Submissiveness he had express'd in his Letters.

Tir-Oen craves Pardon. 'Tis granted on condition.

1603.

The Six and fortieth Year of her Reign.

Tir-Oen absolutely submits.

Tir-Oen had no sooner receiv'd Information hereof, but he earnestly press'd the Dispatch of the Business, by the Application of *Arthur Mac-Donnell*, his Brother, and some others. And, after several Denials, at last, upon Promise that he would submit his Life and Estate entirely to the Queen's Mercy, the Lord-Deputy permitted him to come to *Milford*, having by some of his Friends been inform'd of the Queen's Indisposition, which was the more dangerous, because of her advanced Age. Hither he came as fast as he could, with one or two more in his Company; and being admitted into the Presence-Chamber, (where the Lord-Deputy sat in a Chair of State, with a great many Swordsmen about him) he fell on his Knees, at the very Threshold, with a down-cast Aspect, and in an Habit as abject and careless. After he had for some time continued in that Posture, the Lord-Deputy made a Sign to him to come nearer: He got up accordingly, and making a few nearer Approaches, fell once more upon his Knees, and spoke to this purpose: 'I acknowledge my Sin against God, and my Offence against my most gracious Queen and Sovereign; to whose Royal Clemency I entirely refer myself, and give up my Life and Fortune to her Majesty's Disposal. And as I have been sensible of her Goodness formerly, and have at present felt the Influence of her Power, so I humbly intreat her to make me in some degree the Subject of her Royal Compassion, that I may stand as a Monument of her Clemency to future Ages: I have yet before me time enough, and do not want either Strength or Resolution to expiate my Fault, by some good Service for the future. As he was going on, and making some Complaints of the Injuries he had receiv'd through the Ill-will of some particular Persons; the Lord-Deputy interrupted him, and said, That there was no Colour to be used for an Offence like his: And after he had spoken a very little more to him, with a Brow of Authority, (which is a Soldier's best Rhetorick) he order'd him to withdraw; and the next day he brought him with him to *Dublin*, designing to bring him over to the Q. that she might dispose of him at her Pleasure.

Rebellion suppress'd.

Rise and Growth of it.

Thus was *Tir-Oen's* Rebellion happily extinguish'd, the eighth Year after it broke out; thro' the Queen's better Fortune, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord-Deputy, who was afterwards created, by King *James*, Earl of *Downshire*. It commenced at first upon personal Disgusts, with a little Touch of Ambition at the bottom: It was fomented and kept up by the Neglect and Stingyness of *England*: It run all over *Ireland*, on the Pretence of restoring Popery, and the Prospect of unbounded Liberty: It got Strength by the Weakness and Credulity of some, and the private Countenance of others, that were in place; and gain'd more Ground by one or two fortunate Successes, back'd by the *Spaniard's* Gold and Forces, and the Popes Indulgences. It was protracted and spun out by the ill-tim'd Emulations of the *English*, the lodging of the Government in two Hands, and the Avarice of the

old Soldiers, who made the War a kind of Trade: To which we may add, the subtle Stratagems of *Tir-Oen*, his feign'd Submissions and treacherous Capitulations, the Protections granted to Offenders, the Difficulty and Straitness of the Roads and Passages; and, in the last place, the desperate Temper of the *Irish*, who trusted more to the Swiftness of their Heels, than the Strength of their Hands.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoy'd a good Stock of Health, through her exact Temperance both as to Wine and Diet, (which she used to say was the noblest part of Physick) being in her climacterical Year, viz. the 70th Year of her Age; began to perceive in herself some Weakness and Decay of Health and Spirits, and the ill Weather increas'd her Indisposition; till on the last of *January*, which prov'd a very stormy day, she remov'd from *Westminster* to *Richmond*, to enjoy there the Remains of Life with more Freedom, and better Opportunities for the Service of God. She happen'd on that very day (whether from some Reflexions upon her Death, or Presages as to what might follow) to say to the Lord-Admiral, for whom she had a particular Respect, *My Throne has been held by Princes in the way of Succession, and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate Heir*. And the Courtiers made it their Observation, that the Queen was never more constant to the Service of the Chappel, than at present: They likewise report, that she then commanded the Ring in which she had been espoused in Form to her Kingdom, at her Coronation, and had never took off before, to be filed from her Finger; because it was so grown into the Flesh, that it could not be got off any other way: And this was look'd on as a very melancholy Omen, and portending no less than a Dissolution of her Marriage with the State; which by that Emblem she had contracted. In the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Throat swell'd, but soon came down again: After that her Appetite went off by degrees, and she gave herself to a Melancholy, which by the Effects appear'd owing to a Cause as peculiar as powerful: Whether it was the Violence of her Distemper, or the Loss of *Essex*, (as his Friends flatter'd themselves) or that she had been overpersuaded to pardon *Tir-Oen*, after so vast an Expence in supporting the *Irish* War; or that she had heard some Rumours, or receiv'd some Intelligence from the *French* King, that many of the Nobility did, by private Letters, court and caress the K. of *Scots*, who was adored by them as the Rising-Sun; whilst she was disregarded, as being just upon her Declension: This she seem'd to give too much Credit to, (as indeed both her Age and her Sex dispos'd her to be jealous) and perhaps there was Reason enough: For some of the Court-Nobility (not to mention the Ladies) most unhandfomly forsook her, when they had the least Reason to have done it; for the Queen was still the same, tho' the Courtiers were chang'd; and 'tis probable they withdrew their Respect, either because her Majesty was very antient, or they tired with the Length of her Reign, (for long Possession lessens the Value of the best things) or else perhaps they long'd for a Change, and grew out of Humour with the present times, in hopes of seeing finer Days hereafter; as if all past Favours were to be forgot, as being a Clog upon the Memory of ungrateful Persons. Nor is it impossible but this might be a kind of Court-Stratagem to quarrel with the present Administration, on purpose to curry Favour with the Successor; out of a false Maxim, that the succeeding Prince takes a kind of Pleasure in the Disparagement of his Predecessor.

cessor. And in truth, this was a Course they pursu'd so openly, that they fell at last into quarrels among themselves; and some were for sending for the Successor, whilst the Queen's Recovery was yet uncertain: insomuch that they seem'd to have made him already a Present of their Affections, as much as could be done at that Distance. Hereupon the Queen look'd upon herself as an helpless and abandon'd Person; and would, in an Excess of Passion, drop now and then an Expression to this purpose: *They have now got me in a Toak: I have no body left me that I can trust; and my Condition is the perfect Reverse of what it was.* And to embitter her Sorrows yet more, they perswaded her that she had lost much of her Interest in the Hearts of her People: Whereas they, having a natural kind of Grudge to those in Power, complain'd most of all, that an exorbitant one was lodg'd in some who were too near the Queen's Person, and indeed had almost stoln away her Prerogative; and that others perceiving the Queen's Decay, were making the best Markets for themselves, as is usual in such Cases.

Q. grows worse. As soon as the Rumour was confirm'd that the Queen's Illness increas'd upon her, and that she was now greatly averse to Physick, as indeed she had ever appear'd in her younger Days; 'tis hardly credible, with how forward a Zeal, all Ranks and Conditions of Men, Puritans, Papists and others, as they were led on by particular Views and Expectations, hasten'd away, at all Times and Hours, by Sea and Land, into Scotland, to pay their Adorations to the Rising-Sun, the young King: whose Pretensions the Queen always favour'd at the bottom, though she was too prudent to lay open her Thoughts. And in truth, Persons of all degrees and qualities seem'd to concur in the same Sentiments, and had with great Satisfaction and Regard consider'd and look'd upon him as the undoubted Heir of the Crown: though at the same time there went about some false Reports of a Marriage of his Uncle's Daughter, the Lady Arbella; and the French Ambassador did all he could to raise Commotions, lest the two Kingdoms of Britain, England and Scotland, which were as yet divided, should come to an Union. In the beginning of March she was seiz'd with a kind of Stupour or Heaviness, join'd with a Pettishness common enough to ancient Persons: insomuch as she would frequently sit in a silent Posture, and refrain from eating; as having sequester'd herself for Thought and Meditation. She would admit of no Discourse, unless with the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who join'd with her in Prayer and other

Devotions, which she perform'd with great Fervour, till her Speech left her; and then she was very attentive to his Grace, whilst he pray'd by her. About this time the Lord-Admiral having acquainted the rest of the Council with what the Queen had told him in private, when she went last from Westminster, in relation to her Successor; they all thought it convenient, that himself, with the Lord-Keeper and Secretary, should wait upon her Majesty, and acquaint her, that they were come in the Name of the rest, to learn her Pleasure, in reference to the Succession. The Queen answer'd, with a faint Voice: *That she had already declared, That as she had held a Regal Scepter, so she desired no other than a Royal Successor.* And the Secretary requesting her to explain herself; *I would (said she) have a King succeed me; and who should that be, but my nearest Kinsman the King of Scots?* The Archbp. then advising her to fix her Thoughts upon God; she reply'd, *That she did so, nor did her Mind in the least wander from him.* When she could no longer express her Piety any other way, she lift up her Eyes and Hands to her Maker, as a Token where her Thoughts were centred; and doubtless the Concern she was in at her Incapacity to send up any other Prayers, did in God's account supply the Place of an articulate Devotion; and gave apparent Signs of a devout and well-prepared Heart to the Standers-by.

On the 24th of March, being the Eve of the Annunciation, she enjoy'd a blessed Remove from this World to a better; and resign'd that Breath into her Maker's Hands, which she had receiv'd on the Eve of the Blessed Virgin's Nativity. She took leave of her Crown and Life in such a way, that her Decease was the same, which Augustus wish'd for, happy and peaceable; after a glorious Reign of 44 Years and 4 Months, and in the 70th Year of her Age: A Period never yet attain'd by any of the Kings of England.

Her Loss, which was very considerable to the English Nation, was in some measure compensated by the mighty Hopes which were conceiv'd of her Successor King James; who was, not many Hours after, proclaim'd KING, with the joyful Shouts and Acclamations of the People. However, 'tis not possible, that any Succession of Times or Persons should erase the Memory of so excellent a Princess: The Reputation of her Vertues does still survive, and cannot fail of descending to Posterity; she being a Person, who (to use her Successor's own Expression) exceeded all the Princes since Augustus's Reign, in the Felicity and Prudence of her Administration.

Queen declares her Successor.

She dies.

K. James proclaim'd.

F I N I S

A N
A P P E N D I X
 T O
Queen Elizabeth's Life.

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queen of England to give Aid to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the Low-Countries.

Kings and Princes Sovereigns are to yield account of their Actions only to Almighty God, the King of kings.

ALtho' Kings and Princes Sovereigns, owing their Homage and Service only to the Almighty God the King of all Kings, are in that respect not bound to yield Account or render the Reasons of their Actions to any other but to God; their only Sovereign Lord; and that amongst the most Ancient and Christian Monarchs, the same Lord God hath committed to us the Sovereignty of this Realm of *England*, and other our Dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable only to his divine Majesty; yet we are, notwithstanding this our Prerogative, at this time especially, mov'd, for divers Reasons hereafter briefly remember'd, to publish not only to our own natural loving Subjects, but also to all others our Neighbours, especially to such Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subjects cause of Commerce with our Countries and People, what our Intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable Grounds we are moved to give Aid to our next Neighbours, the natural People of the *Low-Countries*, being by long Wars and Persecutions of strong Nations there, lamentably afflicted, and in present Danger to be brought into a perpetual Servitude.

Natural causes of ancient continual Traffick betwixt the People of *England* and them of the *Low-Countries*.

First, It is to be understood, (which percase is not perfectly known to a great number of Persons) that there hath been, time out of mind, even by the natural Situation of those *Low-Countries* and our Realm of *England*, one directly opposite to the other; and by reason of the ready crossing of the Seas, and multitudes of large and commodious Havens respectively on both sides, a continual Traffick and Commerce betwixt the People of *England*, and the natural People of these *Low-Countries*, and so continu'd in all ancient Times, when the several Provinces thereof, as *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by several Lords, and not united together, as of late Years they have been by intermarriages, and at length by concurrences of many and sundry Titles have also been reduc'd to be under the Government of their Lords that succeeded to the Dukedom of *Bur-*

gundy, whereby there hath been in former Ages many special Alliances and Confederations, not only betwixt the Kings of *England*, our Progenitors, and the Lords of the said Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, and their Adherents; but also betwixt the very natural Subjects of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgeses, and other Commonalties of the great Cities and Port-Towns of either Country reciprocally, by special Obligations and Stipulations under their Seals interchangeably, for maintenance both of Commerce and Intercourse of Merchants, and also of special mutual Amity to be observ'd betwixt the People and Inhabitants of both Parties as well Ecclesiastical as Secular: And very expresse Provision in such Treaties contained for mutual Favours, Affections, and all other friendly Offices, to be used and prosecuted by the People of the one Nation towards the other. By which mutual Bonds, there hath continu'd perpetual Unions of the Peoples Hearts together, and so by way of continual Intercourses, from Age to Age, the same mutual Love hath been inviolably kept and exercis'd, as it had been by the Work of Nature, and never utterly dissolv'd, nor yet for any long time discontinu'd, however the Kings and the Lords of the Countries sometimes (tho' very rarely) have been at difference, by sinister means of some other Princes, their Neighbours, envying the Felicity of these two Countries.

And for maintenance and testimony of these natural Unions of the People of these Kingdoms and Countries in perpetual Amity, there are extant sundry authentick Treaties and Transactions for mutual Commerce, Intercourse and strict Amity of ancient Times: As for Example, Some very solemnly accorded in the Times of *Hen. VI.* our Progenitor, and *Philip II.* Duke of *Burgundy*, and Inheritor to the County of *Flanders* by the Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, which was above 140 Years past, and the same also renew'd by the noble Duke *Charles* his Son, Father to the King of *Spain's* Grandmother, and Husband to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to our Great Grandfather King *Edward IV.* and after that, of new often-

Confederations both betwixt the Kings of *England* and Lords of the *Low-Countries*, & also the Subjects of both Countries.

The People of both the Countries bound by special Obligations interchangeably for mutual Favours & friendly Offices.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the Kings of *England* and the Dukes of *Burgundy*, for the commerce betwixt their Countries.

oftentimes renew'd by our most noble and sage Grandfather King Henry VII. and the Archduke Philip, Grandfather to the King of Spain now being; and in later Times, often renew'd betwixt our Father of noble Memory K. Hen. VIII. and Charles V. Emperor of *Almaigne*, Father also to the present King of Spain.

In all which Treaties, Transactions and Confederations of Amity and mutual Commerce, it was also at all times specially and principally contained in expresse Words, by Conventions, Concords and Conclusions, that the natural People and Subjects of either side, should shew mutual Favours and Duties one to the other, and should safely, freely and securely Commerce together in every their Countries, and so hath the same mutual and natural Concourse and Commerce been without interruption continu'd in many Ages, far above the like Example of any other Countries in *Christendom*, to the Honour and Strength of the Princes, and to the singular great Benefit and Inriching of their People, until of late Years that the King of Spain departing out of his *Low-Countries* into Spain, hath been (as it is to be thought) counselled by his Counsellors of Spain, to appoint *Spaniards*, Foreigners and Strangers of strange Blood, Men more exercis'd in Wars than in peaceable Government; and some of them notably delighted in Blood, as hath appear'd by their Actions, to be the chiefeft Governors of all his said *Low-Countries*, contrary to the ancient Laws and Customs thereof, having great plenty of noble, valiant and faithful Persons naturally born, and such as the Emperor Charles, and the King himself, had to their great Honours used in their Service, able to have been employ'd in the rule of those Countries. But these *Spaniards*, being meer Strangers, having no natural Regard in their Government to the Maintenance of those Countries and People in their ancient and natural manner of peaceable Living, as the most noble and wise Emperor Charles, yea, and as his Son King Philip himself had, whilst he remain'd in those Countries, and used the Counsels of the States and natural of the Countries, not violating the ancient Liberties of the Countries; but contrariwise, these *Spaniards* being exalted to absolute Government, by Ambition and for private Lucre, have violently broken the ancient Laws and Liberties of all the Countries, and in a tyrannous sort have banish'd, kill'd and destroy'd, without order of Law, within the space of a few Months, many of the most ancient and principal Persons of the natural Nobility that were most worthy of Government. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruel Persecutions, the pretence thereof was for maintenance of the *Romish* Religion, yet they spared not to deprive very many Catholicks and Ecclesiastical Persons of their Franchises and Privileges; and of the chiefeft that were executed of the Nobility, none was in the whole Country more affected to that Religion than was the noble and valiant Count of *Egmond*, the very Glory of that Country; who neither for his singular Victories in the Service for the King of Spain can be forgotten in the true Histories, nor for the Cruelties used for his Destruction to be but for ever lamented in the Hearts of the natural People of that Country. And furthermore, to bring these whole Countries in Servitude to Spain, these forein Governors have by long intestine War, with multitudes of *Spaniards*, and with some few *Italians* and *Almains*, made the greater part of the said Countries (which with their Riches, by common Estimation, answer'd the Emperor Charles equally to his *Indies*) in a manner deso-

late; and have also lamentably destroy'd by Sword, Famine, and other cruel manners of Death, a great part of the natural People, and now the rich Towns and strong Places being desolate of their natural Inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with Force by the *Spaniards*.

All which pitiful Miseries and horrible Calamities of these most rich Countries and People, are of all their Neighbours at this day, even of such as in ancient Time have been at frequent Discord with them, through natural Compassion very greatly pitied, which appear'd specially this present Year, when the French King pretended to have receiv'd them to his Protection, had not (as the States of the Country and their Deputies were answer'd) that certain, untimely and unlook'd for Complots of the House of *Guise*, stir'd and maintain'd by Money out of Spain, disturb'd the good and general Peace of France, and thereby urged the King to forbear from the Resolution he had made, not only to Aid the oppressed People of the *Low-Countries* against the *Spaniards*, but also to have accepted them as his own Subjects. But in very truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in France by the French King, who also hath oftentimes earnestly solicited us as Queen of England, both by Message and Writing, to be careful of their Defence: Yet in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knit in ancient Friendship to this Realm than to any other Country, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and grief generally, than of our Subjects of this our Realm of England, being their most ancient Allies and familiar Neighbours, and that in such manner, as this our Realm of England and those Countries have been by common Language of long time resembled and termed as Man and Wife. And for these urgent Causes, and many others, we have by many friendly Messages and Ambassadors, by many Letters and Writings to the said King of Spain, our Brother and Ally, declar'd our Compassion of this so evil and cruel Usage of his natural and loyal People by sundry his martial Governors, and other his Men of War, all Strangers to these his Countries. And furthermore, as a good loving Sister to him, and a natural good Neighbour to his *Low-Countries* and People, we have often, and often again, most friendly warned him, That if he did not otherwise by his Wisdom and Princely Clemency restrain the Tyranny of his Governors and Cruelty of his Men of War, we fear'd that the People of his Countries should be forc'd, for safety of their Lives, and for continuance of their native Country in their former State of their Liberties, to seek the Protection of some other foreign Lord, or rather to yield themselves wholly to the Sovereignty of some mighty Prince, as by the ancient Laws of their Countries, and by special Privileges granted by some of the Lords and Dukes of the Countries to the People, they do pretend and affirm, that in such cases of general Injustice, and upon such violent breaking of their Privileges, they are free from their former Homages, and at liberty to make choice of any other Prince to be their Prince and Head. The proof whereof, by Examples past, is to be seen and read in the ancient Histories of divers Alterations, of the Lords and Ladies of the Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*, and other Countries to them united by the States and People of the Countries, and that by some such Alteration, as the Stories do testify, Philip the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his Title, from which the King of

rich Towns & Strength, with the Wealth thereof, possessed by the *Spaniards*.

French King offers to have aided & receiv'd to his subjection the oppressed People of the *Low-Countries*.

The Q. of England's continual friendly Advices to the K. of Spain for restraining of the Tyranny of his Governors.

Conventions for the Subjects of either side to shew mutual Favours one to the other.

Spaniards & Strangers lately appointed Governors in the *Low-Countries*, to the violation of the Liberties of the Country.

The Destruction of the Nobility and the People of the Countries by the *Spanish* Government.

The lamentable violent Death of the Count of *Egmond*, the Glory of those Countries.

The Q. of England's means us'd to stay the States of the Low-Countries from yielding their Subjection to any other foreign Prince.

of Spain's Interest is derived; but the farther discussion hereof, we leave to the view of the Monuments and Records of the Countries. And now for the Purposes to stay them from yielding themselves in any like sort to the Sovereignty of any other strange Prince, certain Years past, upon the earnest Request of sundry of the greatest Persons of Degree in those Countries, and most obedient Subjects to the King, such as were the Duke of *Ascot*, and the Marquis of *Hanover*, yet living, and of such others as had principal Offices in those Countries in the time of the Emperor *Charles*, we yielded at their importunate Requests, to grant them prefts of Money, only to continue them as his Subjects, and to maintain themselves in their just Defence against the Violence and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* their Oppressors, thereby staying them from yielding their Subjection to any other Prince from the said King of *Spain*: And during the time of that our Aid given to them, and their stay in their Obedience to the K. of *Spain*, we did freely acquaint the same King with our Actions, and did still continue our friendly Advices to him, to move him to command his Governors and Men of War, not to use such insolent Cruelties against his People, as might make them to despair of his Favours, and seek some other Lord.

And in these kind of Persuasions and Actions we continu'd many Years, not only for Compassion of the miserable State of the Countries, but of a natural Disposition to have the ancient Conditions of straight Amity and Commerce for our Kingdoms and People to continue with the States and the People of the said Dukedom of *Burgundy* and the Appendants, and namely, with our next Neighbours the Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zealand*. For we did manifestly see, if the Nation of *Spain* should make a Conquest of those Countries, as was and yet is apparently intended, and plant themselves there as they have done in *Naples* and other Countries, adding thereto the late Examples of the violent hostile Enterprize of a Power of *Spaniards*, being sent within these few Years by the King of *Spain* and the Pope into our Realm of *Ireland*, with an intent manifestly confessed by the Captains, that those Numbers were sent aforehand to seize upon some Strength there, to the intent with other greater Forces to pursue a Conquest thereof; we did, we say again, manifestly see in what Danger our Self, our Countries and People might shortly be, if in convenient time we did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often Requests and Advices given to the King of *Spain*, manifestly for his own Weal and Honour, we found him by his Council of *Spain* so unwilling in any sort to incline to our friendly Counsel, that his Governors and Chieftains in his *Low-Countries* increased their Cruelties towards his own afflicted People, and his Officers in *Spain* offer'd daily greater Injuries to ours, resorting thither for Traffick; yea, they of his Council in *Spain*, would not permit our express Messenger with our Letters to come to the King their Matter's Presence; a matter very strange, and against the Law of Nations.

The Enterprize of the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* sent by the King of *Spain* and the Pope.

The refusal of the Q.'s Messenger & her Letters to the K. of *Spain*.

The just causes of dismissing of *Bernardin Mendoza* out of *England*.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the King, proceeded of Matter that was worthy to be known to the King, and not unmeet now also to be declared to the World, to shew both our good Disposition towards the King, in imparting to him our Grievs, and to let it appear how evil we have been used by his Ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Altho' we could not have these many Years past

any of our Servants whom we sent at sundry times as our Ambassadors to the King our good Brother as was meet, suffer'd to continue there without many Injuries and Indignities offer'd to their Families, and divers times to their own Persons by the greatest of his Counsellors, so as they were constrain'd to leave their Places, and some expell'd, and in a sort banish'd the Country, without cause given by them, or notified to us; yet we, minding to continue very good Friendship with the King, as his good Sister, did of long time and many Years give favourable allowance of all that came as his Ambassadors to us, saving only upon manifest dangerous Practices attempted by two of them to trouble our State, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a very turbulent-spirited Person, and altogether unskillful and unapt to deal in Princes Affairs being in Amity, as at his return into *Spain* he was so there also reputed; the other and last was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whom we did accept and use with great Favour a long time, as was manifestly seen in our Court, and we think cannot be denied by himself, but yet of late Years (we know not by what Direction) we found him to be a secret great Favourer to sundry our evil disposed and seditious Subjects, not only to such as lurked in our Realm, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemn'd as open Rebels and Traitors, with whom, by his Letters, Messages and secret Counsels, he did in the end devise how with a Power of Men, partly to come out of *Spain*, partly out of the *Low-Countries*, whereof he gave them great Comfort in the King's Name, an Invasion might be made into our Realm, setting down in Writing the manner how the same should be done, with what number of Men and Ships, and upon what Coasts, Ports and Places of our Realm by special Name, and who the Persons should be in our Realm of no small Account, that should favour this Invasion and take part with the Invaders, with many other Circumstances declaring his full set Purpose and Labours taken, to trouble us and our Realm very dangerously, as hath been most clearly proved and confessed by such as were in that Confederacy with him, whereof some are fled and now do frequent his Company in *France*, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course herein held by the said Ambassador, as was manifestly of late time publish'd to the World upon *Francis Throgmorton's*, a principal Traitor's, Examination. And when we found manifestly this Ambassador so dangerous an Instrument, or rather a Head to a Rebellion and Invasion, and that for a Year or more together he never brought to us any Letter from the King his Master, notwithstanding our often request made to him, That he would by some Letter from the King to us, let it appear, that it was the King's will that he should deal with us in his Master's Name in sundry things that he propounded to us as his Ambassador, which we did judge to be contrary to the King his Master's will; we did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous Practices, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with many other Circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in very gentle sort to be content within some reasonable time to depart out of our Realm, the rather for his own Safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our People; for the which we granted him favourable Conduct, both to the Sea and over the Sea; and thereupon we did speedily send a Servant of ours into *Spain* with our Letters to the King, only to certify him of this Accident, and to make the whole matter apparent unto him; and this was the

He is favourably licensed to depart the Realm.

the Messenger aforementioned, that might not be suffer'd to deliver our Message or our Letters to the King.

And beside these Indignities, it is most manifest how his Ministers also have both heretofore many times, and now lately practised here in *England* by means of certain Rebels, to have procur'd sundry Invasions of our Realm, by their Forces out of *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*. Very hard Recompences (we may say) for so many our good Offices. Hereupon we hope no reasonable Person can blame us, if we have disposed ourselves to change this our former course, and more carefully to look to the Safety of our self and our People: And finding our own Dangers indeed very great and eminent, we have been the more urgently provok'd to attempt and accelerate some good Remedy, for that besides many other Advices given us both at home and from abroad, in due time to withstand these Dangers, we have found the general Disposition of all our own faithful People very ready in this case, and earnest in offering to us both in Parliaments and otherwise, their Services with their Bodies and Blood, and their Aids with their Lands and Goods, to withstand and prevent this present common Danger to our Realm and themselves, evidently seen and feared by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient Nation of these *Low-Countries*, and by planting the *Spanish* Nation and Men of War, Enemies to our Countries, there so near unto us. And besides these Occasions and Considerations, we did also call to our Remembrance our former fortunate Proceeding by God's special Favour, in the beginning of our Reign, in remedying of a like Mischief that was intended against us in *Scotland* by certain *Frenchmen*, who then were directed only by the House of *Guise*, by colour of the Marriage of their Niece the Queen of *Scots* with the *Dolphin* of *France*, in like manner as the Offsprings of the said House have even now lately sought to attain to the like inordinate Power in *France*; a matter of some Consequence for ourselves to consider, altho' we hope the King our good Brother professing sincere Friendship toward us, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring Greatness of that House, that neither himself nor the Princes of his Blood be over-ruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect Friendship with the King and his Blood) be by the said House of *Guise* and their Faction disquieted or disturbed in our Countries. But now to return to this like Example of *Scotland* aforesaid, when the *French* had in like manner (as the *Spaniards* have now of long time attempted in the *Low-Countries*) sought by force to have subdued the People there, and brought them into a Servitude to the Crown of *France*, and also by the ambitious Desires of the said House of *Guise*, to have proceeded to a War by way of *Scotland*, for the Conquest of our Crown for their Niece the Queen of *Scots* (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the World); it pleased Almighty God, as it remaineth in good memory to our Honour and Comfort, to farther our Intention and honourable and just Actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding them of the Nation of *Scotland* being sore oppressed with the *French*, and universally requiring our Aid, we procur'd to that Realm (though to our great Cost) a full deliverance of the Force of Strangers and Danger of Servitude, and restored Peace to the whole Country, which hath continu'd there ever since many Years, saving that at some time of Partialities of certain of the Noblemen, as hath been usual in that Country, in the minority of the young King there hath ri-

sen some inward Troubles, which for the most part we have in favour of the K. and his Governors used means to pacifie; so as at this day such is the Quietness in *Scotland*, as the King our dear Brother and Cousin, by name *James VI.* a Prince of great hope for many good Princely Respects, reigneth there in honour and love of his People, and in very good and perfect Amity with us and our Country. And so our Actions at that time came to so good Success by the goodness of God, as both our own Realm and that of *Scotland* hath ever since remained in better Amity and Peace than can be remember'd these many hundred Years before, and yet nothing hereby done by us, nor any cause justly given, but that also the *French* Kings that have since succeeded, which have been three in number, and all Brethren, have made and concluded divers Treaties for good Peace with us, which presently continue in force on both Parties, notwithstanding our foresaid Actions attempted for removing out of *Scotland* of the said *French* Forces, so transported by the only Direction of the House of *Guise*.

And therefore, to conclude for the Declaration of our present Intention at this time, we hope it shall of all Persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by Partiality, that upon the often and continual lamentable Requests made to us by the universal States of the Countries of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelders* and other Provinces with them united (being desperate of the King of *Spain's* Favours) for our Succours to be yielded to them, only for their Defence against the *Spaniards* and other Strangers, and therewith finding manifestly by our often and importunate Requests and Advices given to the King of *Spain*, no hope of Relief of these their Miseries, but rather an increase thereof by daily conquests of their Towns and slaughter of their People; (though in very truth we cannot impute the increase of any late Cruelties to the Person of him that now hath the Title of General Governor, shewing his natural Disposition more inclinable to Mercy and Clemency, than it seemeth he can direct the Hearts of the *Spaniards* under him, that have been so long trained in shedding of Blood under the former *Spanish* Governors) and joining thereunto our own Danger at hand, by the Overthrow and Destruction of our Neighbours, and access and planting of the great Forces of the *Spaniards* so near to our Countries, with precedent Arguments of many troublesome Attempts against our Realm: We did therefore, by good Advice and after long deliberation, determine to send certain Companies of Soldiers to aid the natural People of those Countries, only to defend them and their Towns from Sacking and Desolation, and thereby to procure them Safety, to the honour of God, whom they desire to serve sincerely as Christian People, according to his holy Word, and to enjoy their ancient Liberties for them and their Posterity, and so consequently to preserve and continue the lawful and ancient Commerce betwixt our People and those Countries and ours.

And so we hope our Intention herein, and our subsequent Actions, will be, by God's Favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all Persons, (saving of the Oppressors themselves and their Partisans) in that we mean not hereby, either for Ambition or Malice, (the two Roots of all Injustice) to make any particular Profit hereof to our self or to our People, only desiring at this time to obtain, by God's Favour, for the Countries, 'A deliverance of them from War by the *Spaniards* and Foreigners, with a restitution of

Scotland restor'd to th' ancient Freedom, and so possess'd by the present K. by means only of the Q. of *England*.

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certain companies of *English* Soldiers to the defence of the oppressed People of the *Low-Countries*, and to withstand the Attempts against this Realm.

English Power sent only to defend.

Three special things reasonably desired by the Q. of *England*.

The end of Wars, of

The Q. of *England's* proceeding for the delivery of *Scotland* from the Servitude wherein the House of *Guise* meant to have brought it

with restitu-
tion of
the Low-
Countries
to their
ancient
Liberties.
2. Surety
from in-
vasion of
her own
Realm.
3. And re-
newing of
mutual
Traffic
between
the Coun-
tries.

Causes of
taking
some
Towns
into her
Majesty's
custody.

of their ancient Liberties and Government by some Christian Peace; And thereby, a Surety for our selves and our Realm to be free from invading Neighbours; And our People to enjoy in those Countries their lawful Commerce and Intercourse of Friendship and Merchandize, according to the ancient Usage and Treaties of Intercourse made betwixt our Progenitors and the Lords and Earls of those Countries, and betwixt our People and the People of those Countries.

And tho' our farther Intention also is or may be to take into our Guard some few Towns upon the Sea-side next opposite to our Realm, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the Strangers, Enemies of the Country; yet therein considering we have no meaning at this time to take and restrain the same to our own proper Use, we hope that all Persons will think it agreeable with good Reason and princely Policy, that we should have the guard and use of some such Places for sure Access and Recess of our People and Soldiers in safety, and for furniture of them with Victuals and other things requisite and necessary, whilst it shall be needful for them to continue in those Countries for the aiding thereof in these their great Calamities, Miseries and eminent Danger, and until the Countries may be deliver'd of such strange Forces as do now oppress them, and recover their ancient lawful Liberties and manner of Government to live in Peace as they have heretofore done, and do now most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the very only true ends of all our Actions now intended, howsoever malicious Tongues may utter their canker'd Conceits to the contrary, as at this day the World abounded with such blasphemous Reports in Writings and infamous Libels, as in no Age the Devil hath more abounded with notable Spirits replenished with all Wickedness to utter his Rage against Professors of Christian Religion. But thereof we leave the Revenge to God the searcher of Hearts, hoping that he, beholding the Sincerity of our Heart, will grant good Success to our Intentions, whereby a Christian Peace may ensue to his divine Honour, and Comfort to all them that love Peace truly, and will seek it sincerely.

*An Addition to the DECLARATION,
Touching the Slanders published of her
Majesty.*

After we had finish'd our Declaration, there came to our hands a Pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, intitl'd, *Nuovo Avviso*, directed to the Archbishop of Milan, containing a Report of the Expugnation of *Antwerp* by the Prince of Parma: By the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable Crimes, no less hateful to the World than most repugnant and contrary to our own natural Inclination. The one, with Ingratitude towards the King of Spain, who (as the Author saith) saved our Life, being justly, by Sentence, adjudged to Death in our Sister's time. The other, that there were some Persons procur'd to be corrupted with great Promises, and that with our Intelligence, as the Reporter addeth in a Parenthesis in these Words (as it was said), that the Life of the Prince of Parma should be taken away. And for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible Lye, it is farther added in the said Pamphlet, That it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wic-

ked Persons to Justice. Now, knowing how Men are maliciously bent in this declining Age of the World, both to judge, speak and write maliciously, falsely and irreverently of Princes; and holding nothing so dear unto us, as the conservations of our Reputation and Honour to be blameless; we found it very expedient, not to suffer two such horrible Imputations to pass under Silence, lest for lack of Answer it might argue a kind of Guiltiness, and did therefore think, that what might be alledg'd by us for our Justification in that behalf, might most aptly be join'd unto this former Declaration now to be publish'd, to lay open before the World the manner and ground of our Proceeding in the Causes of the Low-Countries.

And for answer of the first Point wherewith we are charged touching our Ingratitude towards the King of Spain, As we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the time of our late Sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many ways since, in like sort, to requite, as in our former Declaration by our Actions may appear; so do we utterly deny, as a most manifest untruth, that ever he was the cause of the saving of our Life, as a Person by course of Justice sentenced unto Death, who ever carried our self towards our said Sister in dutiful sort, as our Loyalty was never called in question, much less any Sentence of Death pronounced against us: A matter such, as in respect of the ordinary course of Proceeding, as by process in Law, by place of Trial, by the Judge that should pronounce such Sentence, and other necessary Circumstances in like cases usual, especially against one of our Quality, as it could not but have been publickly known, if any such thing had been put in execution. This then being true, we leave to the World to judge how maliciously and injuriously the Author of the said Pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by so notable an untruth with a Vice that of all others we do most hate and abhor. And therefore by the manifest untruth of this Imputation, Men not transported with Passion may easily discern what untruth is contain'd in the second, by the which we are charged to have been acquainted with an intended attempt against the Life of the said Prince. A matter, if any such thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded either of a misliking we had of his Person, or that the prosecution of the Wars in the Low Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his Person: We could never learn that he hath at any time, by Act or Speech, done any thing that might justly breed a dislike in us towards him, much less a hatred against his Person in so high a degree, as to be either privy or assenting to the taking away of his Life: Besides, he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable Conceit, in respect of those singular rare Parts we always have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great Reputation, as any Man this day living carrieth of his Degree and Quality; and so have we always deliver'd out by Speech unto the World, when any Occasion hath been offer'd to make mention of him. Now, touching the Prosecution committed unto him of the Wars in the Low-Countries, As all Men of Judgment know that the taking away of his Life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall work any end of the said Prosecution; so is it manifestly known, that no Man hath dealt more Honourably than the said Prince, either in duly observing of his Promise, or extending Grace and Mercy where Merit and Desert hath craved the

the same; and therefore no greater Impiety by any could be wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to our self (so long as the King shall continue the prosecution of the Cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be an Instrument to take him away from thence by such violent means, that hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious sort in the Charge committed unto him, than any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him.

Now therefore, how unlikely it is, that we, having neither cause to dislike of his Person, nor that the prosecution of the Wars should cease by loss of him, should be either Author, or any way assenting to so horrible a Fact, we refer to the Judgment of such as look into Causes, not with the Eyes of their Affection, but do measure and weigh things according to Honor and Reason. Besides, it is likely if it had been true that we had been any way chargeable, (as the Author reporteth) the Confessions of the Parties executed, (importing such matter as by him is alleged) would have been both produced and published; for Malice leaveth nothing unsearchable, that may nourish the Venom of that Humour.

The best course therefore that both we and all other Princes can hold in this unfortunate Age, that overfloweth with numbers of malignant Spirits, is, through the Grace and Goodness of Almighty God, to direct our course in such sort, as they may rather shew their Wills through Malice, than with just cause by desert to say ill, or deface Princes either by Speech or Writing; assuring ourselves, that besides the Punishment that such wicked and infamous Libellors shall receive at the hands of the Almighty for depraving of Princes and lawful Magistrates, who are God's Ministers, they both are and always shall be thought by all good Men, unworthy to live upon the face of the Earth.

Given at Richmond the first of October 1585, and the 27th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, to be publish'd.

Vid. p. 401.

The Order of the Rites and Ceremonies used at the Consecration of the most Reverend Father in Christ Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Chappel at his Mannor of Lambeth, on Sunday the 17th of December, 1559.

Imprimis, THE Chappel was hung towards the East with Tapestry, the Floor cover'd with red Cloth, and a Table for the Communion-Service was plac'd in the Eastern part of the Chappel, on which was laid a Tapestry Carpet and a Cushion.

On the South-side of the Eastern-part of the Chappel were placed four Chairs for the four Bishops appointed to consecrate the Archbishop.

Before these Chairs was placed a Footstool cover'd with Tapestry, and on it were laid Cushions for the Bishops to kneel on.

In like manner was a Chair and Footstool, with a Cushion, plac'd on the North-side of the Eastern-part of the said Chappel for the Archbishop.

Every thing being thus prepar'd, about five or six of the Clock in the Morning the Archbishop

came into the Chappel at the Western-Gate, in his scarlet Robes, with his Hood on; before him were carried four Tapers, and with him came the four Bishops appointed to assist at his Consecration, to wit, *William Barlow* late Bishop of Bath and Wells but now of Chichester, *John Scory* late of Chichester but now elect of Hereford, *Miles Coverdale* late Bishop of Exeter, and *John Hodskinne* Suffragan of Bedford. Which Bishops having taken their several Seats according to their Order: The Morning Prayer was read with a distinct Voice by *Andrew Pierston* the Archbishop's Chaplain; after Prayers the aforesaid *John Scory* went up to the Pulpit, and made an excellent Sermon on this Text; 1 Pet. 5. 1. *The Elders which are among you Exhort, who are also an Elder, &c.*

After Sermon the Archbishop and the four Bishops went out of the Chappel into the Vestry to prepare themselves for the Communion, and very soon after return'd into the Chappel again by the Western-Door thus dressed. The Archbishop had on a Linen Surplice. The Bishop of Chichester elect, who administer'd the Sacrament, had on a silk Cope, and he was assisted therein by two of the Archbishop's Chaplains likewise with silk Copes on, viz. *Nicholas Bullingham* Archdeacon of Lincoln, and *Edmund Gest* Archdeacon of Canterbury. The elect Bishop of Hereford and the Suffragan of Bedford had Linen Surplices on.

But *Miles Coverdale* wore nothing over his long Cloth Gown.

Being thus cloathed and provided, they proceeded to the Communion-Table; the Archbishop being on his Knees at the lowermost Step of the Chappel.

After the Gospel was read, the aforesaid Bishop elect of Hereford, Suffragan of Bedford, and *Miles Coverdale* brought the Archbishop to the Bishop of Chichester elect, sitting near the Communion-Table in a Chair, and said thus.

Most Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this godly and well-learned Man to be Ordained and Consecrated an Archbishop.

After they had thus said, the Queen's Mandate for Consecrating him Archbishop was produced and read by *Thomas Yale* Doctor of the Laws; then the Oath of Supremacy (appointed by Act of Parliament 1 Eliz.) was tender'd the Archbishop; which after he had solemnly taken and sworn to upon the holy Evangelists, the Bishop of Chichester elect mov'd the Congregation to pray, and then proceeded to sing the Litany, the Choir singing the Responses. Which being done, some Questions were asked the Archbishop by the Bishop of Chichester elect; and after some Prayers and Suffrages, according to the Form appointed by Authority of Parliament to be used on these Occasions, the Bishops of Chichester, Hereford, Suffragan of Bedford, and *Miles Coverdale* laying their Hands on the Archbishop's Head, said, *Receive the Holy Ghost; and remember that thou stir up the Grace of God, which is given thee by this Imposition of our Hands: For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power, and Love, and Soberness.* When they had said this, they deliver'd a Bible into the Archbishop's Hands, saying these Words, *Give heed unto Reading, Exhortation and Doctrine. Think upon the things contained in this Book. Be diligent in them, that the Increase coming thereby may be manifest unto all Men. Take heed unto thy self, and to Doctrine, and be diligent in doing them; for by so doing thou shalt both save thy self, and them that hear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord.* When they had said thus, the Bishop of Chichester went on to the remaining part of the Communion-Service, (without putting a Crosier

into the Archbishops Hand) and the Archbishop, the aforefaid Bishops and feveral others, receiv'd the Communion together.

The Solemnity being thus over, the Archbishop, accompanied with the four Bishops who had consecrated him, went out at the North-Door of the Eastern-part of the Chappel, and soon after return'd through the same Door, with the faid Bishops, in his Episcopal Habit, with his Rochet and other Robes, and about his Neck was a Tippet of fine Sables Furs. In the same manner were the Bishops of *Chichester* and *Hereford* cloathed in their Episcopal Habits; but *Coverdale* and the Suffragan of *Bedford* wore only their usual long Gowns. Then the Archbishop, going towards the Western-Gate of the Chappel, gave white Staves to *Thomas Doyle* his Steward, *John Baker* his Treasurer, and *John March* his Comptroller; by which Ceremony he confirm'd them in their faid Employments.

All things being in the faid manner finish'd in Order above-describ'd, the Archbishop went out of the Chappel at the Western-Door; those of his Family and Relations of better Note and Quality going before, and the rest following after him.

All these things were done and perform'd in the Presence of the Reverend Fathers in Christ, *Edmund Gryndal* elect Bishop of *London*, *Rich. Cox* elect Bishop of *Ely*, *Edwin Sandes* elect Bishop of *Worcester*, *Anthony Huse* Esq; chief Register of the Province of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Argal* Register of the Prerogative-Court of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Willet* and *John Incent* Publick-Notaries, and several others.

The Record from which this Account is translated is in the Registry of the See of *Canterbury*, and a Copy of it (found among Archbishop *Parker's MSS*) is in *Bennet-College-Library* in *Cambridge*, (of which College he had been Fellow and Master, and to which he left his Books and Papers) and the Letter, manner of Writing, and all other Circumstances, bring such Conviction that they are genuine, that the learned University of *Cambridge*, have given their solemn and unanimous Attestation to the Record, as the Reader may see annex'd to Mr. *Brown's* Latin Sermons in Vindication of the Orders of the Church of *England*, intitl'd, *Concio ad Clerum habita coram Academia Cantabrigiensis*, Junii 11. 1687. A *Thomâ Browne*, &c. Printed at *Cambridge* 1688. And tho' this be a most evident Proof of this Consecration, since it is a Rule in the Law, *Instrumenta publica potiora sunt Testibus*, that publick Deeds and Records are better Proof than Witnesses; yet by the Providence of God, when the Story of the Nag's-Head-Ordination was trump'd up and maintain'd, in which time Mr. *Mason* wrote his excellent Book *De Ministerio Anglicano*, the Right Honourable *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham* was alive, who was present at the Consecration of Archbishop *Parker* at *Lambeth*, and bore witness to the truth of it; a Testimony worth that of an hundred Neals, on whose Report alone the Fable of the Nag's-Head-Ordination was rais'd, and whose only credit it has hitherto had for its support.

Nor was the Ordination of Archbishop *Parker* regularly perform'd with respect to the Place and Ceremonies used only, but likewise with regard to the Persons consecrating him, who had been duly ordain'd Bishops themselves before: These Persons were *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale* and the Suffragan of *Bedford*. As for *Barlow*, we are assur'd he was successively Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *St. Davids*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Chichester*, that he was acknowledg'd a Bishop by all Estates of Men in the Kingdom; that for his Temporalities he

did Homage to the King; that he sat in Parliament among the Spiritual Lords; that he exercis'd the Jurisdiction of a Bishop; and (what was the worst Mark of all) that he alienated some of his Mannors to the Crown, tho' there be no particular Register by whom he was consecrated in Henry VIII's time, * more than in general, that he was made a Bishop in those Days. || *J. Scory* was consecrated Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Miles Coverdale* of *Exeter*, August 30. 1551, by *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Bishop of *London*, and *John* Suffragan of *Bedford*: And * *John Hodgskinne* was consecrated Suffragan of *Bedford*, Dec. 9. 29 Hen. 8. by *John* Bishop of *London*, *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Robert* Bishop of *S. Asaph*. All which puts the Canonical Succession of the Bishops of the Church of *England* beyond dispute.

Vid. p. 370.

The Answer of the Queen's Highness to the Petition propounded unto her by the Lower-House, concerning her Marriage. Friday, Feb. 10. 1558.

AS I have good cause, so do I give you all my hearty Thanks for the good Zeal and loving Care you seem to have, as well towards me, as to the whole Estate of your Country. Your Petition, I perceive, consisteth of three Parts, and my Answer to the same shall depend of two.

And to the first Part, I may say unto you, That from my Years of Understanding, sith I first had consideration of myself to be born a Servant of Almighty God, I happily chose this kind of Life in the which I yet live; which, I assure you, for mine own part, hath hitherto best contented my self, and I trust hath been most acceptable unto God; from the which, if either Ambition of high Estate offer'd to me in Marriage, by the pleasure and appointment of my Prince, (whereof I have some Record in this Presence, as you our Treasurer well know) or if eschewing the danger of mine Enemies, or the avoiding of the peril of Death, whose Messenger, or rather a continual Watchman, the Prince's Indignation was no little time daily before mine Eyes, (by whose means (although I know, or justly may suspect) yet I will not now utter, or if the whole cause were in my Sister herself, I will not now burthen her therewith, because I will not charge the dead) if any of these, I say, could have drawn or dissuaded me from this kind of Life, I had not now remain'd in this Estate, wherein you see me: But so constant have I always continued in this Determination, although my Youth and Words may seem to some hardly to agree together, yet is it most true, that at this day I stand free from any other meaning, that either I have had in Times past, or have at this present; with which Trade of Life I am so thoroughly acquainted, that I trust God, who hath hitherto herein preserv'd and led me by the Hand, will not of his Goodness suffer me to go alone.

For the other part, the manner of your Petition I do well like, and take it in good part, because it is simple, and containeth no Limitation of Place or Person: If it had been otherwise, I must needs have milliked it very much, and thought it in you a very great Presumption, being unfitting and altogether unmeet for you to require them, that may command; or those to appoint, whose Parts are to desire; or such to bind

bind and limit, whose Duties are to obey, or to take upon you to draw my Love to your Liking, or frame my Will according to your Fantalic: For a Guerdon constrain'd, and Gift freely given, can never agree together. Nevertheless, if any of you be insuspect, whensoever it may please God to incline my Heart to another kind of Life; you may well assure yourselves, my Meaning is not to determine any thing, wherewith the Realm may or shall have just Cause to be discontent. And therefore put that clean out of your Heads. For I assure you (what Credit my Assurance may have with you, I cannot tell, but what Credit it shall deserve to have, the Sequel shall declare) I will never in that matter conclude any thing, that shall be prejudicial to the Realm. For the Weal, Good and Safety whereof, I will never shun to spend my Life; and whomsoever it shall be my Chance to light upon, I trust he shall be such, as shall be as careful for the Realm, as you; I will not say as myself, because I cannot so certainly determine of any other, but by my Desire he shall be such as shall be as careful for the Preservation of the Realm and you, as myself. And albeit it might please Almighty God to continue me still in this Mind, to live out of the State of Marriage, yet is it not to be fear'd, but he will so work in my Heart, and in your Wisdom, as good Provision, by his Help, may be made, whereby the Realm shall not remain destitute of any Heir that may be a fit Governour, and peradventure more beneficial to the Realm, than such Offspring as may come of me: For though I be never so careful of your well-doing, and mind ever so to be, yet may my Issue grow out of kind, and become perhaps ungracious. And in the end, this shall be for me sufficient, that a Marble-Stone shall declare, that a Queen having reign'd such a time, lived and died a Virgin. And here I end, and take your coming to me in good part, and give unto all my hearty Thanks; more yet for your Zeal and good Meaning, than for your Petition.

And under her Majesty's Answer aforesaid, was subscribed in the same Hand, as followeth:

This copied out of a printed Copy, garnish'd with gilt Letters, given to the Honourable the Lady Stafford, of her Majesty's Privy-Chamber; and written out by Alex. Evesham, 1590.

By which Subscription, the Authentickness of this Copy doth sufficiently appear.

*At the End of the Session April 10. 1563.
The Lord-Keeper said to Mr. Speaker,*

— And touching your Request before this made to her (the Queen) for her Marriage and Succession, because it is of such Importance, whereby I doubted my own opening thereof; and therefore desired her Majesty, that her Meaning might be written, which she hath done and delivered to me to be read, as followeth:

Since there can be no due Debt than Princes Words; which I would observe, therefore I answer to the same; thus it is. The two Petitions, which you made unto me, do contain two things; My Marriage, and Succession after me. For the first, if I had let slip too much time, or if my Strength had been decay'd, you might the better have spoke therein; or if any think I never meant to try that Life, they be deceived: but if I may hereafter bend my Mind thereunto, the rather for fulfilling your Request, I shall be therewith very well content.

For the second, the Greatness thereof maketh me to say and pray, that I may linger here in this Vale of Misery for your Comfort, wherein I have Witness of my Study and Travail, for your Surety; and I cannot with Nunc dimittis end my Life, without I see some Foundation of your Surety, after my Grave-Stone.

Vid. p. 199.

The Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to her Majesty, upon the two great Matters of Marriage and Succession, deliver'd by the Lord-Keeper, in Parliament, on November 5. 1566.

MOST humbly beseecheth your excellent Majesty, your faithful, loving and obedient Subjects, all your Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in Parliament in your Upper House; to be so much their good Lady and Sovereign, as according to your accustomed Bignity, to grant a gracious and favourable Hearing to their Petitions and Suits, which with all Humbleness and Obedience, they are come hither to present to your Majesty by my Mouth, in Matters very nearly and dearly touching your most royal Person, the imperial Crown of this your Realm, and universal Weal of the same; which Suits, for that they tend to the Surety and Preservation of these three things, your Person, Crown and Realm, the dearest Jewel that my Lords have in the Earth; therefore they think themselves, for divers respects, greatly bound to make these Petitions; as first by their Duty to God, then by their Allegiance to your Highness, and lastly by the Faith they ought to bear to their natural Country. And like as, most gracious Sovereign, by these Bonds they should have been bound to make the like Petition, upon like occasion, to any Prince, that it should have pleas'd God to have appointed to reign over them; so they think themselves doubly bound to make the same to your Majesty, considering that besides the Bond before-mentioned, they stand also bound so to do, by the great and manifold Benefits they have and do receive daily at your Highness's Hands; which, shortly to speak, be as great as the Fruits of Peace, common Quiet and Justice can give: and this with great Care and Charge to yourself. And thus, my Lords diversly bound, as your Majesty hath heard, are now to open to your Highness their humble Petitions and Suits, consisting in two Points chiefly; which not sundrily, or the one without the other, but both jointly they desire your Highness to assent to: The former is, that it would please your Majesty to dispose yourself to marry, where it shall please you, with whom it shall please you, and as soon as it shall please you. The second, that some such Limitation might be made, how the imperial Crown of this Realm should remain, if God call your Highness without Heir of your Body, (which our Lord defend) so as these Lords and Nobles, and other your Subjects then living might sufficiently understand, to whom they should owe their Allegiance and Duty due to be done by Subjects; and that they might, by your Majesty's Licence, and with your Favour, treat and confer together this Parliament-time, for the well-doing of this. The former of these two, which is your Marriage, they do in their Hearts most earnestly wish and pray, as a thing that must needs breed and bring great and singular Comfort to yourself, and unspeakable Joy and Gladness to all true English Hearts. But the second carrieth with it such Necessity, that without it they cannot

not see how the Safety of your royal Person, the Preservation of your imperial Crown and Realm, shall be, or can be sufficiently and certainly provided for. Most gracious and sovereign Lady, the lamentable and pitiful State and Condition, wherein all your Nobles and Counsellors of late were, when it pleased God to lay his heavy Hand upon you, and the Amazedness that most Men of Understanding were by the Fruit of that Sicknes brought into, is one Cause of this their Petition; the second, the Aptness and Opportunity of the Time, by reason of this Parliament, whereby both such Advice, Consideration and Consent, as is requisite in so great and weighty a Cause, may be better heard and used, than at any other time, when no Parliament is. The third, for that the assenting and performing of these Petitions, cannot, as they think, but breed great Terrour to our Enemies, and therefore must of necessity bring great Surety to your Person; and especially by Addition of such Laws, as may be joind with this Limitation, for a certain and sure observing it, and preserving of your Majesty against all Practices and Chances. The fourth Cause, for that the like (as it is supposed) hath been done by divers of your noble Progenitors, both of old time and of late days; and also by other Princes your Neighbors, of the greatest Estate in Europe; and for that Experience hath taught, that Good hath come of it. The fifth, for that it appeareth by Histories, how that in times past, Persons inheritable to Crowns being Votaries and Religious, to avoid such Dangers as might have happen'd for Want of Succession to Kingdoms, have left their Vows and Monasteries, and taken themselves to Marriage, as *Constantia* a Nun, Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, marry'd after fifty Years of Age, to *Henry VI.* Emperour of that Name, and had Issue *Frederick II.* and likewise *Peter* of *Aragon*, being a Monk, marry'd, the better to establish and pacify that Kingdom. Again, *Antonius Pius* is as much commended, for that not two Days before his Death, he said to his Council, *Leto animo morior, quoniam filium vobis relinquo.* *Pyrrhus* is of all godly Men detested, for saying he would leave his Realm to him that had the sharpest Sword. What but Want of a Successor known, made an end of so great an Empire as *Alexander* the Great did leave at his Death? The sixth Cause is, for that my Lords do judge, the performing of this will breed such an universal Gladness in the Hearts of all your true and loving Subjects, that likely and probably you shall find them in all Commandments ready and glad to adventure their Goods, Lands and Lives in your Service, according to their bounden Duties; which of necessity must breed great Surety to your Majesty. The seventh Cause, because the not doing of this (if God should call your Highness without Heir of your Body, which God grant never be seen, if it be his Will) and yet your Majesty right well knoweth, that Princes and their Offspring, be they never so great, never so strong, never so like to live, be yet mortal, and subject every day, yea every Hour, to God's Call; my Lords think, this happening, and no Limitation made, cannot by their Judgments, but be the Occasion of very evident and great Danger and Peril to all Estates and Sorts of Men of this Realm, by the Factions, Seditions and intestine War, that will grow through Want of understanding to whom they should yield Allegiance and Duty; whereby much innocent Blood is most like to be shed, and many of those to lose their Lives, that now would gladly bestow them for your sake, in your Majesty's Service. The eighth, for that the not performing of this, the other happening, doth leave the

Realm without Government, which is the greatest Danger that can happen to any Kingdom; for every Prince is *anima legis*, and so reputed in Law; and therefore upon the Death of Princes the Law dies; all the Offices of Justice, whereby the Laws are to be executed, do cease; all Writs and Commandments to call Parties to the Execution of Justice, do hang in suspense; all Commissions for the Peace, and for the Punishment of Offenders do determine, and lose their Force; whereby it followeth consequently, that Strength and Will must rule, and neither Law nor Reason, during such a Vacation and Inter-reign; wherein such an Incertainty of Succession is like to last so long, as it is to be feared (if God's Mercy be not the greater) that thereby we may become a Prey to Strangers, (which our Lord defend) or at least lose the great Honour and Estimation that long time hath pertained to us. And like as, most gracious Sovereign, my Lords have been moved for the worldly respect aforesaid, to make their humble Petitions to your Majesty; so by the Examples, Counsels, yea and Commandments, that they have heard out of the sacred Scriptures, and for Conscience-sake they feel themselves constrain'd, and enforced to do the like. God, your Highness knoweth, by the Course of the Scriptures, hath declared Succession and having of Children to be one of the principal Benedictions in this Life; and on the contrary, he hath pronounced contrary-wise: And therefore *Abraham* pray'd to God for Issue, fearing that *Eliazar*, his Steward, should have been his Heir; and had Promise that Kings should proceed of his Body. *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, pray'd to God with Tears for Issue: And *Elizabeth* (whose Name your Majesty beareth) Mother to *John* the Baptist, was joyful when God had blessed her with Fruit, accounting herself thereby to be delivered from Reproach. And as this is a Blessing in private Houses, so is it much more in Kingdoms, as it plainly appeareth in the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*. Unto the Kingdom of *Judah*, containing but two Tribes or thereabouts, God gave lineal Succession by Descent of Kings; and therefore they continued a long time. The Kingdom of *Israel*, containing ten Tribes or thereabouts, often destitute of lawful Heirs, the one half of the People following the one, and the other half following the other, by Wars and Seditions weaken'd, came soon to Ruin, as plainly appeareth by the third and fourth Book of Kings. And again, in the time of the Judges, because there was no ordinary Succession, the People were oftentimes overcome, and carry'd into Captivity. Besides, it is plain by the Scriptures, that godly Governours and Princes (as Fathers of their Countries) have always been careful to avoid the great Evil that might ensue, through Want of Limitation of Succession; therefore *Moses* did enjoin *Jeshua* to be his Successor, and *David* his Son *Solomon*; whereby a Sedition was appeased, begotten by *Adonijah*: Of this there be many Examples. Farther, seeing it may be easily gather'd by Experience of all Ages past, that Civil Wars, Effusion of Christian Blood, and consequently Ruins of Kingdoms, do follow; where Realms be left, without a Certainty of Succession: And your Majesty is also inform'd of the same, and sued unto for Redress. If therefore now no sufficient Remedy should be by your Highness provided, that then it should be a dangerous Burden before God to your Majesty, and you were to yield a strict Account to God for the same; considering you are placed, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* saith, in *altissimo speculo* of this Common-wealth, and see the Sword coming, and

and provide no remedy for the defence of it. Lastly, the Spirit of God pronounceth by the Mouth of St. Paul to Timothy, That, *whoever maketh no due Provision for his Family, is in very great danger to Godward*; and also by the Mouth of St. John, That, *whoever seeth but one Brother in necessity, and doth shut up the Bowels of Pity and Compassion from him hath not the Love of God remaining in him*: whereby it is plain and manifest, how fearful a thing it were, if this whole Realm, containing so many Families, were not in a perilous Case upon their Suit provided for, or if the Bowels of Mercy should be shut up from so many Thousands, which every way were like to fall into most extream Miseries, if God should call your Highness without certainty of Succession; which we pray to God may never happen. Most Excellent Princess, the places of Scripture containing the said Threatnings, be set forth with more sharp Words, than be here expressed. Thus Most Gracious Sovereign, your Lords and Nobles, both Spiritual and Temporal, have as briefly as they can, first shew'd to your Majesty, how diversly they take themselves bound, to make these their humble Petitions unto you: and then, what their Petitions be, and after that, what Reasons for Worldly Respects, and what by the Scriptures and for Conscience sake, have mov'd them thus to do, which here upon their Knees, according to their Bounden Duty, they most humbly and earnestly pray Your Majesty to have Consideration of in time; and to give them such favourable and comfortable Answer to the same, that some good Effect and Conclusion, may grow before the end of the Session of this Parliament, the uttermost Day of their greatest hope, whereby this Common-Wealth, which your Highness found to be *languishing* as Augustus did his, and by your great Providence is now come to be *Marmorea*, shall not for want of performing this, if God shall call your Highness, without Heir of Your Body, be in more dangerous Estate and Condition, than ever it was that any Man can remember. True it is, that this Suit is made by my Lords, not without great hope of good Success, by reason of the Experience that they have had of your bountiful Goodness shew'd to them, and the rest of Your Loving Subjects, divers and sundry ways, since the beginning of your Reign; which they pray to God long to continue, to His Honour, with all Felicity.

Her Majesty's Answer.

Since there can be no drier than a Prince's Word, to keep that unspotted, for my part, as one that would be loath that the self same thing that keepeth Merchants Credit from craze, should be the Cause that a Prince's Speech should merit blame, and so their Honour quail; Therefore I will an Answer give; and this it is: The two Petitions that you presented me (which must doubtless relate to the two several parts of one and the same Petition, *viz.* the Marriage and the Succession, and might not improperly be so call'd tho' couch'd in one Body, and as the Words also following do in manner explain it) express'd many Words, which contain'd in Sum these two things, as of your Cares the greatest, my Marriage and my Succession. Of which two I think the last best to be touch'd, and of the other a silent Thought may serve. For I thought it had been so desir'd, as none other Trees Blossom should have been minded, or ever any hope of any Fruit had been denied you. And yet by the way, if any here, doubt that I am by Vow or Determination, bent never to trade in that kind of Life, put out that kind of Heresie; for your Belief is therein a wry. For tho' I can think it best for a private Woman, yet I do strive with myself not to think it meet for a Prince, and if I can bend my liking to your need, I will not resist such a Mind.

But to the last, think not that you had needea this Desire, if I had seen a time so fit, and it so ripe to be denounced. The greatness of the Cause, therefore, and need of your Returns, doth make me say that which I think the wise may easily ghesse, that as a short time, for so long continuance, ought not to pass by roat, as many tell their Tales, even so, as Cause by Conference with the Learned, shall shew me Matter worth the Utterance for your Behoot, so shall I more gladly pursue your Good, after my Days, than with all my Prayers, whilst I live, be means to linger my living Thread. And thus much more than I thought, will I add for your Comfort: I have good Record in this Place, that other means than you mention, have been thought of, perchance for your Good, as much as for my Surety no less, which if presently and conveniently could have been executed, it had not been now deferr'd or over slipped. But I hope I shall die in quiet with *Nave Domatus*; which cannot be, without that I see some Glimpse of your following Surety, after my graved Bones.

Vid. p. 399.

The Queens Speech at the Dissolution of the Parliament, on Thursday the 2d. of January, 1566.

MY Lords, and others the Commons of this Assembly, Although the Lord Keeper hath according to Order, very well answered in my Name, yet as a Periphrasis, I have a few words farther, to speak unto you: Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open Assemblies; yet now (nor to the end to amend his talk) but remembering that commonly Princes own Words be better printed in the hearers Memo y, than those spoken by Her Command, I mean to say thus much unto you. I have in this Assembly found so much Dissimulation, where I always profess'd Plainness, that I marvel thereat, yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determin'd must be either presently granted, denied or deferr'd; in granting whereof, they had their desires, and denying and deterring thereof (those things being so plaudable, as indeed to all Men they are) they thought to work me that Mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the Hatred of my Commons. But alas! they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the End, how by this means I have seen my Well-wishers from my Enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four. First the Broachers and Workers thereof, who are in the greatest Faults; Secondly, the Speakers, who by eloquent Tales persuaded others, are in the next Degree; Thirdly, the Agreers, who bring so light of Credit, that the Eloquence of the Tales so overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto, than to their own Wits; And lastly, those that late still mute, and medd'd not therewith, but rather wonder'd, disallowing the matter; who in my opinion are most to be excus'd. But do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succession, wherein is all my Care, considering I know my self to be mortal? No, I warrant you: Or that I went about to break your Liberties? No; it never was in my Meaning, but to stay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all things have their time; and although perhaps you may have after me, one better Learned, or Wiser; yet I assure you, none more careful over you: And therefore henceforth, whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware however you prove your Princes Patience, as you have now done mine.

And now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning to make a *Lent* of *Christmas*) the most part of you may assure yourselves, that you depart in your Princes grace.

Reasons

Vid p. 442.

Reasons to prove the Queens Majesty bound in Conscience to proceed with Severity, in the Case of the late Queen of Scots.

THE Word of GOD, which is the only Director of Consciences, and a certain Rule for all Estates and Offices, doth often and most earnestly teach, that godly Princes, or Magistrates, not only in Conscience safely may, but also in Duty towards God, ought severely and uprightly to administer Justice. For this is one of the principal Causes, for the which the Providence and Wisdom of God hath ordain'd Magistrates in Commonwealths, that they might by Justice and Punishment, according to the greatness of the Offences, repress the Wickedness of Mankind, whereunto by Corruption of Nature they are inclin'd. The Magistrate (as St. Paul saith, Rom. 13.) is the Minister of God, and Revenger of Wrath towards him that hath done evil, &c. And St. Peter, 1 Peter 2. Be subject to the King as to the Chief, or to the under Rulers as sent of him ad vindictam nocentium, to the Punishment or Revengement of Offenders, and to the Praise of them that do well.

If the Magistrate doth not this, God threatneth heavy Punishment: When you were (saith Wisdom to Princes, Sap. 6.) the Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not executed Judgement rightly, nor kept the Law, nor walked according to his Will; horrible therefore and right soon shall he appear unto you: for a hard Judgement shall they have that bare Rule. Potentes potenter tormenta patientur. Now then if the Magistrate be the Minister of God, in his Name and Authority to punish the Wicked according to the measure of their Offences, and are threatned grievous Punishment if they do not; and on the other party, the late Scottish Queen hath offended in two highest Degrees, both concerning God's Religion, and the disinheriting and destruction of our Prince: We see not but Her Majesty must needs offend in Conscience before God, if she do not punish her according to the measure of her Offence, in the highest Degree. Small punishment for great Offences, in respect of any Person, is Partiality and slack Justice, which God, above all things, in Judgment forbiddeth; Consider not (says God) the Person of the Poor, nor honour the Countenance of the Rich, Levit. 19.

It is not Good (saith Solomon, Prov. 18.) to consider the Person of the Wicked, thereby to decline from the Judgement.

And Jesus Sirach, Make no labour to be a Judge, except thou hast that Stoutness, that thou mayest mightily put down Wickedness: For if thou stand in Awe of the Mighty, thou canst not but fail in giving Sentence, Ecclesi. 7.

Wherefore whether the late Queen of Scots, be Queen or Subject, be Stranger or Citizen, be Kin, or not Kin, by God's Word, for so great Offences she should have the just deserv'd Punishment, and that in the highest degree.

The Second Reason, when God by his just Providence doth commit any grievous Offendor into the hands of the Prince or Magistrate, as to his Minister, to be punished, he ought to fear the heavy Displeasure of God, if by any colour he do omit the same. Non enim hominis judicium est, sed Dei; & maledictus est, qui facit opus Domini fraudulenter aut negligenter: For God often brings Sinners to punishment for other Offences than those that are known and appear to the World. And therefore hath he shew'd himself grievously displeas'd, when such, by colour of Mercy and Pity, have escap'd just Judgement.

Because Saul spared Agag, (1 Reg. 15.) although he were a King, God took, from the same Saul, his Good Spirit, and transferr'd the Kingdom of Israel from him, and from his Heirs for ever.

When Achab spared Benhadad the King of Syria, by his unreasonable Clemency, though he were a great Prince, God will'd the Prophet to say unto him, Because thou hast let escape out of thy Hands, the Man that I would have to die, thy life shall be for his life, and thy People for his People.

In these Examples, great pretence might be made for Mercy, for sparing of them, and great reproach of Bloodiness and Cruelty in the contrary; but we see how God judged them.

The late Queen of Scots being a grievous Offendor divers ways, both before she came into this Land and afterwards also, hath been by God's special and remarkable Providence, put into the Queen's Majesties hand to be punish'd, and that, far more notably than Agag and Benhadad were put into the hands of Saul and Achab; Therefore it is greatly to be fear'd, if she escape as Benhadad did, under pretence of Mercy, and favourable dealing, that God's heavy Displeasure will for the same, light both upon the Prince and the Realm, as it did upon Achab and the Israelites shortly after. This Sentence of the Prophet (as it is for certain reported) was spoken to the Lord James, now Regent in Scotland, when with too much lenity he proceeded therein; it hath followed too true in him, The Lord turn it from our Gracious Sovereign.

The Third Reason: Every Good Prince ought, by God's Commandment, to punish even with Death, all such as do seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship, unto Superstition and Idolatry. For that Offence God hath always most grievously punished, as committed against the first Table, Deut. 13. His Words are these: If thy Brother the Son of thy Mother, or thine own Son, or thy Daughter, or thy Wife that lieth within thy Bosom, or thy Friend which is as thy own Soul unto thee, shall entice thee, saying, let us go and serve strange Gods, &c. Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor bearken unto him; thine Eye shall not pity him, neither shalt thou have Compassion on him, nor keep him secret, but cause him to be slain; thine own hand shall be first upon him to kill him, &c. And afterwards addeth: And all Israel shall fear to do any more any such Wickedness.

The residue of that Chapter, afterwards containeth more grievous Matter, which we would wish all them to read, that in great Offences under the colour of Pity, are loth to have sharp Punishment used. Here you may percieve that God willeth his Magistrate not to spare either Brother or Sister, Son or Daughter, Wife, or Friend be he never so nigh, if he seek to seduce the People of God from his true Worship; much less is an Enemy and Traitor to be spared: Yea, and he addeth the Cause, why he would have such sharp Punishment used in such Cases, That Israel may fear to do the like.

But the late Queen of Scots, hath not only sought and wrought, by all means She can, to seduce the People of God in this Realm, from true Religion, but is the only hope of all the Adversaries of God, throughout all Europe, and the Instrument whereby they trust to overcome the Gospel of Christ in all Countries. And therefore if she have not that Punishment, which God in this place aforementioned, appointeth; it is of all Christian hearts to be feared, that God's just Plague will light both upon the Magistrates and Subjects: but that by our slackness and remiss Justice, we give occasion of the overthrow of God's Glory and Truth in his Church, mercifully restor'd unto us in those latter Days.

Constantinus Magnus caused Licinius to be put to death, being not his Subject but his Fellow Emperor, for that the said Licinius laboured to subvert Christian Religion. And the same Constantinus, is for the same in all Histories highly commended. Much more shall it be lawful for the Queen's Majesty to execute this Woman, who, besides the Subversion of Religion, hath sought the Life of the same our Gracious Sovereign.

The

The Fourth Reason: It is dangerous for any Person, being a Prince, both for his own State, as also for that Punishment which may come from God's hand, by slackness of Justice in great Offences, to give occasion, by hope of Impunity, of the increase of like Wickedness.

Joab being spar'd of *David* for Murthering *Abner*, killed *Amasa* also. Because *Amnon* was winked at by his Father, for committing Rape and Incest with his own Sister, *Abisalom*, under hope of like Impunity, was embolden'd to Murther his Brother *Amnon*.

But look, I pray you, how grievously God punish'd that slack Justice of *David*, coloured with a tender Heart towards his Children. Did he not suffer, yea and by his just Judgment raise one of his own Sons, towards whom he used that excessive Tenderness and Pity, to rebel against him, and drive him out of his own Kingdom. The late *Scottish* Queen hath heap'd up together, all the Sins of the licentious Sons of *David*; Adulteries, Murders, Conspiracies, Treasons, and Blasphemies against God also; and if she escape with small Punishment, Her Majesty in Conscience ought, as also good and faithful Subjects to fear that God will reserve her as an Instrument to put her from the Royal Seat of this Kingdom, and to plague the unthankful and naughty Subjects: *Quod omen ut Deus avertat precamur*. Shall we think that God will not plague it? Surely our hearts do fear he will do it grievously.

The Fifth Reason: A Prince ought in Conscience before God, by all means he can, to see to the Quietness, and Safety and Good Estate of that People, over which God hath appointed him Governour.

For in the Prophets, oftentimes under the Names of Pastors and Watchmen, he threatneth great Punishment to Princes and Governours for the contrary; especially in *Ezekiel*, 33, and 34. And signifieth, that if his People perish, either in Soul or Body, by slackness in administering Justice, or by any other Misgovernment, God will require their Blood at the Prince's Hands, which Places, as they may be applied to Prophets and Teachers, so do they not exclude, but principally comprehend Kings and Magistrates, as *Hieronymus* noteth in *Ezekiel* 33. the Words of the Prophet are these, *viz.* If the Watchmen see the Sword and blow not the Trumpet, so that the People is not warned; if the Sword come then, and take any man from among them, the same shall be taken away in his own Sin from among them, but his Blood will I require at the Watchmans hands, *Ezech.* 33.

And again, *Woe unto the Shepherds that destroy and scatter my Flock, saith the Lord, &c.* You scatter and thrust out of my Flock and do not look upon them: Therefore will I visit this wickedness of your Imaginations, &c. *Jer.* 23. By these and such other Words in many Places, God signifieth, if his People perish either in Body or Soul, by the slack or remiss Government of them that are appointed Rulers over them, and as it were Shepherds and Herdsmen to keep them from Danger, that he will require the Blood of his People at their Hands.

But the late *Scottish* Queen with her Allies, by the Pretenc'd Title, and other Wicked, Divilish, and Traiterous Devices and Workings, is like to bring Confusion to this Realm of *England*, and the People thereof, as evidently appeareth to all good and faithful Subjects. Therefore the Prince offendeth grievously before God, and is in danger of the Blood of God's People, if for the safety of the same she do not cut her off.

3. *Reg.* 2. *Solomon* a wife and godly Prince, spared not his own Natural, yea and his Elder Brother *Adonijah*; for suspicion and likelihood of Treason, and for a Marriage purpos'd only, but put him to death for the same, and that speedily without course of Judgement, lest by delay, trouble and danger might have ensued, not only to his own Person, being Prince and Chief Minister of God in that Land, but also to that People, over which he had great

Charge, and for Safety whereof in Conscience he was bound to deal. He would have thought it a great Burthen to his Conscience, if by the sparing of one Man's Life, were he never so nigh of Blood to him, he would have hazarded the Seat on which God had plac'd him, and the Blood of many Thousands of his People, which by a Rebellion might have been spent.

But this Woman and her greatly desired Husband, as she pretendeth, have put far more heinous matters in execution: wherefore her Case standing as it doth, there is no scruple in Conscience to proceed with severity, but great danger in Conscience for dealing too mildly and contrary to the order of Justice, making the Punishment less than the Offence, with the Danger of her Majesty's own Person, the hazard of the Realm, and Subversion of God's Truth.

The Sixth Reason: It is dangerous for any Christian Prince, and contrary to the Word of God, with colour of Mercy and Pity, to do that, whereby he shall discourage and kill the Hearts, not only of his own good Subjects and faithful Councillors, but also of all other Nations faithfully professing God's Religion and his true Worship, as may well appear in the Example of *David*.

David having this infirmity of too much Pity and indulgency towards Offenders, which is not of any Prince to be follow'd, did forbid that his Traiterous Son *Abisalom* should be slain; and when he was kill'd, effeminately he bewailed the same, to the discouraging of his People: but he was sharply rebuked by *Joab*, his Counsellor, saying, *Thou hast shamed this Day the Faces of thy Servants which have saved thy Life, and the life of thy Sons, &c.* Thou lovest those that hate thee, and thou shewest this day that thou passest not for thy Captains and thy Servants; and now I perceive if *Abisalom* had lived and we all had been slain, it would have pleased thee well.

What inconvenience was like to follow unto *David* by this doing, and what other good Direction may be taken out of this History well considered, for brevity's sake we leave to the Consideration of Wise Princes and Governours. When *David* was so much moved with these Words that he was contented to take another Course, which turned both to the Comfort of his Subjects and his own benefit, the Application needeth not.

If *David* were moved thus to do to the comfort of his own Subjects only, and the abashing of his own private Rebels: how much more have we to desire God to move the Queen's Majesty, by the execution of this Lady, to glad the hearts of all true Christians in *Europe*; and to abash and damp the Minds of the Enemies of God, and Friends of Antichrist.

Object. It may be objected, that thus to proceed is not Honourable for the Queen's Majesty.

Respons. The Shadow of Honour (as may evidently appear) deceived upon the like occasion, both King *Saul* in sparing *Agag* King of *Amalek*, and King *Achab* in receiving to his Mercy King *Benbadad*, as it is in the Example in the second Reason mentioned, who did pretend great Honour in saving a King, and thought Dishonour in the contrary, that one King should kill another; but Man's Judgement and God's in such Cases are far diverse: for indeed, execution of Justice upon any Person whatsoever, is, and ever hath been accounted Honourable.

Joshua, a worthy Prince and Governour, put to death at one time Five Kings, and that, as might appear rudely, causing his Soldiers to set their Feet on their Necks and slay them, and willed them to be stout and not to fear to do it, *Joshua*, 10.

We find also in Scriptures that in this Zeal of Justice two Wicked Queens, *Jezabel* and *Athalie*, both inferior in Mischief to this late Queen, have been by God's Magistrates executed, and the same Execution commended in Scripture.

Object. It may be further objected, that the Queen's Majesty in so doing should exceed the Limits and Bounds of Mercy and Clemency.

Resp. Indeed, a Prince should be merciful, but he should be just also. It is said, *Misericordia & veritas custodiunt regem*; but in the next Chapter it followeth, *Qui sequitur justitiam & misericordiam, inveniet vitam.* Prov. 10.

The Prince in Government must be like unto him who is not only amiable by Mercy, but terrible also by Justice, and therefore is call'd, *Misericors & justus Dominus.*

Mercy oftentimes sheweth itself in the Image of Justice; yea, and Justice in Scriptures is by God called Mercy, *Psal. 136. Who smote Egypt with their first born, for his mercy endureth for ever.* In that *Psal.* the Smiting of Egypt with terrible Plagues, the Destruction of *Pharaoh*, the Killing of great and mighty Kings are called the merciful Works of God, as indeed they were, but Mercy towards the People of God, and not towards the Enemies of God and his People.

Therefore as the Queen's Majesty indeed is merciful, so we most humbly desire her, that she will open her Mercy towards God's People and her good Subjects, in dispatching those Enemies that seek the Confusion of God's Cause amongst us, and of this noble Realm.

It may also be said, that to spare one Person, being an Enemy, a Stranger, a profess'd Member of *Antichrist*, and convicted of so many heinous Crimes, with the evident Peril of so many thousands of Bodies and Souls of good and faithful Subjects, may justly be termed, *Crudelis misericordia.*

Petiliano objuente. Deum non delectari humano sanguine: Respondet legimus multos à famulo Dei Moise misericorditer interfectos. Numquid crudelis effectus est, cum de monte descendens tot millia juberet occidi? August. contra Iulianum Petilianum, lib. 2. c. 86.

Saul & Iehosaphat reges fuerunt populi Dei, & dum misericordiam iis quos Deus oderat præstiterunt, Dei offensam in opere pietatis incurrerunt, è contrario Phinehas filiusque Levi gratiam Dei humanâ cade & suorum parricidio meruerunt. Hierom.

The same *Hierom de origine animæ*, saith the like, sparing of evil Persons is *misericors inobedientia.*

St. Augustine also saith, *sicuti est misericordia puniens, est etiam crudelitas parcens.*

Object. But hap'y it may be that some may discredit these Reasons by the Persons, when they cannot by the Matter; and will put in her Majesty's mind, that we in persuading her, respect our own danger and fear of Peril coming to us, and not right and true Judgment: Yea, and that it may appear very unseemly and worthy sharp Reproof in a Bishop to excite a Prince to Cruelty and Blood, contrary to her merciful Inclination.

Resp. As touching the first Branch, surely we see not any great continuance of Danger likely to come unto us, more than to all good Subjects, while this State standeth; and the State cannot lightly alter without the certain Peril both of our Prince and Country.

Now, if our Danger be joined with the Danger of our gracious Sovereign and natural Country, we see not how we can be accounted godly Bishops or faithful Subjects, if in common Peril we should not cry and give Warning; or on the other side, how they can be thought to have true Hearts towards God and towards their Prince and Country, that will mislike with us for so doing, and seek thereby to discredit us.

As touching the second Branch, God forbid that we should be Instruments to incense a merciful Prince to Cruelty and Bloodiness; neither can we think well of them or judge that they have true meaning Hearts, that in the Minister of God and Officer, do term Justice and right Punishment by

the Name of Bloodiness and Cruelty. God, I trust, in time, shall open her Eyes to see and espy their cruel Purposes, under the Cloak of extolling Mercy.

When the Prince or Magistrate is slack in Punishing the sinful and wicked, the Bishop and Preacher is bound in Conscience, before God, to exhort him to more diligent and severe Dealing therein, lest the Blood both of Prince and People be required at his Hands.

3. Reg. 20. May the Prophet be accounted cruel to excite *Achab* to bloodiness, which so sharply rebuked him for his Clemency shewed towards *Benhadad*? May *Samuel* justly be named cruel, because in like case he reprov'd *Saul* for sparing the Life of King *Agag*, and killed the same *Agag* with his own Hands in the sight of the Prince.

What shall we say of the Prophet *Elias*, shall we call him Cruel because in the Zeal of Justice he killed all the false Prophets of *Baal*? Did not God approve his Fact with the miraculous sending of abundance of Rain after three Years continual Drought? But to those Men, I think, God himself and his Angels will seem cruel, and his Justice cruelty; that they under colour of Mercy might be spared until time will serve to satisfy their own cruel Hearts.

An Argument persuading that the Queen's Majesty ought to have in Conscience a great Care of the Safety of her own Person.

EVERY Prince being the Minister of God and a publick Person, ought by God's Word to have an especial Care of his own Safety, more than a private Person; and chiefly when the case so standeth, that safety of his Realm and Country, and the true Worshipping of God by God's disposition may seem to depend on him.

But now so it is in the Queen's Majesty, therefore in Conscience ought she to have a singular Care of her safety, if not for herself sake, yet at the least for the furtherance of God's Cause and stay of her Country, to the maintenance whereof she is bound before God.

Moses wished to be put out of the Book of Life for the safeguard of the People. *Exod. 32.*

Paul with'd to be *Anathema* for his Brethren. *Rom. 10.*

Codrus and divers other Heathens gave away their Lives for the safety of their Countries. Contrarywise we wish, and are humble Suitors, that it may please her Majesty to preserve her own Life, and to cut away the Dangers thereof, if not for her own Cause which happily her noble Courage doth smally regard, yet, at the leastwise, for God's Cause, and for her faithful and loving Subjects, whose Life and good Estate dependeth on her.

Object. It may be objected, that her Majesty reposeth her Trust and Confidence in the Providence of God, and therefore maketh light of all Attempts that her Enemies can work against her.

Resp. Surely, it must needs be confessed, that the same proceedeth both of noble Courage, and of a strong Faith and Trust in God, and ought indeed to be the Bulwark of Help and Comfort to all good and godly Princes; yet so far as they seem not withal to tempt God by leaving that Diligence, and those ordinary Means whereby he useth to save and deliver.

David knew himself to be anointed and appointed *Israel* by God himself, yet he did not rashly cast himself into the Hands of *Saul* his Enemy.

Iehosaphat

Jehosaphat and *Hezekias* in their great Distresses, undoubtedly had their Trust and Confidence in God, but they ceased not both to shun and cut off all those things whereby Danger might grow, and to use all means whereby their Safety might be holpen.

It is alledged by Christ, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*; but surely it might have been as safe for Christ, without tempting God, to have cast himself down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, as for the Queen's Majesty to suffer in her Bosom a poisonous Serpent, that ceaseth not continually to thrust the Sting of her venomous Workings into her Majesty's safety and possession of her Crown. It is well said, *Principum Securitas paucorum vitâ redimenda est.*

There are divers Histories, yea and Examples of late time, whereby it hath been declar'd, that the tempting Confidence of God's Providence, not shunning evident occasion of Danger, hath fell out to the extream hurt of the Parties, and on such as have depended on them, which we think not meet to recite, lest they should seem in this case *Ominosa*, as God for his great Mercies sake forbid that they should be.

Many Reasons, Authorities and Examples more besides this may be taken out of the holy Scriptures for confirmation of this Purpose; but for tediousness we thought good to omit them, and leave the residue to God.

In the 20th Chapter of *Leviticus*, there is much like matter, and that in as earnest manner set forth; neither can any in Conscience think that this Punishment was here appointed by God so grievous, only for those that then reduced the People of God to *Gentilish* and *Heathenish* Idolatry; for Idolatry and false Worship, by whomsoever it begun, tho' they bear the Name of the Church or of the People never so much, it is a direct Offence against the first Table; and therefore in God's judgment worthy no less Punishment; yea their Offence must needs be more heinous in the sight of God, for that they have had greater opportunity to understand God's true Worship.

Shall any Christian Man think that the Worship of God appointed in his Law being but the Figure, was more acceptable and pleasant to God than this his true Worship in the faith of *JESUS*, according to the Gospel of our Redemption? Or, that the violating of the same, or reducing of his People from it, is in his judgment less displeasing, or not so grievously to be punished as was the breaking of his Law or seducing from it? Shall we think that the gathering a few Sticks on the Sabbath-day is to be punished by Death in a poor simple Person? and the seeking to subvert the Gospel of Christ, and to draw the People of God to that idolatrous Doctrine that teacheth to impute the Merit of Christ's Blood and Passion to wicked Mens Devices, yea to Stocks, Stones, to Sticks, to Water, to Bells, &c. shall not be worthy the Punishment of Death in a noble Person? God direct our Judgment otherways.

By these Words of God before recited, *Deut. 13.* if it be evident that God willed his Magistrates to spare neither Brother, nor Sister, nor Daughter, nor Wife, nor Friend, though he were never so nigh, if he sought to seduce the People of God from his true Worship; how much less is an Enemy, a Traitor and an Adulterer to be spared?

An humble Petition to her Majesty, and the Reasons gather'd out of the Civil Law by certain appointed by Authority in Parliament, to prove that it standeth not only with Justice, but also with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety to proceed criminally against the pretended Scotch Queen.

WE your Majesty's most humble and faithful Subjects assembled in Parliament for Preservation of your Royal Person and Estate, do highly acknowledge the great Goodness of God that hath chosen and appointed such a Sovereign to Reign over us as never Subjects by any Record ever had a better; and therefore our hearty Prayers are daily, and ever shall be, to Almighty God, long to preserve your most excellent Majesty in all and most perfect Felicity that ever Creature had or might have upon Earth. And whereas the highest and chiefest States are ever more envied of all such as be the worst and greatest Disturbers of God's Monarchy and his anointed Jurisdiction, we cannot but with care of Mind and force of our Bodies seek to redress whatsoever shall be thought hurtful to your Majesty's safe Quietness and most blessed Government.

A Queen of late time, and yet through her own Acts now justly no Queen, a nigh Kinswoman of your Majesty's, and yet a very unnatural Sister, Lady *Mary Stuart*, late Queen of *Scotts*, being driven through Violence and Force of others to take Harbour in your Majesty's Realm for the safeguard of her Life, hath not only had your Majesty's most gracious Protection, but also was saved within her own Realm, by your Majesty's Authority, from execution of Death for her most horrible and unnatural Doings there, known throughout *Europe* to her perpetual Infamy and Shame for ever. And albeit upon her first coming your Highness might both by Law and Justice have dealt with her judicially for her Attempts made by Writing and otherwise against the Crown and Dignity, and to the dishonour of your most Royal Person for ever; yet your Majesty in consideration of her long dangerous Troubles in her own Realm, and in hope that such great Adversities would have been good Lessons for her Amendment hereafter, hath not used her in any such manner as she hath deserved; but rather forgetting or forgiving after a sort her former Doings, hath dealt with her like a good and natural Sister. All which notwithstanding, this unnatural Lady (being born out of kind as it should seem) hath altogether forgotten God and all Goodness, abusing herself as it appeareth most treasonably against your Majesty's Person and State, and seeking and devising by all means possible not only to deprive your Majesty of all earthly Dignities and Livings, but also of your natural Life; which thing is found by evident Proofs, and by the Judges of your Realm declar'd to be most horrible and most wicked Treason that ever was wrought against any Prince; for which her Doings your Majesty minding to touch her in Honour, esteemeth her Person unworthy of any Hope or Title, Pre-eminence or Dignity within this your Land, and therefore not seeking to deal with her according to her desert, is only contented to have her disabled as a Person not capable of Princely Honour. And thus your Majesty using this

course, thinketh it the meetest way to establish yourself and to quiet your Dominions hereafter, taking away hereby the hope of such as do depend upon the pretended Title, and weakning the whole Strength of that Faction. And for farther assurance of your Majesty's Quietness, your Highness does not mislike to have grievous Pains of High-Treason laid upon all such as shall attempt and maintain her pretended Title by any manner of way.

Thus, as evil Men shall be kept back from intermeddling in the maintenance of a Title, so may your Majesty's true and faithful Subjects be much emboldned to deal against this pretended Queen and her Adherents, when your Subjects shall see a Law set down for your avail, and your Enemies shall want Forces and wax weak thereby, and your true Subjects greatly hardened for all Offences. Moreover, if the said pretended Queen shall hereafter make any attempt of Treason, the Law so to run, that she should suffer Pains of Death without farther trouble of Parliament. And if any shall enterprize to deliver her out of Prison after her Disablement, either in your Majesty's Life, or after the same, to be convicted immediately of High-Treason, and herself assenting thereunto to be likewise adjudged as a Traitor in Law. In all which Proceedings your Majesty thinketh to deal both safely and honourably, as well for yourself as for your State. For thereby it seemeth, that neither shall she, nor any for her hereafter, dare deal to do harm, but also all forein Princes and Nations will think much Honour of such your merciful Proceedings. And lastly, whereas she hath fallen into your Hands from the Violence of others, and so as a Bird followed by a Hawk seeketh Succour at your Majesty's Feet, your Highness thinketh yourself bound in Honour, for that she is your Sister, and a Queen born, not to proceed farther, only to her Disablement, counting it a strong Work for your safety. These be the the Reasons which in part may move your Majesty to take this course, as we do conceive; all which notwithstanding, if it might please your most excellent Majesty to suffer your poor and faithful Subjects to enter deeply upon good search of this cause, and by way of reply to make answer with proceeding by just Proofs for your Majesty's safety, we doubt not but with your Highness's favourable acceptance, all that which hitherto hath been utter'd is rather a declaration of that most mild and gracious Nature of yours, than any assurance for your Person and Estate at all.

Reasons answering the former Arguments.

May it therefore please your Majesty,

Whereas it is said, that it standeth to very good Purpose to proceed only in disabling the *Scotch* Queen for any Claim or Title to the Crown; we take it, by your Majesty's Favour, that such and especially disabling of the *Scottish* Queen, is in effect a special confirmation of a Right that she should have had, *Quia privatio præsupponit habitum*. And farther, we do take it for a known truth, that by the Laws and Statutes in this Land now in force, she is already disabled, and therefore it is to small purpose, *rem actam agere*. And for answer unto the Premises, we say farther, That neither shall this weaken others that are evil-minded, but rather strengthen them in their Mischief, and make them desperate where there is no other Remedy; and a Fire-

brand once kindled, and finding apt matter to work upon, will hardly be quenched without a great hazard. Touching the grievous Pains laid upon those that shall deal, those will be little feared by the wicked, whom hope of Gain maketh more bold than such Pains do appal: Besides Nature given to this Nation and all others that are under the Moon, maketh Men oftentimes stir without cause, and as *Plato* saith, *Naturales sunt conversiones rerum pub.* Yet they that heretofore have born Armour as Traitors, not fearing the Law then in force, which did as much restrain them as this or any Law to be made can be able, being desperate, will fear no Laws, especially such an Instrument living by whom all Attempts are to be wrought. Force overthroweth Justice till the cause of all Mischief, which is the hoped help, be clean taken away. And where it is said, that the making of a Law for her disabling emboldneth much your Subjects to deal against her: We answer, that no new Law needeth to encourage good and loyal Subjects against such a Person, who hath broken all the Laws of God and Nature, and is worthy to be out of your Majesty's Protection, because she seeketh still the Disturbance of this noble State, and using often her own Phrase, threatneth that she will stir Coals. Touching a new Law to be made against her, if she should attempt any Evil hereafter, the experience of her former Life is such that no Law has any force with her, that is fully minded to take her Advantage upon any apt Occasion offer'd: And to threaten her with Death if she should seem to make an escape hereafter, is such Advice, that she nothing feareth; for besides she was told at *Lough-Leaven*, there was no way but Death with her if she would not take her Imprisonment quietly, and live without seeking Liberty, she notwithstanding adventur'd herself with a young Fellow very dishonourably to get away in a Boat. And now since her coming into *England* she hath wrought divers ways to make an Escape, and employ'd the Heads of the chiefest Estates of your own disloyal Subjects for that purpose. Therefore menacing and but threatning Words of Law shall not keep her back from her malicious intent to subvert your Majesty, and to give a push for the Crown come of her what will. And likely it is that she may escape as well as be taken, for she neither wanteth Wit nor Cunning to make her way. And we have learned in matters of great Hazard to be well advised, and to take always that Order which may be the best. Now there will want no Traitors to be always ready to bring this her Device about, and to do what they can for her Liberty. And such as will not deal in small Matters, will adventure deep for a Kingdom, because the Reward is great when the Service is done. But your Majesty hath regard unto your Honour as much as to your Safety, and thinketh that in taking this course all Princes will speak well of your Highness. May it please your Majesty, we your good Subjects do well like of so honourable a meaning; but we would be loth to see that when you have such regard of Honour, you do thereby lose your State, and so your Life, Honour and All. For if it should fall out that the *Scottish* Queen escaped your Hands, (which *Christ* for his Mercies sake forbid) all good Princes would think great want of Judgment and Foresight, first in your Majesty, next in your Council, last of all in the whole Nation; and such a Grief it would be to your Majesty and Subjects, and to all other good Christian Princes throughout *Europe*, as none could be greater. Again such a matter of Comfort and Triumph it would be to the Adversaries, that

that they would account her Escape a miraculous Work of God, and that your Majesty had no Power tho' Will to keep her safe: And when that day should come, wo be to all true Christians universally, for upon her do depend the chiefest Enemies of Religion, and to this Kingdom: May it please you therefore, most gracious Queen, to be well advised, and to take sound Counsel when it is given, knowing this for a certain truth, That Evil foreseen and advisedly looked unto, doth ever the less harm: But still your Majesty considering the great Trouble she hath had, and forgetting, or not greatly esteeming, what Troubles she hath brought unto your Realm, doth by a merciful respect of your most gracious Nature, rather bend to do Good to her than seek Safeguard to your self. And seeing here your Sister, tho' unnatural, and also a Queen by birth, altho' not worthy of Life, cannot but rather hazard your own Life than deal with her according to her deserts. This your Majesty's Nature being thus known, it becometh all your good Subjects, most gracious Sovereign, to call and cry to God for his heavenly Assistance, that his Power may be given to you next after the advancement of his Glory, to seek assuredly your own safety; which your Majesty cannot fully do by this means that hath hitherto been taken, or hereafter to be used: Therefore it would please your most excellent Majesty to give ear to the sound Reasons of your most faithful Subjects, and rather deal certainly than by chance; and there is no doubt but your Majesty shall avoid all apparent Dangers, and live in all safety and honour, to God's Glory and to the Comfort of all good Christian Princes universally. Thus much against the Opinion of disabling the *Scottish* Queen, whereby it appeareth that it will be rather for her benefit than to her hurt. And most certain it is, that it will be dangerous for the State divers ways; whereas dealing with her in the first degree according to her deserts, the same is lawful, safe, necessary and honourable for your Majesty and all *Christendom* besides. And because it may appear that this Speech is grounded upon Law and Reason, there shall be Arguments in Law alledged sufficiently for this matter, as the shortness of time may serve.

Civil Reasons for doubt of Answer.

A Confederate being in the Country of his Confederate, is to be punish'd as though he were a Subject. Every Person offending, is to be tried in the place where he committeth the Crime, without exception of Privilege. A King passing through another King's Realm, or there resident, is but a private Person. The Dignity of the Person offending increaseth the Offence. *Reatus omnem honorem excludit*; a King deposed is not to be taken for a King; and therefore *Frederick* King of *Naples* being deprived by the King of *Spain*, was afterward judged to be no King by Sentence. A King, tho' not deposed, may commit Treason. *Deiotarus*, a King confederated with the *Romans*, was criminally judged by *Cajus Julius Cesar*, for that he conspir'd to have slain the said *Julius Cesar* at a Banquet. *Joan* Queen of *Naples* was put to Death for that she gave her consent to the Murder of her Husband, and caused him to be hang'd out at a Window. *Henry* the Seventh Emperor did give a solemn Judgment of Death at *Pisa* 1311, against *Robert* King of *Sicily*, for that the same King had entred into Conspiracy with the Subjects of the Emperor; and yet was

not King *Robert* within the Jurisdiction of the Emperor at the time of the Conspiracy, neither at the time of the Judgment.

It standeth with the Law of Nature, which is immutable, for any Person to proceed for the safety of himself and his Charge. Great Offences in the highest degree ought not to be punished for any Affection of Kindred. Justice, Equity and Commonwealth, are to be prefer'd before the Affection of Kindred; *Quia arctiora sunt vincula virtutis quam Sanguinis*. An Offence of the highest degree against the Prince, being the Head of the Political Body, is an Offence to every Member of the same, and requireth sharp Punishment for the Preservation of the whole. The intent of Offences in the highest degree, is punished with Death, although the execution of the Intent doth not follow. The benefit and privilege of safe Conduct is lost by any Crime committed after the grant made thereof. Administration of Justice cannot but be honourable. All just and honourable Dealings are pleasing to God and profitable to the Prince and State. Execution of Justice is void of all Injury. It is dangerous for the State to swerve from the Ministration of Justice, and the due Execution of Law. To spare Offenders in the highest degree, is an Injury to the Prince and State of the Realm; *Pena unius salus multorum*. The loss of Life is the Penalty appointed for Treason; and the loss of Lands and Goods, with the possibility of Title, cometh but in consequence and unnecessarily. Punishment ought to be equal with the Fault; and he that ministreth less Punishment than the Fault deserves, doth not execute the Law according the Rules of Justice.

Reasons to prove, that it standeth not only with Justice, but with the Queen's Majesty's Honour and Safety, to proceed criminally against *Mary Stuart*, late Queen of *Scots*; for her Treasons committed against her Majesty and this Realm.

A Confederate being in the Country of his Confederate, for a Crime committed is there to be punished. *Cod. & de captivis, & post termino reversis, verba legis, at si sunt apud nos rei ex civitatibus federatis, in eos damnatos animadvertimus*. Therefore although the *Scottish* Queen were a Confederate, yet she is to be used in like sort as a Subject. Item, There is no Person of what degree soever he be, but is there to be try'd, where the Crime is committed, without Exception of Privilege. *Cod. Ubi de criminibus agi oporteat, verba legis, qua in provincia quis deliquit, aut in qua pecuniarum aut criminum reus sit, ibi judicari debet, & hoc jus perpetuum sit*. But the *Scottish* Queen here hath offended; Ergo. Item, Every Person is to be condemned and adjudged equally: *In crimine læsæ majestatis, verba legis. In crimine læsæ majestatis, æqua est omnium conditio. Ad legem Juliam læsæ majestatis*. But she hath fallen in crimen læsæ majestatis. Ergo. Item, A King in another King's Territory may commit Treasons as another private Person, *Correctus de potestate regia, No. 90. verba. Quæro utrum Rex non habens justum titulum regni incidat in crimen læsæ majestatis. Respondeo, quod sic, secundum Bartol. in legem duodecim tabularum, & in legem prim. ff. de crimine læsæ majestatis*. But the *Scottish* Queen hath offended here in England; Ergo. A King passing through another King's Realm,

Realm, or there reliant, is but a private Person. *Bartolus duodecimo libro de dignitatibus, verba. Sed tamen dubitatur si Rex vel Baro transsit per alias partes extra regnum suum, utrum possit creare milites: & videtur quod non, quia ibi privatus est homo. ff. de præfecto urbis. ff. de officio præfiliis. Præses in homines provincie sue imperium habet, & hoc dum est in provincia. 91. Coll. penult. verba. Quilibet Rex extra suum territorium privatus est. Lopus in allegatione, Censetur adinstar privati. But the Scottish Queen being here in England, is out of her Territory; Ergo, to be punish'd as a private Person. Every Person of what condition soever he be, either superior or equal, submitting himself to the Jurisdiction of another, is to be judged by him to whom he submitteth himself. *L. est receptivum ff. de iudiciis, verba, est receptivum eoque jure utimur, ut si quis major vel æqualis subiciat se jurisdictioni alterius, potest ei, & adversus eum jus dici. But the Queen of Scots, although she were a Queen, and thereby equal, by committing heinous Treason, hath submitted herself to the Queen's Jurisdiction. Paulus de casiro in dictam legem est receptivum ff. eo, verba ejus enim, major vel æqualis potest se subicere jurisdictioni ordinaliter alterius judicis minoris vel parvis tacite, si judex unius territorii delinquat vel contrahat in territorium alterius judicis vel minoris vel parvis, quia ratione delicti vel contractus sortitur ibi forum. Rota de definitionibus de iudiciis, ille qui delinquit, per delictum amittit mercem imprim. & sic factus est alius privatus; & sic compar potest eum punire: quilibet in suo territorio est major Alexandro. But the Scottish Queen having committed High-Treason within this Realm, hath by Contraction of Law submitted herself to this Jurisdiction; and therefore to be punished as another private Person. And although it be said, that one who is not subditus, non potest committere crimen læsæ majestatis; yet that Saying is to be taken, whereas the Crime is committed out of the Jurisdiction: But if it be committed within the Jurisdiction then there to be punished. *Papa in Clementinam de sententia & re judicata. And albeit the Pope did reverse the same Sentence; yet he saith, that if the Party had been within the Jurisdiction of the Superior at the time of the Crime committed, and Judgment to the Party offended, he had been justly condemn'd, &c. Verba Papæ, quod si Rex infra districtum imperiale fuisset inventus delinquens, potuisset contra eum sententia dici. I. o here the Pope declareth plainly, that she here offending may justly here be punished in pana capitis. Item, a King depose'd is not afterwards to be taken for a King. *Thomas de Turrecremeta definitione 65. Rex regno privatus non est amplius Rex. But the Queen of Scots is deprived; Ergo. The Benefit or Privilege of safe Conduct is lost, when any Crime is committed after the safe Conduct granted. *Angelus de maleficiis, in verbo publica f. ma. But the Queen of Scots hath committed against the safe Conduct, since her coming into the Realm; Ergo. The Will and Mind in Treasons is punish'd equally as the Act. *Cod. ad legem Juliam læsæ majestatis, verba legis. In crimine læsæ majestatis voluntatem sceleris æque ac effectum puniri jura voluerunt. But the Scottish Queen hath not only had the Affection, but hath notoriously proceeded to the Actions; Ergo. Neither is it any new or rare thing for Kings and Queens to be adjudged and condemned for Treason; for Henry VII. Emperour, did give a solemn Judgment of Death at Pisa, A.D. 1511. against Robert King of Sicily. *Deiotarus was likewise condemn'd by Julius Caesar; and Joan Queen of Naples, for murdering her Husband, and hanging him out of a Window.*******

Punishment ought to be equal to the Offences committed. *SS. de pænis. But Death is the Penalty appointed for Treason. Ergo.*

Vid. p. 503.

Her Majesty's Speech at the Conclusion of the Parliament, on Monday, March 29. 1585.

My Lords, and you of the Lower House;

MY Silence must not injure the Owner, so much as to suppose a Substitute sufficient to render you the Thanks that my Heart yieldeth you; not so much for the safe keeping of my Life, for which your Care appears so manifest, as for the neglecting your private future Peril, not regarding other way than my present State. No Prince herein, I confess, can be surer ty'd or faster bound than I am, with the Link of your Good-will; and can for that but yield a Heart and Head to seek for ever all your best: yet one Matter toucheth me so near, as I may not overskip; Religion, the Ground on which all other Matters ought to take root; and being corrupted, may mar all the Tree. And that there be some Fault-finders with the Order of the Clergy, which so make a Slander to myself and the Church, whose Over-ruler God hath made me; whose Negligence cannot be excused, if any Schisms or Errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some Faults and Negligences may grow and be, as in all other great Charges it happeneth; and what Vocation without? All which, if you, my Lords of the Clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look ye therefore well to your Charges. This may be amended, without heedless or open Exclamations. I am supposed to have many Studies, but most philosophical. I must yield this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no Professors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple, that I understand not, nor so forgetful, that I remember not; and yet amidst my many Volumes, I hope, God's Book hath not been my seldome Lectures; in which we find that which, by Reason (for my part) we ought to believe; that seeing so great Wickedness and Grievs in the World, in which we live, but as way-faring Pilgrims; we must suppose, that God would never have made us, but for a better Place, and of much more Comfort, than we find here. I know no Creature that breatheth, whose Life standeth hourly in more Peril for it, than mine own, who entred not into my State, without sight of manifold Dangers of Life and Crown; as one that had the greatest and mightiest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much, as I left my Life behind my Care; and so you see that you wrong me too much (if any such there be) as doubt my Coldness in that behalf: For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true way of God's Will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe it to you. Take you heed, lest Ecclesiastes say not too true, *they that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall upon them.* I see many overbold with God Almighty, making too many subtle Scannings of his blessed Will, as Lawyers do with humane Testaments. The Presumption is so great, as I may not suffer it, (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which what Adversaries they be to mine Estate, is sufficiently known) nor tolerate Newfangledness. I mean to guide them both by God's holy true Rule. In both Parts be Perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kingly Rule, to have every Man, according to his own Censure, to make a Doom of the Validity and Privy of his Prince's Government, with a common Veil and Cover of God's

God's Word ; whose Followers must not be judged, but by private Mens Exposition. God defend you from such a Ruler, that so evil will guide you. Now I conclude, that your Love and Care neither is nor shall be bestowed upon a careless Prince ; but such as but for your Goodwill passeth as little for this World, as who careth least ; with Thanks for your free Subsidy, a manifest Show of the Abundance of your Goodwills ; the which, I assure you, but to be employ'd to your Weal, I could be better pleas'd to return than receive.

Vid. p. 526.

The Petition of the Lords and Commons to the Queen, for the due and deserved Punishment of Death, to be executed on Mary, commonly called Queen of Scots; for her most execrable Treasons and Offences.

May it please your most excellent Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign ;

WE your humble, loving and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having of long time, to our intolerable Grief, seen by how manifold, most dangerous and execrable Practices, *Mary*, the Daughter and Heir of *James V.* late King of *Scots*, Dowager of *France*, commonly call'd the Queen of *Scots*, hath compassed the Destruction of your Majesty's most sacred and royal Person ; in whose Safety (next under God) our chief and only Felicity doth consist : And thereby not only to bereave us of the sincere and true Religion of Almighty God, bringing us and this noble Crown back again into the Thralldom of the *Romish* Tyranny ; but also utterly to ruin and overthrow the happy State and Common-Weal of this most noble Realm. Which being, from time to time, by the great Mercy and Providence of God, and your Highness's singular Wisdom, foreseen and prevented ; your Majesty, of your exceeding great Clemency, and princely Magnanimity, hath either most graciously passed over, or with singular Favour tolerated, (although often and instantly moved by your most loving and faithful Subjects, to the contrary, in times in your Parliaments, and at many other times) and hath also protected and defended the said *Scottish* Queen from those great Dangers, which her own People, for certain detestable Crimes and Offences to her imputed, hath determined against her. All which notwithstanding, the said Queen was nothing moved with these and many other your Majesty's most gracious Favours toward her ; but rather obdurate in Malice, and by Hope of continual Impunity imbolden'd to prosecute her cruel and mischievous Determination, by some speedy and violent Course ; and now lately a very dangerous Plot being conceiv'd and set down by *Anthony Babington* and others, That six desperate and wicked Persons should undertake that wicked and most horrible Enterprize, to take away your Majesty's Life, (whom God, of his infinite Mercy, long preserve) she did not only give her Advice and Direction upon every Point, and all Circumstances concerning the same, make earnest Request to have it perform'd with all Diligence ; but did also promise Assurance of large Reward and Recompence to the Doers thereof. Which being inform'd to your Majesty, it pleas'd your Highness upon the earnest Suit of such as tendred the Safe-

ty of your royal Person, and the good and quiet State of this Realm ; to direct your Commission, under the great Seal of *England*, to the Lords and others of your Highness's Privy-Council, and certain other Lords of Parliament, of the greatest and most ancient Degree, with some of your principal Judges, to examine, hear and determine the same Cause ; and thereupon to give Sentence or Judgment, according to a Statute in that behalf made, in the twenty seventh Year of your most gracious Reign. By Vertue whereof, the more part of the same Commissioners being in Number thirty six, having at sundry times fully heard what was alledged and proved against the said *Scottish* Queen, in her own Presence, touching the said Crimes and Offences, and what she could say for her Defence and Excuse therein ; did, after long Deliberation, give their Sentence and Judgment with one Consent, That the Death and Destruction of your royal Person was imagined and compassed by the said *Anthony Babington*, with the Privy of the same *Scottish* Queen ; and that she did also compass and imagine the Death and Destruction of your most royal Person. Now, forasmuch as we, your Majesty's most humble, loyal and dutiful Subjects, representing unto your most excellent Majesty, the universal State of your whole People of all degrees in this your Realm ; do well perceive, and are fully satisfy'd, that the same Sentence and Judgment is in all things most honourable, just and lawful ; and having carefully and effectually, according to our most bounden Duties, weigh'd and considered, upon what Ground and Cause, so many traiterous Complots and dangerous Practices, against your most royal Person and Estate, and for the invading of this Realm, have, for the space of many Years past, grown and proceeded ; do certainly find, and are undoubtedly persuaded, that all the same have been, from time to time, attempted and practis'd by and from the *Scottish* Queen, and by her Confederates, Ministers and Favourers, who conceive an assured Hope to achieve speedily, by your Majesty's untimely Death, that which they have long expected, and whereof, during your Life, (which God long preserve, to our inestimable Comfort) they despair ; to wit, to place her the said *Scottish* Queen in the imperial and kingly Seat of this Realm, and by her to banish and destroy the Professors and Professing of the true Religion of *Jesus Christ*, and the ancient Nobility of this Land ; and to bring this whole State and Common-Weal to forein Subjection, and utter Ruin and Confusion : which their malicious and traiterous Purpose they will never cease to prosecute, by all possible means they can, so long as they may have their Eyes and Imaginations fix'd upon that Lady, the only Ground of their treasonable Hope and Conceits, and the only Seed-plot of all dangerous and traiterous Devices and Practices against your sacred Person. And seeing also what insolent Boldness is grown in the Heart of the same Queen, through your Majesty's former exceeding Favours and Clemencies towards her ; and thereupon weighing with heavy and sorrowful Hearts, in what continual Peril, in such like desperate Conspiracies and Practices, your Majesty's most royal and sacred Person and Life (more dear unto us than our own) is and shall be still, without any possible means to prevent it, so long as the said *Scottish* Queen shall be suffered to continue, and shall not receive that due Punishment which, by Justice and the Laws of this your Realm, she hath so often, and so many ways, for her most wicked and detestable Offences, deserved : Therefore, and for that we find, that if the said Lady shall now escape the due and deserved

deserved Punishment of Death, for these her most execrable Treasons and Offences; your Highness's royal Person shall be exposed unto many more, and those more secret and dangerous Conspiracies, than before; and such as shall not or cannot be foreseen or discovered, as these her late Attempts have been; and shall not hereafter be so well able to remove or take away the Ground and Occasion of the same, as now by Justice may and ought to be done: We do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that, as well in respect of the Continuance of the true Religion now professed amongst us, and of the Safety of your most royal Person and Estate, as in regard of the Preservation and Defence of us Your most Loving, Dutiful and Faithful Subjects, and the whole Common-weal of this Realm, it may please Your Highness to take speedy order, That Declaration of the same Sentence and judgement be made and publish'd by Proclamation, and that thereupon direction be given for further Proceedings against the said *Scottish* Queen, according to the Effect and true meaning of the said Statute: Because upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your Majesties Safety, but by the just and speedy Execution of the said Queen, the Neglecting whereof may procure the heavy Displeasure and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry severe Examples of his great Justice in that behalf, left us in the Sacred Scriptures, doth appear. And if the same be not put in present Execution, we your most loving and dutiful Subjects shall thereby (so far as Man's Reason can reach) be brought into utter Despair of the Continuance amongst us of the true Religion of Almighty God, and of your Majesty's Life, and the Safety of all your faithful Subjects, and the good Estate of this most flourishing Common-Weal.

Vid. p. 531.

A Memorial written by the Speaker's own Hand, containing Reasons to move her Majesty to consent to the Execution of the Sentence against Mary late Queen of Scots.

UNLESS Execution of this just Sentence be done:

I. Your Majesty's Person cannot any while be safe.

II. The Religion cannot long continue amongst us.

III. The most flourishing present State of this Realm must shortly receive a woful Fall.

IV. And consequently, in sparing her, your Majesty shall not only give Courage and Hardiness to the Enemies of God, of your Majesty's Self, and of your Kingdom; but shall discomfort and daunt with Despair the Hearts of your loving People: and so deservedly provoke the heavy Hand and Wrath of God.

And that summarily for the Reasons ensuing:

I. For as much as concerns the Danger of your Majesty;

Both she and her Favourers think she hath Right, not to succeed, but to enjoy your Crown in Possession; and therefore as she is a most impatient Competitor, (acquainted with Blood) so will she not spare any means that may take you from us, being the only Lett that she enjoyeth not her Desire.

She is hardened in Malice against your royal Person, notwithstanding that you have done her

all Favour, Mercy and Kindness; as well in preserving her Kingdom, as saving her Life and Honour.

And therefore there is no Place for Mercy, where there is no Hope of Amendment, or that she will desist from most wicked Attempts.

The rather, for that her Malice appeareth such, as that she maketh, as it were, her Testament of the same, to be executed after her Death, and appointeth her Executors to perform the same.

She affirmeth it lawful to move Invasion: therefore, as of Invasion Victory may ensue, and of Victory the Death of the Vanquished; so doth she not obscurely profess it lawful to destroy you.

She holds it not only lawful, but honourable also and meritorious, to take your Life, &c. being deprived of your Crown by her holy Father; and therefore she will (as she hath continually done) seek it by all means whatsoever.

She is greedy of your Death, and preferreth it before her own Life: For in her late Direction to some of her Complices, she willed, *Whatsoever became of her, the tragical Execution should be performed on you.* There is by so much the more Danger to your Person, since the Sentence than before, by how much it becometh them that would preserve her or advance her, to hasten your Death now or never, before Execution done upon her; as knowing that you, and none else, can give Direction for her Death, and that by your Death the Sentence hath lost the Force of Execution, and otherwise they should come too late, if they take not the present Opportunity to help her.

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Some of the eldest and wisest Papists set it down for a special good Drift, to occupy you with Conceit, that the Preservation of her Life is the Safety of your own; and therefore you may be assured, that they verily think that her Life will be your Death and Destruction.

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She resteth wholly upon Popish Hopes to be delivered and advanced, and is so devoted and doted in that Profession, that she will (as well for Satisfaction of others, as feeding her own Humor) supplant the Gospel, where and whensoever she may. Which Evil is so much the greater, and the more to be avoided, as that it slayeth the Soul, and will spread itself not only over *England* and *Scotland*, but also into all Parts beyond the Seas, where the Gospel of God is maintained: The which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, if Defection should be in these two most valiant Kingdoms.

III. For as much as concerns the happy Estate of this Realm:

The *Lydians* say, *Unum Regem agnoscunt Lydii, duos autem tolerare non possunt*; so we say, *Unam Reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.* And therefore, since she saith, that she is Queen here, and we neither can nor will acknowledge any other but you to be our Queen. It will follow, if she prevail, she will rather make us Slaves, than take us for her Children; and therefore the Realm sigheth and groaneth under fear of such a Step-Mother.

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Whilst she shall live, the Enemies of the State will hope and gape after your Death. By your Death they trust to make Invasion profitable for them; which cannot be, but the same should be most lamentable for us: and therefore it is meet to cut off the Head of that Hope.

As she hath already, by her poisoned Baits, brought to Destruction more Noblemen and their Houses, and a great multitude of Subjects, during her being here, than she would have done, if she had been in Possession of her own Country, and armed in the Field against us; so will she still be continually Cause of the like Spoil, to the greater Loss and Peril of this Estate: And therefore this Realm neither can or may endure her.

Her Secretaries do write and print, that we be at our Wits end, Worlds end, if she overlive your Majesty; meaning thereby, that the End of our World is the Beginning of theirs: and therefore, take her away, and their World will be at an end, before it begin.

Since the sparing of her in the 14th Year of your Reign, Popish Traitors and Recusants have multiplied exceedingly; and if you spare her now again, they will grow both innumerable and invincible also.

IV. And therefore now in the fourth place:

Mercy in this case would in the end prove Cruelty against us all. *Nam est quaedam crudelis misericordia.* And therefore to spare her is to spill us.

She is only a Cousin to you in a remote degree, but we be the Sons and Children of this Land; whereof you be not only the natural Mother, but also the wedded Spouse. And therefore much more is due from you to us all, than alone to her. It would exceedingly grieve and wound the Hearts of your loving Subjects, if they should see so horrible Vice not condignly punished: If any be wavering, it will win them to the worse Part, and many will seek to make their own Peace. Wherefore, as well for the Comfort of the one, as Stay of the other, and Retaining of all, it is most needful that Justice be done upon her.

Thousands of your loving Subjects of all degrees, which have for special Zeal of your Safety, made Oath, before God, to pursue to Death by all forcible and possible means, such as she is, by just Sentence, found to be; cannot save their Oaths, if you keep her alive: for then either we must take her Life from her without Direction, which will be to our extreme Danger by the Offence of your Law; or else we must suffer her to live against our express Oath, which will be to the uttermost Peril of our own Souls; wherewith no Act of Parliament, nor Power of Man whatsoever, can in any wise dispense. And therefore, seeing it resteth wholly in you, by a most worthy and just Execution of this Sentence, to keep us upright, and free us in both, we most humbly and earnestly beseech you, &c. that speedy Justice be done upon her, whereby yourself may be safe, the State of your Realm preserved, and we not only delivered from this Trouble of Conscience; but also recomforted to endeavour ourselves, and all ours, into whatsoever other Peril, for the Preservation and Safety of you.

Lastly, God's Vengeance against Saul for sparing Agag, against Abab for sparing the Life of Benhadad, is apparent; for they were both by the just Judgment of God deprived of their King-

dom for sparing those wicked Princes whom God had deliver'd into their Hands of purpose to be slain to death by them, as by the Ministers of his eternal and divine Justice.

How much those Magistrates were commended that put to death those mischievous and wicked Queens, Jezebel and Athaliah!

How wisely proceeded Solomon to Punishment, in putting to death his own natural and elder Brother Adonias, for the only intention of a Marriage, which gave suspicion of Treason! whereas there is no more desir'd of your Majesty than the very Pope (now your sworn Enemy) some of these late Conspirators, and this wicked Lady herself have thought fit to fall upon her. He in like case gave Sentence, *vita Conradini, mors Carolo, mors Conradini, vita Carolo.* They in their best Minds and remorse of Conscience setting down the best means of your Safety, said, *He that hath no Arms cannot fight, and he that hath no Legs cannot run away, but he that hath no Head can do no harm. Pifces primum a capite ferunt.* She by her voluntary subscribing to the rite Association, &c. gave this Sentence against herself.

And after in her Letters of these Treasons to Babington, wrote, *That if she were discover'd, it would give sufficient cause to you to keep her in continual close Prison.* By which Words she could mean nothing else but Pains of Death.

Therefore we seeing on the one side how you have, to the Offence of mighty Princes, advanced Religion; with what tender Care, and more than motherly Piety, you have always cherish'd us the Children of this Land, with what Honour and Renown you have restored the ancient Rights of the Crown, with what Peace and Justice you have Govern'd, and with what Store and Plenty you have Reigned over us.

On the other side, seeing that this Enemy of our Felicity seeks to undermine the Religion, &c. to supplant us, and plant Strangers in the Place, to transfer the Rights of the Crown to that Italian Priest, and the Crown to herself, or to some other, from you; and therefore lieth in continual Wait, for to take away your Life, &c.

Therefore we pray you, &c. for the Cause of God, his Church, this Realm, ourselves and yourself; that you will no longer be careless of your Life, our sovereign Safety; nor longer suffer Religion to be threatned, the Realm to stand in Danger, nor us to dwell in Fear: but as Justice hath given rightful Sentence, &c. so you will grant Execution. That as her Life threatneth your Death, so her Death may, by God's Favor, prolong your Life; and that this Evil being taken away from the Earth, we may praise God for our Deliverance, and pray him for our Continuance; and, with the Psalmist, say, *Dominus fecit judicium,* and *The ungodly is trapped in the works of her own hand.*

And so pray God to incline your Heart to our just Desires, &c.

Vid. p. 571.

The Queen's Speech at the Dissolution of the Parliament, April 10. 1593.

THIS Kingdom hath had many wise, noble and victorious Princes: I will not compare with any of them in Wisdom, Fortitude and other Vertues; but saving the Duty of a Child, that is not to compare with his Father, in Love, Care, Sincerity and Justice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or shall have. It may be thought Simplicity in me, that all this

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deserved Punishment of Death, for these her most execrable Treasons and Offences; your Highness's royal Person shall be exposed unto many more, and those more secret and dangerous Conspiracies, than before; and such as shall not or cannot be foreseen or discovered, as these her late Attempts have been; and shall not hereafter be so well able to remove or take away the Ground and Occasion of the same, as now by Justice may and ought to be done: We do most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that, as well in respect of the Continuance of the true Religion now professed amongst us, and of the Safety of your most royal Person and Estate, as in regard of the Preservation and Defence of us Your most Loving, Dutiful and Faithful Subjects, and the whole Common-weal of this Realm, it may please Your Highness to take speedy order, That Declaration of the same Sentence and judgement be made and publish'd by Proclamation, and that thereupon direction be given for further Proceedings against the said *Scottish* Queen, according to the Effect and true meaning of the said Statute: Because upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your Majesties Safety, but by the just and speedy Execution of the said Queen, the Neglecting whereof may procure the heavy Displeasure and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry severe Examples of his great Justice in that behalf, left us in the Sacred Scriptures, doth appear. And if the same be not put in present Execution, we your most loving and dutiful Subjects shall thereby (so far as Man's Reason can reach) be brought into utter Despair of the Continuance amongst us of the true Religion of Almighty God, and of your Majesty's Life, and the Safety of all your faithful Subjects, and the good Estate of this most flourishing Common-Weal.

Vid. p. 531.

A Memorial written by the Speaker's own Hand, containing Reasons to move her Majesty to consent to the Execution of the Sentence against Mary late Queen of Scots.

UNLESS Execution of this just Sentence be done:

I. Your Majesty's Person cannot any while be safe.

II. The Religion cannot long continue amongst us.

III. The most flourishing present State of this Realm must shortly receive a woful Fall.

IV. And consequently, in sparing her, your Majesty shall not only give Courage and Hardiness to the Enemies of God, of your Majesty's Self, and of your Kingdom; but shall discomfort and daunt with Despair the Hearts of your loving People: and so deservedly provoke the heavy Hand and Wrath of God.

And that summarily for the Reasons ensuing:

I. For as much as concerns the Danger of your Majesty;

Both she and her Favourers think she hath Right, not to succeed, but to enjoy your Crown in Possession; and therefore as she is a most impatient Competitor, (acquainted with Blood) so will she not spare any means that may take you from us, being the only Lett that she enjoyeth not her Desire.

She is hardened in Malice against your royal Person, notwithstanding that you have done her

all Favour, Mercy and Kindness; as well in preserving her Kingdom, as saving her Life and Honour.

And therefore there is no Place for Mercy, where there is no Hope of Amendment, or that she will desist from most wicked Attempts.

The rather, for that her Malice appeareth such, as that she maketh, as it were, her Testament of the same, to be executed after her Death, and appointeth her Executors to perform the same.

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The Queen's Speech at the Dissolution of the Parliament, April 10. 1593.

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time of my Reign, I have not sought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge, that my Womanhood and Weakness in that respect. But it hath not been the Hardness to obtain, or Doubt how to keep the things so obtained, that only hath withheld me from these Attempts: My Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these Wars. He doth me the greatest Wrong that can be; for my Conscience doth not accuse my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the least Injury; so that I am persuaded in my Conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the Wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his Threatnings: His great Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir me; for though he come against me with a greater Power, than ever was his invincible Navy, I doubt not, but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. For my Cause is just. I heard say, when he attempted his last Invasion, some upon the Sea-Coasts forsook their Towns, and fled up higher into the Country, and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance. But I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those Persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel, what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a Cause. The Subsidy you give me I accept thankfully, if you give me your Good-will with it: But if the Necessity of the Time and your Preservations did not require it, I would refuse it. But let me tell you, the Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a Prince to have so much always lying in her Coffers, for your Defence in time of need; and not be driven to get it, when she should use it. You that are Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take Care and special Order, that the People be well-armed, and in Readiness upon all Occasions. You that be Judges, and Justices of Peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the Law to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws, when we have put Life into them.

Vid. p. 648.

The Speaker's Speech to the Queen, in the Council-Chamber, on Monday, the 30th of November, 1601. and the Queen's Answer.

Most sacred and most gracious Sovereign,

WE your faithful, loyal and obedient Subjects, and Commons here present, vouchsafed of your especial Goodness (to our unspeakable Comfort) Access to your sacred Presence, do in all Duty and Humbleness come to present that which no Words can express, most humble and thankful Acknowledgment of your most gracious Message; and most bounden and humble Thanks for your Majesty's most abundant Goodness, extended and performed to us. We cannot say, most gracious Sovereign, we have called and been heard, we have complained and been helped; though in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, your sacred Ears are ever open and ever bowed down to hear us, and your blessed Hands ever stretched out to relieve us: We acknowledge, (sacred Sovereign) in all Duty and

Thankfulness we acknowledge, That, before we call, your preventing Grace and all-deserving Goodness doth watch over us for our Good; more ready to give, than we can desire, much less deserve. That Attribute which is most proper unto God, to perform all he promiseth, appertaineth also unto you our most gracious Sovereign Queen of all Truth, of all Constancy, of all Goodness, never wearied in doing good unto us (the Deeds themselves do speak) most careful to provide all good things for us; most gracious, most tender to remove all Grievances from us; which all your princely Actions have ever shewed, and even now your most gracious published Proclamation, of your own only meer Motion and special Grace, for the Good of all your People, doth witness to us. We come not, sacred Sovereign, one of ten to render Thanks, and the rest to go away unthankful; but all of us, in all Duty and Thankfulness, do throw down ourselves at the Feet of your Majesty, do praise God and bless your Majesty. Neither do we present our Thanks in Words or any outward thing, which can be no sufficient Retribution for so great Goodness: But in all Duty and Thankfulness, prostrate at your Feet, we present our most loyal and thankful Hearts, even the last Drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the last Spirit of Breath in our Nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your Safety.

And after three low Reverences made, he with the rest kneeled down; and her Majesty began thus to answer herself, viz.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard your Declaration, and perceive your Care of our State, by falling into the Considerations of a grateful Acknowledgment of such Benefits as you have received; and that your Coming is to present Thanks unto us, which I accept with no less Joy, than your Loves can have Desire to offer such a Present. I do assure you, that there is no Prince that loveth his Subjects better, or whose Love can countervail our Love: There is no Jewel, be it of never so rich a Price, which I prefer before this Jewel, I mean your Love; for I do more esteem it than any Treasure or Riches: for that we know how to prize, but Love and Thanks I count inestimable. And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the Glory of my Crown, That I have reigned with your Loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice, that God hath made me to be Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a People. Therefore I have Cause to wish nothing more than to content the Subject, and that is a Duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer Days, than that I may see your Prosperity; and that is my only Desire. And as I am that Person, that still (yet under God) hath delivered you; so I trust, by the almighty Power of God, that I still shall be his Instrument to preserve you from Envy, Peril, Dishonour, Shame, Tyranny and Oppression, partly by means of your intended Helps, which we take very acceptably, because it manifesteth the Greatness of your Loves, and Loyalties unto your Sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy, scraping Grasper, nor a strait, fast-holding Prince, nor yet a Waster. My Heart was never set on worldly Goods, but only for my Subjects Good. What you do bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea mine own Properties I count yours, to be expended for your Good. Therefore render unto them for me, I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such Thanks

Thanks as you imagine my Heart yieldeth, but my Tongue cannot express.

Note, that all this while they kneeled: Whereupon her Majesty said, 'Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I shall yet trouble you with longer Speech. So they all stood up, and she went on in her Speech, saying, Mr. Speaker, You give me Thanks, but I doubt me I have more cause to thank you all than you me; and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me; for had I not receiv'd a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lap of an Error, only for lack of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my Pen to any Grant but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the Subjects in general, tho' a private Profit to some of my ancient Servants who had deserv'd well: But the contrary being found by Experience, I am exceedingly beholden to such Subjects as would move the same at first. And I am not so simple to suppose, but that there be some of the Lower-House whom these Grievances never touch'd; and for them I think they speak out of Zeal to their Countries, and not out of Spleen or Malevolent Affection, as being Parties griev'd; and I take it exceeding grateful from them, because it gives us to know, that no Respects nor Interesses have moved them, other than the Minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our Honour, and our Subjects Love unto us. The Zeal of which Affection tending to ease my People and knit their Hearts unto me, I embrace with a princely Care; far above all earthly Treasure I esteem my Peoples Love, more than which I desire not to merit. That my Grants should be grievous to my People, and Oppressions to be privileg'd under colour of our Parents, our kingly Dignity shall not suffer it; yea, when I heard it, I could give no rest to my Thoughts until I had reform'd it. Shall they think to escape unpunished that have thus oppress'd you, and have been respectless of their Duty and regardless of our Honour? No, Mr. Speaker, I assure you, were it not more for Conscience sake than any Glory or increase of Love, that I desire these Errors, Troubles, Vexations and Oppressions, done by these Varlets and lewd Persons, not worthy the Name of Subjects, should not escape without condign Punishment. But I perceive they dealt with me like Physicians, who ministring a Drug, make it more acceptable by giving it a good Aromatical favour; or when they give Pills, do gild them all over. I have ever used to set the Last Judgment-Day before my Eyes, and so to Rule as I shall be judged to Answer before a higher Judge. To whose Judgment-Seat I do appeal, that never Thought was cherish'd in my Heart that tended not to my Peoples Good. And now, if my kingly Bounty have been abused, and my Grants turned to the hurt of my People, contrary to my will and meaning; or if any in Authority under me, have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their Culps and Offences to my Charge; and tho' there were Danger in repealing our Grants, yet what Danger would not I rather incur for your Good, than I would suffer them still to continue? I know the Title of a King is a glorious Title; but assure yourselves, that the shining Glory of princely Authority hath not so dazled the Eyes of our Understanding, but that we will, know and remember, that we also are to yield an Account of our Actions before the great Judge. To be a King and wear a Crown is more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasure to them that bear it. For my self, I was never so much inticed with

the glorious Name of a King, or royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me this Instrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom (as I said) from Peril, Dishonour, Tyranny and Oppression. There will never Queen sit in my Seat with more Zeal to my Country, Care to my Subjects, and that will sooner, with willingness, yield and venture her Life for your Good and Safety than myself. And tho' you have had and may have many Princes more Mighty and Wise sitting in this Seat, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more Careful and Loving. Should I ascribe any thing to my self and my Sexly Weakness, I were not worthy to live then, and of all most unworthy of the Mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me an Heart which never yet feared foreign or home Enemies. I speak it to give God the Praise as a Testimony before you, and not to attribute any thing to my self: For I, O Lord, what am I, whom Practices and Perils past should not fear! O what can I do (*these she spake with a great Emphasis*) that I should speak for any Glory! God forbid. This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you, deliver unto the House, to whom heartily recommend me; and so I commit you all to your best Fortunes and farther Counsels. I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my Council, that before these Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to Kiss my Hand.

Vid. p. 637.

The Execution of the Earl of Essex in the Tower of London, the 25th of February, Anno 1600.

ON Wednesday, commonly call'd *Ash-Wednesday*, in the Morning, about One of the Clock, the Lieutenant of the Tower gave warning to the Earl of Essex, who was condemn'd the Thursday before of High-Treason, to prepare himself for Death, which should be the same Day following. He, being then in Bed, presently upon notice thereof arose; Dr. Montford, Dr. Barley, and Mr. Ashton, his Chaplain, being with him; and therewithal desir'd them to join with him in those Exercises that might best benefit him for his Death, so near approaching. Thereunto they most willingly condescended, being of purpose appointed to be with him, to prepare and make him ready to tast of that his most bitter Cup. The Exercises that were used, were hearty Prayers, penitent Confessions, and comfortable Preachings. The latter was perform'd by Mr. Ashton, at the request of the other Divines. And thus was the Morning spent, until the Hour drew near to finish his Course. Against which time all things were prepared for the Execution to be done within the Tower. And between the Hours of Seven and Eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Earl was brought by the Lieutenant of the Tower to the Scaffold, which was set up in the high Court where the Church stands, having on him a black Velvet-Gown, and a Sute of black Sattin; who coming thereunto, ascended the Stairs, which were about four Foot high and three Yards square, with Rails round about; the three Divines going up with him. At his coming upon the Scaffold he carried a most constant and settled Countenance, neither high nor dejected: And stepping into the midst of the Scaffold, where the Block lay, with a little motion of Body saluted all the Nobles, Knights and Gentlemen, who sat on Forms near unto the Stage; viz. the Earls of *Cumberland*

land and Hartford, Lord Viscount Bindon, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Morley, Lord Compton, and others that were there present. And hereupon, with a distinct and serious Duty, he fram'd his Speech to this or such like effect: *I desire your Lordships, and you, my Christian Brethren, here present to see my just Punishment; to be a Witness that I confess to the Glory of God and the beating down of mine own Flesh, that I am a grievous Sinner, yea the most grievous of all Sinners; and that the number of my Sins are more than the Hairs on my Head. I have lived in Wantonness, in the Lusts of the Flesh, all vain uncleanness: I have been full of Pride, Vanity and Ambition: I do acknowledge this Sin against my Sovereign, this bloody Sin, this crying Sin, for which I am now come to die; protesting, that I never meant to hurt my Sovereign, her Person or Dignity. And therefore I desire you to bear Witness of these my Protestations. I never was, I thank God, Atheist, to deny God, or to hold any Heresy against the Godhead; nor Papist, to ascribe any thing to my own Works; but hope to be saved by the Mercies of God, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so forward. I believe all the Articles of that Religion and Faith in which I was baptized, and which I have been brought up in, and which I hope to continue to my last gasp. I was never guilty of Hypocrisy in Religion, but always subject to all Imperfections and Corruptions of the Flesh. I acknowledge my self a most imperfect Creature. And now I crave Pardon of all the World: First of my Sovereign, next of the State, of the Nobles and People, and especially of the Nobles and Gentlemen that for the love of me are fallen into this Action against their Sovereign and Anointed of God. I heartily forgive all Men, and desire that they will have a charitable conceit of me and my Proceedings. I do beseech God to give her Majesty a religious and wise Heart, and, if it please him, a long Reign and a prosperous. And now I beseech your Lordships, and you, my Christian Brethren here present, to join with me in Prayer to God, that he will assist me in this greatest Temptation of my Death: For through the Weakness of my Flesh I am not able to endure of my self, without his especial Grace, this last Conflict; and yet the Spirit is most willing to undergo this heavy Cross, to drink of the bitter Cup of Death. And here the Ministers put him in mind to make Confession of his Faith in saying the Creed; the which he did; giving them most hearty Thanks therefore; for now, saith he, Satan is most busy. And then putting off his Gown, he kneeled down with his Hands lifted up and closed together, and his Eyes most firmly fixed in the*

Heavens: He desir'd, in most effectual Phrases, that God would give him power to Pray, not with his Tongue and Understanding only, but with Faith, Zeal, firm Conscience and full Assurance. For he acknowledg'd, that through his own Ignorance and Dulness he could not offer up his Prayers to God as he ought, but he prayed that he might perform that Christian Duty, and he assuredly hoped that God would accept his Willingness for the Action; and in most effectual manner he craved Strength and Constancy of the Almighty, that without all doubting or wavering he might have Confidence and full Assurance of all the Mercies promised and made in Christ Jesus, even unto the last gasp of Breath: That Christ ought to be the only object of the Eye of the Mind; that his Heart might not be carried away with any worldly Thoughts, but that in his Dissolution, at his last gasp, he might have God only before him; and such-like most heavenly Prayers. He continu'd most fervently until he concluded with the Prayer of all Prayers, which is the Lord's Prayer, which he pronounced with a most constant Resolution, all the Assembly joining with him in Tongue and Voice as they before had done in Heart; all the whole Assembly pouring down most wonderful Floods of Tears, with loud Crying and hearty Sobs, making great Lamentation. His Prayers being ended, he desir'd the Executioner to tell him how he should fit himself for the Block. Then the Executioner ask'd him Forgiveness; and he answer'd him and forgave him, saying, *Spare not, nor be afraid, for thou art the Minister of Justice.* Then he pull'd off his Doublet, under which he had a Waistcoat of Scarlet embroider'd with Gold; and then he prostrated himself saying, *I prostrate myself before thee, O Lord my God, beseeching thee that thy blessed Angels may be ready to receive my Soul so soon as it is departed from my Body; and I pray you all to join with my Spirit when my Arms are stretched out in Prayer unto God.* Thus, without muffle, laying his Head on the Block, his Eyes lifted up towards Heaven, his Arms stretched abroad, he said, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; Lord Jesus receive my Soul:* Whereat the Executioner doing his Office very ill, took three Stroaks before he cut off the Head; and yet neither Arms, nor Body, nor Head stirr'd; which the Executioner took up, and said, *God save the Queen.*

THE

T H E
A N N A L S
O F

Mr. William Camden,
In the Reign of King J A M E S I.
Viz. From the Year 1603. to the Year, 1623.

Done into English.

A N N O 1603.

1603.

1603.

Mar. 24.

QUEEN Elizabeth being dead, between Two and Three a Clock after Midnight, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, together with the late Councillors, undertaking the Provisional Administration of the Kingdom, proclaim'd King James.

25. They sent Charles Percy and T. H. Somerset to the King with a Letter, signifying the same; and humbly desired him, that he would be pleased to repair into England with all speed.

28. George Carew and Thomas Lake, were sent to inform the King in what posture Affairs stood.

April 6. The King made his Entrance into Berwick.

8. Some Troubles in the Marches, at Waterford, and elsewhere in Ireland. The King comes to York.

10. Southampton, and others, being imprisoned, are set at Liberty.

15. Cecil the Secretary being sent for, set out towards York.

28. The Funeral Rites of Queen Elizabeth are performed.

May. Henry Howard, Thomas Howard, and my Lord Mountjoy, are chosen into the Council at Theobalds.

7. The King taking his Journey from Theobalds, is first received by Sheriff Swinnerton, whose Chaplain R. M. did cast some sharp Reflexions upon the Administration under Elizabeth; after that he is received by the Lord-Mayor and Citizens, and is conducted to the Charter-House, where he promiscuously created Eighty Knights.

An Act against Monopolies.

13. Robert Cecil, Robert Sidney, William Knowles, Edward Wotton, are created Barons in the Tower of London.

An Act for preserving Deer.

19. An Act for suppressing Insurrections in the Frontiers, or Marches.

June 4. Valentine Thomas, who confess'd that he had conspired against the Queen's Life, is condemn'd and executed.

Ambassadors from several Princes come to Congratulate.

The Earl of Rutland is sent to the King of Denmark to be Godfather to his Son, and carry him a Garter.

The Plague rages at London.

The Festival of St. George is celebrated, where Prince Henry, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Marr, the Earl of Pembroke, are invested with the Order of the Garter.

Anthony Copley, Griffin Markham, William Watson, and William Clerk, Priests; my Lord Cobham, his Brother George, my Lord Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, are taken up on suspicion of Treason.

The Earl of Southampton is created and restored.

Thomas Howard is created Earl of Suffolk; my Lord Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire; Thomas Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere; William Russel, Henry Grey, John Petre, John Harrington, Henry Danvers, Thomas Gerard and Robert Spencer, are created Barons at Hampton-Court.

Thomas Edmonds is sent Ambassador to the Archduke.

The King and Queen are Crown'd, it being then very bad Weather, and the Pestilence mightily raging; for in that Week there died 1103.

It is order'd, That this Day should be strictly observed for the King's Deliverance from the Gowry's Conspiracy; and a Fast is kept every Wednesday throughout the Kingdom.

My Lord Cobham, my Lord Grey, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin Markham, George Brook, Anthony Copley, William Watson and William Clerk, are convicted of High Treason at Winchester; amongst whom George Brook, and the Two Priests, are put to death.

From the 23d of December 1602. to the 22d of December 1603. there died at London 38244, of which number there was 30578 of the Plague.

Vol. II.

N n n n n

A N N O

1604.

ANNO 1604.

- Feb. 29.** **W**Hilst the King began to find fault with some things used in the Liturgy, and thought it convenient that they should be altered, *John Whitgift*, the Archbishop, died for Grief.
- Mar. 13.** *Henry Howard* is created Baron of *Marnhill*, and Earl of *Northampton*, by the same Letters-Patents; and my Lord *Buckhurst* is made Earl of *Dorset*.
- 15.** The King and Queen pass through the City in great pomp from the Tower to *Westminster*.
- 19.** A Parliament is held till the 7th of *July*.
Thomas Smith, a Merchant of *London*, is sent Ambassador to *Boris Theodorowitz* Emperor of *Russia*.
The Duke of *Lenox* being Ambassador in *France*, to him the King complains of *H. Worton*, Ambassador at *Venice*.
- Aug. 5.** Peace between *Spain* and *England* concluded, and Proclaimed.
- 20.** *Robert Cecil*, Baron of *Essenden*, is created Viscount *Cranburn*.
- Octob. --** Ostend taken.
- 24.** The Duties for all Merchandize exported and imported, augmented.
- Dec. 10.** The King proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, that the Name of *England* might be extinct.
- Richard Bancroft*, Bishop of *London*, is translated to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*.
Richard Vaughan, Bishop of *Chester*, is translated to the See of *London*.
The *French* make frequent complaints of Depredations or Pyracies committed by the *English*.

1605.

ANNO 1605.

- Jan. 4.** **P**hilip Herbert, Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, marries *Susan*, Daughter to *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*.
- Febr. 6.** *Charles*, Second Son to the King, is created Duke of *York*.
- Mar. 5.** An Act that the *Jesuits* and *Seminary Priests* should immediately depart out of the Kingdom; and another to establish the Discipline and Liturgy of the Church of *England*.
- 28.** The Admiral of *England* is sent into *Spain* to confirm the Peace, and *Charles Cornwallis* along with him to be Ambassador.
- 29.** Philip Prince of *Spain* is born.
- April 19.** *Edward* Earl of *Hertford* is sent to the Archduke to ratify the Peace.
- 24.** *Ulricus* Duke of *Holstein*, and the Earl of *Northampton*, created Knights of the Garter.
- May 4.** *Robert Cecil* is created Earl of *Salisbury*; *Thomas Cecil* Baron *Burleigh*, Earl of *Exeter*; *Philip Herbert* Earl of *Montgomery*; Baron *Sydney* Viscount *Lisle*.
Likewise, *J. Stanhope*, *George Carew*, *Thomas Arundel* and *William Cavendish*, are created Barons at *Greenwich*.
- July --** The *Spaniards* arrive at *Dover*, and are block'd up by the *Hollanders*.
- 5.** *George Lodovic*, Landgrave *Lettenberg*, comes Ambassador from the Emperor *Rodolph*.
- Aug. 1.** *Edmund Anderson*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, died, to whom *Francis Gawdy* succeeded.
- 11.** A Proclamation for preventing Legacies for Pious uses to be misapplied.
- 27.** The King and Queen go to see *Oxford*.
- 31.** *Henry Ramelins* is installed at *Windsor* for *Christian the Fourth*, King of *Denmark*.
- Nov. 5.** The Gun-powder Plot is discover'd.
- 9.** A Parliament began.

ANNO 1606.

1606.

- T**HE Earl of *Essex* married *Frances* Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*.
- My Lord *Knolles* married *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of the said Earl.
- George Carew* is sent Ambassador into *France*. Those who were guilty of the Gunpowder-Treason are condemn'd, and executed on the Thirtieth.
- Jo. de Mendoza* Marquis of *St. Germain*, came April 24. Ambassador from *Spain* to the King.
- Henry Garnet*, Provincial of the *Jesuits*, is put May 3. to death.
- Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* and Viscount *Bindon* installed at *Windsor*.
- Henry* Lord *Mordaunt*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, June 3. are Fined in the Star-Chamber.
- A Proclamation for extirpating *Jesuits* and Seminaries out of the Realm.
- Sophia*, Daughter to the King is born, and died the next day.
- Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* is fined 30000 l. and to be imprisoned during Life.
- Nicholas Molino*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, returns; and *George Justinianus* comes in his Place.
- Edward Coke* made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
- A Monument is erected for Queen *Elizabeth* in *Westminster*.
- Christian* King of *Denmark* comes into *England* July 17. unexpected.
- The King, accompanied with the King of *Denmark*, passes through the City in most magnificent Pomp.
- The King of *Denmark* departs.
- Francis* Prince *Vaudemont* comes into *England*; Sept. 23. being the Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*.
- Moorfields* reduced into pleasant Walks. The Churches throughout the City beautified.

ANNO 1607.

1607.

- J**ames Lord *Hay* married *Honora*, Daughter and sole Heiress to *Edward* Lord *Denny*.
- The King makes Speeches to both Houses of Parliament concerning the Union of the Two Kingdoms.
- Prince *Joinvil*, Brother to the Duke of *Guise*, May 8. came into *England*.
- The Peasants commit a Riot in *Northamptonshire* concerning Inclosures, and pull down the Hedges.
- Thomas Ravis*, Bishop of *Glocester*, is translated June 2. to the See of *London*.
- Jo. Watts*, Lord Mayor of *London*, entertains the King at a splendid Dinner.
- The King pays 60000 l. to the Citizens of *London*, which Queen *Elizabeth* ow'd them.
- Ambassadors from the States.
- Thomas Knevet* is called to Parliament by the Name of Lord *Knevet* of *Eskrick*.
- Julius Caesar St Omar*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, is admitted into the Privy-Council.
- The Company of Merchant-Taylors entertain the King at a noble Dinner in their Hall.
- The King stands Godfather to *James*, eldest Son to *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* by his Countess *Aletbeia*, Third Daughter of *Gilbert* Earl of *Sbrevsbury*.
- The Earls *Tir-Owen* and *Tir-Connel*, and other Malecontents, fled out of *Ireland*.
- Mary* the King's Daughter died.
- The Banqueting-House at *Whitehall* is new built.
- Jo. Fortescu*, late Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Dec. 23. died.

ANNO 1608.

1608.
 Febr. 9. Viscount Haddington married Elizabeth the Daughter of Robert Earl of Essex.
 Aldgate rebuilt.
 Apr. 17. James Montagu is consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells.
 29. The Oath of Allegiance was Enacted.
 Henry Earl of Northampton is made Keeper of the Privy-Seal.
 May 6. Robert Earl of Salisbury is made Lord Treasurer of England.
 20. The Earls of Dunbar and Montgomery are Installed at Windsor.
 Octob. 9. Richard Neal was consecrated Bishop of Rochester.
 Dec. 1. William, Son to the Earl of Salisbury, married Catherine the Third Daughter of the Earl of Suffolk.
 A Proclamation against Pyrates.

ANNO 1609.

1609.
 Febr. 19. THE Thames flowed twice in the space of an Hour.
 23. Robert Earl of Dorset died.
 25. Richard Earl of Dorset married Anne the only Daughter of George Earl of Cumberland.
 Mar. --- A Cessation of Arms between Philip III. King of Spain, and the States of the United Provinces, for Twelve Years.
 --- The New Exchange is erected, which was call'd Britannica by the King, or Britain's Bourse.
 June --- The King hears the Cause of Prohibitions, and Complaints against the Officers of the Royal Navy.
 The King pays 63000 l. which he had borrowed from the Citizens of London.

ANNO 1610.

1610.
 Jan. 31. Viscount Fenton is chosen into the Privy-Council.
 May 3. Henry IV. King of France, massacred.
 June 4. Henry created Prince of Wales.
 The Privileges of the East-India Company are enlarged.
 Jesuits and Seminaries are extirpated, and the Oath of Allegiance tender'd to every body.
 The League between England and France is renewed.
 Octo. 20. Three Bishops of Scotland, Job. Spotswood of Glasgow, Gawin Hamilton of Galway, and Andrew Lambe of Brechin, are consecrated at Lambeth, according to the Rites of the Church of England.
 Christian Prince of Anhalt came into England.
 Dec. 31. The Parliament is Dissolved.

ANNO 1611.

1611.
 Apr. 9. Robert Carre is made Viscount Rochester.
 George Abbot translated from London to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.
 May 18. An Act for Inbancing the Value of Gold Coin.
 Charles Duke of York, Thomas Earl of Arundell, and Robert Carre Viscount Rochester, were Installed at Windsor.
 June 9. Tomson Dean of Windsor is consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, and --- Buckridge Bishop of Rochester.
 23. The Archbishop of Canterbury is chosen into the Privy-Council.
 Orbo, Son and Heir to Maurice Landgrave of Hesse, comes into England.
 Sept. 8. Jo. King, Dean of Christchurch in Oxford, is consecrated Bishop of London.

ANNO 1612.

1612.
 Thomas Overbury was imprisoned.
 William Wade laying down the Lieutenantancy of the Tower, Gervase Elwish succeeds him.
 Robert Earl of Salisbury died.
 Roger Earl of Rutland died without Issue, whole Brother Francis succeeded him.
 The Body of Mary Queen of Scotland was translated from Peterborough to Westminster.
 Robert Sherley comes from his Embassy to the Sophy of Persia into England.
 Sir Tho. Overbury died of a poysoned Glistre.
 Frederick the Fifth, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, arrives in England.
 Prince Henry died.
 The Prince Elector Palatine, and Prince Maurice of Nassau, created Knights of the Garter.

ANNO 1613.

1613.
 THE Marriage between Elizabeth the King's Daughter and the Elector Palatine is celebrated.
 The Prince Palatine returns into Germany.
 The Londoners send a Colony to Derry and Colrayne, in the Province of Ulster.
 Jo. Lord Harrington died in Germany.
 Edw. Coke, Justice of the Common-Pleas, is constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
 Viscount Rochester is created Earl of Somerset; and the same Day Edw. Coke is Sworn into the King's Council.
 The Earl of Somerset unfortunately marries Frances Daughter to the Earl of Suffolk.

ANNO 1614.

1614.
 AT One a Clock in the Morning was born to Frederic Elector Palatine, and to Elizabeth Daughter to James King of Great Britain, a Son, who on March 24, being Baptized, was called Henry Frederic.
 Ralph Winwood is made Secretary of State;
 and Thomas Lake is called into the King's Privy-Council.
 Sir Walter Raleigh publishes his Universal History.
 The Parliament began.
 The Members of the House of Commons take the Sacrament at St. Margaret's, that a Discovery might be made of those who were inclined to the Popish Religion; but none refused it.
 The Parliament on a suddain Dissolved, and all their Proceedings declared Null and Void.
 Chutts --- Nevil Lord Abergaveni's Son, Wentworth, Jo. Hoskins, who behaved themselves in a tumultuous manner in the House of Commons, are sent to the Tower of London.
 Henry Howard Earl of Northampton died, buried in the Church belonging to Dover Castle.
 Tho. Howard Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chamberlain to the King, is made Lord Treasurer of England.
 At the same time Robert Carre Earl of Somerset, (his Son-in-Law) is made Chamberlain to the King.
 Lord Grey of Groby deceased at Broadgate in Leicestershire.
 Christian King of Denmark comes to London, beyond all Expectation.
 The King returns to London to pay him a Visit.
 The King of Denmark departs from London, accompanied with the King of Great Britain as far as Gravesend.
 Vol. II. N n n n n 2 Edw.

ANNO 1614.

1614. *Edward Phillips*, Master of the Rolls, died at Sept. 11. London.

Julius Caesar St. Omar is put into his Place.

13. *Edward Earl of Lincoln* died.

Fulk Grevil Kt. was made Chancellor of the Exchequer in the place of *Julius Caesar*.

Earl of Arundell returned out of Italy to the Countess his Wife.

Thomas Earl of Ormond dies, after he had bestowed his Daughter in Marriage to *Preston Lord Dingwall*, a Scot.

ANNO 1615.

1615. *Henry Earl of Kent* died without Issue. *Charles Grey* his Brother succeeds him, a Man well stricken in Years; was buried the 14th of March.

Arthur Ingram Kt. sworn and admitted to the Office of Cofferer of the King's Household, upon the Resignation of *Sir Robert Vernon Kt.*

Rudd Bishop of St. David's died. *D. Melborn*, Dean of *Rocheſter*, succeeds him.

Mar. --- The King visits the University of Cambridge, where Academical Degrees were prostituted to illiterate Persons.

7. Proclamations prohibiting the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and the sending of Youths to Seminaries, and for preserving Deer.

Apr. --- *Viscount Fenton* and *William Lord Knolles* admitted into the Order of the Garter.

24. *George Villars* made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Knighted.

Oliver St. John is fined 5000 l. in the Star Chamber.

--- *Owen*, of the Family of the *Owens* of *Godſtow* in *Oxfordſhire*, condemned of High-Treason, upon the Account of his Opinion, That Princes excommunicated by the Pope may be made away lawfully.

Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, died. *Jo. Dacombe* succeeded.

--- *Oliver St. John* makes his Submission in the Star Chamber.

June 14. *James Hays*, to whom the King granted the Name and Stile of *Lord Hays*, that he should be next to the Barons of England, but without any Place or Vote in the Parliaments of England; and upon the Recommendation of *Henry Earl of Northampton*, is at this time (without any outward Ceremony or Solemnity, or delivering Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, before Witnesses in the Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich*, at Nine a Clock at Night) promoted to the State, Dignity, Degree, and Honour, of *Baron Hay of Sawley* in the County of *York*, to him, and his Heirs Male of his Body lawfully begotten: And the Learned in the Law informed the King, that this way of creating a Baron was sufficient without Investiture, and other Ceremonies, seeing Letters Patents are the very Effence of the Creation.

The next Day *Sir Robert Dormer* of *Wing Kt.* being duly created *Baron Dormer of Wing*, he is introduced in a Furr'd Scarlet Gown, with a Sword by his side, between the *Lord Sheffield* and *Lord Compton*, in their Parliamentary Robes; the *Lord Carew* having a Gown on with a Train, the *Garter Herald* bearing the Letters Patents, delivering the same to the Chamberlain; which *Winwood* the Secretary taking from him, read them on his Knees, and at the Word *imposuimus* (we put on) the King put the Robes upon the new Baron. The Letters being read, the King delivers them into the Hands of *Baron Dormer*, Trumpets sounding,

ANNO 1615.

and Drums beating. My Lord *Sheffield* reprimanded *Garter*, because he said the Collar of *St. George* was not to be used; forasmuch as the other Companions of the Order did not make use of Collars (but in the Creation of the Earls of *Hertford* and *Southampton* in the Year --- of *Henry VIII.* the Earls who introduced made use of Collars) the Stile of Baron is not proclaimed, because there was no Dinner, the King removing to *Westminster*.

Lord Zouch made Baron of the Cinque Ports. July 18.

D. Melborn consecrated Bishop of *St. David's*. The King begins his Progress.

The Queen takes a Progress towards *Salisbury*. Marquis *Bonnivet* comes into England.

George Lloyd, Bishop of *Chester*, died. *Thomas Bilson*, Bishop of *Winchester*, is chosen into the King's Council at *Farnham Castle*.

An Inquisition made into the Death of *Sir Thomas Overbury*, who died in the Tower of London, not without Suspicion of Poyson, 1613.

Arabella Stuart, Daughter of *Charles Earl of Lenox*, Cousin-Germain of *Henry Darby*, Father of King *James*, died in the Tower of London, was interred at *Westminster*, without any Funeral Pomp, in the Night, in the same Vault wherein *Mary Queen of Scots* and *Prince Henry* were buried. It is the Saying of *Charles the Fair*, in *Papir. Mass. p. 382.* That those who die in the King's Prison, are deservedly deprived of Funeral Pomp, lest they should be thought to have been thrown into Prison wrongfully.

On *Michaelmas Day* the King departs from *Greenwich*.

The Earl of *Lincoln* dies.

The Earl of *Somerset* is committed to the custody of the Dean of *Westminster*.

Weston is brought to the Bar for giving *Sir Thomas Overbury* Poyson, and refused to plead.

On Monday he was again brought to the Bar, and confessing the Fact, was condemned.

He is hanged; and after Dinner *Somerset* is examined before the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Lenox*, *Zouche*, and the Lord Chief Justice, in *York-House*.

On *Simon and Jude* he is again examined by them before Dinner.

Sir Robert Cotton Bar. being examined, is dismissed.

Lumsden, a Scot, is examined; as is also *Thomas Monson*, as being guilty of Witchcraft; and *Gervais Elwish*, Lieutenant of the Tower, is several times examined.

Edward Sackvill, *Sir Jo. Wentworth Bar.* and *Sir Jo. Lidcot Kt.* are committed to Prison, and afterwards *Sir Jo. Hollys Kt.* upon the Account of some Questions put to *Weston* at the Gallows.

Savery being addicted to Magick, is imprisoned.

The Duke of *Lenox* is made Steward of the King's Household.

Thomas Howard is committed to the Fleet: His Mother the Countess of *Suffolk* is confined to her Chamber at home.

The Seals are taken from *Somerset*: He is commanded by the Lord *Wotton* to lay down the Staff, the Badge of the King's Chamberlain, and to appear before the Delegates, by whom he is sent to the Tower; *George More* being appointed to be Lieutenant.

The King departs from London towards *Royſon*.

Anne Norton, the Widow of one *Turner*, Doctor of Physick, (concerned in procuring Poyson for *Sir Thomas Overbury*) is condemned for Witchcraft.

ANNO 1615.

1615. craft and Magick at *Westminster*; which being charged with, she denies.

Nov. 10. Sir *Jo. Hollys*, Sir *Jo. Wentworth* Kt. & Bar. and *Lumsden*, a Scot, are fined in the *Star Chamber*; this last 2000 l. for Judgment against *Weston*, written to defame the King; they 1000 l. each, for Questions propounded to *Weston* at the Gallows, in order to call in question the Justice of the Court.

11. Anne Turner, being perswaded by one *Whitting*, a Minister, confesses every Particular, (and more) which she had denied before the Bench. About this time *Edward Earl of Lincoln* dies.

14. Anne Turner, a true Penitent, is hanged at *Tyburn*.

18. Sir *Gervais Elwish*, Lieutenant of the Tower, is condemned; and on Monday after, being the 20th of the Month, is hanged by the Neck near the Tower.

Robert Cotton delivered a Packet of *Overbury's* Letters to the Lord Chief Justice.

27. Franklin, who prepared the Poyson, for the same Cause is condemned in *Westminster-Hall*; and some days after was hanged.

Dec. 3. Robert Abbot, Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was consecrated Bishop of *Salisbury* at *Lambeth*.

4. Thomas Monson is again brought to his Trial; and the Indictment being read over, he was, contrary to all Expectation, sent to the Tower, to be indicted of High Treason.

14. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Lord Chief Justice, had a Conference with *Somerset* in the Tower: They turn'd off *Coppinger* and *Andrews* his Servants, and committed them to Prison.

18. Lord *Knolles* and Lord *Haye* sent under-hand to *Somerset* by the King.

23. The King returns to *Westminster*; and delivering the Staff to the Earl of *Pembroke*, appoints him to be Chamberlain.

25. On Christmas Day, the King, being sorely troubled with the Gout, was not able to go to Divine Service; but heard a Sermon in private, and took the Sacrament.

ANNO 1616.

1616. Jan. 2. THE Earl of *Worcester* made Keeper of the Privy Seal; he giving up the Place of Master of Horse into the King's Hands the Day before.

3. Thomas Lake sworn one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

Cottingham is sent to *Spain*, to call home *Jo. Digby*, Extraordinary Ambassador.

4. George Villers was sworn Master of the Horse, in the room of the Earl of *Worcester*.

13. William Monson, Brother of Thomas, is carried to the Tower towards Night: On which Day *Simon Digby* comes from *Spain* with Letters.

19. The Earl of *Somerset* and his Countess are indicted of Felony; and the *Billa Vera* is found by the Jury.

The King departs from *London* towards *Royston*.

Feb. 12. William Cecil, Lord *Roos*, married A... eldest Daughter of Thomas Lake Secretary of State.

Mar. 16. The King returns to *London*.

19. My Lord *Bening*, a Scot, is chosen into the King's Privy Council.

20. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is enlarged out of Prison.

John Digby, Envoy in *Spain*, returns from thence.

ANNO 1616.

1616.

Justs and Turnaments for the Inauguration of King *James*, and happy Beginning of his Reign; which were to be celebrated on the 24th; but being Sunday, it was put off till Monday.

The Countess of *Somerset*, from the Custody of *William Smith*, is sent to the Tower. Mar. 27.

John Digby, who the Week before returned out of *Spain*, is elected one of the Privy Council, and Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household, in the room of my Lord *Stanhope*, who was perswaded by the King's Letters to give place. Apr. 3.

The same Day the King retired to *Newmarket*; after having appointed *Oliver St. John* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

Robert Carre of *Ancram*, and *Gibbs*, being examined by the Chancellor, are acquitted the next Day. 23.

Francis Earl of *Rutland*, and *George Villers*, are admitted into the Order of the Garter. 24.

The King departs from *Whitehall* after Dinner.

The Peers are summoned by Letters to sentence *Somerset*. 27.

Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury died. May 8.

Judgment in the Case of the Countess of *Somerset* and her Husband, which was appointed to be the 15th Day of this Month, the Peers being now assembled in *Westminster-Hall*, and Scaffolds being there erected, was deferred till the 23d of this Month, because she (as was reported) was indisposed. 14.

Judgment is again deferred to the 24th Day, and the Peers are again summoned. 22.

The Countess of *Somerset* is brought to *Westminster-Hall* before 9 of the Clock, the Ax not being carried before her. The Chancellor of *England*, the Lord High Steward of *England* appointed for this time, came a little after on Horseback; Servants attending him, and other Noblemen, 6 Serjeants at Law, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery bearing the Letters Patents of the Steward, and *Richard Coningsby* carrying the White Staff before them, together with the Seal-Bearer. The Two Barons, *Norris* and *Russel*, and Two others of the Order of Knighthood, followed after. She confessing her self guilty, is condemned to be hanged. She hath Recourse to the Mercy of God and the King; beseeching the Peers to intercede with the King for her Life; all the By-standers commiserating her Condition. 24.

The Earl of *Somerset* is conducted to *Westminster-Hall* a little before 10 of the Clock, having a Cloak on with the George and Garter, the Ax not being carried before him. The Chancellor comes by and by, *Coningsby* on Horseback bearing the Staff. He is convicted of Felony; and at 9 a Clock the Court is dissolved, *Pro more*. 25.

Robert Sydney, Lord *Lysle*, is honoured with the Garter. 26.

George *Barbadico*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, dyes in *England*. 27.

Flushing and *Breda*, Cautionary Towns, are delivered up by Viscount *Lisle* and Sir *Horatio Vere*, Generals, to the States General. 31.

Commission given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and others, to enquire who were the Authors of calling the Chancellor into question of *Premunire*. June 3.

The Judges of the Realm are taxed by the King, as Invaders of his Prerogative, in presenting to the Livings vacated by making the Incumbr. 5.

1616.

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- Incumbent a Bishop, excluding the Patrons in the mean time from their Right.
- June 8. The King dined with one Cokain, Alderman of London, and dub'd him Knight.
9. Sir Francis Bacon, the Attorney-General, is chosen one of the Privy Council at Greenwich.
15. The eldest Son of William Earl of Salisbury, being born this 15th Day, was called James by the King his Godfather, with the Treasurer, and my Lady Walden Godmother, at Bishop-Hatfield: The Bishop of Lincoln baptized him.
18. Tho. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, dyed at Westminster, and was there buried by Night.
20. The King, accompanied with the Princes, goes to the Starchamber: The Peers and Judges receive him at Kings-bridge: He made a very fine Speech, wherein he vindicated the Authority of the Chancellor, as his own; and gave the Judges a gentle Touch, &c. which is expected to be published.
- Robinson Bishop of Carlisle, and - - - Roland Bishop of Bangor, departed this Life.
- July 6. James Montagu is translated to the Bishoprick of Winchester.
- The King ordered, That the Arms of the Earl of Somerset, notwithstanding his being condemned of Felony, should not be removed out of the Chapel at Windsor: That Felony should not be reckoned amongst the Disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the Order of St. George; which was without Precedent.
7. Francis Earl of Rutland, George Villars Master of the Horse, and Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle, are Installed at Windsor, the King being present; but there was no Sermon preach'd, although it was Sunday.
- Morton Dean of Winchester is consecrated on the same Day Bishop of Chester.
9. The King returns to Westminster towards the Evening; and created Jo. Hollys Baron Houghton of Houghton, and Joh. Roper Baron Roper of Tenham, to them, and their Heirs Male of their Body lawfully begotten.
11. James Haye, Baron Haye of Sawley, is sent Ambassador into France.
- A Pardon sealed to the Countess of Somerset, as an Accessary before the Fact.
16. Thomas Earl of Arundell called into the Privy Council at Westminster.
17. My Lord Carew chosen one of the Privy Council.
- A Leaden Coffin dug up at Ratcliff, with an Urn or two, with a Piece of Silver Coin with this Inscription, IMP. PAPIENUS MAXIMUS. P. F. AUG. On the Reverse, Two Hands join'd, and PATRES SENATUS.
- The Earl of Shrewsbury, who died May 8. was buried at Sheffield.
- Aug. 27. George Villers, Master of the Horse, was created at Woodstock, toward the Evening, First Baron of Whaddon in the County of Bucks, (which was the Estate of my Lord Grey, lately banish'd;) being introduced by the Lords Compton and Norris, the Lord Carew carrying the Treabea, or Robe of State, before him; and then Viscount Villers being brought in by the Earl of Suffolk and Viscount Lisle, in a Waistcoat of Scarlet Velvet, Norris carrying the Robes of State of the same Velvet before him, and Compton the Crown; the King sitting upon his Throne, and the Queen and Princes being there present.
- Sept. --- My Lord Audley is created Earl of Castlehaven in Ireland, that he, being an ancient Baron of

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England, should have an higher Place than the Irish Barons being now settled in Ireland.

A Son is born to John Egerton, Son of Thomas Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, Chancellor of England, by - - - - one of the Daughters and Heiresses of Ferdinando Earl of Derby; baptized October 2. the King being Godfather.

On Michaelmas Day Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely, is admitted into the King's Privy Council.

Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, being called before the Chancellor, is banish'd Westminster-Hall, and ordered to answer to some Matters contain'd in his Reports.

A Committee delegated for creating Charles, Son of the King, Prince of Wales: And they assembled for the nominating of the Knights of the Bath, viz. the Treasurer, the Duke of Lennox, the Chamberlain, and the Earl of Arundell.

There were Twenty six Knights of the Bath made.

Charles the King's Son, Duke of Cornwall, is created Prince of Wales.

Thomas Egerton, Baron of Ellesmere, Chancellor of England, a constant and stout Defender of the Rights of the Crown, is created Viscount Brackley.

William Lord Knolles is created Viscount Wallingford, notwithstanding the Honour of Wallingford belongs to the Duchy of Cornwall: And Philip Stanhope is created Baron Stanhope of Shelton at Westminster in the Evening.

The King departs from London, after he had pronounced the Sentence of turning out Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench.

Sir Henry Montague Kt. the King's Serjeant at Law, and Recorder of the City of London, is put in the Place of Sir Edward Coke, and by the Chancellor sworn Lord Chief Justice in the King's-Bench; which Place his Grandfather, Sir Ed. Montague, had held in the Reign of Henry VIII.

Arthur Lake is consecrated Bishop of Bath, and Lewis Bailie Bishop of Bangor, at Lambeth.

Jo. Thornbury, Bishop of Bristol, is translated to the See of Worcester.

Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia, detesting the Abuses of the Papists, came into England; and by the King's Special Command is hospitably entertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Parry Bishop of Worcester dies.

The King returns to Whitehall; and presents Tho. Edmunds, returning from his Embassy in France, with the Staff of the Comptroller of the King's Household, Lord Wotton being constituted Treasurer to the Household; and the next Day, being Sunday, he being sworn, took his Place at the Council-Board above the Vice-Chamberlain.

The same Day the Bishop of Spalato went to the King, and accompanied him to Divine Service.

On Christmas Day Tho. Earl of Arundell, who was educated from his Youth in the Popish Religion, and had lately travelled all over Italy, detesting the Abuses of the Papists, embraced the Protestant Religion, received the Sacrament in the King's Chapel at Whitehall.

Great Consultations concerning the King's Progress into Scotland.

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1617.
Jan. 5.

George Viscount Villers is created Earl of Buckingham in the Presence Chamber at Whitehall, after Dinner, the Queen and Prince being present.

There happened sharp Disputes and Consultations about Re-instating the Company of Merchant Adventurers, lately put down, which is re-established accordingly.

Some Consultations concerning preparing Money for the King's Journey into Scotland.

Toward the later end of the Month, the South Winds rage furiously, and the Weather was like Summer; infomuch that Flowers in Gardens and in the Fields appeared, and Thrushes hatch their young Birds, to the Astonishment of all Men.

Febr. 4. ---De Toure, the French King's Ambassador, goes to the King at Westminster.

The same day the Earl of Buckingham is admitted into the Privy-Council. He presently perswades the King, not to go into Scotland; whereupon the King was somewhat angry, but was soon pacified.

12. A Convocation of the Masters of Arts in the University of Oxford, was held at Baynard's-Castle in London; and William Earl of Pembroke, whom (he resigning the Chancellorship of England) they chose Chancellor of the University, accepts the Honour.

13. The King sits in the Star-Chamber, and Sentence was pronounced against Billingham and --- Christmas, Two young Men who had offended against the Act concerning Duelling. They are fined 1000 l. The King made an Eloquent Speech against Duels.

15. The French Ambassadors dine with the King: They are entertained at a splendid Supper by my Lord Hays.

22. ---De Toure has his Audience of Leave of the King.

Altham, Baron of the Exchequer, dies.

24. The Chapel of Greenwich-House, Founded by Henry Earl of Northampton, is consecrated by the Bishop of Rochester: The Earls of Arundell and Dorchester; the Bishops of Ely and London; and some belonging to the Mercer's Company, being present.

March 3. Commissioners for the Office of Earl-Marshal of England meet in the College of Heralds, commonly called Darby-Place, and proposed several things concerning augmenting the Stipends of the Heralds, and turning their Wives out of the College and suppressing Abuses. The King gives a Visit to the Chancellor, who was very weak, and desirous to resign his Office by reason of his infirm old Age; and he deliver'd the Seal into the Hands of the King, who wept.

4. The Play-house lately erected in Drury-Lane is pull'd down by the Mob, and all the Apparel torn in pieces.

7. The Great Seal is delivered to Sir Francis Bacon the King's Attorney, in the 54th year of his Age; whom the King admonished not to seal any thing till after mature Deliberation; to give righteous Judgment between Parties; and that he should not extend the Regal Prerogative too far.

14. The King sets forward on his journey towards Scotland about Four a Clock in the Afternoon.

Yelverton is made Attorney-General, and Coventry Solicitor.

Anthony Ben is elected Recorder of London, in Coventry's place.

Lord Viscount Berkley late Chancellor; after the Duke of Buckingham had visited him, and shortly after the Lord-Keeper; and had signified to him that the King intended to give him the Title of an Earl, and designed an Annual Pension for him, expired in the 77th Year of his Age. Perhaps the nearer he saw the Evils coming upon the Commonwealth, like an upright Man, he was less concerned to meet approaching Death.

A vast Sum of Money is exacted from the Citizens of London, not without murmuring.

James Baron Hay is admitted into the Privy-Council.

The Lord Rosse returns out of Spain.

Sir Edward Noel of Dalby Bar. is made Lord Noel of Ridlington in Rutlandshire (after he had sold Dalby, his ancient Inheritance, to the Earl of Buckingham, for its full worth) without Investiture.

An Act for setting up Staples for Wooll in England. 24.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who thought of taking a Voyage to Guiana, and had equipp'd a Fleet for that purpose, departed from London, although the Spanish Ambassador opposed it with many Reasons. 28.

John Lord Hunsdon dies.

April--2

Viscount Berkley, late Chancellor, is buried at Dodelston in Cheshire, without any Funeral Pomp. 5.

The Marquis of Ancre, Marshal of France, is kill'd at Paris, whose dead Corps was cruelly handled by the Mob. 14.

Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, the Glory of France, May 7, the Chief of Historians in our Age, died much lamented.

On the First day of the Term, Sir Francis Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal, made a solemn Procession in mighty Pomp to Westminster, in the following Order: 1. Clerks and inferior Officers in Chancery. 2. Students in Law. 3. Gentlemen, Servants to the Keeper, Serjeants at Arms, and the Seal-bearer, all on Foot. 4. Himself on Horseback in a Gown of Purple Satin, between the Treasurer and the Keeper of the Privy-Seal. 5. Earls, Barons, Privy-Councillors. 6. Noblemen of all Ranks. 7. Judges, to whom the next Place to the Privy-Councillors was assign'd.

The Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy-Seal took an Oath; the Clerk of the Crown reading the same.

William James, Bishop of Durham, died: Richard Neal, Bishop of Lincoln was put in his Place.

The King enter'd into Scotland. 13.

Into Edinburgh. 16.

Viscount Berkley is created Earl of Bridgewater: 28.

The Letters Patents of the Creation are on this Day Signed and Sealed.

On Ascension, Sir Roger Owen died Distracted. 29.

Sir John Bennet, Doctor of Laws, returns from June 14, the Archduke, with whom he did expostulate concerning a Libel written (as was credibly reported) by Ericius Puteanus.

John Digby, Vice-Chamberlain, prepares for his Journey towards Spain.

The Parliament in Scotland is Dissolved. 30.

Jo. Herbert, Secondary, died in Wales, leaving July-- one only Daughter married to William Dodington of Bremer.

The King comes to Carlisle out of Scotland, Aug. 4, where Marquis Hamilton is chosen one of the King's Privy-Council in England. The

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ANNO 1617.

Sept. 15. The King comes to *Westminster*; is received by the Lord-Mayor at *Hide-Park*.
Sir *Edward Coke* call'd again into the Privy-Council.

29. Nuptials celebrated at *Hampton-Court* between *Jo. Villers*, Brother to the Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Frances* the younger Daughter of Sir *Edw. Coke*, formerly Lord Chief Justice.

Ja. Montagu, Bishop of *Winchester*, is chosen one of the Privy-Council.

Oct. 20. *George Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, is chosen Bishop of *Lincoln*.

27. *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, died at *London*, having performed that Office Three Years and about Five Months.

Nov. 1. The *Venetian* Ambassador goes to his Audience.

3. The Bishop of *Winchester* entertained the Nobility who accompanied the King, with a noble Banquet at *Winchester-House* in *Southwark*, which he had repaired.

4. The *Muscovite* Ambassador is splendidly entertained by the Citizens of *London*.

Lord *Cobham* is sent back to the Tower, being in extream want of all things.

6. *Lucy* Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, is married to *Ja. Lord Hays* of *Savley*, at the Wardrobe, *London*: The King honoured the Wedding with his Presence at Supper.

8. The Wife of Sir *Edw. Coke*, quondam Lord Chief Justice, entertained the King, *Buckingham*, and the rest of the Peers, at a splendid Dinner, and not inviting her Husband.

9. The Ambassador from *Michael* Emperor of *Russia* makes his Entrance; and presents to the King, Hawks, rich Furs, some small Animals, a Cemiter, and a *Persian* Bow.

10. The King goes from *Whitehall* towards *Royston*.
Francis Goodwin, Bishop of *Landaff*, was translated to the See of *Hereford*, *Bennet* the Bishop being dead; and *George Carlton* is preferred to the Bishoprick of *Landaff*.

The King chides the Doctors of *Cambridge*, about the spreading of the *Armenian* Sect amongst the Students.

Blount Montjoy, Bastard Son to the Earl of *Devonshire*, is created Lord *Montjoy* of *Fort-Montjoy* in *Ireland*; and *Lambert* Baron of *Carvan*.

Dec. -- An Ambassador from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*.

8. The Son of the Prince of *Anhalt*, who paid a Visit to the French King at *Paris*, and to ours at *Newmarket*, went to the Queen at *Denmark-House*, and is honourably Entertained.

The *Saxon* Ambassador takes a Journey to *Newmarket*.

9. *Villeroy* dies at *Reuan*, after he had served the Kings of *France* 50 Years and 27 Days, in the 75th Year of his Age.

14. *Nich. Fenton*, D. D. Rector of *St. Mary-Le-Bow*, *London*, and *George Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, are Elected: This Last to the See of *Lincoln*; the First to that of *Bristol*; and are consecrated Bishops; the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Ely*, *Rochester*, *Litchfield*, and the Archbishop of *Spalato*, laying on their Hands, and Dr. *Sutton* preached.

22. The second Son to the Elector *Palatine* is born on the 22d Day O. S. which is the 1st of *January* N. S.

29. The King receives notification, that his Daughter *Elizabeth* had brought forth a Son to the Elector. Publick Rejoicings, Bonfires, and Bells ringing.

ANNO 1617.

My Lord *Clifton* is committed Prisoner to the Tower, for saying, He was sorry that he had not stabb'd my Lord-Keeper when he pronounced Sentence again him.

ANNO 1618.

George Villers Earl of *Buckingham*, is created Marquis of *Buckingham*, to him, and his Male Heirs of his Body, beyond all expectation, without any Investiture, by Letters Patents delivered into his hand; the Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Duke of *Lenox*, Marquis *Hamilton*, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl of *Montgomery*; the Viscounts, *Lisle*, *Wallingford*, *Fenton*, and other Witnesses being present.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* took the little Town *St. Thomas's*, and his Son was there slain.

George Earl of *Buckingham* entertains the King and several Peers at a splendid Dinner.

The Keeper of the Great Seal is made Chancellor of *England*, the Seal being delivered again by the Name of the Chancellor.

The same Day the *Russia* Ambassador feasts with the King.

On Twelfth Day, or *Epiphany*, the King was entertained at a Play by the Prince, at which the *Spanish* Ambassador was present, whereat the *French* Ambassador was very angry.

The King upon his departure from *Westminster* made *Robert Nanton* (Mr. of Requests, Overseer of the Liveries of the Court of Wards) one of the Two Principal Secretaries.

Simon Digby returns with Letters out of *Spain*.

Peter Alley sent back by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, signified that he was very sickly; and that several Volunteers died of their Sickness.

Henry Cary is made Comptroller of the King's Household; and *Tho. Edmonds* is made Treasurer instead of my Lord *Wotton*.

The Baron of *Winninberg*, Ambassador of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, goes to the Queen, and invites her, that she, with Prince *Charles* and other Princes, would stand Godfathers to the new born Prince.

Edward Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Eighth of that Family, died without issue, and was buried by Night, the 10th day, at *Westminster*.

The King comes to *Whitehall*.

The Isle of *Trinity* is granted to the Corporation of *Hull* to fish for Whale against the *Russia* Company.

The King is troubled with a Defluxion upon his Knees, and could not be present at Sermon.

About this time *Theobald de Burgo* was created Baron of *Brettas* in *Ireland*.

Robert Abbot Bishop of *Sarum*, Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departed this Life, after his having been in that See Two Years and Three Months. *Matthias Fotherbey*, Prebendary of *Canterbury*, is chosen in his Place.

Sir *George Sands* hang'd for Felony.

The Earl of *Abercorn* dies in *Scotland*.

The Lady *Roos* is set at Liberty from the Custody of the Bishop of *London*.

Jo. Jeggon, Bishop of *Norwich*, died, when he had been in that See Fifteen Years: *Overball* Bishop of *Litchfield* succeeded him, and *Fenton* Bishop of *Bristol* is put in his Place.

The King took a Journey to *Okeham*, after he had been laid up a Fortnight of the Gout.

Jo. Bridges, Bishop of *Oxford*, died.

Marrew,

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1618.

April 8.

Marreis, the French Ambassador, had his Audience of Leave from the King.

19. *Martin Fotherby* consecrated Bishop of *Sarum* at *Lambeth*, by the Laying on of the Hands of the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Lincoln*.

22. Some Ships hired by the *Venetians*, are sent.

23. The Archbishop of *Spalato* was constituted Master of the *Savoy*, *Dr. Belcanquel* the Scot resigning up the Place to him.

May 3. *Anthony Maxey* Dean of *Windsor*, departed this Life; the Archbishop of *Spalato* is put in his Place.

7. *John Digby* returning out of *Spain*, goes to Court again.

My Lord *Lanware* set sail for *Virginia*: Arriving at *St. Michaels*, is splendidly Entertained by the Governor of the Island; but failing from thence, dies, together with 30 more, not without suspicion of *Poyson*.

9. The King goes to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where she then kept her Court.

13. *Jo. North*, Brother to my Lord *North*, relates the sad News to the King about the unfortunate Expedition of *Sir Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana*; his Son being slain in the Storming of the Spanish Fort: *Keimis* cutting his own Throat for grief, died. The Fleet dispers'd.

23. *Oliver Lambert*, Lord *Cavan*, died.

24. The King put forth an Order to permit every Body (as he had before given leave in the County of *Lancaster*) who should go to Evening Prayer on the Lord's Day, to divertise themselves with lawful Exercises, with Leaping, Dancing, Playing at Bowls, Shooting with Bows and Arrows; as likewise to rear May-poles, and to use May-games and Morrice-dancing; but those who refused coming to Prayers, were forbidden to use those Sports.

30. *Sir Dudley Carleton*, Ambassador to the States General, returns into *England*.

June 9. A Proclamation is publish'd against *Sir Walter Raleigh*, whereby he is censur'd, for that against all Authority, and contrary to his Commission, he had in a Hostile manner invaded the Spanish Territories in *America*, and had violated, as much as in him lay, the Peace establish'd between the Two Princes, that the King did not approve of, but detested such Proceeding; and did therefore give full Power to all, that they should produce what they knew of this Action upon their certain knowledge, that he might be proceeded against according to Law; and that those might undergo exemplary Punishment, who should be convicted of so great Wickedness.

25. *Tho. Watson* entertaining the King very Nobly, is Knighted.

26. The Marquis of *Buckingham* entertains the King most splendidly at *Wandsted-House*, which, (as is reported) he then presented to the King.

27. *William Lord Roos* died in the Romish Religion, in the Suburbs of *Naples*.

30. The King departed from *Greenwich*.

Randal Mac-Surly returns into *Ireland* to be created Viscount *Dunluse*.

July--- The King diverts himself with Hunting at *Windsor*.

--- He returns to *Whitehall*, and the next Day goes to *Wandsted*.

12. The Treasurer is accused of Mismanagement, or Male-administration, in the Business of the Exchequer.

The Chancellor is created Baron of *Verulam*; and Four Earls are created by Patent, viz. the

Earl of *Leicester*; *Compton*, of *Northampton*; *Rich*, July --- of *Clare*; *Cavendish*, of *Devonshire*.

A Riot at the Spanish Ambassador's House, because his Servant had accidentally hurt a little Boy.

Didacus Sarmiento, Count of *Gondomare*, the King of *Spain's* Ambassador, departs: In his Journey he is entertained by the Lords, *Tenham* and *Wotton*. He sets sail on the 20th, (with the Popish Priests) whom, upon his earnest Request, the King discharged out of Prison.

Humfreys, Secretary to Viscount *Wallingford*, rifling his Coffers, is committed to Prison. He accuses the Treasurer and others of Bribery.

The Queen removes from *Greenwich*. --- The King comes from *Theobalds* to *London*.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, Treasurer of *England*, is dismissed from his Place, by taking his Staff from him: Is accused of Bribery, after having performed that Office 4 Years and 10 Days; and *John Bingley*, his under Officer, is committed to Prison.

Jo. Montagu, Bishop of *Winchester*, died of a Dropsy, having been Two Years in the See, in the 50th Year of his Age.

At this time the King proceeds on his Progress from *Westminster*, after he had nominated the Bishop of *Ely* to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; *Fenton*, Bishop of *Coventry*, to *Ely*; *Harsnat*, Bishop of *Chester*, to *Coventry*; and *Dr. Bridgeman*, to *Chester*.

Baron *Haye* is created Viscount *Doncaster* without Investiture.

The Earl of *Suffolk*, most of his Servants being turn'd off, departs, with his Countess, from *London*.

News is brought concerning the Decease of my Lord *Roos* at *Naples*, not without suspicion of *Poyson*. Concerning the Taking of *Utrecht*, by *Maurice Prince of Orange*, driving out from thence Colonel *Ogle*, a Favourer of the *Arminians*, *Sir Horatio Vere* being put in his Place. Of *Boissis* a Frenchman's being sent into the Low-Countries to strengthen the *Catholick* and *Arminian* Parties; and of sending out *Sir Dudley* back into *Holland* to the Synod there to be held. *Sir Theodore de Maierne*, the King's Physician, lately sent into *France* by the King, being suspected to have come to disturb Affairs, is commanded to retire forthwith out of the Kingdom of *France*, by the King's Council: He is the Son of that *Maierne* who publickly opposed Monarchy.

Viscount *Lisle* is invested Earl of *Leicester*, and Baron *Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, in a solemn manner, in the Bishop's Palace at *Salisbury*. My Lord *Rich*, who aspired to the Title of Earl of *Clare*, (because the Title of *Clare*, which is the same with that of *Clarence*, was a higher Honour than could well suit with a Family in a manner Upstart, and because the Honour of *Clare* was granted to the Queen before) was created Earl of *Warwick* by Letters Patents; and the Lord *Cavendish*, E. of *Devonshire*, without any Investiture.

Sir Walter Raleigh is brought to *London*; *Lewis Streukley*, his Keeper, being brib'd, thought of making his Escape with him; and being betray'd by some body or other, is intercepted on the *Thames*, brought back, and thrown into the Tower.

The King went from *Salisbury* to *Cramburn*.

About this time a Ship return'd from *Greenland*, which the *Hollanders* call *Spitsberg*, from the sharp peaked Mountains, and brought word that the *Hollanders* had overpower'd the *English*, had kill'd

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kill'd

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Aug. --- kill'd some, and had carried away the Oyl: Which the *Londoners*, especially, took in ill part, who had fitted out 18 Vessels for this Whale-fishing; and so much the more, because a Report went up and down, that the *English* had also been oppress'd in the Islands of the *East-Indies*.

The *English* and *Dutch* had a long time contended about the *Greenland* Fishery, as did also the *French* and *Spaniards*, pretending the Law of Nations, since the Seas were free to them. The *English* claim'd the Propriety, because Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, an *Englishman*, in the Year 1553, first found it out. The *Danes*, because it is under their Dominion by the Confession of the *English* themselves, who pay them Duty, or Toll, for Fishing, (which they did after the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*.) The *Hollanders* affirm, that *William Bernardson* and *Jo. Cornelison*, *Hollanders*, Anno 1596. did first discover this; that the *Greenland* discover'd by *Willoughby* was at long distance, this last being under the Latitude of 52 Degrees; the first is extended as far as 75 and 82 Degrees: That the *English* came not thither till the Year 1608. They urge, that the Sea is free; that the *English*, contrary to the Right of Nations and the Laws of Humanity, forbid others to Fish there; whereas the Kings of *France* hinder none to fish in *New France*; neither do the Kings of *England* forbid fishing in the Bays of *Ireland*: And they complain, that the *English* threw down the Marks which *William Bernardson* had set up in memory of the first Discovery; and that they had taken away the Oyl by force of Arms the Year before.

The Rioters at the Spanish Ambassador's House tried at *Guildhall*: The Father of the little Boy that was hurt, and others, Fined 1000*l.* each, and Imprison'd during the King's Pleasure.

Aug. 12. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being examined about his Escape, confess'd, that premeditating this Flight, he had trespassed highly against the King. By his unadvised Counsel in invading *Guiana*, and the Tumult in the Spanish Ambassador's House, some conceiv'd the Hopes of a Match with the Daughter of *Spain* to be mightily extenuated and lessen'd: For the King of *Spain* propos'd nothing else to himself by matching and disposing of his Children into *England* and *France*, than by joining those Kingdoms to him in Affinity, to disjoin and separate them from the *United Provinces*, and consequently the more easily to reduce them to Obedience.

The Chancellor, and other Commissioners, often meet, and examine Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

27. *Eadge* returns from *Greenland*, or *Spitsberg*, plunder'd of his Oyl, there being Three of his Crew kill'd by the *Hollanders*; so that the whole Fishing this Year proved ineffectual.

The Prince of *Condé* was brought to Bed in Prison of two Twins, who died shortly after.

Sept. --- The King comes to *Windso*r, and from thence, by the way of *Westminster*, to *Wandsted* in *Essex*.

The Queen was indisposed at *Oatlands*.

A Proclamation, whereby the Fine and Imprisonment inflict'd on the Rioters at the Spanish Ambassador's in *Barbican*, are remitted, at the Solicitation of the Spanish Agent.

17. The King at *Havering*; then taking a Journey to *Theobalds*, there he Hunts.

The King comes to *Hampton-Court*.

Le Clerc, Agent for the King of *France*, is forbid the Court.

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1618.

William Beecher, Agent for our King in *France*, is confin'd to his House by special Command. *Gervais*, Lord *Clifton* laid violent Hands on O*fficer* himself.

An Envoy, or *Chiaux*, from the Grand Signior, comes to *London*. *Donatus*, Envoy for the Republick of *Venice*, comes into *England*.

The same Day there went to the National Synod of *Dort*, to be held concerning the *Arminian* Sect, from *London*, *George Carleton*, Elected Bishop of *Landaff*, Dr. *Hall* Dean of *Worcester*, Dr. *Davenant* Master of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Ward* President of *Sidney Sussex College*.

An Embargo upon Ships.

The Earl of *Oxford* returns home out of *Italy*.

Le Clerc the French Agent departs from *London*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* is given to understand by the Commissioners, that it was the King's Intent that he should be put to Death; and that therefore he should prepare himself for the same.

He is brought to the King's-Bench Bar that he might speak, if he had any thing to say, why the Sentence of Death pronounced against him Anno 1603. should not be put in Execution.

He was beheaded in the 66th Year of his Age.

The King returns to *Whitehall* towards the Evening.

He admits *Donatus* the Venetian Ambassador Nov. 1. to Audience.

The Turkish Ambassador, or *Chiaux*, has Audience.

The King went to *Hampton-Court* to visit the Queen lying Sick of a Dropsie; and returns to *Westminster* toward the Evening.

The King goes from *London* to *Theobalds*.

William Beecher, Agent in *France*, is recalled; whereupon returning to *London*, he waits upon the King.

Jo. Digby, Vice-Chamberlain, created Lord *Sherburn*.

Deputies from the States come to *London* to negotiate some Affairs.

They go to *Newmarket*, where the Court now is.

The King returns from *Newmarket* to *London*.

A Council held concerning the Affairs the Dutch Deputies were sent to negotiate, who have full Power to Treat; but no Authority to conclude any thing about the Fishery.

The Queen continues sick at *Hampton-Court*, where the King pays her a Visit, and returns to *London* in the Evening.

Jo. Selden is brought into Trouble for his History of Tyths.

Baron *de Donaw*, Ambassador from the Confederate Princes of *Germany*, is admitted to Audience, who inform'd the King of abundance of things relating to the Affairs of *Germany*, and the *Bohemian* Troubles.

Balkanqual is sent to the National Council, or Synod, for the Church of *Scotland*; and Doctor *Goad* is put into the Place of Dean of *Worcester*.

The Deputies of the States have their Audience; they desire, that nothing may be yet done as to the Herring Fishing, seeing it is the greatest Support of their Commonwealth, and the only Succour and Relief of the Common People; and that there were now great Troubles amongst them.

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ANNO 1619.

ANNO 1619.

1619.

1619.
Jan. 1. **L**ancelot Andrews, elected Bishop of Winchester, is sworn by the Chamberlain Dean of the Chapel.

8. The King went from London to Theobalds.
12. That spacious and beautiful Banqueting-House at Whitehall was set on Fire by the Negligence of the Keepers.

Thomas Earl of Lincoln dies: His Son Edward succeeds him.

The Lord Cobham dies miserable, and poor: Whose next Heir was William Brook, the Son of George beheaded; which said William, An. 1610. in the 7th of King James, was restored with a Clause, That he should not hold the ancient Honour of his Ancestors, and the Title of Baron Cobham, but only from the Grace and Favour of his Majesty.

19. A Tryal in the Star-Chamber between the Secretary of State Lake, and the Countess of Exeter, and a great Dispute arises about the Form of Proceeding.

Uncertain Reports of a great Fleet ready equipp'd in Spain; whereupon Baron Donaw, who had taken his Leave of the King, was called back.

Richard Wingfeild, Marshal de Camp in Ireland, is made Viscount of Powers-Court under the Great Seal of Ireland.

30. Charles Howard resign'd up his Office of Admiral to the Marquis of Buckingham.

Mervin, the Son of --- a Lawyer, bargained with Franc. Howard for the Place of Vice-Admiral.

Febr. 1. The King returns to Whitehall.

Gabeleone comes to the King as Ambassador Extraordinary from Victor Amadei the Son of the Duke of Savoy, to accommodate Matters between his Majesty and the French King.

The King was pleased to Knight --- Fortescue, Jo. Osburn, --- Gaughton, --- Sutton, and William Pitts, late Commissioners for the Navy, and for Domestick Affairs.

The King present at the Tryal in the Star-Chamber between Secretary Lake and the Countess of Exeter.

6. The King visits the Queen at Hampton-Court, accompanied with the Marquis of Buckingham.

The Earl of Nottingham resigns his Place of Admiral into the King's Hands.

The King publishes Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, and Dedicates the Book to the Marquis of Buckingham.

13. Sentence given against Tho. Lake by the King and Lords in the Star-Chamber; and he is Find. He was put into the Secretary's Place Jan. 3. 1616. --- He, his Wife and Daughter Rosse are committed to the Tower.

The King, for preserving the Honour of the late Admiral, grants him the Place and Precedency of Jo. Monbray, whom Richard II. had created Earl of Nottingham.

15. Tho. Lake, his Wife and Daughter Rosse are carried to the Tower; the Seal being taken from him, as also the publick Papers.

16. The King retires to Theobalds, when he had appointed in the Place of Tho. Lake, Geo. Calvert, Secretary, who was Clerk of the Crown, whose Prudence and Fidelity in State Matters, Robert Cecil, Secretary, was thoroughly acquainted with, and of whose Assistance also the King made much use, yea, and he judged that he would be a great help to Robert Nanton, the other Secretary.

Feb. 22. Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Ely, is translated to the See of Winchester.

Queen Anne died of a Dropsy in the Night: Mar. 1. After her Son Charles had been to pay her a Visit, Anno Aetatis XLV.

The Intrails of the Queen inclosed in a Sex-angular Coffin, were carried at Eight a Clock by her Servants to Westminster: They were deposited in the lower part of the Chapel, in which Queen Elizabeth is buried.

The Bishop of Chester is translated to Coventry, and Bristol to the See of Ely.

The Body of the Queen is conveyed by her Servants to Somerset-House by Night.

Matthias the Emperor dies.

A Horse Race at Newmarket; at which the King tarrying too long in his return from Newmarket, was forced to put in at an Inn at Wickfordbridge by reason of his being indisposed, and came very late in the Night to Royston.

The Prince went to meet his Father, and shortly after most of the higher sort of Nobility went also, upon the Report of the King's Indisposition.

The King being recover'd, keeps his Easter at Royston, on whom all the Nobility wait.

About this time the King conferred the Honour of the Earldom of Kelly upon Tho. Areskin Viscount Fenton; and the Honour of Earl of Kellays on my Lord Bunning.

The Archbishop of Canterbury founds an Hospital, where he was born, at Guilford, and laid the first Stone himself.

About this time Isaac Wake, the King's Ambassador to Savoy, is Knighted, and honourably rewarded.

His Majesty returns to Ware in a Horse-Litter, and the next Day is carried in a Coach attended by the Life-Guard to Theobalds.

The Solemnity of St. George's Day is prorogued to the 26th of April.

Complaints presented to his Majesty against the Chancellor.

The Earl of Suffolk, late Treasurer, being several times examined about Bribery, obtains leave for the Recovery of his Health to return to Walden; but his Countess could not obtain the same.

Wikes a Fanatick, feigns that he had Revelations, and in a threatening manner denounces Judgments against the King: Whereupon he is committed to Bedlam for a Madman.

William Lake, the Amanuensis of Tho. Lake, is committed to Prison, because he endeavoured to deliver Letters to the Lady Rosse clandestinely, and attempted to fly away; he was accused by the Keeper of the Lady Rosse.

The Earl of Southampton made of the Privy-Council at the Star-Chamber.

The Marquis de Tremouille, of the Family of the Ursins, Ambassador from the French King, is entertained at Gravesend and conducted to London.

The said Ambassador is conducted by the Marquis of Buckingham to the King at Theobalds, where he is splendidly entertained.

Olden Barnevelt on the same 3d Day is beheaded in Holland at the Hague.

James Viscount Doncaster, is sent Ambassador into France.

The English Prelates return home from the National Synod of Dort.

Overall, Bishop of Norwich, that prodigious Learned Man, died. George Carleton, the Bishop of Chichester, and others, put in for Norwich: Chichester prevails, and Carleton is translated to Chichester.

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George

1619.

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May --- George Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln, is made the King's Almoner, in the place of the Bishop of Winchester, who laid it down against his Will.

15. The Funeral of Queen Anne is celebrated.

20. The French Ambassador is nobly treated at a Banquet at Whitehall by the Duke of Lenox; and the next day leaves London.

27. The King goes to Theobalds.

June 1. The King returns from Theobalds to Whitehall. — The Citizens of London congratulate his being restored to his former Health.

In this Month Marquis Hamilton is created Earl of Cambridge, and Baron Everdal in Cumberland; Esme Stuart, Lord d'Albigny, Earl, Marquis, and Baron of Leiton; and Jo. Villiers Viscount Purbeck, and Baron of Stoke, by Letters Patents deliver'd without Investiture.

3. An Ambassador arrives from the Duke of Lorrain.

8. The Lorrain Ambassador is feasted by His Majesty at Greenwich. The Earl of Suffolk returns to London.

13. All the Privy-Councillors, by the King's special Command, partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Greenwich, in order to shew mutual Charity to one another.

The Earl of Ormond is thrown into Prison for refusing to stand to the Arbitration of His Majesty, concerning the Estate adjudged to the Lord Dingwell.

19. His Majesty keeps his Birth-day.

Thomas Lake is commanded in the Star-Chamber to acknowledge the Sentence given against him to be just; and that he should ask Pardon for the Injury done to the Countess of Exeter.

22. The King is entertained at Wandsted by Henry Mildmay, Master of the Jewel-Office.

Thomas Lake refuses to subscribe to the Acknowledgment of Calumnies against the Countess of Exeter, as did his Wife; notwithstanding Rosse the Daughter confess'd, that those Calumnies of Incest with Rosse, of Witchcraft, and begging Pardon for the Crimes, were forged, and were written by Arthur Lake, copied by Hobbes, Rosse's Maid, the Father and Mother consenting.

25. The King is entertained by Sir Thomas Watson at Hawsted, together with the Prince, the Earl of Montgomery, and the Lord Sheffield.

30. The King departs from Greenwich to Oatlands. Field is preferred to the poor See of Landaff.

July 7. The King comes from Windsor to Whitehall.

10. The King rid a Hunting to Wandsted.

13. The King came to Somerset-House, and is said to have visited my Lord Mayor, in order to recommend the Match of my Lord's Daughter with Jo. Villiers.

Lord Dingwell is created Earl of Desmond, in Right of his Wife. The Duke of Lenox is sent into Scotland.

15. Thomas Lake, late Secretary of State, is to have his Enlargement, and to be delivered into the Custody of his Brother the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The Lady Rosse, his Daughter, is set at Liberty also; but she chose rather to sojourn some time in the Tower, in order to settle her private Affairs. — Sir Henry Wotton conceiving vain Hopes of obtaining the Office of Secretary, returns from his Embassy to Venice. — Great Controversies arising between the English, and Hollanders belonging to the East-India Company, and about Navigation, and Fishing near Greenland, were composed by His Majesty; and the

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Deputies of Holland are honoured with the Dignity of Knighthood at Theobalds.

The King begins his Journey to Royston, on which Day the Marquis of Buckingham views the Fleet.

Donatus, the Venetian Ambassador in England, is proscribed, or banished by the Republick, for some Money converted to a wrong Use in Savoy. However he skulks secure in London.

Mary Crofton did publick Penance at St. Martin's in the Fields for scandalous Words against the Countess of Exeter.

Marquis Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke took a Journey towards Scotland.

An Enquiry ordered into the Corruptions and Briberies of the Earl of Suffolk, late Lord Treasurer.

The King comes to Windsor.

The King's new Gold comes out, with his Head surrounded with a Lawrel; wherefore it soon got the Name of Lawrels amongst the Vulgar; of different Value, viz. Twenty Shillings with XX. Ten Shillings with X. and of Five Shillings with V.

The Lady Baroness Rosse is sent into Custody to Dillington, the Pensioner in the Isle of Wight.

The King Dined at Greenwich, being in haste to go to Wandsted.

Frequent Envoys one after another about the Bohemian Affairs; and Reports that the Elector Palatine and the Electress were Crowned King and Queen of Bohemia.

Thomas Field, Chaplain to the King, is consecrated Bishop of Landaff, in the place of George Carleton, translated to Chichester. — An Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy.

The Earl of Suffolk, late Lord Treasurer of England, with his Lady, are accused in the Star-Chamber, for misapplying the Royal Jewels, for detaining the Money for Machines or Engines of War for the Fleet, and for the Business of Ireland, and for Money extorted from the King's Servants and Pensioners.

Sir John Bingley is also accused of the same Crimes.

They by their Advocates denied every Particular, and pray'd that Evidences might be produced, which was begun to be done on the 21st Day.

Simon Digby returns with Letters from Spain. — The Bishop of Lincoln entertains the King nobly at his House at Bugden.

His Majesty Dined at Greenwich, and gives Names to some Ships that were to be launched.

News is brought, That the English had defeated the Hollanders in the East-Indies.

The King sets out from Theobalds after Sermon, designing for Newmarket.

James Balfour, a Scotchman, is created Baron Clan Auley in Fermanagh.

Andr. Stuart of Ochiltre created Baron of Castle-Stuart.

A Proclamation for observing the Lent Fast and Friday Fast given at Royston.

The Earl and Countess of Suffolk are fined 30000 l. and to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's Pleasure.

John Bingley is fined 2000 l. and is to be detained in the Fleet during Pleasure.

The Earl of Suffolk and the Countess his Wife are thrown into the Tower of London.

Liberty is granted to the Earl of Suffolk, as also to Bingley, upon certain Conditions and Restrictions.

Albert

ANNO 1619.

1619.

Dec. 9.

Albert Morton came to London, with the News of Frederic Elector Palatine and his Consort's being Crowned King and Queen of Bohemia; and some Medals, as Presents.

21. A Son is born to Frederick King of Bohemia, who was named *Rupert*, in Memory of *Rupert* the First, Emperor of the Family of the Palatines.—The Elector of Brandenburg died.

ANNO 1620.

1620.

Jan. 1.

Viscount Doncaster returns from his Embassy in Germany; goes to wait upon the King; and acquaints him with the State of the Elected King of Bohemia's and the Emperor's Affairs.

The King's Book of the Inauguration of a King comes out.

5. Lionel Cranfield is chosen one of the Privy-Council.

6. The Baron de Donaw, Ambassador from the King of Bohemia Elect, hath a private Audience of His Majesty.

11. The King departed from London, just when the Nuptials were contracted (as is reported) between the Marquess of Buckingham, and the Daughter of the Earl of Rutland, by Frances Knevet, the Relict of ----- of Bevil of Cornwall.

George Calvert, Secretary of State, and Lionel Cranfield, are made Commissioners for the Office of the Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls being removed.

18. Thomas Lake reads in the Star-Chamber the Acknowledgment of the scandalous Calumnies by which he had unworthily injured the Countess of Exeter. This Acknowledgment was drawn up, and indited by the Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justices, and the Attorney-General, and publicly read by Thomas Lake; wherein he confessed and acknowledged, that Sentence pronounced against him on the 13th of February the Year before, for defending and maintaining his Daughter the Lady Roos, was just, because it was a most base, heinous and scandalous Crime for the said Countess; but that he was seduced by gross Ignorance, Credulity and Indulgence. Moreover he acknowledged, he had grievously offended by imprisoning Luke Hutton and George Williams for his own Profit and Advantage; professing, that he was heartily sorry for having defended so base, odious and scandalous a Cause; begged Pardon of the Countess for the Fault; and begged also of the Lords, that they would please to intercede for him with the King to procure his Favour and Mercy.

The Earl of Suffolk is received again into some Favour by the King; as were also his Sons.

- Feb. 2. The King commands, That Enquiry should be made into the Goods and Chattels, Possessions and Debts, of the Earl of Suffolk, that he might see whether he was capable to pay the Fine.

The Earl of Suffolk's Children are received into Favour.

7. The Earl of Worcester, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, sate in the Court of Requests.

15. The Earl and Countess of Suffolk return to London.

29. The King returns to Whitehall.

- March 4. The Prince exerciseth himself in running at the Ring.—Marquis Hamilton admitted Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber.

The Prince invites the Peers to a Banquet in Somerset-House, and to a Play.—The same Day

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1620.

Count Gundomar, Ambassador of his Catholick Majesty, arrives at Dover.

He is received by the Mayor of Canterbury, Mr. 6 and then by the Earl of Dorset.

He comes ashore at the Tower, and is conducted through the City to Ely-House.

The King returns to Westminster.

The Lady Lake, by reason of her Distemper, is set at Liberty out of the Tower, upon Condition that she should be brought back to the Tower about the beginning of the Term, unless she submitted her self.

Count Gundomar, the Spanish Ambassador, going to the King in Whitehall, the Rails near the Door of the Great Chamber being broken by the Multitude of People, fell down, and with them the Earl of Arundell, Lord Grey, Lord Gerard; but received no Hurt: The Ambassador himself had like to have fallen, but was supported by the Guard standing by, and escaped the Danger.

He goes to the King again, and after a long Conference goes to wait on the Prince.

The King goes to Hampton-Court.

A running at Tilt on the Anniversary of King James, wherein Prince Charles running Twelve Courses at the Ring, got all the Praise.

The King made a Procession with mighty Pomp from the Palace of Westminster to St. Paul's, accompanied with the Bishops, and Peers of the Realm At Temple-Bar the Lord Mayor and Aldermen received him. Robert Heath, Recorder, congratulates his Entrance into the City. From thence to the North side the several Companies of Citizens stood within the Rails, all in Order, with their Ensigns and Standards, as far as St. Paul's; Tapestry Hangings all the while hanging out of the Windows. Neither the younger Sons of Earls, nor Knights of the Privy-Council, were in the Cavalcade, because they could not well agree about Precedency. The Prince went bare Head.

On the West part, where was the ancient polished Brazen Pillar, a Chair is set, and a Cushion; there he fell down on his Knees: When he had risen, the Dean made a Speech. From thence he proceeded through the Middle Isle, under a Canopy of State, by the Choir, to the Traverse near Sir Nicholas Bacon's Tomb; from whence, after some short Ejaculations, Prayers and Hymns, they went to the Place which John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, appointed to hear Sermons in. The Bishop of London Preach'd a Sermon: He insisted much upon the Repairing St. Paul's Church. The King return'd in the same Order wherein he came.

The King at Hampton-Court remits 1800*l.* to Apr. 5. the Earl of Nottingham, which he owed to Queen Elizabeth, and himself.

The Duke of Lenox, Steward of the King's Household, held the Court of the Verge in Westminster-Hall.

The Prince, the Marquesses Buckingham and Hamilton, exercise running at Tilt, or at the Ring, at Westminster, and the Prince bears away the Prize, having run 12 Courses, by the Judgment of the many By-standers, and the Earl of Arundell, Viscount Doncaster, Lord Sheffield, Henry Cary Comptroller, who sate as Judges.

The King silenc'd 130 Ministers in Scotland, who would not submit to Episcopal Authority; but he received them afterwards into Favour in June.

Let-

1620.

ANNO 1620.

Apr. --- Letters of the Ecclesiastical Electors, of the Elector of Saxony, Bavaria, and Landgrave of --- to Frederic King of Bohemia, that he would resign his new Kingdom, lest he should shortly be forced thereto, because Bohemia is a Fief of the Empire, the determining of which belongs to the Electoral College, without the Assent whereof the Elector Frederic had accepted that Kingdom. The States of Bohemia deny that, and pretend and acknowledge nothing depends on the Emperor but the Feudal Investiture.

The King of Spain constitutes and appoints the Duke of Parma his General in Flanders.

Spinola is about to attempt something against Juliers. The Spaniard in the mean time labours, by the Intercession of our King and the French King, to prolong the Truce with the States.

May 1. The King entertained the Prince and the rest, who exercised running at Tilt, with a splendid Banquet at Whitehall.

2. The King bestowed on Calvert the Secretary, an Annual Pension of 1000*l.* out of the Custom-House. (He was made Secretary Febr. 15. 1618.)

15. A Proclamation to call home Roger North, who set Sail by the King's Authority to inhabit and settle a Colony near the River of the Amazons.

Thomas Lake kiss'd the King's Hand: His Wife is sent back to the Tower, because she peremptorily refused to submit.

16. The Marquis of Buckingham married Catherine the Daughter of the Earl of Rutland privately at Lumley-House.

17. Frederic Henry is declared Successor to his Father in the Kingdom of Bohemia.

20. The Ambassador from the United Provinces of Germany prefix'd this Day to the King, to answer at what time he would do any thing for his Son-in-Law of Bohemia.

Lord North is thrown into the Fleet, for persuading his Brother Roger to hasten his Voyage to the River of the Amazons.

The News are confirmed concerning Four English Ships being intercepted by the Hollanders, with a very rich Cargo; and of a great many English being murdered by them in the East-Indies.

Henry of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friseland, died of an Apoplexy at Leuward without Issue.

27. His Majesty appointed the Marquess of Buckingham Lord Lieutenant of Kent, after my Lord Wotton had resign'd; and he presently transferr'd the said Charge upon the Duke of Lenox, by the King's Consent.

June --- The Prince leaping over a Wall at Theobalds, his Foot slipping, hurt his Nose and Forehead grievously, not without the Peril of his Life.

4. His Majesty keeps his Whitsontide at Greenwich, and took the Sacrament, which was administered by the Bishop of Winchester, and the Bishop of Lincoln, who Preach'd his first Sermon before the King. The Court was very thin.

10. --- Alured, a Quondam Clerk to the Lord Ever, President of Wales, presents to the Marquess of Buckingham a curious little Treatise against the Marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain: Whereupon the King being angry, threw him into Prison.

11. After Evening Prayer on Trinity Sunday the King repairs to Westminster.

Sir Horatio Vere is designed for General of the Army that was to be sent into Germany, laying aside Edw. Cecill, who was first designed.

Voluntiers are pick'd up in the City, by Beat

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of Drum, to the Bohemian War, under the Command of the Earls of Oxford, Essex, Jo. Wentworth, &c. for Edward Sacvil and the Lord Lisle refused to serve in this War, out of I know not what Ambition and Emulation.

The King celebrates his Birth-day at Windsor, June 19. and comes to Wandsted.

On St. Peter's Day the King heard the Cause of the Prerogative of Honour, or Precedency, the last time, between the younger Persons of Earls and Knights Councillors; and he adjudged it to the younger Sons of Earls.

Robert Tolfson is consecrated Bishop of Sarum at July 9. Lambeth, by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops of Lincoln, Rochester and Chester.

Sir Horatio Vere goes to Theobalds to take his Leave of the King, being just upon the point of setting Sail into Germany with 4000 Foot, for defending of the Palatinate.

The King begun his Progress.

The Fine imposed on the Earl of Suffolk is mitigated to 7000*l.* which is to be paid to Had-dington.

Sad News of the English having sustained great Losses by the Hollanders in the East-Indies; Jordan, the chief Merchant, being kill'd, and Sir Thomas Gates dead.

General Vere, the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and others, set Sail from Gravesend.

The Commissioners for Repairing S. Paul's ordered, that the Houses at the East and West end thereof should be pulled down before the first of August.

Robert Mansell sets Sail out of the Thames with some of the King's Ships, and of Londoners, against Turkish Pyrates infesting the Mediterranean Sea.

News that Spinola was set down with his Army in the Palatinate, and had appointed that to be the Theatre of War.

Lewes Stuckley, who betrayed Sir Walter Raleigh, died in a manner mad.

A South-West Wind blows furiously; it hails; Sept. 2. so that Robert Mansell was not able to sail out of the Thames-Mouth with his Fleet.

He sets Sail, and stops in the Downes.

He Supp'd at Sir Dudley Diggs his House; and on the 6th rid Post to Court, perhaps because he was not sufficiently provided with Mariners and Necessaries.

The King reprimanded the Earl of Worcester, being informed that his Daughter was sent to Bruxells to be made a Nun.

Tilenus, that great Divine, came into England, and publish'd a Book against the Scots that were Zealots for the Geneva Discipline.

The Son of Hotman came into England with him.

News was brought, that Spinola had taken Openheim, Chrißlac and Aßlac, in the Palatinate, and had raised a Fort against Mentz.

Robert, the Son of Robert Digby, is made Lord of Geashill.

Richard Boyle, Baron Boyle of Youghall in Ireland, is created Earl of Cork and Viscount Dungarvon, a Match being concluded between his Son and the Daughter of Edward Villers, and between the Daughter of Boyle and the Son and Heir of Villers.

A Proposition was made, that every Earl should contribute 1000*l.* Barons 500*l.* Barons --- Knights --- for Defending the Palatinate against Spinola, the Emperor's General in those Parts.

News

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News is brought, that *Spinola* had surpris'd *Bagrac*, *Bing*, and *Clut*. When the *Spanish* Ambassador was accused underhand to have intimat'd to the King, that *Spinola* had no Design upon the Palatinate with his Army, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, in a Letter sent to the Ambassador, acknowledges, that neither the Ambassador, nor the *Spaniard*, nor the Archduke, did dissemble with the King; but that every one of them did plainly declare, that he would wage War in the Palatinate.

It is required, that all Officers in the *Chancery* and *Exchequer*, all Judges, and Professors of the Law, and other Wealthy Persons, should contribute Subsidy-Money for the Relief of the Elector Palatine.

29. The Prince Palatine is routed, and *Prague* taken. — News are brought of *Dampier's* being killed by the *Hungarians*.

Henry Carvill of *St. Maries* is arraigned for sending Money under-hand against the Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. Hereupon the *Spanish* Ambassador complains of *Nanton* the Secretary.

His Majesty came to *Westminster* very late on *All-Souls* Eve; and for that reason he went not to Prayers.

Nov. 1. On *All-Saints* he went to Morning Prayer: He offer'd, Touch'd for the Evil; but there was no Sermon Preach'd.

5. Gunpowder-Treason Day is observed at *Theobalds*; and Sheriffs are prick'd.

7. A Parliament is call'd to begin on the 15th Day of *January*.

9. *William Cavendish*, Son to *Charles Cavendish*, is created Viscount *Mansfield*, by delivering him Letters Patents, without any Investiture.

10. The Earls of *Essex* and *Oxford*, the Lord *Gerard*, *Edward Sackvill*, *Heidon* Treasurer of the *English* Army, return into *England*.

16. Sir *Dudley Diggs* and *Morris Abbot* are sent into *Holland*, to recover the Goods of the *English* taken in the *East-Indies*; *Rowland Woodward* is appointed to be their Secretary.

When the *Lady Lake* was to come to the *Star-Chamber* to acknowledge her Fault committed against the Countess of *Exeter*, she writ Letters to the said Countess: She disparages and affronts the Justice of the Kingdom, and appeals to the Tribunal of the Almighty, in repeating some Verses of the 139th *Psalms*; whereupon she is committed to the Tower.

29. They receive News, that the Elector Palatine was totally routed, and he was fled into *Silesia*; and that *Prague* was taken by the Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Bucquoy*; and that the Favourers of the Elector were expelled the City.

These Things were confirmed by the Letters of the Duke of *Bavaria* to the Elector of *Mentz*.

Randolph Mac-Surley, who was long since made Viscount *Donluse*, (*viz.* Anno 1617.) is now created Earl of *Antrim*.

Oliver St. John, the Lord Lieutenant, is made Viscount *Grandison*.

Dec. 3. *Henry Montagu*, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*, (the Staff being delivered to him at *Newmarket*) is made Lord Treasurer of *England*.

The Rabble are in an Uproar against the Servants of the *Spanish* Ambassador, for uttering some Words which escaped from the *Spaniard*, concerning the King of *Bohemia's* being routed; insomuch that the Chancellor commanded 300 Men to keep Guard all Night about the Ambassador's House, under the Command of *Lewis Lewknor* and *Henry Spiller*.

The King conferred the Titles and Honours Dec. --- of Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viscount *Magnaville*, or *Mandevill*, upon the Treasurer; perhaps because *Kimbolton* was formerly the Seat of the *Magnavills*, who came out of *Normandy*.

It was reported, that in the King of *Bohemia's* Flight towards *Breslaw*, his Coaches were taken by the Enemy, who pursued; wherein were found the Crown of *Bohemia*, and other Regalities; and that he designed for *Presbourg*, to confer with *Betlem Gabor*.

The new Treasurer came to the *Exchequer*, accompanied with *Fulk Grevil*, Vice-Chancellor, where, before the Chancellor, he took the Oath faithfully to discharge the Office of Treasurer. The Chancellor admonish'd him, that he would propose to himself the Lord *Burghley* the Treasurer, and *Nicholas Bacon* Keeper of the Great Seal, for Examples.

His Majesty gave Leave to the States of *Holland* to transport 100 Iron Guns, with Appurtenances, and as many to the *Spanish* Ambassador, not without the Murmuring of the common People.

A Demand made of 20000*l.* of the *Londoners*: They very willingly give 10000*l.* which was to be collected by the several Companies.

It was reported, that *Robert Mansell* had fought the *Turkish* Pyrates, with bad Success. — The *Lady Lake* is set free; I know not upon what Conditions.

The King comes to *Westminster*: He went not to Chapel, being prevented by the Gout.

Edward Villers is dispatched Ambassador into *Bohemia*: He departed on the 3d of *January*.

There was a Proclamation, That none should presume to talk or write sawcily of the *Arcana Imperii*, or of State Affairs.

Cadenet, Marshal of *France*, Brother to that great Favourite the Duke de *Luines*, comes to *London* with a great Train of Gentlemen: He is received at his Landing at *Somerset-House*, against whose coming the Shops in *Westminster-Hall* were taken away. On Sunday he made his Entry with his Retinue through the Streets in Coaches, and came to the King in the House of Lords. After that, he had private Discourse with His Majesty. . . . There were created, Viscount *Fielding*, and Baron of *Newnham-Paddocks*; *Henry Cary* Viscount *Faulkland*, and Baron . . . as also *Northumberland Grey*, Viscount . . . in *Scotland*, Constable of *Flamborough*. In *Ireland* also . . . *Fitz-Williams* is created Baron of *Lisfer*, . . . *Willmot* Viscount . . . *Calsfield* Baron *Charlemont*.

Roger North having receiv'd a Message from the *Hollanders*, That the King had called him back by a Proclamation, returned of his own accord, and is committed to the Tower.

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Dec. 3.

THE King did not go to Chapel; but the Prince with the Nobles did. After Dinner the *French* Ambassador visits him.

The Duke of *Lenox* nobly entertains the Ambassador at *Hampton-Court* with Hawking and Hunting.

The King entertains the Ambassador and the *French* Gentlemen at a sumptuous Dinner in the House of Lords.

They sit at Table in this Order; *viz.* The King at the middle of the Table, the Ambassador at his Left; at the Head of the Table the Or-

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Jan. --- Ordinary Ambassador. The Duke of *Alverny* went his way, because not admitted to the King's Table. The Prince was not present at this Feast. — On *Twelfth-Day* the King went to Chapel; They had much ado to support him: He offered Gold, Frankincense and Myrrhe; and touch'd 80 of the Evil.

8. Viscount *Doncaster* entertain'd the French Ambassador at a noble Supper in *Essex-House*, at which the King was present, together with the Prince, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, &c. — The Ambassador has Audience of Leave.

14. The French Ambassador, with his Retinue, is rowed down to *Greenwich*.

A Council of War is held, to which are called the Earls of *Oxford*, *Essex* and *Leicester*, Viscount *Wilmot*, Lord *Dacres*, *Edw. Cecil*, Sir *Horatio Vere*, *Bingham*. Some Matters are propounded by them for the Recovery of the Palatinate.

The King went to *Theobalds*, on which Day he reproved *Nanton* the Secretary, and suspends him from the Secretary's Function, because (as 'tis said) he consulted with the French Ambassador about the Marriage of the Princess *Henrietta*, the French King's Sister, without consulting the King.

Viscount *Haddington* is made Earl of *Holderness*, and Baron of *Kingston*; with a further Accession of Honour, That he shall wear a Sword before the King on the 5th of *August*; that is to say, on the Day of *Gowry's* Conspiracy.

27. The Lord Chancellor is created with Plenary Investiture Viscount *St. Albans*: my Lord *Carew* carried the Robe of State before him; the Marquis of *Buckingham* held up. — He gave the King most humble Thanks for making him, 1st his Solicitor; 2^{ly} Attorney; 3^{ly} Privy-Councillor; 4^{ly} Keeper of the Great Seal; 5^{ly} Chancellor; 6^{ly} Baron *Verulam*; 7^{ly} Viscount *St. Albans*.

- Febr. 6. Sharp Debates concerning the Liberty of speaking against Recusants; concerning Popish Pictures, that they should be removed out of the City; of the great Concourse of Papists to hear Mass at the Spanish Ambassador's Chapel; of contributing a Subsidy. It is also propounded, That every one of the Lower House should take the Sacrament.

In the Upper House is proposed something about Iron Guns; of appointing certain Persons who may hear Complaints of several sorts of Injustice in the Chancery, and other Courts; as also about the Act of Resumption.

Sheppard, for having somewhat freely and sharply reflected upon the Puritans, was expelled the House; and *Flud*, for saying, that the Prince *Palatine* had no Right to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, is burnt in the Hand.

In the Lower House some complain, that there were some Guns transported into *Spain*; and this is represented to His Majesty, who answered, That he had given Leave to the Spanish Ambassador to transport some; as he had also done to the States of the *United Provinces*, and to the Duke of *Brunswick*; and that he could not but be as good as his Word, and would perform his Promise.

16. This day the Commons offered Two Subsidies to the King; and are very earnest to have the Laws put in Execution against Papists, that they should be confined to their Houses, and be examined.

18. The House partake of the Holy Communion

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in *St. Margaret's, Westminster*. Bishop *Usher* Preached the Sermon, out of the 10th Chapter, Verse 7. of the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

Several of the Earls and Barons present a Petition by the Prince, to prohibit the new Viscounts of *Scotland* and *Ireland* from having a Place in *England* before the Barons of *England*. The King took this very ill, and reprimanded the Lord *Despenser*.

The same Day was begun the Debate concerning Grievances in the House of Commons; and *Drake* of *Devonshire* proved, that *Giles Montpeffon* had acted unjustly and rigidly against Innkeepers and Ale-sellers by his Overseers, the Servants of the Treasurer and Chancellor, *Dixon* and *Almond*.

Some Days before, the King answered to the Five Articles against Recusants, wherein the Laws may with Severity be put in Execution against them; but yet very cautiously, lest the Popish Princes might be incensed against the Reformed Religion; and that he would so order Matters with the Spanish and French Ambassadors, that they should not admit the English to their Masses. He also acquainted them, that the French King had a Design to besiege *Rochele*; the Duke of *Savoy*, *Geneva*; and that the Spaniard had reduc'd the *Valtoline* under his Dominion, &c.

Sir *Francis Mitchel*, lately dubb'd Knight, was with great Disgrace sent to the Tower through the City by the House of Commons, for grievous Exaction upon publick Innkeepers, and Sellers of Beer and Ale.

The Lord *Digby* sets Sail from *London*.

The Barons who had taken Offence, that the Viscounts of *Ireland* were preferred before them, were ordered to wait upon the King, and kiss his Hand: A few of them were admitted, and they soundly chid.

News from *Italy* report, That Pope *Paul V.* was dead; and that there was elected in his place *de Ludovicis* of *Bononia*; and that he had assumed the Name of *Gregory XV.* — The Spaniard proposed a general Peace to the States of the *United Provinces*, on these following Conditions; viz. 1. If they would acknowledge him for their Protector. 2. If they would forbear any longer to sail to the *East* and *West Indies*. 3. If they would permit Catholics the free Exercise of their Religion, and let them have their Churches. 4. If they would open the Navigation between *Antwerp* and *Zeland*.

Giles Montpeffon, when he was summoned to Mar. 3 appear before the House of Commons, being conscious to himself, fled. There was a Proclamation forthwith issued out to apprehend him. *Buckingham* forsakes him, on whom he most relied.

The House complains, That the Lawyers whom they sent to appeal, and refer a Matter to the Lords, acted deceitfully, and prevaricated.

His Majesty hears the House concerning the Prevarication, and after that goes to recreate himself in Hawking.

Albert Morton returns out of *Germany*; but the King did not admit him that Day.

There was some quarrelling between the M. of *Buckingham*, and *Southampton* and *Sheffield*, who had interrupted him, for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved Order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them.

The

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Mar.--- The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* present, in the Name of all the rest, a Grant of Subsidies passed by the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* to the King at *Hampton-Court*. — The Chancellor being convicted of Bribery, pretends, as if, being weary of Honour, he would resign his Place, being much loaden with Calumnies.

18. The Waiwood of *Sandomar's* Son, the Ambassador from the King of *Poland*, goes to the King at *Whitehall*, and signifies to him in Latine, how great Wars were depending over *Christendom* by the common Enemy the *Turk*, occasioned by the Troubles in *Germany*.

They vary in their Opinion in Parliament about the Antiquity of the University of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, and which is first to be named in the Grant of Subsidies.

The Chancellor sends Letters by the M. of *Buckingham* to the Lords of the Parliament; and beseeches them not to condemn an innocent Person upon the false Suggestions of some ill Men before he was heard.

27. The King goes to the Parliament, and pronounces Sentence against *Giles Montpeffon*; the Dignity of his Wife remaining untainted notwithstanding.

28. The Parliament is prorogued to the 18th of April.

29. An Act for proscribing *Giles Montpeffon*; and another for repealing of the Patents of Inns and Alehouses: As also an Act for Gold and Silver Wire; and another about Conformity.

Some *London* Apprentices, who had rudely handled the *Spanish* Ambassador, were whipped through the City.

Apr. 6. The King comes to *Guildhall*, and severely reproves the Magistrates for the Insolence of the Vulgar against Ambassadors; and he threaten'd the Gentlemen within the City of *London*, and the Parts adjacent, that he would restrain them by a Band of Men in Arms: And a Proclamation was publish'd concerning that Business on the 8th of April.

May 2. The Great Seal of *England*, together with the Authority of Chancellor, was taken away from the Viscount *St. Albans*, and delivered to the Treasurer, Chamberlain, Duke of *Lenox*, and Earl of *Arundell*.

The Chancellor is sentenced to Prison during His Majesty's Pleasure; is fined 40000*l.* is excluded from any Place in Parliament, and in the Judicature; and that he should not come near the Court within 12 Miles.

Sentence was pronounc'd by the House of Commons against *Flud*, who disdainfully calumniated the Prince *Palatine*, and his Princess; but it was revok'd by the King, who began to inquire, whether the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature?

5. Sir *Francis Michel* is brought to his Trial, and sentenc'd to be degraded from the Honour of Knighthood, without any Prejudice to his Wife and Children; that he should have no Office; should be Fined 1000*l.* should be Imprisoned during the King's Pleasure in *Finsbury* Prison.

The Peers wrangle amongst themselves about bringing *Elverton*, Quondam Attorney, to his Trial.

Arundell is sent to the Tower. — *Elverton*, the outed Attorney, is Fined.

Clement Coke, eldest Son to the outed Lord Chief Justice *Edward Coke*, is committed to the Tower, for his insolent Affronting of *Morison*.

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Flud, who had derided the Prince *Palatine* in May 15, a scornful manner, was carried through the City with his Face to the Horse's Tail; set in the Pillory; whipt; branded with the Letter K in his Forehead; is Fined, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment.

The outed Chancellor is cast into the Tower, and is set at Liberty Two Days after.

Dr. *Davenant* is advanced to the See of *Salisbury* in *Tonson's* Place, whom the King charged not to marry.

Melburn, Bishop of *St. David's*, is translated to the See of *Carlisle*. — *Montaigne*, of *Lincoln*, to the See of *London*.

Williams, Dean of *Westminster*, is nominated for *Lincoln*, and is appointed to be Keeper of the Great Seal.

The Earl of *Southampton* is delivered up to safe Custody to the Dean of *Westminster*. Like- wife *Jo. Selden* and Sir *Edwin Sandys* are committed to the Sheriff of *London*.

On the last Day of the Term, at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Sir *Francis Michel* was brought by the Sheriffs of *London* to *Westminster-Hall*. Presently after came the Commissioners for the Office of the Earl Marshal, viz. the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquess of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and several Barons that were Spectators. Before these, Sir *Francis Michel* is brought: After that, the Sentence of Parliament against him is read before him with an audible Voice by *Philpot*, a Pursuivant; the Spurs are broken in pieces by the Servants of the Earl Marshal, and thrown away: Then the Silver Sword, which ought to have been gilded, is taken from his Side, which was broken over his Head, and thrown away. Last of all, they pronounce him no longer to be a Knight, but a Knave, as was formerly done to *Andrew de Herclay*, when he was degraded by *Anthony Lucy*.

Garter, *Clarenceux*, and *Norroy*, Kings at Arms, sate at the Feet of the Commissioners.

John Williams, Dean of *Westminster*, is constituted Keeper of the Great Seal, and heard Evening Prayer, *Manwaring* carrying the Seal before him, and *Sutton*.

The Bishop of *Bangor* is examined, and committed to the Fleet; but is discharged quickly after. — *Edward Montagu* is created Baron *Montagu* of *Boughton*.

Fulk Grevil is created Baron *Brook*; and *Thomas Lord Darcy* of *Chich* is created Viscount *Colchester*, to himself, and the Heirs of *Thomas Savage*.

Henry Lord Hunsdon is created Viscount *Rochford*; *Lionel Cranfield* is created Baron *Cranford* of *Cranford* in *Bedfordshire*. He married the Daughter of *James Bret*.

The Earl of *Oxford* is sent into Custody for his prattling; so is Sir *G. Leeds*, with *Sutcliff* Dean of *Exeter*, Sir *Christ. Nevil*, and one *Brise* a Minister.

Marquess *Hamilton* is sent into *Scotland* to hold a Parliament; and Viscount *Doncaster* is sent Extraordinary Ambassador to the *French* King.

Edward Herbert is recalled from *France*, because he had treated the Constable *Luines* very irreverently. *Edward Sackvil* is appointed in his Place.

George Montaigne is translated from the See of *Lincoln* to that of *London*.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is discharged out of the Prison, in which he had lain for 15 Years.

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July 18. Years together, at the Discharge of the Great Guns.

The Earl of Southampton is set at Liberty at the same time; as are Edwin Sandys and Jo. Selden.

Albert Archduke of Austria died at Bruxells, Anno Etat. 62. — Whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury was a Hunting in Burnhill Park, belonging to my Lord Zouch, near Hertford Bridge, he killed the Keeper by chance with a Cross-Bow. The Quære was, whether he should incur the Penalty of Irregularity by this involuntary Manlaughter, or Suspension?

Bucquoy, the Warlike Valiant General, was slain at Newbausel by the Hungarians, being surprised by an Ambush.

Aug. 5. Hackwell, the Prince's Chaplain, writ a Book against a Marriage with the Infanta of Spain, which he presented to the Prince, without the King's Knowledge; whereat the King being offended, sent Thomas Murray, the Prince's Chaplain, the Doctor his Brother, and all those who were privy to the Business, to Prison.

The Countess of Bedford returns out of Holland, whither she took a Voyage to pay a Visit to the Queen of Bohemia.

Whilst the King, by the Lord Digby, intercedes with the Emperor and King of Spain, that the outed King of Bohemia might be restored to his Pristine and Hereditary Honour of the Palatinate, he, taking up Arms for the States, Wars against them; whereat the King is much displeased, and severely reproves him.

Sept. — Edward Villers is sent into Germany; returns to the Count Palatine about the end of the Month.

George Chaworth is sent to the Archdutchess, to condole the Death of Archduke Albert.

The Earl of Arundell is made Earl Marshal of England, with an Annual Pension of 2000 l.

Robert Maunsell, Admiral of the English Fleet against the Turkish Pyrates, returns out of the Mediterranean, having done nothing remarkable.

Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, is made one of the King's Bedchamber: He resigns his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer to Richard Weston.

..... Suckling is preferr'd to be Secretary of State.

Oct. — Cottington, Agent in Spain, is designed Secretary to the Prince, in the place of Murray.

9. The Pyrates of Algiers take about 35 English and Scotch Ships, in Revenge for the War by Robert Maunsell.

On St. Luke's Day Westminster-Hall was overflowed. — My Lord Digby returning from Germany, declares to the King and Council what he had transacted with the Emperor.

A Parliament is called in the end of this Month. — Arsenius comes from the United States into England, about the East-India Business.

Nov. — The Archbishop of Canterbury is declared by the Delegates neither to have incurred the Penalty or Irregularity, nor to have done any Scandal to the Church.

11. Dr. Williams, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Dean of Westminster, was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, by the laying on of the Hands of the Bishops of London, Worcester, Ely, Oxford, St. David's, Landaff, delegated by the King's special Authority.

18. Dr. Davenant Bishop of Sarum, Valentine Cary Bishop of Exeter, William Laud Bishop of St. David's, are consecrated in the Chapel of the Bishop of London's Palace; the Bishops of London,

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Worcester, Oxford, Ely, and Landaff, laid on their Hands.

A Tumult in the House of Commons, occasioned by the Imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys; nor was it pacify'd till Secretary Calvert declared his Imprisonment not to be for any thing done in Parliament.

A great Disturbance rose in the Lower House against Recusants; and it was decreed, That they should pay double Subsidies, like Foreigners; forasmuch as they shew'd themselves to be Aliens from the Established Religion, and devoted to the Pope. — The same Day a Third Subsidy is granted.

The King pardons all Misdemeanor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, if any had been by him committed.

Peter Heymore, and another Member, are sent to Sir Edwin Sandys, to enquire whether or no he was committed to Custody for any thing relating to Parliament.

A Subsidy granted to be paid in February.

The next Day the King sent a Letter to the Lower House, wherein he sharply reproves them for sending to Sir Edwin Sandys; commands them not to intermeddle in the Arcana Imperii; nor debate concerning the Marriage of his Son; that they should not use reproachful Language against his dear Brother of Spain.

The Commons sent some of their Members to his Majesty, to beg Pardon for their meddling with the Arcana Imperii, or that they had debated concerning the Prince's Marriage with the Infanta of Spain. They inform him concerning the Reasons inducing them thereto. They lay open the imminent impending Evils; and what Remedies ought to be applied, by declaring War against the Pope and King of Spain; and by restraining the Papists in England by more severe Laws; and by relieving the Protestants abroad with larger Contributions.

There happened to be some Misunderstanding between the King and the Commons; whereupon a Protestation is made to defend the Liberties.

The Parliament is prorogued till February, and was as good as dissolved.

The King commands Wright, Clerk to the House of Commons, to deliver in the Journal of the House, that he might the more easily perceive the Grievances of the Commonwealth.

Robert Cotton and Thomas Wilson are sent to ransack the Writings of Edward Coke, now committed to the Tower.

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1622.

Toby Mathews being sent for, comes into England, of whose Assistance the King stood in need upon certain Matters.

The Parliament is declared to be dissolved.

The King, accompanied with the Prince, goes to Theobalds: In his Journey he had very like to have been drowned, being thrown off his Horse Three Miles from Theobalds.

The Marquess of Buckingham, his Marchioness, and Mother, are confirmed, according to Form, by the Bishop of London.

Robert Philips, who so vigorously opposed the Marriage with the Infanta, is sent to the Tower.

The Earl of Somerset is enlarged from his tedious Imprisonment, and is ordered to be confined at Viscount Wallingford's House.

Edw.

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1622.

Jan. --- Edward Coke is tax'd of acting dishonestly in the Earl of Suffolk's Case, by concealing some true Confessions, and obtruding false ones.

Thomas Howard, Second Son to Thomas Earl of Suffolk, is created Viscount Andover, and Baron of Charleton: He married the Daughter of William Cecil, the younger Son of the Lord Burleigh.

28. The Earl of Oxford and Francis Steward are sent with some Men of War to intercept some Ships belonging to the States returning from the East-Indies; but they escaped into Zeland.

The King gives an Account, in a Book he published, why he dissolved the Parliament.

Febr. 3. The Earl of Oxford sent out to intercept the East-India Vessels belonging to the States; but they having a favourable Wind, escaped.

The King diverts himself in Hawking at Newmarket.

20. Sir Henry Savil, who had been a good Benefactor to the University of Oxford, and to the whole Republick of Letters, died, much lamented by all Learned Men of the Nation, in the 69th Year of his Age. He was buried at Eaton.

Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, grown weary of the King's Bounty, prepares for his Journey towards Rome, having conceived strange Hopes of convoking a General Council, and of composing Matters of Religion. He came into England Anno 1616. in December.

A Holland Ship returning out of the East-Indies, is taken by Merwin, Vice-Admiral, and Porter, (Brother to Sir Endymion) with abundance of Riches.

Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is sent to the Archduchess.

Count Gondomar designs to return into Spain; and Viscount Doncaster prepares for his Journey into France.

Mar. --- John Suckling is made one of the Principal Secretaries. — Viscount Doncaster is sent into France.

Apr. --- Viscount Swartzenburg came Ambassador into England from the Emperor Ferdinando.

The Earl of Pembroke conducted him by Water from Gravesend to Somerset-House.

8. The Emperor's Ambassador, with his Retinue, is admitted to the King's Presence on Sunday, in the House of Lords, with great Solemnity.

He diverts himself at running at the Ring. — He is again entertained at a splendid Dinner in the Parliament House, and takes his Leave of the King.

18. Swartzenburg sets Sail, and Richard Weston with him; and in another Ship the Archbishop of Spalato to his Vomit.

The Earl of Oxford is thrown into the Tower, for Words unadvisedly let fall against our King and the Spaniard.

27. Mar. Antonius Columna, Governor of Cambray, came Ambassador from the King of Spain, in the place of Count Gondomar.

May 2. Sir William Beecher was sent into Germany, together with my Lord Chichester, accompanied with Hottoman Junior.

Foscarini, who had been Ambassador from the Republick of Venice, was barbarously strangled in Prison, and, amongst other things, for communicating some Secrets to the Countess of Arundell.

ANNO 1622.

1622.

Doleful News are brought from the Palatine, That Tilly, General of the Bavarian Forces, and Gonsalvo the Spaniard, had quite routed the Mansfeld Troops, and had plundered their Camp. In the mean time the States ravage over all Brabant.

Oliver St. John, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, returned.

Soubize, of the Duke of Rohan's Family, flies June --- for Refuge into England.

Viscount Grandison, and Conway, are chosen into the Privy-Council.

Soubize, that notorious Rebel, came into England, to implore Assistance against his Sovereign; but is rejected.

The Pope, as also the Delegates, would by no means consent that Matrimony should be contracted between the Prince and the Infanta.

A Report runs, That Count Gondomar being returned to Spain, was sent to Prison because he so much promoted the Match. — They also write from Italy, That the Infanta was to be married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

An Act for Importing no Foreign Merchandise, save only in English Bottoms. Aug. ---

Arthur Chichester, Baron Belfast, returns from Oct. --- the Emperor.

A Proclamation, That all Noblemen should Dec. --- stay at home, and exercise Hospitality amongst their People, under a grievous Penalty.

On the last Day of December, Arthur Chichester, Baron of Belfast, is sworn into the Privy-Council of England.

ANNO 1623.

1623.

THE King received Sir Horatio Vere so graciously and thankfully, that, forgetting himself, he stood bare to him.

The Thames ebbs and flows Four times in a Febr. --- natural Day, to the great Astonishment of many.

Prince Charles, the Marquess of Buckingham, and a few others, cross over into France.

Henry Rich, Captain of the Life-Guard, is created Baron Rich of Kensington, and was sent into France to Prince Charles.

Dr. Wright, Rector of the Church of Sunning, Mar. --- is consecrated Bishop of Bristol at Lambeth.

Bonfires through the whole City, for the prosperous Success of Prince Charles in Spain. Apr. 10.

Elizabeth, the Relict of Moyle Finch Knight May --- and Baronet, Daughter and sole Heiress to Thomas Heneage, is created Viscountess Finch of Maidston in Kent, for her, and her Heirs Male.

The Marquis of St. Germans the Spanish Ambassador, and the King, swear to certain Articles, which Calvert the Secretary read before them.

On the same Day the Plume of Feathers, the Arms of the Prince of Wales, are struck down by a Flash of Lightning, which some took occasion to interpret as an ill Omen; but God forbid.

England congratulates the happy Return of Aug. --- Prince Charles out of Spain, by making of Bonfires.

By the Fall of the Playhouse in Black-Fryers in London, 81 Persons of Quality were killed.

The End of Camden's Annals.

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THE

T H E
L I F E and R E I G N
O F
J A M E S,
The First K I N G of
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

By *ARTHUR WILSON Esq;

The Author's PICTURE drawn by Himself.

AS others print their Pictures, I will place
My Mind in Frontispiece, plain as my Face;
And every Line that is here drawn, shall be
To Pencil out my Soul's Physiognomy,
Which on a Radiant height is fixt. My Brow
Frowns not for these Miscarriages below,
Unless I mean to limit, and confine,
Th' Almighty Wisdom to Conceits of mine.
Yet have no envious Eyes against the Crown,
Nor did I strive to pull the Mitre down;
Both may be good; But when Heads swell, Men say,
The rest of the poor Members pine away,
Like Ricket-Bodies, upwards over-grown,
Which is no wholesome Constitution.

The grave mild Presbyter I could admit,
And am no Foe to th' Independent yet;
For I have levell'd my Intents to be
Subservient unto Reason's Sovereignty;
And none of these State-Passions e'er shall rise
Within my Brain, to Rule, and Tyrannize:

For by Truth's sacred Lamp (which I admire)
My Zeal is kindled, not Fanatick fire.

But I'll avoid those Vapours, whose swollen Spight,
And foaming Poyson, would put out this Light.
Vain Fuellers! they think (who doth not know it)
Their Light's above't, because their Walk's below it.
Such blazing Lights like Exhalations climb,
Then fall, and their best Matter proves but Slime:
For where conceited Goodness finds no Want,
There Holiness becomes Luxuriant.

Now my great Trouble is, that I have shown
Other Men's Faults, with so many of my own;
And all my Care shall be, to shake off quite
The Old Man's Load, for him whose Burthen's light,
And grow to a full Stature, till I be
Form'd like to Christ, or Christ be form'd in me.
Such Pieces are Grav'n by a Hand Divine:
For which, I'll give my God this Heart of mine.

Contemnit linguas vita probanda malas.

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603.

THE various hand of Time began
now to sheath the Sword of War,
that had been long disputing the
Controversie, which Religion
and Policy (that Princes mix
together) had for many Years so fiercely main-
tained. The wearing out of that old, but glo-
rious, and most happy Piece of Sovereignty,
the late Queen, bating the Spanish Violence,
and ending with the Irish Rebellion, and Sub-
mission of Tirone, as if the old Genius of Iron-

handed-War were departed, and a new one
crowned with a Palm of Peace, had taken Pos-
session of the English Nation; James VI. King
of Scotland, was Proclaimed King of England.
For though Princes that find here a mortal Fel-
city, love not the noise of a Successor in their
Life-time, yet they are willing (for the Peace
of their People) to have one, when they can
hear no more of it. That which the Queen
could not endure from others, she was well
pleased to express her self, and Bequeath in her
last

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603.

* The Author *Arthur Wilson* was a Native of *Suffolk*, of a good Family. He was bred up at *Trinity College* in *Oxford*, where he commenc'd Master of Arts in 1633. Some Years after he travell'd through *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, with *Robert Devereux* the last Earl of *Essex* of that Name, who had a particular Friendship for him, that lasted till that Noble Earl's Death. It was in his Company, and through his Acquaintance, that *Mr. Wilson* became perfectly well inform'd in all the Material Transactions of King *James's* Reign: And it was the Earl of *Essex* that first put him up-
on writing the History of it; wherein he had the Use and Perusal of a great many Papers of that Earl's, and of his Father's fast Friend and Fellow Sufferer the Earl of *Southampton*, who were both near Spectators, and sometimes Actors, in the Affairs of that time.

Tho'

An. Reg. 1. last Will, as a Legacy to this, then Happy Nation. *An. Christi 1603.* He was Thirty six Years of Age when he came to the Crown. How dangerous the Passage had been from his very Infancy to his Middle Age, is not only written in many Histories, but the untamed and untractable Spirits of most of that Nation are a sufficient Witness and Record. The wise Queen found many Petty Titles, but none of that Power: Any other Hand that should have reach'd for the Crown, might have caught a Cloud of Confusion; and those Supporters, and Props, that held up her Greatness, (loth to submit to Equals) made Scaffolds to his Triumphs. In the Wane, or last Quarter of the late Queen, the Court-Motions tended (by an oblique Aspect) towards this Northern Star; and some of her great Council, in her Presence, would glance at the King of Scots as her Successor, which would make her break into Passion, saying, *Was this imputed to Essex as a Crime, and is it left in you?* Yea, Cecil himself held his Correspondencies, which he was once like to be trapt in. For the Queen taking the Air upon Black-Heath by Greenwich, a Post summoned her to enquire from what Quarter his Business came; and hearing from Scotland, she staid her Coach to receive the Packet: But the Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, (being in the Coach with her) fearful that some of his secret Conveyances might be discovered, having an active Wit, calls for a Knife suddenly to open it, left Puts-off, and Delays, might beget Suspicion; and when he came to cut it, he told the Queen, It looked and smelt ill-favour'dly, coming out of many nasty Budgets, and was fit to be opened, and aired before she saw it; which Reason meeting with her disaffection to ill Scents, hindred her smelling out his underhand Contrivances.

Secretary
Cecil Pro-
claims
King
James.

But now he may do it openly, for he was the first that publickly Read, and Proclaimed the late Queen's Will; Posts are sent in haste, yet in so calm and quiet a manner, as if the loss of so precious a Mistress had stupified the People. And now the great Ones strive who shall be most Obsequious, and Court their happy Hopes. That Party that had been opposite to the late Earl of Essex (whose Death as some thought shortned the Queen's Life) strove to Ingratiate themselves, by suppressing them that had any

Relation to him; assuring the King, (that always counted him his Martyr) that he aimed at the Crown himself; and Princes apt to be Jealous soon take such Impressions. And now I have stirr'd the Ashes of great Essex, I must revive his Memory with this short Character; for Reports flying upon the airy wing of the Times, have variously exalted or depressed him, as the serene for him, or the cloudy fancy against him, waved up and down. He had a gallant and noble Spirit, full of Urbanity and innate Courtesie, which too much took the popular Eye; and being a great ingrosser of Fame, it procured him many Enemies, which made his Spirit boil into Passion, and that was more suitable to his Enemies Designs than his own; for they lighted their Candle by his Fire, and this Heat being blown by some fiery Spirits about him, gave to the goodness of his Nature a tincture of Revenge, which his Enemies made reflect upon the Queen; so that the Coal he strove to bring to burn his Enemies Nests, kindled his own Funeral Pile.

But our King coming through the North, (Banqueting and Feasting by the way) the Applause of the People in so obsequious and submissive a manner (still admiring Change) was check'd by an honest plain Scotsman, (unused to hear such humble Acclamations) with a Propheticall Expression; *This People will spoil a good King.* The King as unused, so tired with Multitudes, especially in his Hunting, (which he did as he went) caused an Inhibition to be published, to restrain the People from Hunting him. Happily being fearful of so great a Concourse, as this Novelty produced, the old Hatred betwixt the Borderers not yet forgotten, might make him apprehend it to be of a greater extent; though it was generally imputed to a desire of enjoying his Recreations without interruption.

At Theobalds, Secretary Cecil's House, the Lord Chancellor Egerton, the Lord Buckhurst Treasurer, the Earl of Nottingham Admiral, and others of the Council to the deceased Queen, met him; and they with him found the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Marr, the Lord Hume, and the Lord Kinloss. These, with others, were made of his Privy-Council. The Bishops forgot not to strengthen themselves, and their Party, against their Opposites, the Nonconformists, who had gotten new Courage upon their hopes of the

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi 1603.

The King
comes to
Theobalds.

Tho' our Author was thus well furnished with what was necessary towards writing the History of King James's Reign, it must be own'd, he has done it with an Air of Prejudice, if not in some Places of Rancour; which may in part be attributed to his Friendship to his Patron the Earl of Essex; and his Resentments of the Injuries done to that Nobleman by King James and his Favourites; and more particularly by Somerset in the Affair of his Lady, which its no wonder the Earl nor his Friends could never forget.

As to the Style of this History, it's harsh and broken, the Periods often obscure, and sometimes without just Connexion, Faults that were frequent in most of the Writers of that time.

Tho' he finish'd this History about the Year 1652. when both the Monarchy and Hierarchy were overturn'd, it does not appear he was Enemy to either: On the contrary, In the Picture he draws of himself before the Book, he is so far from pretending Merit for his Activeness in these Matters, a thing usual in Writers of that time, that he values himself for having no hand in pulling down the Mitre and the Crown; which was not the way to make his Court to the Powers then in being.

But nothing could inhanse the Value of this History more, than a most wretched one published in Answer to it, by one William Sanderson, Intituled, [*A Compleat History of Queen Mary of Scotland, and her Son King James of Great Britain.*] This Man pretends in several Places to some Secret Memoirs or Discourses with great Men, to make good the Passages of his History: But the Truth is, the whole is nothing else but an ill compil'd Collection out of other Authors; wherein he for the most part mistakes or perverts their Meaning. In cursorily reading this History, I have sometimes taken notice of above Four or Five gross Errors, either in Names, Things, or Chronology, in one single Page. And for one Instance among many thousand others, he commits two remarkable Blunders in the compass of a few Lines in his Introduction, saying, That Queen Mary Stuart had Two Brothers that died several Years before their Father, whereas they died but a few Days: And then saying, That upon her Arrival from France she found her State mightily Distemper'd under the Protection of the Bastard James and Murray's Government; as if it had not been one and the same Person that was first called Bastard James, and afterwards Earl of Murray; tho' this last Title was not conferr'd upon him till some Years after.

To return to our Author Wilson: He died at the Earl of Warwick's Seat in Essex about the Year 1653. And we have the following Character of him in Anthony a Wood's *Athena Oxoniensis*, who hated his Principles, and seldom spoke well of any one of that Kidney: He was (says he) well skill'd in the Mathematicks, Poetry, History, and the Laws of England: His Carriage was very courtly and obliging; and such as became a well bred Gentleman: And tho' he had laid up Materials for his History some time before, he did not perfect it till a little before his Death.

King's

An. Reg. 1. King's Compliance with them; and the King, to please both sides, went in a smooth way betwixt them, at first, not leaving out the third Party, the *Popish*, the most dangerous, whom he elosed with also, by entertaining into his Councils, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and the Lord *Henry Howard*, the one Son, the other Brother, to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who would have been his Father, but became a Sufferer for his Mother: The one a plain-hearted Man; the other of a subtle and fine Wit, of great Reading and Knowledge, excellent for outward Courtship, famous for secret Insinuation and cunning Flattery: The first a suspected, (though it was otherwise) the last a known *Papist*, bred up so from his Infancy, yet then converted (as he pretended) by the King, being the closest way to work his own Ends. On these he heap'd Honours, making the Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Brother Earl of *Norhampton*. And this gentleness of the King to the *Popish* Party, was so pleasant to them, that they suck'd in the sweet hopes of Alteration in Religion, and drunk so deep thereof, that they were almost intoxicated.

Changes beget hopes. Now every Man that had but a spark of Hope, struck fire to light himself in the way to Advancement, though it were to the Consumption both of his Estate and Being. The Court being a kind of Lottery, where Men that venture much may draw a Blank, and such as have little may get a Prize. Those whose Hopes were almost quenched, like Water cast upon Lime, burn inward, till it breaks out into Flame; so hard it is for uncomposed Spirits (missing their Aims) to settle upon the Basis of solid Reason. The Earl of *Southampton*, covered long with the Ashes of great *Essex's* Ruins, was sent for from the Tower; and the King look'd upon him with a smiling Countenance, though displeasing happily to the new Baron of *Essex*, Sir *Robert Cecil*; yet it was much more to the Lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who were forbidden their Attendance. This damp upon them, being Spirits full of Acrimony, made them break into Murmur, then into Conspiracy, associating themselves with two *Romish* Priests, (Men that could not live upon lingring Hopes) and other discontented Persons, which every Change produces. The ground of the Design was to set up the Lady *Arabella*, (a Branch sprung from the same Stem by another Line) and to alter Religion and Government; disposing already to themselves the principal Places of

An. Reg. 1. Honour and Profit. The Lord *Grey* should get Leave to transport Two thousand Men into *Holland*, with whom he should seize upon the King and Prince; Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to treat with Count *Arembergh* for procuring of Moneys; and *Cobham* to go to the Arch-Duke and the King of *Spain*, to persuade their Assistance. This *Embriion* proved Abortive, and they brought their Plea to excuse their attempting it as compleat a one: That the King was not yet Crown'd. || The Arraignment was at *Winchester*, where strong Proofs meeting weak Denials, they, with others, were found Guilty of High Treason. *George Brooke*, the Lord *Cobham's* Brother, and the two Priests, suffered for it, the rest found Mercy; the King being loth to foil the first steps to his Crown with more Blood. But their Pardon carried them to the Tower, where the Lord *Grey* some Years after died, and in his Death extinguish'd his Family. The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and others, discharg'd of Imprisonment, lived miserable and poor, *Cobham* at home, and the rest abroad. And *Raleigh*, while he was a Prisoner, having the Idea of the World in his Contemplation, brought it to some Perfection, in his excellent and incomparable History; but when Liberty turned it to Action, it taught him to roam, so, as the Event proved fatal to him.

This Conspiracy put on such a face, that few or none could discover, or know what to make of it: That the muddy Waters were stirr'd, was apparent, but it was with such a Mixture, that little could be visible in it. The Lord *Grey*, *Cobham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, were Protestants; Why should they strive to alter Religion, though the Priests, *Markham*, *Bainham*, and others might? But it seems they joyn'd together in a Politick way, every one intending his own Ends; Discontent being the Ground-work upon which they built this slight Superstructure, that being huddled together, could not stand long. *Raleigh's* great Accuser, was a * Letter of *Cobham's*, which some say after he denied to be his Hand. Some of the Conspirators (it may be) desir'd to seem formidable, venting their Anger so for being slighted; others strove to make themselves so, that they might have the Glory of enlarging the *Roman* Power; and they joyn'd together, thinking their single Strength would not prevail. In this Cloud looking for *Juno*, they begot a Monster, which having neither Head nor Foot, some part lived, the other died †.

While

|| Upon their Tryal, Sir *Walter Raleigh* denying the Fact, pleaded, That tho' it were prov'd, it could not amount to Treason against King *James*, being done in the Reign of the late Queen; and no Acts of Parliament made to Entail the Crown upon him after her Death.

* *Raleigh* deny'd the Letter to be his hand, but *Cobham* own'd it at first, and afterwards deny'd it.

† This Conspiracy of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* is variously represented by the Historians and Writers of that Time, but acknowledged by all of them to have been a Riddle of State. I have seen most of the Accounts that have been publish'd on this Subject; and from them, and from some Sheets of *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and a Manuscript of one *Buck*, who it seems was Secretary to Chancellor *Egerton*, I take the Case to have been this:

The Earl of *Salisbury* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* had been open and declar'd Enemies of the unhappy Earl of *Essex*, and the chief Promoters of his Ruin: Tho' King *James* could easily digest the Death of Queen *Mary Stuart's* Mother; it is notoriously known he never heartily forgave any of *Essex's* Enemies; which both *Cecil* and *Raleigh* were aware of, but took contrary measures to avoid his Resentment. *Raleigh* trusting in the Justice of his Procedure in that Affair, made no steps towards the making his Peace with her Successor, contenting himself with the Favour of that Mistress had rais'd him, which he enjoy'd to her Death. On the contrary, *Cecil*, by the Mediation of *Hume*, that was afterwards Earl of *Dunbar*, had been long before entirely reconcil'd to King *James*, had done him important Services, and kept a Correspondence with him, while Queen *Elizabeth* was alive.

When King *James* came into *England*, *Cecil* was not only continued in his Places, but, contrary to all Men's Expectations, was indeed made the First Minister of State, and *Raleigh* neglected. The latter knowing the former to be at least equally concern'd with him in the Fall of *Essex*, his great Mind could not bear the Distinction made between them by their new Master; and the rather, that *Cecil* acted the Courtier, in frowning upon his old Friend and Acquaintance, and giving him fresh Mortifications upon every occasion.

In *Buck's* Manuscript there is mentioned a Memorial of *Raleigh's* to King *James*, wherein he reflects heavily upon *Cecil* in the Matter of *Essex*, and vindicating himself, throws the whole Blame upon the other. At the end of that Memorial,

An. Reg. 1. While these were provoked with Neglects, others were encouraged with Favours: Many of the Gentry that came out of Scotland with the King were advanced to Honours, as well as those he found here, to shew the Northern Soil as fruitful that Way as the Southern: But Knights swarmed in every Corner; the Sword ranged about, and Men bowed in Obedience to it, more in Peace than in War: This Airy Title blew up many a fair Estate. The Scots naturally, by long Converse, affecting the French Vanity, drew on a Garb of Gallantry, (meeting with a plentiful Soil, and an open-handed Prince.) The English, excellent for Imitation, loth to be exceeded in their own Country, maintained their Follies at their own Charge. All this came accompanied with a great Plague, which happened this Year in London, whereof above Thirty thousand died: Yet who will not venture for a Crown; for in the Heat of it, on the 25th of July, being the Day dedicated to St. James, the King, with his Wife Queen Anne, were both Crown'd at Westminster, fulfilling that old Prophecy, or rather Fancy, current among the Scots (as they report) before Edward the First brought the Royal Chair out of Scotland, with the Stone in it, and placed it at Westminster to Crown our Kings in; which Stone some old Saws deliver to be the same that Jacob rested his Head on.

The King
and
Queen
Crowned.

*Ni fallat Fatum
Scoti hunc quocunque locatum
Inveniunt Lapidem,
Regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Englified:

Fate hath design'd,
That wherefoe'er this Stone
The Scots shall find,
There they shall hold the Throne.

But how the Stream of Time runs through the Chancel of these Prophetical Fancies, Experience shews: For, 'tis true, if the Scots came so near the Throne, as to enjoy the Stone or Chair where the English Kings are Inaugurated, they may hold the Crown: But being only grounded upon Conjecture, these Conceits are commonly made up before they are half moulded, or, like Abortives, are shaped after they are born.

When these Ceremonies were past, the King retir'd from this Croud of Infection, gave some Admission to Ambassadors, that from all the neighbouring Princes and States came to congratulate this happy Inauguration: For, besides the ordinary Ceremony among Princes, their Reason might tell them, That if his Predecessors were able to grapple with the growing Monarchy of him that coveted to be Universal, and to assist and relieve her Neighbours and Confederates from his Oppression, he would be

much more formidable, bringing with him, if nothing else, Bodies of Men, warlike and industrious, hardned with Cold and Labour, and active in the difficultest Attempts, (however of late, by what Divine Judgment I know not, utterly disheartned) to be Helpers, who were formerly Hinderers, to all the English Expeditions; so that in him they courted their own Conveniencies: For certainly, if ever the English Monarchy were in its true Glory and Greatness, it was by this Union. But there is a Period set to all Empires.

The Prince, a little before this, was Installed Prince Knight of the Garter, the Earl of Southampton and the young Earl of Essex were restored to the Right of Blood and Inheritance, and Honours were conferr'd so thick, as if the King intended a new kind of Conquest, by a Proceeding that tended to their and his own Ruin: For, to subdue the Greatness of the Nobility, (who formerly could sweep such a Party of People to them, with their long Trains and Dependencies, that they were able to grapple with Kings,) he, by a Multiplicity of them, made them cheap and invalid in the vulgar Opinion; for nothing is more destructive to Monarchy than lessening the Nobility: Upon their Decline the Commons rise, and Anarchy encreases.

And now the old Irish Rebel Tirone coming over, (led by his Conqueror the Lord Montjoy) had not only Pardon, but Civilities, and all outward Expressions to gain him; the Edge of the People's Hatred being abated by a Proclamation, that no Man should shew him the least Disrespect. The Lord Montjoy, as a Reward for his good Service, was created Earl of Devonshire: And having given way to Creations, they brake in upon us like a Deluge. The King being an inexhaustible Fountain of Honour, cannot be drain'd dry, when other Means of gratifying his Servants may fail. Those he brought with him wanted Means more than Honour; those he found here wanted Honour more than Means: He could and did supply both to excess. Sir Robert Cecil, the first English Trumpet that Proclaimed him, was made Baron of Essingdon, and soon after Viscount Cranborn, and Earl of Salisbury; Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penshurst, and not long after Viscount Lisle; Sir William Knowles Baron of Grayes, Sir Edward Wotton Baron of Morley, Sir Thomas Egerton (Lord Chancellor) Baron of Elsmere, Sir William Russel Baron of Thornaugh, Sir Henry Grey Baron of Grobie, Sir John Petre Baron of Writtle, Sir John Harington Baron of Exton, Sir Henry D'Anvers Baron of Dantsey, Sir Thomas Gerrard Baron of Gerrard-Bromley, Sir Robert Spencer Baron of Worm-Leighton: The Lord Buckhurst (Lord Treasurer) he made Earl of Dorset; and his old Servant, Sir George Hume, Earl of Dunbar. These, with Suffolk and Northampton, were Nobles of the finest Metal, and first Stamp; and most of them he placed as Jewels about his

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603.

Tirone
comes
over.

Noble-
men cre-
ated.

Memorial, he lays open the Conduct of Cecil and his Father the Lord Burleigh, in the Matter of Queen Mary Stuart, and, with a singular Bitterness of Style, not only vindicates the Memory of Queen Elizabeth, but lays the Death of that unfortunate Queen chiefly at the Door of Cecil and his Father; for which he appeals to Davison, then in Prison, the Man that had dispatched the Warrant for her Execution, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's express Command.

All this had no Influence on King James, and irritated Cecil the more against Raleigh; which help'd to sowre a Temper that of itself was impatient of Injuries, and for all his other excellent Qualities, was not fitted for this Reverse of Fortune.

This brought him into the Acquaintance and Familiarity of other Men, as discontented as himself, though of different Religions and Interests; and occasion'd probably more Discourses than one, of having Recourse to Foreign Powers to mend their present Fortunes. It's also not unlikely, that the Lady Arabella's Name might, upon these Occasions, be mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh, as one that had a near Title to the Crown: But that he ever enter'd into any Form or Design of altering the Establish'd Religion, (as was said at his Trial) no body then nor since did ever believe.

Throne:

An. Reg. 1. Throne: But these were but as an Essay; for they after grew to such a Volume, that some unhappy Fancy pasted up a Pasquil in St. Paul's, wherein he pretended an Art to help weak Memories to a competent Knowledge of the Names of the Nobility.

An. Christi 1603. As the Papist was different from the Protestant Religion on one side, so was the Puritan (as they then called pious and good Men) on the other; both which were active to attain their own Ends: And the King had the Command of himself, not bitterly to oppose, but gently to sweeten their Hopes for his; thinking himself unsecure betwixt them. The latter were now solicitous for a more clear Reformation. This the Bishops opposed, as trenching too much upon them; and the King listen'd to (having Experience of it in Scotland) how much it had encroach'd upon him: For he thought their dissenting from the Established Government of the Church, was but to get that Power into a great many Men's Hands, which was now but in one; and that one had Dependence upon him, with whom he might better grapple. The Prelates distilling this Maxim into the King, *No Bishop no Monarch*; so strengthening the Mitre by the same Power that upholds the Crown: Yet, to satisfy the Importunity, a Conference is appointed at Hampton-Court, where the Bishops Opponents, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chadderton, Men eminent in Learning and Piety in themselves, as well as in the Opinion of the People, did desire, in the Name of the rest of their Party, *That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in Purity; That good and faithful Pastors might be planted in all Churches; That Church-Government might be sincerely administr'd; That the Book of Common-Prayer might be fitted to more Encrease of Godliness.* Out of some of these Particulars, they insisted upon the Bishops Power of Confirmation; which they would have every Minister capable of in his own Parish. They disputed against the Cross in Baptism, the Ring in Marriage, the Surplice, the Oath *ex Officio*, and other things that stuck with them; which they hoped to get all purged away, because the King was of a Northern Constitution, where no such things were practised, not yet having felt the King's Pulse, whom the Southern Air of the Bishops Breaths had so wrought upon, that he himself answers most of their Demands; sometimes gently, applying Lenitives, where he found Ingenuity, (for he was Learned and Eloquent,) other times Corrosives, telling them these Oppositions proceeded more from Stubbornness in Opinion, than Tenderness of Conscience; and so, betwixt his Arguments and Kingly Authority, menaced them to a Conformity, which prov'd a way of silencing them for the present, (and some of them were content to acquiesce for the future; and the King manag'd this Discourse with such Power, (which they expected not from him, and therefore more danted at,)

An. Reg. 1. that Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, (though a holy, grave and Pious Man) highly pleas'd with it, with a sugred Bait (which Princes are apt enough to swallow) said, *He was verily persuaded, that the King spake by the Spirit of God.* || This Conference was on the 14th of January; and this good Man expir'd the 29th of February following, in David's Fulness of Days, leaving a Name like a sweet Perfume behind him. * And Bancroft, a sturdy Piece, succeeded him, but not with the same Spirit; for what Whitgift strove to do with Sweetness and Gentleness, Bancroft did persevere in with Rigour and Severity. Thus the Bishops having gotten the Victory, strove to maintain it; and though not on the suddain, yet by degrees, they press'd hard upon the Nonconformists, (whom they held under the Yoke of a Law) that many of them are forc'd to seek Foreign Refuge. They prevail'd not only for themselves here, but by their Means (not long after) the King look'd back into Scotland, and put the Keys there again into the Bishops Hands, unlocking the Passage to the Enjoyment of their Temporal Estates; which swell'd them so high, that in his Son's Time the Women of Scotland pull'd them out of their tottering Seats.

On the other side, the late Conspiracy of Cobham and Grey had so chilled the King's Blood, that he begins to take notice of the Swarms of Priests that flock'd into the Kingdom: For though the Conspirators were of several Religions, yet in their Correspondence with Foreign Princes, Religion was the Pretence. For in every Alteration of Kingdoms, few are so modest but they will throw in the Hook of their vain Hopes, thinking to get something in the troubled Stream. The Jesuits were not slack (coming with the Seal of the Fisher) in spreading their Nets; but a Proclamation broke through them. The King being contented to let them alone, till they came too near him, willing to comply rather than exasperate; the Safety of his own Person made him look to the Safety of Religion; and to secure both, he found this the best Remedy, declaring to all the World the Cause of this Restriction.

† Having (after some time spent in settling the Politick Affairs of this Realm) of late bestowed no small Labour in composing certain Differences We found among Our Clergy, about Rites and Ceremonies heretofore Established in this Church of England, and reduc'd the same to such an Order and Form, as We doubt not but every Spirit, that is led only with Piety, and not with Humour, should be therein satisfied; it appeared unto Us, in debating these Matters, that a greater Contagion to Our Religion than could proceed from these light Differences was eminent, by Persons common Enemies to them both, namely, the great Numbers of Priests, both Seminaries and Jesuits, abounding in this Realm, as well of such as were here before Our coming to the Crown, as of such as have resorted

A Proclamation against Jesuits.

|| This Conference at Hampton-Court was but a Blind to introduce Episcopacy in Scotland, all the Scotch Noblemen then at Court being design'd to be present, and others, both Noblemen and Ministers, being call'd up from Scotland to assist at it, by the King's Letter.

* The Character the Author gives of these two Prelats agrees with them exactly; and there hardly can be found a nearer Parallel than between them and two of their next Successors in the See of Canterbury; Archbishop Abbot, that succeeded Bancroft, imitating the Moderation of Whitgift; and Laud, that succeeded him, the Warmth of Bancroft.

† This seeming or real Severity of King James against the Jesuits and other Seminary Priests of the Romish Church, seems to me to have been in a great part owing to the frequent Representations made to him by Henry IV. of France, and his First Minister Monsieur de Remy, afterwards made Duke of Sully; for in the Memoires of the latter, there is Mention made of several Intimations given by him to King James and his Ministers, of the Designs of the Missioners in England to disturb the Quiet of his Reign.

Q q q q q

hither

An. Reg. 1. hither since, using their Functions and Profes-
An. Christi sions with greater Liberty than heretofore they
 1603. durst have done; partly upon a vain Confi-
 dence of some Innovation in Matters of Reli-
 gion, to be done by Us, which We never in-
 tended, nor gave any Man Cause to suspect,
 and partly from the Assurance of Our gene-
 ral Pardon, granted according to the Custom
 of Our Progenitors, at Our Coronation, for
 Offences past in the Days of the late Queen,
 which Pardons many of the said Priests have
 procur'd under Our Great Seal; and holding
 themselves thereby free from Danger of the
 Laws, do with great Audacity exercise all
 Offices of their Profession, both saying Masses,
 and perswading Our Subjects from the Reli-
 gion Established, reconciling them to the
 Church of Rome, and by consequence sedu-
 cing them from their Duty and Obedience to
 Us. Wherefore We hold Our self obliged,
 both in Conscience and Wisdom, to use all
 good Means to keep Our Subjects from being
 affected with superstitious Opinions, which
 are not only pernicious to their own Souls,
 but the ready way to corrupt their Duty and
 Allegiance; which cannot be any way so
 safely performed, as by keeping from them the
 Instruments of that Infection, which are
 Priests of all Sorts, ordain'd in Foreign Parts,
 by Authority prohibited by the Laws of the
 Land; concerning whom, therefore We have
 thought fit to publish to all Our Subjects this
 open Declaration of Our Pleasure, &c. wil-
 ling and commanding all manner of Jesuits,
 Seminaries, and other Priests whatsoever, ha-
 ving Ordination from any Authority by the
 Laws of this Realm prohibited, to take Notice,
 That Our Pleasure is, that they do, before the
 19th of March next, depart forth of Our
 Realm and Dominions. And to that purpose
 it shall be lawful for all Officers of Our Ports,
 to suffer the said Priests to depart into Foreign
 Parts, between this and the said 19th Day of
 March; admonishing and assuring all such Je-
 suits, Seminaries, and Priests, of what Sort
 soever, That if any of them after the said
 time shall be taken within this Realm, or any
 of Our Dominions, or departing now upon
 this Our Pleasure signified, shall hereafter
 return into this Our Realm, or any of Our
 Dominions again, they shall be left to the Pe-
 nalty of the Laws here being in Force con-
 cerning them, without Hope of any Favour
 or Remission from Us, &c. Which though,
 perhaps, it may appear to some a great Seve-
 rity towards that Sort of Our Subjects, yet

An. Reg. 1. doubt We not when it shall be consider'd with
An. Christi indifferent Judgment, what Cause hath mov'd
 1603. Us to use this Providence, all Men will justi-
 fy Us therein. For to whom is it unknown,
 into what Peril Our Person was like to be
 drawn, and Our Realm unto Confusion, not
 many Months since by Conspiracy, first con-
 ceived by Persons of that Sort: Which when
 other Princes shall duly observe, We assure
 Our selves they will no way conceive, that
 this Alteration proceedeth from any Change
 of Disposition, but out of Providence, to
 prevent the Perils otherwise inevitable; con-
 sidering their absolute Submission to Foreign
 Jurisdiction at their first taking Orders, doth
 leave so conditional an Authority to Kings
 over their Subjects, as the same Power by
 which they were made, may dispense at Plea-
 sure with the strictest Bond of Loyalty and
 Love between a King and his People.

* Among which Foreign Powers, though
 We acknowledge Our self personally so much
 beholden to the now Bishop of Rome, for his
 kind Offices and private temporal Carriages to-
 wards Us, in many things, as We shall be ever
 ready to require the same towards him, (as
 Bishop of Rome, in State and Condition of a
 Secular Prince) yet when We consider and
 observe the Course and Claim of that See,
 We have no Reason to imagine, that Princes
 of Our Religion and Profession can expect
 any Assurance long to continue, unless it
 might be assented by Mediation of other
 Christian Princes, that some good Course
 might be taken (by a General Council, free
 and lawfully called) to pluck up those Roots
 of Dangers and Jealousies which arise about
 Religion, as well between Prince and Prince,
 as between them and their Subjects; and to
 make it manifest, that no State or Potentate
 either hath or can challenge Power to dispose
 of Earthly Kingdoms or Monarchies, or to
 dispense with Subjects Obedience to their Na-
 tural Sovereigns: In which charitable Action
 there is no Prince living that will be readier
 than We shall be to concur, even to the utter-
 most of Our Power, not only out of particu-
 lar Disposition to live peaceably with all States
 and Princes of Christendom, but because such
 a settled Amity might (by an Union in Reli-
 gion) be established among Christian Princes,
 as might enable Us all to resist the Common
 Enemy.

Given at Our Palace at Westminster the Two and
 twentieth Day of February, in the First Year
 of Our Reign, &c.

* This cautious Manner of King James, his mentioning the then Bishop of Rome, and the kind Offices he had re-
 ceiv'd from him, helps to set in some clearer Light that dark Affair of his Letter to the Pope, when he was but King
 of the Scots; and which his Scotch Secretary Balmerino took wisely upon himself.

It's certain King James was willing to have the Pope his Friend, in order to facilitate his Succession to the Crown
 of England; and it's as certain they had for a long time at Rome Hopes of his Conversion, which Secret Cardinal Bel-
 larmine some time after blab'd out; and thereupon put King James to the Necessity of laying the Blame on Bal-
 merino.

Bellarmino, in his Answer to a Book of King James, took the Freedom to accuse him of Inconstancy, and reproach'd
 him with a Letter of his to Pope Clement VIII. from Scotland, wherein he had recommended to his Holiness the
 Bishop of Faifon for a Cardinal's Hat; that so he might be better able to advance his Affairs in the Court of
 Rome.

Queen Elizabeth had got Notice of this Letter the very Year it was sent, and had expostulated with King
 James about it in Terms bitter enough. King James utterly deny'd it, and sent one Drummond to her, that was said
 to have carry'd it, who deny'd his Knowledge of any such Letter with the solemnest Oaths. The Matter lay asleep
 ever after, till this Book of Cardinal Bellarmine's came out; and poor Balmerino was oblig'd either to take the whole
 Blame of it upon himself, upon Hopes, or rather Assurance, of a Pardon, or else to lose his Head for High Treason,
 which the Counter-signing of that Letter amounted to by the Laws of his Country.

It was pretty comical to see King James express his Abhorrence of corresponding with the Pope, or of giving him
 the Title of Holiness, and that both at the Council Board in England, and in his Letter to the Scotch Council, when
 some Years after he made no scruple about it, on the Business of the Spanish Match. It's likewise remarkable, that
 Balmerino liv'd to his dying Day in an easy Retreat, possess'd of his whole Fortune; and had the Honour of several
 Letters from a Master it was pretended he had disobligh'd in so tender a Point

This

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603.
This did something allay the Heat and Hopes of the Jesuits, and their Correspondents; but it made way for dark, and more secret Contrivances, which afterwards they put in Practice.

A Proclamation for Uniformity
On the contrary, another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to the Law established, to reduce those to Conformity that had not received Satisfaction at the last Conference. The Bishops thought themselves unsecure, while so many Opposites (unblameable in their Conversations) by their Pens and Preaching gain'd upon the People, striking at the very Root of Hierarchy, that it was a hard Question, Whether the Jesuits, whose Principles would advance their Greatness, or these that would pluck it down, were most Odious to them? And now Proclamations are the active Agents; some go abroad to please the People, some the King. All Monopolies (like Diseases) that crept in, when the good old Queen had not Strength enough to keep them out, must be purged away; and such Protections as Licentious Liberty had granted to hinder Proceedings in Law, must be taken off: Salt-petre-men, that will dig up any Man's House by Authority, (where they are not well feed'd) must be restrain'd; and Purveyors, Cart-takers, and such insolent Officers as were Grievances to the People, must be cried down by Proclamation. A Prince that is invited, or comes newly to a Kingdom, must have his Chariot-Wheels smooth shod. And yet the Liberty of Hunting must be forbidden, the King's Game preserv'd, and a strict Proclamation threatens the Disobeyers. Indeed, take this King's Reign from the beginning to the end, and you shall find Proclamations current Coin; and the People took them for good Payment a great while, till the Multitude of them lessened their Valuation.

A Sermon against Ceremonies.
The Bishops could not be so wary, but some Courtier or other would commend a Preacher to the King, if they knew any of excellent Parts; so that some Preached before him that were averse to the Bishops ways. Among the rest, one Mr. Burges, an excellent Preacher, and a pious Man, moderately touching upon the Ceremonies, said, 'They were like the Roman Senators Glasses, which were not worth a Man's Life or Livelihood: For (saith he) this Senator invited Augustus Caesar to a Dinner; and as he was coming to the Feast, he heard a horrid Outcry, and saw some Company drawing a Man after them, that made that Noise: The Emperor demanded the Cause of that Violence; it was answer'd, Their Master had condemned this Man to the Fish-ponds for breaking a Glass, which he set a high Value and Esteem upon. Caesar commanded a stay of the Execution; and when he came to the House, he asked the Senator, Whether he had Glasses worth a Man's Life? Who answer'd, (being a great Lover of such Things) That he had Glasses he valued at the Price of a Province. Let me see them (saith Augustus), and he brought him up to a Room well furnish'd. The Emperor saw them Beautiful to the Eye, but knew withal they might be the Cause of much Mischief: Therefore he broke them all, with this Expression, Better all these perish than one Man. I will leave it (saith he) to Your Majesty to apply. But the Bishops got this and

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some other things against him by the end, and silenc'd him for venting any more such Comparisons. So that for many Years after he practis'd Physick, and grew an excellent Physician. But upon second Considerations he was admitted again to Preach, retaining both his Piety and Integrity, (tho' he writ a Book for the moderate Use of the Ceremonies) ending his Days in a good old Age, at Sutton-Cofeld in Warwickshire, after a Journey into the Palatinate, as shall be express'd in its time.

The 5th of August this Year had a new Title given to it. The King's Deliveries in the North must resound here. || Whether the Gouries attempted upon the King's Person, or the King on theirs, is variously reported. It may be, he retain'd something of his Predecessor, and great Parent, Henry the Seventh, that made Religion give way to Policy, oftentimes curling and thundering out the Church's Fulminations against his own Ministers, that they might be receiv'd with the more intimate Familiarity with his Foreign Enemies, for the better Discovery of their Designs. I will not say the Celebration of this Holiday had so much Prophaneness, for Fame may be a Slanderer. But where there is a Strength of Policy, there is often a Power of Worldly Wisdom that manages, and sways it. The King forgot not the Services there done him, or the secret Contrivances acted for him; for Erskin and Ramsey, Two of his then Deliverers, were not long after rewarded with Wealth and Honour, the one made Earl of Kellie, the other Earl of Holderness; the first Prime Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King; the second got to his Bedfellow one of the prime Beauties of the Kingdom, Daughter to Robert Earl of Suffolk; and both of them had their Master's Purse at command; yet in our time the one died poor with many Children, and the other poor and childless.

The King's first going abroad was privately to visit some of his Houses; for naturally he did not love to be looked on; and those Formalities of State, which set a Lustre upon Princes in the People's Eyes, were but so many Burthens to him; for his private Recreations at home, and his Hunting Exercises abroad, both with the least Disturbance, were his Delights. While he remain'd in the Tower, he took Pleasure in baiting Lions; but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with Swarms, that he fear'd to be baited by the People. And the Parliament now drawing on, which was summoned to be the 19th of March, the King, with the Queen and Prince, Four Days before, rode from the Tower to Whitehall; the City and Suburbs being one great Pageant, wherein he must give his Ears leave to suck in their gilded Oratory, tho' never so nauseous to the Stomach. He was not like his Predecessor, the late Queen, of famous Memory, that with a well-pleased Affection met her People's Acclamations, thinking most highly of her self when she was born upon the Wings of their humble Supplications. He endured this Day's Brunt with Patience, being assured he should never have such another, and his Triumphal riding to the Parliament that followed: But afterwards in his publick Appearances, (especially in his Sports) the Accesses of the People made him so impatient, that he often

|| It is no wonder the Author should call in Question the Truth of this Conspiracy so many Years after, since it was not believ'd in Scotland the time it was said to have happen'd: For King James having immediately thereupon issued out a Proclamation for a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, several Ministers, and some of them his own Chaplains, refus'd flarfly to observe it, and chose rather to lose their Livings, and be sent to Prison, than to mock God, (to use their own Words) in tending him Thanks for what they believ'd never was.

Q q q q q

dispa.

An. Reg. 1. dispersed them with Frowns, that we may not
An. Christi say with Curfes; so various are the Natures of
 1603. Princes, and their Actions so remarkable, that
 he may pass for a good Man, that will not pass
 for a good Prince.

The Speech he made to the Parliament, both
 Houses being met, and the first cannot be wa-
 ved, tho' it be somewhat long, and printed in
 his own Works: By the Crisis and Constitution
 of it, the Temper of his Mind may be disco-
 vered; for if ever he spake really to his Parlia-
 ment, it was then; and I shall not comment up-
 on it: For I know Princes are made of those
 frail Elements that other Men are; but this
 much I will say, He had strong Abilities in
 some things, that did dignify the Doer of them;
 and in other things such Weaknesses, as would
 have much advanced his Wisdom to have left un-
 done. But if Worldly Greatness, and Glory,
 may well make Princes more loth to leave
 them, than they that have less, we must give
 them some Allowance of Fear to lose them.
 The Speech was to this effect:

The
 King's
 Speech to
 the Par-
 liament.

'It did no sooner please God to lighten his
 Hand, and relent the Violence of his devour-
 ing Angel against the poor People of this City,
 but as soon I did resolve to call this Parliament,
 and that for Three Chief and Principal Rea-
 sons. The First whereof is, (and which of it
 self, altho' there were no more, is not only a
 sufficient, but a most full and necessary Ground
 and Reason for convening of this Assembly)
 the First Reason, I say, is, That you who are
 here present assembled to represent the Body
 of this whole Kingdom, and of all sorts of
 People within the same, may with your own
 Ears hear, and that I out of my own Mouth
 may deliver unto you, the Assurance of My
 due Thankfulness for your so joyful and gene-
 ral Applause, to the declaring and receiving
 of Me in this Seat, (which God, by My
 Birth-right, and Lineal Descent, had in the
 fulness of time provided for Me) and that im-
 mediately after it pleased God to call your late
 Sovereign, of famous Memory, full of Days,
 but fuller of immortal Trophies of Honour,
 out of this transitory Life. Not that I am able
 to express by Words, or utter by Eloquence,
 the vive Image of My own inward Thankful-
 ness, but only that out of My own Mouth,
 you may rest assured to expect that Measure
 of Thankfulness at My Hands, which is accord-
 ing to the Infiniteness of your Deserts, and
 to My Inclination, and Ability, for Requital
 of the same. Shall I ever? nay, can I ever
 be able, or rather so unable in Memory, as to
 forget your unexpected Readiness and Alacri-
 ty, your ever memorable Resolution, and your
 most wonderful Conjunction, and Harmony
 of your Hearts, in declaring and embracing
 Me as your undoubted and lawful King and
 Governour? Or shall it ever be blotted out of
 My Mind, how at My first Entry into this
 Kingdom, the People of all sorts rid and ran;
 nay, rather flew to meet Me? Their Eyes fla-
 ming nothing but Sparkles of Affection; their
 Mouths and Tongues uttering nothing but
 Sounds of Joy; their Hands, Feet, and all the
 rest of their Members, in their Gestures, dis-
 covering a passionate Longing and Earnestness
 to meet, and embrace their new Sovereign.
 Quid ergo retribuam? Shall I allow in My Self
 that which I could never bear with in another?
 No, I must plainly and freely confess here, in
 all your Audiences, that I did ever naturally
 so far mistake a Tongue too smooth, and dili-

gent, in paying their Creditors with Lip-Pay-
 ment, and Verbal Thanks, as I ever suspected that
 sort of People meant not to pay their Debtors
 in more substantial sort of Coin. And there-
 fore for expressing of My Thankfulness, I
 must resort unto the other Two Reasons of
 My convening of this Parliament, by them in
 Action to utter My Thankfulness: Both the
 said Reasons having but one Ground, which
 is the Deeds, whereby all the Days of My
 Life I am by God's Grace to express My said
 Thankfulness unto you, but divided in this,
 That in the First of these Two, Mine Actions
 of Thanks are so inseparably conjoined with
 My Person, as they are in a manner become
 individually annexed to the same. In the other
 Reason, Mine Actions are such, as I may ei-
 ther do them, or leave them undone, altho'
 by God's Grace I hope never to be weary of
 the doing them.

As to the First, it is the Blessings which
 God hath in My Person bestowed upon you
 all, wherein I protest, I do more glory at the
 same for your Weal, than for any particular
 Respect of My own Reputation, or Advance-
 ment therein.

The First then of these Blessings, which
 God hath jointly with My Person sent unto
 you, is, Outward Peace; that is, Peace abroad
 with all Foreign Neighbours: For I thank
 God, I may justly say, That never since I was
 a King, I either receiv'd Wrong of any other
 Christian Prince or State, or did Wrong to
 any: I have ever, I praise God, yet kept Peace
 and Amity with all, which hath been so far
 tied to My Person, as at my coming here,
 you are Witnesses, I found the State embarked
 in a great and tedious War; and only by Mine
 Arrival here, and by the Peace in My Person,
 is now Amity kept, where War was before,
 which is no small Blessing to a Christian Com-
 monwealth: For by Peace abroad with their
 Neighbours, the Towns flourish, the Mer-
 chants become rich, the Trade doth encrease,
 and the People of all sorts in the Land enjoy
 free Liberty to exercise themselves in their se-
 veral Vocations, without Peril or Disturbance.
 Not that I think this Outward Peace so inse-
 parably tied to My Person, as I dare assured-
 ly promise to My Self, and to you, the certain
 Continuance thereof: But thus far I can very
 well assure you, and in the Word of a King
 promise unto you, That I shall never give the
 first Occasion of the Breach thereof; neither
 shall I ever be moved for any particular, or
 private Passion of Mind, to interrupt your
 Publick Peace, except I be forced thereunto,
 either for Reparation of the Honour of the
 Kingdom, or else by Necessity for the Weal
 and Preservation of the same: In which Case,
 a secure and honourable War must be prefer-
 red before an unsecure and dishonourable
 Peace. Yet do I hope, by My Experience of
 the by-past Blessings of Peace, which God
 hath so long, ever since My Birth, bestowed
 upon Me, that He will not be weary to conti-
 nue the same, nor repent Him of His Grace to-
 wards Me; transferring that Sentence of King
 David's, upon his by-past Victories of War, to
 mine of Peace; That that God who preserv'd
 Me from the devouring Jaws of the Bear, and
 of the Lion, and deliver'd them into My
 Hand, shall now also grant Me Victory over
 that uncircumcis'd Philistine.

But altho' Outward Peace be a great Blas-
 sing, yet it is as far inferiour to Peace within,
 as Civil Wars are more cruel and unnatural
 than

^{An. Reg. 1.} than Wars abroad. And therefore the Second
^{An. Christi 1603.} great Blessing that God hath with My Person
 lent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a
 double Form: First, by My Descent lineally
 out of the Loins of *Henry* the Seventh, is re-
 united and confirmed in Me the Union of the
 Two Princely Roses of the Two Houses of
Lancaster and *York*, whereof that King, of hap-
 py Memory, was the first Uniter, as he was
 also the first Ground-layer of the other Peace.
 (The lamentable and miserable Events, by the
 civil and bloody Diffention betwixt these Two
 Houses, was so great, and so late, as it need
 not be renewed unto your Memories) which
 as it was first settled and united in Him, so it
 is now re-united and confirm'd in Me; being
 justly and lineally descended, not only of that
 happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches
 thereof in any Times before. But the Union
 of these Two Princely Houses is nothing com-
 parable to the Union of the Two ancient and
 famous Kingdoms, which is the other inward
 Peace annexed to My Person.
 And here I must crave your Patience for a
 little space, to give Me Leave to discourse
 more particularly of the Benefits that do arise
 of that Union which is made in My Blood,
 being a Matter that belongeth most properly
 to Me to speak of, as the Head, wherein that
 great Body is united. And First, If We were
 to look no higher than to Natural and Physical
 Reasons, We may easily be perswaded of the
 great Benefits that by this Union do redound
 to the whole Island: For if Twenty Thousand
 Men be a strong Army, is not the double
 thereof, Forty Thousand, a stronger Army?
 If a Baron enricheth himself with double as
 many Lands as he had before, is he not dou-
 ble the greater? Nature teacheth Us, That
 Mountains are made of Motes; and that at
 first, Kingdoms being divided, and every par-
 ticular Town, or little Country, (as Tyrants
 or Usurpers could obtain the Possession of a
 Signory apart) many of these little Kingdoms
 are now in Process of Time, by the Ordi-
 nance of God, join'd into great Monarchies,
 whereby they are become Powerful within
 themselves, to defend themselves from all Out-
 ward Invasions, and their Head and Governour
 thereby enabled to redeem them from Foreign
 Assaults, and punish private Transgressions
 within. Do We not yet remember, that this
 Kingdom was divided into Seven little King-
 doms, besides *Wales*? And is it not now the
 stronger by their Union? And hath not the
 Union of *Wales* to *England* added a greater
 Strength thereto? Which, tho' it was a great
 Principality, was nothing comparable, in
 Greatness and Power, to the ancient and fa-
 mous Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what shall
 We stick upon any Natural Appearance, when
 it is manifest, that God by his Almighty Pro-
 vidence hath pre-ordain'd it so to be? Hath
 not God first united these Two Kingdoms,
 both in Language and Religion, and Simili-
 tude of Manners? Yea, hath He not made
 Us all in one Island, compassed with one Sea,
 and of it self by Nature so indivisible, as al-
 most those that were Borderers themselves on
 the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know
 or discern their own Limits? These Two
 Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor
 great River, Mountain, nor other Strength
 of Nature, but only by little small Brooks, or
 demolished little Walls, so as rather they were
 divided in Apprehension, than in Effect; and
 now in the end and fulness of Time united,

the Right and Title of both in My Person a-
 like lineally descended of both the Crowns,
 whereby it is now become a little World with-
 in it self, being intrenched and fortified round
 about with a natural, and yet admirable strong
 Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former Fears
 of this Nation are quite cut off: The other
 part of the Island being ever before now, not
 only the Place of Landing to all Strangers
 that were to make Invasion here, but likewise
 moved by the Enemies of this State, by un-
 timely Incurfions to make inforced Diversion
 from their Conquests, for defending them-
 selves at home, and keeping sure their Back-
 door, as then it was called, which was the
 greatest Hindrance and Let My Predecessors
 of this Nation ever had, in disturbing them
 from their many famous and glorious Con-
 quests abroad: What God hath conjoin'd then,
 let no Man separate. I am the Husband, and
 all the whole Island is My lawful Wife; I am
 the Head, and it is My Body; I am the Shep-
 herd, and it is My Flock: I hope therefore no
 Man will be so unreasonable as to think, that
 I, that am a Christian King, under the Gos-
 pel, should be a Polygamist, and Husband to
 Two Wives; that I being the Head, should
 have a divided and monstrous Body; or that
 being the Shepherd of so fair a Flock, (whose
 Fold hath no Wall to fence it, but the Four
 Seas) should have My Flock parted in Two.
 But as I am assur'd, that no honest Subject, of
 whatsoever degree, within My whole Domi-
 nions, is less glad of this joyful Union, than I
 am; so may the frivolous Objection of any
 that would be hinderers of this Work (which
 God hath in My Person already established)
 be easily answer'd; which can be none, except
 such as are either blinded with Ignorance, or
 else transported with Malice, being unable to
 live in a well-govern'd Commonwealth, and
 only delighting to fish in troubled Waters:
 For if they would stand upon their Reputa-
 tion, and Privileges of any of the Kingdoms,
 I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms Mo-
 narchies from the beginning? And consequent-
 ly, could ever the Body be counted without
 the Head, which was ever unseparably join'd
 thereunto: So that as the Honour and Privi-
 leges of any of the Kingdoms could not be di-
 vided from their Sovereign; so are they now
 confounded and join'd in My Person, who
 am equal and alike kindly Head to both. When
 this Kingdom of *England* was divided into so
 many petty Kingdoms, (as I told you before)
 one of them eat up another, till they were all
 united into one. And yet, can *Wiltshire* or
Devonshire, which were of the *West-Saxons*, (al-
 tho' their Kingdom was of longest durance,
 and did by Conquest overcome divers of the
 rest of the little Kingdoms) make Claim to
 Priority of Place or Honour before *Suffex*, *Es-*
sex, or other Shires, which were Conquer'd
 by them? And have We not the like Expe-
 rience in the Kingdom of *France*, being com-
 posed of divers Dutchies, and one after ano-
 ther Conquer'd by the Sword? For even as
 little Brooks lose their Names by running and
 falling into great Rivers, and the very Name
 and Memory of great Rivers swallow'd up in
 the Ocean; so by the Conjunction of divers
 little Kingdoms into one, are all these private
 Differences and Questions swallow'd up. And
 since the Success was happy of the *Saxon* King-
 doms Conquer'd by the Spear of *Bellona*; how
 much greater Reason have We to expect a
 happy Issue of this greater Union, which is on-
 ly

An. Reg. 1. ly fasten'd and bound up by the Wedding-Ring
An. Christi 1603. of *Astrea*? And as God hath made *Scotland*
 (the one half of this Island) to enjoy My
 Birth, and the first and most imperfect half of
 My Life, and you here to enjoy the perfect
 and last half thereof; so can I not think, that
 any would be so injurious to Me, no not in
 their Thoughts and Wishes, as to cut asunder
 the one half of Me from the other. But in
 this Matter I have far enough insisted, resting
 assured, That in your Hearts and Minds you
 all applaud this My Discourse.

3. Now altho' these Blessings (before rehearsed)
 of inward and outward Peace be great; yet
 seeing that in all good things, a great part of
 their Goodness and Estimation is lost, if they
 have not Appearance of Perpetuity or long
 Continuance; so hath it pleased Almighty
 God to accompany My Person also with that
 Favour, having healthful and hopeful Issue of
 My Body (whereof some are here present)
 for Continuance and Propagation of that un-
 doubted Right which is in My Person; under
 whom I doubt not but it will please God
 to prosper and continue for many Years this
 Union, and all other Blessings of inward and
 outward Peace, which I have brought with
 Me.

4. But neither Peace outward, nor Peace in-
 ward, nor any other Blessing that can follow
 thereupon, nor Appearance of the Perpetuity
 thereof, by Propagation in Posterity, are but
 weak Pillars, and rotten Reeds to lead unto,
 if God doth not strengthen, and by the Staff
 of his Blessing make them durable; for in
 vain doth the Watchman watch the City, if
 the Lord be not the principal Defence thereof;
 in vain doth the Builder build the House, if
 God give not the Success; and in vain (as
 St. Paul saith) doth Paul plant, and Apollo water,
 if God give not the Increase: For all World-
 ly Blessings are but like swift passing Shadows,
 fading Flowers, or Chaff blown before the
 Wind, if by the Profession of true Religion,
 and Works according thereunto, God be not
 moved to maintain and settle the Thrones of
 Princes. And altho' since Mine Entry into
 this Kingdom, I have both by meeting with
 divers of the Ecclesiastical State, and likewise
 by divers Proclamations clearly declared My
 Mind in Points of Religion; yet do I not
 think it amiss in this so Solemn an Audience
 to take Occasion to discover somewhat of the
 Secrets of My Heart in that Matter: For I
 shall never (with God's Grace) be ashamed to
 make publick Profession thereof upon all Oc-
 casions, lest God should be ashamed of Me be-
 fore Men and Angels; especially lest at this
 time, Men might presume further upon the
 Misknowledge of My Meaning to trouble this
 Parliament than were convenient.

At My first coming, altho' I found but one
 Religion, and that which by My Self is profes-
 sed, publicly allowed, and by the Law main-
 tain'd; yet found I another sort of Religion,
 besides a private Sect, lurking within the
 Bowels of this Nation. The first is, the True
 Religion, which by Me is professed, and by
 Law is established: The second is, the Falsly
 called Catholicks, but truly Papiſts: The third,
 which I call a Sect rather than a Religion, is
 the Puritans and Novelists, who do not so
 far differ from us in Points of Religion, as in
 their confused Form of Policy and Parity, be-
 ing ever discontented with the present Go-
 vernment, and impatient to suffer any Supe-
 riority, which maketh their Sects insufferable

in any well-govern'd Commonwealth. But as
 for My Course towards them, I remit it to
 My Proclamations made upon that Subject.
 And now for the Papiſts, I must put a Diffe-
 rence betwixt Mine own Private Profession of
 My Salvation, and My Politick Government
 of the Realm for the Weal and Quietness
 thereof. As for My own Profession, you have
 Me your Head now among you, of the same
 Religion that the Body is of: As I am no
 Stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a
 Stranger to you in Faith, or in Matters con-
 cerning the House of God. And altho' this
 My Profession be according to My Education,
 wherein (I thank God) I suck'd the Milk of
 God's Truth, with the Milk of My Nurse;
 yet I do here protest unto you, That I would
 never (for such a Conceit of Constancy, or
 other Prejudicate Opinion) have so firmly
 kept My first Profession, if I had not found it
 agreeable to all Reason, and to the Rule of
 My Conscience. But I was never violent, nor
 unreasonable in My Profession: I acknowledge
 the *Roman* Church to be our Mother Church,
 altho' defiled with some Infirmities and Cor-
 ruptions, as the *Jews* were, before they Cru-
 cified Christ. And as I am no Enemy to the
 Life of a sick Man, because I would have his
 Body purged of ill Humours; no more am I
 an Enemy to their Church, because I would
 have them reform their Errors, not wishing
 the down-throwing of the Temple, but that
 it might be purged, and cleansed from Cor-
 ruption; otherwise how can they wish us to
 enter, if their House be not first made clean?
 But as I would be loather to dispense in the
 least Point of Mine own Conscience, for any
 Worldly Respect, than the foolishhest Precisian
 of them all; so would I be as sorry to streight-
 en the Politick Government of the Bodies and
 Minds of all My Subjects to My Private Opi-
 nions: Nay, My Mind was ever so free from
 Persecution, or Intrahling of My Subjects in
 Matters of Conscience, as I hope those of
 that Profession within this Kingdom have a
 Proof since My coming, that I was so far
 from increasing their Burthens with *Rebobsam*,
 as I have so much as either Time, Occasion,
 or Law could permit, lighten'd them. And
 even now at this time, have I been careful to
 revise and consider deeply upon the Laws
 made against them, that some Overture might
 be made to the present Parliament for clearing
 these Laws by Reason, (which is the Soul of
 the Law) in case they have been in times past
 further, or more rigorously extended by Judges,
 than the Meaning of the Law was, or might
 tend to the Hurt, as well of the innocent as of
 the guilty Persons. And as to the Persons of
 My Subjects which are of that Profession, I
 must divide them into two Ranks, Clericks
 and Laicks; For the Laicks, I ever thought
 them far more excusable than the other sort,
 because their Religion containeth such an ig-
 norant, doubtful, and implicate kind of Faith,
 grounded upon their Church, that except they
 do generally believe whatsoever their Teachers
 please to affirm, they cannot be thought guilty
 of these particular Points of Heresies and Cor-
 ruptions, which their Teachers so wilfully pro-
 fess. And again, I must subdivide the Laicks
 into two Ranks; which are, either quiet and
 well-minded Men, peaceable Subjects, who
 either being old, retain their first drunk-in
 Liquor, upon a certain Shamefacedness to be
 thought curious, or changeable: Or being
 young Men, through evil Education, have
 been

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603. been nurfed and brought up upon fuch Venom,
instead of whoifome Nutriment: And this fort
of People, I would be forry to punifh their
Bodies for the Error of their Minds, the Re-
formation whereof muft only come of God,
and the true Spirit. But the other Rank of
Laicks, who either through Curiofity, Affe-
ctation of Novelty, or Difcontentment, have
changed their Coats, only to be Factious, Stir-
rers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the Com-
monwealth; this giveth a Ground to Me (the
Magiftrate) to take better Heed to their Pro-
ceedings, and to correct their Obftinacy.

But for the Clericks, I muft directly fay and
affirm, That as long as they maintain one fpe-
cial Point of their Doctrine, and another of
their Practice, they are no way fufferable to
remain in this Kingdom. The Point of Do-
ctrine is, that arrogant and ambitious Supre-
macy of their Head, the Pope, whereby he
not only claims to be Spiritual Head of all
Chriftians, but alfo to have an Imperial Civil
Power over all Kings and Emperors, Dethron-
ing and Decrowning Princes with his Foot as
pleafeth him, and difpenfing and difpofing of
all Kingdoms and Empires at his Appetite.
The other Point which they obferve, in con-
tinual Practice, is, the Affaffinates and Mur-
thers of Kings; thinking it no Sin, but rather
a Matter of Salvation, to do all Actions of
Rebellion and Hoftility againft their Natu-
ral Sovereign Lord, if he be once curfed, his
Subjects difcharged of their Fidelity, and his
Kingdom given a Prey, by that Three-
Crown'd Monarch, or rather Monster, their
Head. And in this Point I have no occafion
to fpeak further here, faving, That I could
wifh from My Heart it would please God to
make Me one of the Members of fuch a ge-
neral Chriftian Union in Religion, as (laying
Wilfulnefs afide on both hands) we might meet
in the midft, which is the Centre, and Per-
fection of all Things. For if they would
leave, and be afhamed of fuch new and grofs
Corruptions of theirs, as themfelves cannot
maintain, nor deny to be worthy of Reforma-
tion, I would for My own part be content to
meet them in the Mid-way, fo that all Novel-
ties might be renounced on either fide. For
as My Faith is the True, Ancient, Catholick
and Apoftolick Faith, grounded upon the ex-
prefs Word of God; fo will I ever yield all
Reverence to Antiquity, in the Points of Ec-
clefiastical Polity: And by that Means fhall I
ever, with God's Grace, keep My Self from
either being an Heretick in Faith, or Schifma-
tick in Matters of Policy.

But of one thing would I have the Papifts
of this Land to be admonifhed, That they pre-
fume not fo much upon My Lenity, (becaufe
I would be loth to be thought a Perfecutor)
as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily
to increafe their Number and Strength in this
Kingdom; whereby, if not in My Time, at
leaft in the Time of My Posterity, they may
be in hope to erect their Religion again. No,
let them affure themfelves, That as I am a
Friend to their Perfons, if they be good Sub-
jects; fo I am a vowed Enemy, and do de-
nounce Mortal War to their Errors. And as
I would be forry to be driven, by their ill Be-
haviour, from the Protection and Conferva-
tion of their Bodies and Lives; fo will I ne-
ver ceafe, as far as I can, to tread down their
Errors, and wrong Opinions. For I could not
permit the Increafe and Growing of their Re-
ligion, without betraying My Self, and My

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
1603. own Confcience, and this whole Ifland, as
well the Part I am come from, as the Part I
remain in, in betraying their Liberties, and
reducing them to the former Slavifh Yoke,
which both had caft off before I came among
them; as alfo the Liberty of the Crown in
My Posterity, which I fhould leave again un-
der a new Slavery, being left free to Me by
My Predeceffors. And therefore I would wifh
all good Subjects that are deceived with this
Corruption, if they find any Beginnings in
themfelves of Knowledge, and Love to the
Truth, to fofter the fame by all lawful Means,
and to beware of quenching the Spirit that
worketh within them. And if they can find
as yet no Motion tending that way, to be ftu-
dious to read and confer with Learned Men,
and to ufe all fuch Means as may further their
Refolution; affuring them, That as long as
they are difconformable in Religion to us, they
cannot be but half My Subjects, be able to do
but half Service, and I fhall want the beft half
of them, which is their Souls.

And here I have Occafion to fpeak to you,
my Lords the Bifhops; for as you my Lord of
Durham laid very Learnedly to Day in your
Sermon, *Correption without Inftitution is but Ty-*
ranny: So ought you, and all the Clergy un-
der you, to be more careful, vigilant and dili-
gent, than you have been, to win Souls to God,
as well by your Exemplary Life, as Doctrine.
And fince you fee how careful they are, fpa-
ring neither Labour, Pains, nor extreme Peril
of their Perfons, to pervert, (the Devil is fo
bufy a Bifhop;) ye fhould be the more care-
ful, and wakeful in your Charges. Follow the
Rule prefcribed you by St. Paul, *Be careful to*
exhort and inftitute, in Season, and out of Season:
And where you have been any way fluggifh
before, now waken your felves up again with
a new Diligence, remitting the Succels to
God, who calling them either at the fecond,
third, tenth or twelfth Hour, as they are alike
welcome to Him, fo fhall they be to Me his
Lieutenant here.

The third Reason of My Convening you at
this time, which containeth fuch Actions of
My Thankfulnefs towards you, as I may ei-
ther do, or leave undone, yet fhall, with God's
Grace, ever prefs to perform all the Days of
My Life. It confifts in thefe two Points; in
making of Laws at certain Times, which is
only at fuch Times as this, in Parliament; or
in the careful Execution of the Laws at other
Times. As for the Making of them, I will
thus far faithfully promife unto you, That I
will ever prefer the Weal of the Body above
any particular or private Ends of My own,
thinking ever the Weal of the Commonwealth
to be the greateft Weal, and Worldly Felicity:
A Point wherein a lawful King doth directly
differ from a Tyrant. But at this time I am
only thus far to forewarn you in that Point,
That you beware to feek the making of too
many Laws, for two efpecial Reasons: Firft,
becaufe *In corruptiffima Republica plurimæ leges*:
And the Execution of fome good Laws is far
more profitable in a Commonwealth, than to
burthen Men's Memories with making too
many of them. And next, becaufe the ma-
king of too many Laws in one Parliament
will bring in Confufion, for want of Leifure
wifely to deliberate before you conclude:
For the Bifhop laid well to Day, That to De-
liberation a large Time would be given; but
to Execution a greater Promptnefs was requi-
red. As for the Execution of good Laws, it
hath

An. Reg. 1. hath been very wisely and honourably fore-
An. Christi seen, and ordered by My Predecessors in this
 1603. Kingdom, in planting such a number of
 Judges, and all sorts of Magistrates, in convenient Places, for Execution of the same. And therefore must I now turn to you that are Judges, and Magistrates under Me, as Mine Eyes and Ears in this Case: I can say no otherwise to you, than as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda* said to their Judges, *Remember that the Thrones you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine.* And as you must be answerable to Me, so must both you and I be answerable to God, for the due Execution of our Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter your Affections in; you must not there hate your Foe, nor love your Friend; fear the Offending of the greater Party, or pity the Misery of the Meaner; ye must be Blind, and not see Distinctions of Persons; Handleless, not to receive Bribes; but keep that just Temper and Medium in all your Proceedings, that, like a just Ballance, ye may neither sway to the Right hand, nor to the Left. Three principal Qualities are required in you, Knowledge, Courage, and Sincerity; that you may discern with Knowledge, execute with Courage, and do both in upright Sincerity. And for My part, I do Vow and Protest here in the Presence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I never shall be weary, nor omit occasion wherein I may shew My Carefulness of the Execution of good Laws: And as I wish you that are Judges, not to be weary in your Office, in doing of it; so shall I never be weary, with God's Grace, to take Account of you, which is properly My Calling.

And thus having told you the Three Causes of My Convening of this Parliament, all Three tending only to utter My Thankfulness, but in divers Forms; the first by Word, the other two by Action; I do confess, that when I have done, and performed all that in this Speech I have promised, *Inutilis servus sum.* When I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to God for the contrary. For the Difference betwixt a Rightful King, and an Usurping Tyrant, is this; That the proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are Ordained for satisfaction of his Desires and unreasonable Appetite; The righteous and just King doth by the contrary, acknowledge himself to be Ordained for procuring the Wealth and Prosperity of his People, and that his greatest and principal worldly Felicity must consist in their Prosperity: If you be Rich, I cannot be Poor; if you be Happy, I cannot but be Fortunate; and I protest, that your Welfare shall ever be My greatest Care and Contentment. And that I am a Servant, is most true; that as I am a Head and Governour of all the People in My Dominions, who are My Natural Vassals and Subjects, considering them in Numbers, and distinct Ranks: So if we will take the People as one Body and Mass, then as the Head is Ordained for the Body, and not the Body for the Head; so must a righteous King know himself to be Ordained for his People, and not his People for him: For although a King and his People be *Relata*, yet can he be no King if he want People and Subjects. But there be many People in the World that lack a Head; wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it My

principal Honour, to be the great Servant of the Commonwealth; and ever think the Prosperity thereof to be My greatest Felicity, as I have already said.

But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom (with uniform Assent and Harmony) which did so far oblige me, so is My Thankfulness due to the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impune peccatur*; even so in the Matter of virtuous and good Deeds, which are done by the willing Consent and Harmony of the whole Body, no particular Person can justly claim Thanks, as proper to him, for the same: And therefore I must here make a little Apology for My self, in that I could not satisfy the particular Humours of every Person that looked for some Advancement or Reward at My Hand, since My entry into this Kingdom. Three Kinds of Things were craved of Me, Advancement to Honour, Preference to Place of Credit about My Person, and Reward in Matters of Land or Profit. If I had bestowed Honour upon all, no Man could have been advanced to Honour; for the Degrees of Honour do consist in preferring some above their Fellows: If every Man had the like Access to My Person, then no Man could have it: And if I had bestowed Lands and Rewards upon every Man, the Fountain of My Liberality would have been so Exhausted, as I should want Means to be Liberal to any Man. Yet was I not so sparing, but I may without vaunting affirm, That I have enlarged My Favour in all the Three Degrees, towards as many and more than ever King of *England* did, in so short a space. No, I rather crave your Pardon, that I have been so Bountiful: For, if the Means of the Crown be wasted, whither should I have Recourse but to you My Subjects, and be Burthen some to you? Which I should be loth to do of any King alive. Two special Causes moved Me to be so open-handed, whereof the one was Reasonable and Honourable, but the other (I will not be ashamed to confess unto you) proceeded of My own Infirmity. That which was Just and Honourable was, That being so far beholden to the Body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuse to let some small Brooks run out of the Fountain of My Thankfulness to the whole, for refreshing of particular Persons that were Members of that Multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine own Infirmity was, The Multitude and Importunity of Suiters. But altho' Reason comes by Infusion in a manner, yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour: And therefore do I not doubt, but Experience will reach the particular Subjects of this Kingdom, not to be so importune and undiscreeet in Craving; and Me not to be so easily and lightly moved in Granting that, which may be harmful to My Estate, and consequently to the whole Kingdom.

And thus at length having declared unto you My Mind, My Conclusion shall only now be, to Excuse My Self, in case you have not found such Eloquence in My Speech, as peradventure you might have look'd for at My Hands. I might alledge the great Weight of My Affairs, and My continual Business, and Distraction, that I could never have leisure to think upon what I was to Speak: And I might also alledge, That My first Sight of this so famous and honourable an Assembly, might likewise breed some Impediment: But leaving

An. Reg. 1.
An. Christi
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leaving these Excuses, I will plainly and freely, in My manner, tell you the true Cause of it; which is, That it becometh a King, in My Opinion, to use no other Eloquence than Plainness and Sincerity. By Plainness, I mean, That his Speeches should be so clear, and void of all Ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent in sunder, in contrary Senses, like the old Oracles of the Pagan Gods: And by Sincerity, I understand, That Uprightness and Honesty which ought to be in a King's whole Speeches and Actions; that as far as a King is in Honour erected above any of his Subjects, so far should he strive in Sincerity to be above them all, and that his Tongue should be ever the true Messenger of his Heart. And this sort of Eloquence you may ever assuredly look for at My Hands.

Thus the Beams of Majesty had an Influence upon every Branch and Leaf of the Kingdom, by reflecting upon the Root, their Representative Body; every Particular expecting what Fruit this Sun-shine would produce; striving as much to Insinuate into him, as he did into the general; so that there was a reciprocal Harmony between the King and the People, because they Courted one another. But when the King's Bounty contracted it self into private Favourites, (as it did afterwards) bestowing the Affection he promised the whole People, upon one Man; when the golden Showers they gaped for dropt into some few Channels, their Passions flew higher than their Hopes. The King's Aims were, to Unite the two Kingdoms, so that the one might corroborate the other, to make good that part of his Speech (by this intermixture) wherein he divides *England* and *Scotland* into halves: But the *English* stumbled at that Partition, thinking it an unequal Division, and fearing that the *Scots* (creeping into *English* Lordships, and *English* Ladies Beds, in both which already they began to be active) might quickly make their least Half the predominant Part.

The King proclaimed King of Great Britain.
But he was Proclaim'd King of *Great Britain*: *England* must be no more a Name; the *Scottish* Coins are made current; and our Ships must have *St. George's* and *St. Andrew's* Crosses quartered together in their Flags; all outward Ensigns of Amity. But those *English* that had suck'd in none of the Sweetness of this pleasant Stream of Bounty, repined to see the *Scots* advanced from Blue Bonnets to costly Beavers, wearing instead of Wadmeal, Velvet and Satin, as divers Pasquils written in that Age Satyrically taunted at. Which is not set down here, to villify the *Scots*, (being most of them Gentlemen that had deserved well of their Master) but to shew, how cross to the publick Appetite the Honey-comb is, that another Man eats. But the King (like a wise Pilot) guided the Helm with so even an hand, that these small Gusts were not felt. It behoved him to play his Master-Prize in the beginning, which he did to the Life; for he had divers Opinions, Humours and Affections to grapple with, as well as Nations, and 'tis a very calm Sea when no Billow rises. The Romanists boggled, that he said in his Speech, They were unsufferable in the Kingdom, as long as they maintain'd the Pope to be their Spiritual Head, and he to have

Power to Dethrone Princes. The Separatists (as the King called them) were offended at that Expression, wherein he professed willingly, If the Papists would lay down King-killing, and some other gross Errors, he would be content to meet them half way. So that every one grounded his Hopes, or his Fears, upon the Shallows of his own Fancy, not knowing yet what course the King would Steer. But these Sores being tenderly dealt with, did not suddenly Fester, but were Skinn'd over. The King desirous of the Title, *Pacificus*, did not only close with his own Subjects, but heal'd up also that old Wound that had bled long in the Sides of *England* and *Spain*, both being weary of the Pain, both willing to be Cured. The King of *Spain* sent the Constable of *Castile* with a mighty Train of smooth-handed *Spaniards* to close up the Wound on this side, where (the old Enmity being well mortified) they were received with singular Respect and Civility. The King of *England* sent his High-Admiral, the Earl of *Nottingham*, with as splendid a Retinue of *English*, to close it on that: Who being Personages of Quality, accoutred with all Ornaments suitable, were the more admired by the *Spaniards* for Beauty and Excellency, by how much the † Jesuits had made Impressions in the Vulgar Opinion, That since the *English* left the *Roman* Religion, they were transform'd into strange horrid Shapes, with Heads and Tails like Beasts and Monsters. So easie it is for those Juglers, when they have once bound up the Conscience, to tie up the Understanding also.

But the Parliament highly admiring the King's Abilities, made a Recognition thereof with many Elogies, as the prime Act of their humble Submission to his Government, wherein they yield their most humble Thanks to the Divine Majesty for his Access to the Crown; and they desire from their Hearts, that as a Memorial to all Posterity, (among the Records of the High Court of Parliament for ever to endure) it may be published and declared, that they acknowledge his Right of Succession to the Crown of *England*, and the Empire thereof; and thereunto they faithfully submit, and oblige themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities for ever, until the last drop of their Bloods be spent. So high mounted was the Affection of the People to the King! And happily might have continued so, if some After-Jealousies had not intervened, that like Clouds hindred the Influence of their more intimate Correspondence.

And to satisfy the King's Desires about an Union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, the Parliament made an Act to Authorize certain Commissioners; viz. *Thomas* Lord *Ellesmere*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer of *England*; *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Bishop of *London*, *Toby* Bishop of *Durresme*, *Anthony* Bishop of *St. David's*; *Robert* Lord *Cecil*, Principal Secretary; *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, Lord President of *Wales*; *William* Lord *Monteagle*; *Ralph* Lord *Eure*; *Edmund* Lord *Sheffield*, Lord President of the Council in the North, Lords of the Higher House of Parliament.

The King and Parliament in good accord.

Commissioners for an Union.

† This Story of their Priests was so firmly impress'd upon the *Spaniards*, that at the landing of the *English* Ambassador, there was such a vast concourse of People of all sorts to see them, that the adjacent Maritime Provinces were almost depopulated, scarce any one that was able to Travel staying at home.

An. Reg. 2. And Thomas Lord Clinton, Robert Lord Buckhurst, Sir Francis Hastings Kt. Sir John Stanhope Kt. Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty; Sir John Herbert Kt. Second Secretary to his Majesty; Sir George Carew Kt. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; Sir Thomas Strickland Kt. Sir Edward Stafford Kt. Sir Henry Nevil of Berkshire Kt. Sir Richard Buckley Kt. Sir Henry Billingsley Kt. Sir Daniel Dun Kt. Dean of the Arches; Sir Edward Hobby Kt. Sir John Savile Kt. Sir Robert Wroth Kt. Sir Thomas Chaloner Kt. Sir Robert Maunsel Kt. Sir Thomas Ridgeway Kt. Sir Thomas Holcroft Kt. Sir Thomas Hesketh Kt. Attorney of the Court of Wards; Sir Francis Bacon Kt. Sir Lawrence Tanfield Kt. Serjeant at Law; Sir Henry Hubbard Kt. Serjeant at Law; John Bennet Doctor of the Laws, Sir Henry Withrington, Sir Ralph Grey, and Sir Thomas Lake Knights; Robert Askwith, Thomas James and Henry Chapman, Merchants, Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons; or any Eight of the said Lords, and Twenty of the said Commons: Which Commissioners shall have Power to Assemble, Meet, Treat, and Consult with certain Select Commissioners to be Nominated and Authorized by Authority of the Parliament of Scotland, concerning such Matters, Causes, and Things, as they in their Wisdoms shall think and deem Convenient and Necessary, for the Honour of the King, and Common Good of both Kingdoms. Yet the good Intentions of this Union took no Effect, as will follow in the Sequel of this History. But there were a great many good Laws made, which are too voluminous for this Place, having a proper Sphere of their own to move in.

Roaring-Boys.

Thus the King fate triumphing, as it were, upon a Throne of his Peoples Affections; and his Beginnings had some Settlement; for being loth to be troubled, he sought Peace every where. But our inbred Distempers lay upon the Lee, intermixt with other gross Dregs, that the Prince's Lenity, and the Peoples Luxury produc'd: For the King minding his Sports, many Riotous Demeanours crept into the Kingdom, the Sun-shine of Peace being apt for such a Production, upon the Slime of the late War. The Sword and Buckler Trade being now out of date, one Corruption producing another (the City of London being always a fit Receptacle for such, whose Prodigiousities and Wastes made them Instruments of Debaucheries) divers Sects of Vicious Persons, going under the Title of Roaring Boys, Bravadoes, Roflers, &c. commit many Insolencies; the Streets swarm Night and Day with bloody Quarrels; private Duels fomented, especially betwixt the English and Scots; many Discontents nourished in the Countries betwixt the Gentry and Commonalty, about Inclosure (the Meanest gaping after new Hopes) growing in some Places to a petty Rebellion. Daily Discords (incident to Peace and Plenty) betwixt Families, Papist against Protestant, one Friend against another; the Papists being a strong and dangerous Faction, missing their Hopes, strove to make the Scots more Odious than they could make themselves, though some of them went so high as to Counterfeit the King's Privy Seal, and make Addresses thereby to Foreign Princes, for which one Thomas Dowglas, taken in the Fact, was executed at Smithfield. Others were so Insolent, as to quip and jeer the English Nobility; and other Misdemeanours, which caused secret Heart-burnings and Jealousies betwixt the Nations. But then comes a Proclamation, like a strong Pill, and carries away the grossest of these Humours.

Something yet stuck, especially in the Consciences of the Popish Party, that could not be purged away without a Toleration, which they Petition for; but not being granted, they contriv'd one of the most Horrid and Stupendious Mischiefs that ever enter'd into the Hearts of Men: For their Heat of Malice would not be quenched with the Blood Royal, but the Nobility and Gentry, the Representative Body of the whole Kingdom, united at Westminster, must be shatter'd in pieces, and dismember'd, by the Blast of Six and Thirty Barrels of Gun-powder, which those dark Contrivers had hid in a Cellar under the Parliament House, being discover'd by a Light from Heaven, and a Letter from one of the Conspirators, when the Fire was already in their Hands, as well as Rage in their Hearts, to put to the Train.

The Principal of these Contrivers, was Robert Catesby, a Gentleman of a good plentiful Estate, who first Hatch'd and Brooded the Plot, and promised to himself the Glory of an Eternal Name by the Propagation of it; making choice of Thomas Percy, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Sir Everard Digby, and others, Gentlemen of good Estates (for the most part) and Spirits as Implacable and Furious as his own; who, like Combustible Matter, took Fire at the first Motion, their Zeal to the Roman Cause burning within them, which nothing but the Blood of Innocents can quench. The Design thus set afoot, they bind themselves to Secrecy, by those Sacraments which are the greatest Ties upon the Soul; and Saint Garnet the Jesuit was their Confessor. The Foundation being laid, every Man betakes himself to his Work, some to provide Money, some Materials. Percy was to hire the Cellars under the Parliament House, to lay Wood and Coal in for his Winter Provision: Guido Faux, a desperate Ruffian (who was to give fire to the Train) was appointed to be his Man to bring in the Wood and Coal. The Gunpowder provided in Flanders, is brought from Lambergh in the Night, and covertly laid under the Wood. Thus they prepare all things ready for a Burnt-Offering against the Day the Parliament should meet, which was to be upon the Seventh of February. But the King, for some Reasons of State, (which at that time the Dictates of Providence did much approve of) Prorogu'd the Parliament to the Fifth of November following, which scatter'd the Contrivers at present, and they were at their Wits end; and some of them went beyond Seas, because they would not bear too much about the Covert, their Materials being fitted; others that staid here persisted with Patience (made a Vice by them) and met often to consult how they should Manage their great Business, if it took effect. They look'd upon the King and Prince, as already Sacrificed to their Cruelty: And Percy undertook to dispatch the Duke of York. But because they must have one of the Blood Royal, that must serve as a Center to adhere to, to keep all from Confusion, they meant to preserve the Lady Elizabeth, and make her Queen, that, under her Minority and Innocency, they might the better establish their bloody Principles of Piety and Policy. They had design'd the Fatal Day to be upon the Fifth of November, when the King and both Houses were to meet, and that Day they appointed a great Hunting-match at Dunsmore-Heath in Warwickshire, to be near the Lord Harington's House, where the Lady Elizabeth was. And they had, by their horrid Art and Experience, so fitted their Mat-ches

An. Reg. 2.

An. Christi

1604.

The Gunpowder-Treason.

Principal Actors.

1604.

An. Reg. 3. ches, that were to convey the Fire to the Powder, that they could know a hundred Miles off, to a Minute, when that Monstrous Fiery Exhalation would break out.

An. Christi
1605.

Solacing themselves in this bloody Expectation, and thinking their Conveyances under Ground were not seen above by the Divine Discoverer, they stood like Vultures gaping for their Prey; when, Behold! one Tender-hearted Murderer among the Pack, willing to save the Lord Monteagle, writ this Letter to him.

A Letter
to my Ld.
Monteagle.

MY Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your Preservation; therefore I would wish you (as you tender your Life) to forbear your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurr'd to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement; for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm: for the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you. ||

Here is the Protection of the Holy God desir'd, a strange Expression in so unholy an Action, which is like their Zeal that made their Children pass through Fire to Moloch; what horrid Madness kindles such Sacrifices? The Lord Monteagle astonished at the Letter (though he understood it not) thinking there might be something in it of dangerous Concernment, communicated the Contents of it to the Earl of Salisbury, and some others of the King's Council. Salisbury could not find out the Riddle; he concluded him either a Fool or a Madman that wrote it, by this Expression, *The Danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt*: If the Danger be past when the Letter is burnt, what needeth any warning? But he did not reach the Meaning; for the Writer's desire was to have the Letter burned, and then the Danger would be past, both to the Writer and Receiver, if he had Grace to make use of the Warning. The King was hunting the Fearful Hare at Royston, while they laid this Snare for him at Westminster. As soon as he came to Whitehall, the Earl of Salisbury being of his intimate Councils, and Principal Secretary, shew'd him the Letter. The King considering it Circumspectly (as Cicero said of the Sibyl's Works, *Id majus est attentis animi quam furentis*) said, *This is no Madman's Writing*. There is a great Blow to be given; they shall not see it that feel it; which is some secret Mischief. Many times Fear is a Profitable and an Active Servant, if it do not Domineer and grow Masterly. He was so sensible of a Stroke, that he felt it (as it were) coming: Therefore the Day before

the Parliament should begin, he commanded the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain to make a strict Search about the Parliament House; who, accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, entred the Cellar under the House, which he found stuffed with Billet, Faggot, and Coal; and asking Whinyard of the Wardrobe (who was House-keeper) what Provisions they were? he said, He had let the Cellar to Mr. Thomas Percy, (who was one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King) and close by in a corner of the Cellar stood Faux, in a Gastly Condition (being a Raw-bon'd tall Man) who being question'd, said, He was Percy's Servant. The Lord Chamberlain, that would make no Noise and Bustle at that time, left both the Engine and Engineer as he found them, taking no further notice, but apprehended Just Cause to have the Cellars further search'd; the Lord Monteagle assuring himself, it was Percy that writ the Letter to him as soon as he heard him Nam'd, for there were little Intimacies betwixt them. The King with his Council advising what to do, resolv'd of a further Search that Night, committing the Trust to Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, a Man of approv'd Fidelity; who, with a Retinue suitable to such an Enterprize, coming to the Cellar about Midnight, he met the watchful Minister of Impiety, Faux, at the Door, on whom he presently seiz'd; and making further Search, pulled out the Core of all that horrid Contrivance. Faux, his Under-ground Works being digged out, and seeing all unkenel'd, confess'd the Intention, and was only sorry it came not to Perfection, saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil only discover'd it*. In his Pockets they found a Watch (which were not common then) and a Tinder-box, the Engines to minute out his Time to strike the Stroke; so punctual was he in his Wickedness! This tough Piece, upon Examination by the Lords of the Council, could have little drawn from him, only he said again, *He was sorry it was not done*. But the Conspirators reveal'd themselves; for finding all Discover'd, they pack to Dunsmore to the Hunting-meeting, breaking open some Stables in London, and taking out divers Horses of Noblemens, that were put into Riders Hands to manage, thinking to make a great Party: But the High Sheriffs of Warwickshire and Worcestershire hunted these Firebrand Foxes so, that they were forced (most of them) to Earth themselves at Littleton's House at Halbach, and there Percy and Catesby desperately falling out, were both slain, so were John Wright and Christopher Wright: Thomas Winter, Francis Tresham; and the rest, were taken; Tresham died of the Strangury in the Tower; Thomas Winter, Guido Faux, Robert Keys, Thomas Bates, Robert Winter, late of Hoodington in Worcestershire, Esq; John Grant of Northbrook in the County of Warwick, Esq; Ambrose Rookwood, late of

An. Reg. 3.

An. Christi
1605.

Traytors
excuted.

|| Who it was that wrote this Letter to the Lord Monteagle was never known, or how it came that King James suspected its Meaning to be what it really was, is in a great part a Mystery to this Day. Yet I cannot give my self leave to doubt, but King James had some light given him from Henry IV. of the Designs of the Papists against him; for in the Duke of Sully's Memoires, there is more than once mention made of some sudden Blow they intended in England about that time: And in one Letter, King James is desir'd to take warning from the Fate of Henry III. I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion, that in the Harangue pronounc'd at Rome in praise of Ravillac the Assassin of Henry IV. which has since been so often quoted by several Authors, both Papist and Protestant, as an Argument that the Jesuits approv'd the Murder: It is there said, *That Henry IV. was not only an inveterate Enemy to the Catholick Religion in his Heart, but had obstructed the glorious Enterprizes of those that would have restor'd it in England, and occasion'd them to be Crown'd with Martyrdom*. Now it's well known, Garnet and the rest that were Executed for the Gun-Powder-Plot, were reputed Martyrs for the Catholick Cause by the College of Jesuits at Rome, where that Harangue was pronounc'd.

An. Reg. 3. Staningfield in the County of Suffolk, Esq; and Sir Everard Digby of Gotherst in Buckinghamshire, Knight, were executed according to their Demerit.

An. Christi
1605.

This prodigious Contrivance did not only stupifie the whole Kingdom with Amazement, but Foreign Princes made their Wonderment also. And though, for the Propagation of the Catholick Cause, they might have Conscience enough to wish it had taken Effect, yet they had Policy enough to Congratulate the Discovery; and some of them, to take off the Asperity of the Suspect, sweetned their Expressions with many rich Gifts and Presents to the King and Queen. But this bloody Design, found in the Hand of the Malefactors, grasping the Mischief, and confirm'd by their own Confessions, (being such Spirits as were fit *Boute-feus* for so desperate an Enterprize) was, notwithstanding, father'd upon the Puritans (as *Nero* did the Burning of *Rome* upon the Christians) by some Impudent and Cunning Jesuits, whose Practice is to deceive, if not quite to clear their Party, yet, by stirring this muddy Water, to make that which is in it to appear the less Perspicuous; and it is like the rest of their Figments, fit Baits for Ignorance to nibble on: Which some Years after I had Opportunity at *Bruges* in *Flanders* to make *Weston*, an old Jesuit, active in the Powder-plot, ingenuously to confess.

The Parliament meet the 9th of November.

This preceded the second Sessions of the first Parliament, Prorogu'd till the Fifth of November, and upon the Ninth they met; where, with Hearts full of Fears and Jealousies, they ripped up the Ground of the Machination, for discovery of the Complotters; and laid such a Foundation of good Laws against Papists, as might serve for a Bulwark in the time to come. The King was not unmindful of the Lord *Monteagle*, the First Discoverer of this Treason, for he gave to him and his Heirs for ever, Two hundred Pounds a Year in Fee-farm Rents; and Five hundred Pounds a Year besides, during his Life, as a Reward for this good Service.

Rumours of the King's Death.

In the midst of the Parliament's Activity, a Rumour was spread (by what strange Means unknown) that the King was stabb'd at *Okingsham* (Twenty Miles from *London*, where he was Hunting) with a Poyson'd Knife. The Court at *Whitehall*, the Parliament and City, took the Alarm, mustering up their old Fears, every Man standing at Gaze, as if some new Prodigy had seized them; such a Terror had this late Monstrous intended Mischief imprinted in the Spirits of the People, that they took Fire from every little Train of Rumour, and were ready to grapple with their own Destruction before it came. In the midst of this Agony, there came Assurance of the King's safety, which he was enforced to divulge by Proclamation, to re-establish the People. The Spanish Ambassador gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Master of the Ceremonies, a Chain of Gold of good Value, for bringing him the News of the King's Safety, which presently resounded in the Court; and it was thought, he was so Bountiful, either out of Terror, being afraid of the People in this Confusion, because it was Rumour'd, that the King of *Spain* was a Fomenter of the Plot; or out of a Desire to Vindicate his Master's Honour, and take the Odium from him; for he had been solicited by divers Jesuits, together with these Conspirators, to invade *England*. The Principal of which Jesuits, call'd *Henry Garnet* (Provincial of the Order in *England*) was Arraign'd at *Guildhall* the Twentieth of March 1605. and Executed at the West-end of *St. Paul's* soonafter.

An. Reg. 4. Henry Lord Mordant, and Edward Lord Sturton, not coming to the Parliament according to their Writ of Summons, were suspected to have knowledge of the Conspiracy; and so was the Earl of *Northumberland* from some Presumptions, and all Three were committed to the Tower. The two Barons (after some Imprisonment) were redeem'd by Fine in the *Star-Chamber*, but the Earl continued a Prisoner there for many Years after.

An. Christi
1606.

In July this Year, the King of *Denmark* (Brother to the Queen) came in Person as a Visitor, where he found their Shakings somewhat settled, their Terrors abated, and met with not only all those Varieties, that Riches, Power and Plenty are capable to produce for Satisfaction, where Will and Affection are the Dispensers; but he beheld with Admiration the Stately Theatre, whereon the Danes for many Hundred of Years had acted their Bloody Parts: But how he repented their *Exit*, or the last Act of that black Tragedy, wherein his Country lost their Interest, some Divine Power, that searches the Capacious Hearts of Princes can only discover. This short Month of his stay, carried with it as pleasing a Countenance on every side, and of their Recreations and Pastimes, flew as high a Flight, as Love mounted upon the Wings of Art and Fancy, the suitable Nature of the Season, or Time's swift Foot could possibly arrive at. The Court, City, and some Parts of the Country, with Banquetings, Masks, Dancings, Tilting, Barriers, and other Gallantry (besides the Manly Sports of Wrestling, and the Brutish Sports of baiting wild Beasts) swelled to such a Greatness, as if there were an Intention in every particular Man, this Way to have blown up himself.

The King of Denmark's first coming.

The Seven and twentieth of May last, the Parliament was Prorogu'd to the Eighteenth of November following; but before they parted (having Hearts full of Affection for God's great Deliverance of the whole Kingdom from Ruine and Destruction) they made an Act to have the Fifth of November for ever Solemnized with publick Thanksgiving: Imputing the Discovery of the Treason to God, inspiring the King with a Divine Spirit to Interpret some dark Phrases of the Letter, above and beyond all ordinary Construction. They attained the Blood of those Traytors that were Executed; as also, those that were slain in the Field, or died in the Prison. They made many good Laws for the Discovering and Suppressing of Popish Recusants: And gave the King Three entire Subsidies, and Six Fifteens. Besides, Four Subsidies of Four Shillings in the Pound granted by the Clergy. But they put off the Treaty of Union, by an Act that referr'd it to be done as well any other Session of Parliament, so willing they were to keep close to the King's Affections, and not to start from him. But the next Session (the King being loth to be longer delay'd) the Business of the Union was much pressed again, by some that knew the King's Mind; among whom, Sir *Francis Bacon* (now the King's Solicitor) was a principal Instrument, who came prepar'd for it, and first mov'd the House of Commons, that the *Scots* might be Naturaliz'd by Act of Parliament; which was opposed by divers strong and modest Arguments. Among which, they brought in the Comparison of *Abraham* and *Lot*, whose Families joining, they grew to Difference, and to those Words, *Vade tu ad dextram, & ego ad sinistram*.

The Fifth of November made Holy-day.

Arguments about a Union.

An. Reg. 4.
An. Christi
1606.

It was answer'd, That Speech brought the Captivity of the One, they having disjoin'd their Strength. The Party opposing said, If we admit them into our Liberties, we shall be over-run with them, as Cattle (naturally) pent up by a slight Hedge, will over it into a better Soil; and a Tree taken from a barren Place, will thrive to excessive and exuberant Branches in a Better; witness the Multiplicity of the Scots in Polonia.

To which it was answer'd, That if they had not Means, Place, Custom and Employment, (not like Beasts but Men) they would starve in a plentiful Soil, though they came into it; and what Spring-tide and Confluence of that Nation have Housed and Familied themselves among us these Four Years of the King's Reign? And they will never live so meanly here as they do in Polonia; for they had rather discover their Poverty Abroad than at Home. Besides, there is a Question, whether England be fully Peopled? Witness the Drown'd Grounds and Common Wafts; the Ruines and Decays of ancient Towns in this Realm; Witness how many serve in the Parliament for desolate Boroughs; Witness our Wafts by Sea, as well as by Land; suffering the Flemings to carry all our Fishing; the Sinews of our Industry being slackned, we want active Spirits to Corroborate them by their Example: Besides the Planting Ireland, fully abounding with Rivers, Havens, Woods, Quarries, Good Soil, and Temperate Climate. No surcharge of People have been prejudicial to Countries; the worst will be an Honourable War, to Recover our ancient Rights, or Revenge our Injuries, or to attain to the Honour of our Ancestors. We should not forget the Consideration of Amplitude and Greatness, and fall at variance about Profit and Reckonings, fitter for private Persons than Kingdoms.

The other side objected, That the Fundamental Laws of both Kingdoms are divers; and it is declar'd, they shall so continue; and therefore it would not be reasonable to proceed to this Naturalization, whereby to endow them with our Rights, except they should receive and submit to our Laws.

It was answered, That in the Administration of the World under God, the great Monarch, his Laws are divers; one Law in Spirits, another in Bodies; one Law in Regions Celestial, another in Elementary; and yet the Creatures are all one Mass or Lump. That in the State of the Church, among People of several Languages and Lineages, there is a Communion of Saints, and we are all Fellow-Citizens, and Naturalizants of the Heavenly Jerusalem, and yet divers Ecclesiastical Laws, Policies, and Hierarchies; for the Laws are rather *Figura Reipublicæ*, than *Forma*; rather Bonds of Perfection, than Entireness. That in Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man, our Common Laws are not in force, and yet they have the Benefit of Naturalization.

To which it was reply'd, That these are only Flourishes of Rhetorick; for God (who is the only Disposer of all his Creatures) keeps them in Order and Obedience to Him, by a Law which they cannot deviate from, unless he withdraws his preserving Hand from them: But betwixt Man and Man, or Realm and Realm, there can be no such Tie or Obligation to hold an Unity, where they have various Laws and various Privileges. And for the Immunities given to the Irish (for some Ages past) they were English Colonies sent there to Plant, being a great Part of them Natives with us, of the same

Blood and Stock, with whom we are ingrafted by Time, and made (as it were) one Body, the better to secure their Obedience, and hinder any League or Amity with a Foreign Nation. But Scotland hath an entire Union with the French, continu'd for some Hundreds of Years, that is indissoluble, and therefore incompetent yet to the Freedoms of England. When we have had as much Experience of the Friendship of Scotland, as of them, we shall incline to a more intimate Union. Besides, there is an Inequality in the Fortunes of the Two Nations; and by this Commixture, there may ensue Advantage to them, and Loss to us.

To the latter part was answer'd, *Beatius est dare quam accipere*: And Edward the First, among other Commendations of War and Policy, none was more celebrated than his Purpose and Enterprize for the Conquest of Scotland; as not bending his Designs to glorious Acquests Abroad, but solid Strength at Home; which, if it had succeeded, could not but have brought in those Inconveniencies of the Commixture of a more opulent Kingdom with a less; for it is not the Yoke, either of Laws or Arms, that can alter the Nature of the Climate, or the Nature of the Soil; neither is it the Manner of the Commixture, that can alter the Nature of the Commixture; and therefore if it were good for us then, it is good for us now; and not to be priz'd the less, because we paid not so dear for it.

They strive further to prove, That the Benefit of Naturalization is, by Law, to as many as have been, or shall be born, since the King's coming to the Crown; for there is no more than to bring the *Ante-Nati* unto the Degree of *Post-Nati*, that Men grown may be in no worse Case than Children, and Elder Brothers in no worse Condition than Younger Brothers. That if any object the Law is not so, but that the *Post-Nati* are Aliens as the rest, it is contrary to the Reason of Law. The Wisdom of the Common Laws of England is admirable, in distribution of the Benefit and Protection of the Law, according to the several Conditions of Persons. The Degrees are Four, Two of Aliens, and Two of Subjects: The First Degree is an Alien born under a King or State that is an Enemy; if such an one come into the Kingdom without safe Conduct, it is at his Peril; the Law giveth him no Protection, neither of Body, Lands, nor Goods; so as if he be slain, there is no remedy by any Appeal at the Party's Suit, though she were an English Woman; though at the King's Suit the Case may be otherwise, in regard of the Offence to the Peace and Crown. The Second Degree is of an Alien that is born under Faith and Allegiance of a King or State that is a Friend; unto such a Person the Law doth impart a greater Benefit and Protection concerning things Personal, Transitory and Moveable, as Goods and Chattels, Contracts, and the like, but not concerning Free-hold, and Inheritance; and the Reason is, because he may be an Enemy, though he be not; for the State where he was born, may enter into Hostility; and therefore as the Law hath but a Transitory Assurance of him, so it Rewards him with Transitory Benefits. The Third Degree is of a Subject, who having been an Alien, is made Free by Charter and Denization. To such a one the Law doth impart yet a more ample Benefit; for it gives him a Power to purchase Freehold and Inheritance to his own Use, and likewise enables his Children (born after his Denization) to Inherit:

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An. Reg. 4. But yet he cannot make Title, or convey any Pedigree from any Ancestor Paramount; for the Law thinks not good to make him in the same Degree with a Subject born, because he was once an Alien, and so might have been an Enemy; and Affections cannot be so settled by any Benefit, as when from their Nativity they are inbred, and inherent. The Fourth Degree, and the perfect Degree, is of such a Person, as neither is Enemy, nor can be Enemy in time to come, nor would have been Enemy at any time past; and therefore the Law gives unto him the full Benefit of Naturalization. Now if these be the true Steps and Paces of the Law, no Man can deny, but whosoever is born under the King's Obedience, never could, *in aliquo puncto temporis*, be an Enemy; and therefore in Reason of Law is Naturalized. So tho' the Scots seem to be in Reason *Naturales ipso jure*, yet it is not superfluous to have it done by Parliament; for it will shew the World our Love to them, and good Agreement with them.

Then they shewed by Authority of History and Experience, the Inconveniencies that may grow, if this Union of Naturalization doth not close, and bind up the Veins, so as to make it one perfect Body; for else it may be apt to open, and break out again upon all Occasions, and relapse to the Detriment of both; ripping up ancient Stories of the Romans and Latins, and the Wars they had, meerly for want of this Union, and never were at Quiet till they enjoy'd it. Then between the Peloponnesians and the Spartans the like. And from ancient Stories to the Kingdom of Arragon and Castile, united in the Persons of Ferdinando and Isabella, severed and divided from the rest of Spain in Privileges, and directly in this Point of Naturalization, or Capacity of Inheritance. But what came of this? A Rebellion grew among them, which a Royal Army with Difficulty suppressed, and (they being made one incorporated Body with the rest of Spain) perpetuated Peace to Posterity.

The like Example was betwixt Florence and Pisa. And whatsoever Kingdoms and States have been United, and that Union corroborated by the Bonds of Naturalization, you shall never observe them afterward, upon any Occasion, to break or sever again: Whereof divers Provinces in France, by time annex'd to that Crown, are further Witnesses. So that except they proceed to this Naturalization, these Realms will be in continual Danger to divide and break again.

Next, they shew the Benefits to be Security and Greatness. Surety, by stopping up the Postern-Gates of our Enemies; so that we shall not be so much a Temptation to the Ambition of Foreigners, when their Approaches and Avenues are taken away: For having so little Success when they had these Advantages, they will have less Comfort when they want them. And Greatness by this Union must needs follow: For having so many Iron-handed Men in these Three Kingdoms, we shall not only pluck Gold from the (once poor) Spaniards Indian Mines, but by our Arms keep in Awe the whole Christian World.

These Arguments, press'd with gilded Oratory by the Solicitor and his Partakers, could not prevail, tho' urged with all the Power Wit could invent, or Hope aim at: For being new budded in Court, he was one of those that smooth'd his way to a full Ripeness, by liquorish and pleasing Passages, which he at last attain'd to, being made Lord Chancellor of England. But such Sweets, tho' delightful at pre-

sent, breed Rottenness in the end; for he wither'd, and came to nothing, as in due time shall be express'd.

But the King (like a great Sea) being troubled when such cross Winds are boisterous, sent for both Houses of Parliament to Whitehall the last of March, 1607. to calm them; where, betwixt a Sun-shine of fair Words, and a Cloud of Anger, he colours over some of the Arguments that had been used, and urges others for his best Advantage, with a plain natural Bluntness fit for Kings. He tells them, the Union he desires, is of Laws and Persons, such a Naturalizing as may make one Body of both Kingdoms; that as there is but *Unus Rex*, so there may be but *Unus Grex*, & *Una Lex*. His Intention is not, as some idly alledge, to give England the Labour and Sweat, and Scotland the Fruit and Sweet, vainly talking of transplanting Trees out of barren Ground into better, and lean Cattle out of a bad Pasture into more fertile Soil. Can any Man displant them unless they will? Or is Scotland so strong, to pull them out of their Houses? Whereas the waste Grounds in Scotland would rather be planted by Swarms of People that cumber the Streets here.

First, He desires that all Hostile Laws should cease, being the King of England cannot make War with the King of Scotland.

Secondly, That there should be Community of Commerce, he being no Stranger, but descended of their ancient Kings: And how can he be Natural Liege Lord to both, and they Strangers to one another? And shall they that be under the same Allegiance be no freer, nor have no better Respect, than Frenchmen and Spaniards?

Thirdly, They all agree they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to be Natural. That he was informed by their own Judges and Lawyers, at his first Access to the Crown, that there was a difference between the *Ante* and *Post-nati* of each Kingdom; which caused him to publish a Proclamation, That the *Post-nati* were Naturaliz'd by his Accession; but he confesses, Judges may err; so may the Lawyers on their side: Therefore he admonishes them to beware to Disgrace either his Proclamations or the Judges, for so they may disgrace both their King and Laws; who have Power, when the Parliament is ended, to try them both for Lands and Lives.

And for some of them, who with their flattering Speeches would have the *Ante-nati* prefer'd, alledging their Merits in My Service, such Discourses have *mel in ore*, & *fel in corde*; carrying an outward Appearance of Love to the Union, but a contrary Resolution in their Hearts. For the King would have them know, it lies within the Compass of his Prerogative to prefer whom he pleases to any Dignity, Civil or Ecclesiastical. But he is so far from prejudicing the English, that he is willing to bind himself to reasonable Restrictions. Besides, it is a special Point of the King's Prerogative, to make Aliens, Citizens; and in any Case wherein the Law is thought not to be clear, *Rex est Judex*; for he is *Lex loquens*, supplying the Law where it wants. But this he speaks, as knowing what belongs to a King, not intending to press it further than may agree with their Loves, and stand with the Conveniency of both Nations.

The Inconveniencies supposed to arise from Scotland, are pretended to be,

1. An evil Affection in the Scots to the Union.
2. That the Union is incompatible.
3. That the Gain is small, or none.

If

An. Reg. 5. If this be so, why is there Talk of an Union? For the First, they alledge the Averfeness of the Scots from the Preface and Body of their Act; where they declare, they will remain an absolute and free Monarchy, and not alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. And yet in the beginning of this Session of Parliament, the Opinion was current, that Scotland was greedy of this Union, and pursu'd it with so much Violence, that they car'd not for the Strictness of the Conditions, so they might attain the Substance, and End. And yet they now say, they are backwards, which is a Contradiction; for how can they both beg and deny the same thing at one, and the same time? And by preserving their Fundamental Laws, they mean, those Laws by which Confusion is avoided, and their King's Succession and Monarchy maintain'd. To which he declares, That he is in Descent Three hundred Years before Christ, not meaning (as they do) their Common Law; for the Scots have no Law but that which is *Jus Regis*. And for their Desire of continuing a free Monarchy, he hopes they mean not he should set Garisons over them, as the Spaniards do over Sicily and Naples.

And then he tells them, That he governs Scotland with his Pen: He writes, and doth more by a Clerk of the Council, than others could do by the Sword. And tho' he knows there are many Seditious Persons in that Kingdom, that may talk lewdly enough, yet none of them ever spake dishonourably of England, as they have done of Scotland: For if any Man speaks any thing uncomely there, the Chancellor by his Authority interrupts him; but here they have Freedom to speak what they list, and, as long as they list, without Contradiction. Then the King shews what the Laws of Scotland are.

First, Those which concern Tenures, Wards, Liveries, Signiories, and Lands, are drawn out of the Chancery of England, brought by James the First, (who was bred up here) and differ only in Terms.

The Second are Statute Laws, to which he hopes they will be no Strangers.

The Third is the Civil Law, brought out of France by James the Fifth, and serve only to supply in such Cases where the Municipal Laws are defective: So that he hopes it is no hard Matter to unite the People together, who are in effect already subject to the same Law. And whereas it is objected, That the King of Scotland hath not a Negative Voice in Parliament, but must pass the Laws agreed on by the Lords and Commons; he assures them, That the Form of Parliament there is nothing enclin'd to Popularity: For about Twenty Days before the Parliament begins, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdom, That all Bills to be exhibited that Session, be delivered to the Master of the Rolls by a certain Day: Then they are brought to the King, perused and consider'd by him; and only such as he allows are put into the Chancellor's Hand to be propounded that Parliament, and no other. And if any Man speak of any other Matter than is in this Form first allowed by him, the Chancellor tells him, That there is no such Bill allowed by the King: And when they are pass'd for Laws, he ratifies and confirms them, first racing out what he doth not approve of. And if this be to be call'd a Negative Voice in Parliament, then he hath one.

2. For the Union betwixt the French and the Scots, which makes this Union so incompatible, he assures them, it was a League only made be-

tween the Kings, not the People: For Scotland being solicited by England and France at one time, for a League Offensive and Defensive, against each others Enemies, there was a great Disputation maintain'd in favour of England, that they being our Neighbours, joyned in one Continent a strong and powerful Nation, it would be more security to the State of Scotland to joyn in Amity with England, than with France divided by the Sea, where they must abide the hazard of Wind and Weather, and other Accidents that might hinder Relief.

But on the contrary, it was alledged in the Favour of France, That England ever sought to Conquer Scotland, and therefore there would never be kept any sound Amity: Whereas France, lying more remote, claim'd no Interest, and therefore would be found a more constant and faithful Friend; so it was concluded on their Part. But by the Tenour it was order'd to be renew'd, and confirm'd from King to King successively, by the Mediation of their Ambassadors, and therefore meerly Personal. And so it was renew'd in the Queen his Mother's time, but not by Assent in Parliament; which it could not have wanted, if it had been a League of the People: And in the King's time, when it came to be ratified, because it appear'd to be in *Odium Tertii*, it was by him left unrenow'd, in Consideration of his Title to the Crown.

For the Profit and Commodity that shall arise to England by this Union; who is so ignorant that doth not know the Gain will be great? Do they not gain by the Union of Wales? And is not Scotland greater than Wales? Shall not Lands, Seas, and Person, be added to their Greatness? Two Snow-balls put together grow greater; two Houses join'd make one the larger; and two Castle-Walls made into one, makes one as thick and strong as both. And he professes, he seeks this Union only to advance the Greatness of their Empire here in England; yet with such Caution, as may stand with the Weal of both States. What is now desir'd, hath oft been sought, and not obtain'd; to refuse it then now, were double Iniquity: And for their Security in such reasonable Points of Restriction which he shall agree to, they need not doubt his Inclination: For he will never say any thing he will not promise, nor promise any thing which he will not swear, nor swear any thing which he will not perform.

This urg'd with Affelevation, might have wrought much with the Parliament; but that they apprehended a great Inconvenience in such an Union, where the Laws and Government are of different Natures. All were not Romans that were born Subjects to the Roman Empire; tho' St. Paul was born one, the Centurion was a Purchaser. For notwithstanding all the former Arguments by the King, and his Ministers, the Parliament knew that it is true, That if Scotland had been Conquer'd, the only way to tie them to Obedience, were to let them tast the Sweets of English Liberties. But to let them sit Triumphant upon their own Privileges, and roam about among the English Freedoms, were to make them straggle too much. The Scots would not lessen, nor in the least derogate from the Dignity of their long continued Monarchy; and the English thought they had no Reason to come to them to derogate from themselves. The Parliament only fear'd, the King's Power would have such an Influence upon the Judges of the Kingdom, that the Scots would be Naturaliz'd too soon, they were resolv'd not to be accessary to it; which indeed some two Years

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An. Reg. 6. Years after was confirm'd in *Calvin's Case* of *Post-nati*, reported by the Lord Chief Justice Cook, who was fit Metal for any Stamp Royal, and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and most of the Judges of the Kingdom, in the *Exchequer* Chamber, though many strong and valid Arguments were brought against it; such Power is in the Breath of Kings, and such soft Stuff are Judges made of, that they can vary their Precedents, and model them into as many Shapes as they please. And thus this Case stood like a Statue cloath'd by the Lord chief Justice, in the vulgar Language, (when the rest of his Reports spoke an unknown Tongue,) that the Kingdom might take more particular Notice, that the Scots were as free in *England* as themselves; yet it fell not out to their Wishes. But all that could be gotten from the Parliament, was, That the Laws of Hostility that were anciently made betwixt *England* and *Scotland* were repeal'd, that the old Grudges which caused the Dis-union (the War in the Members) might be taken away. And in the said Act they provided, *That if a natural born Subject of England did commit any Misdemeanour in Scotland, and flee into England, he should be tried where he was taken, and not carried into Scotland to receive his Judgment there; till such Time (which are the very Words of the Act) as both Kingdoms shall be made one in Laws and Government, which is the Thing so much desired, as that wherein the full Perfection of the blessed Union (already begun in the King's Royal Person) consisteth.* And further they went not: For they found and fear'd the old Enmity would yet a while continue; for since the King's coming into *England*, the loose and uncomposed Borderers, that liv'd upon Rapine and Spoil, (seeking new Benefits from new Changes) had broke out and committed many Insolencies; who, though they were suppressed by the Forces of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, and many of them suffer'd in it, yet Custom and Habit had bred in them a Natural Ferity; which could only be restrain'd by giving Freedom to the Laws, that within a short time gave bound to that barbarous Animosity. The Laws made in *Scotland* to the Prejudice of the *English*, were likewise repeal'd there; so that all Passages were made smooth on both sides. This Session also produc'd divers good Laws for the Benefit of the Common-wealth.

But this Session brought in no Money, that is as the Blood of the Subject, which he (as a wise Physician) would not strain from them the ordinary way, lest the Sense of it should bring the more Fears and Faintings with it; but by laying on little Burthens at first, he not only inured them to bear greater, but made them sweat out some of that Humour insensibly, though they felt it afterward, when they found the Weight laid upon their Shoulders, only (as they conceiv'd) to daub other Mens with Bravery. For the King's Bounty was seen by the vulgar Eye to overflow in many little Rivulets, who knew the golden Streams that out-faced the Sun, came not from the North's cold Climate, but were drain'd out of the Fountains of their Labour. They could not endure to see their Fellow Subjects grow fat, by what should be their Nourishment. Collecting that the King had receiv'd Three hundred and fifteen thousand Pounds Subsidies due to the late Queen, besides what the Parliament had given him. And fearing that Proclamations (who were indeed very active Ministers) would now become Laws, ushering in

the King's Will with large Strides upon the Peoples Liberties, who lay down while they slept over them. The more ingenuous Sort, sensible of this incroaching Monarchy, brake out into private Murmur, which by degrees (being of a light Nature) carried a Cloud with it; by which the wise Pilots of the State, foreseeing a Storm gathering, strive to dissipate the next Session of Parliament, which was held the 19th of *February*, in the Seventh Year of our King's Reign.

Not long after this, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord High Treasurer, died suddenly, as he sat at the Council Table; which gave Occasion to some Persons disaffected to him, (as what eminent Officer that hath the Management of Monies can please all?) to speak many Things to his Dishonour. But they considered not, that, besides the black Worm and the white, (Day and Night, as the Riddle is) that are gnawing constantly at the Root of this Tree of Life, there are many insensible Diseases, as Apoplexies, whose Vapours suddenly extinguish the Animal Spirits; and Apostems, both in the upper and middle Region of Man, that often drown and suffocate both Animal and Vital; who are like imbodied Twins, the one cannot live without the other: If the Animal Spirits fail, the Vital cannot subsist; if the Vitals perish, the Animal give over their Operations. And he that judges ill of such an Act of Providence, may have the same Hand, at the same time, writing within the Palace Walls of his own Body, the same Period to his Life's Earthly Empire.

The Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him; a Man nourished with the Milk of Policy, under his Father the Lord *Burley*, (famous for Wisdom in his Generation) a Courtier from his Infancy, battel'd by Art and Industry under the late Queen, Mother of her Country. Though Nature was not propitious to his Outside, (being crook'd Back'd) she supplied that Want with admirable Endowments within. This Man the King found Secretary, and Master of the Wards; and to these he added the Treasurer's Staff, knowing him to be the Staff of his Treasury: For he had Knowledge enough to pry into other Mens Offices as well as his own, and knew the Ways of disbursing the King's Moneys. The Earl of *Northampton* he made Lord Privy Seal; and these were the two prime Wheels of his Triumphant Chariot. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord Chamberlain before; but he came far behind in the Management of the King's Affairs, being a Spirit of a more grosser Temper, fitter to part a Fray, and compose the Differences of a disordered Court, than a Kingdom. Upon the Shoulders of the two first, the King laid the Burthen of his Business: For though he had many Lords his Creatures, some by Creation, and some by Insinuation, (for Kings will never want supple-hand Courtiers) and the Bishops, being his Dependents, the most of them tending by direct Lines towards him, as the Center of their Advancement; so that he (like the Supreme Power) mov'd this upper Region, for the most part, and that had an Influence upon the lower, the inferiour Orbs: Yet these two Noblemen were the two great Lights that were to discover the King's Mind to the Parliament, and by whose Heat and Vigour the blessed Fruits of Peace and Plenty should be produc'd.

The Lord Treasurer (by a Command from the King) instructs both Houses in their Business, and what they shall do well to insist upon King.

An. Reg. 7. upon this Session. First, to supply his Majesty's Wants. Secondly, to ease the People of their Grievances. They go commonly yoked together: For the Peoples Grievances are the King's Wants, and the King's Wants are the Peoples Grievances; How can they be separated? If the King will always want, the People will always suffer: For Kings, when they do want, lay commonly lawless Impositions on the People, which they must take off again with a Sum of Money, and then they want again to a continued Vicissitude.

These two Propositions are sweeten'd by him with a third; which is, to make the Parliament Witnesses of those great Favours and Honours that his Majesty intended his Royal Son, Prince Henry, in creating him Prince of Wales: Which though the King might do without a Parliament, and that divers Kings his Predecessors had done so, (as by many Precedents was manifested) yet being desirous to have a happy Union betwixt him and his People, he would have nothing resound ill in their Ears from so eminent an Instrument to the Kingdom's Good as his Son. Then they excuse the King's Necessities, proceeding from his great Disbursements: For the Three hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Subsidies, due in the late Queen's time, he receiv'd with one Hand, and paid her Debts with another, redeeming the Crown Lands which she had mortgag'd to the City. He kept an Army of Nineteen thousand Men in Ireland for some time afoot; wherein a great many of the Nobility were Commanders, and other deserving Soldiers that would have been expos'd to Want and Penury, if not supplied: And it was not safe for the King to trust the inveterate Malice of a new reconciled Enemy, without the Sword in his Hand. || The late Queen's Funeral Charges were reckon'd up, which they hoped the Parliament would not repine at: Nor was it fit the King should come in as a private Person, bringing in one Crown on his Head, and finding another here; or his Royal Consort, with our future Hopes (like so many precious Jewels) expos'd to Robbers, without a Guard and Retinue? How fit was the Magnificence at the King of Denmark's being here? And how just that Ambassadors from Foreign Princes (more than ever this Crown received) should find those Entertainments and Gratuities, the want whereof would put a dim Lustre abroad on the most sparkling Jewels of the Crown; Besides, the necessary Charge of sending Ambassadors to others, being concurrent and mutual Civilities among Princes.

That these are the Causes of the King's Wants, and not his irregular Bounty, though a Magnificent Mind is inseparable from the Majesty of a King. If he did not give, his Subjects and Servants would live in a Miserable Climate; and for his Bounty to those that were not born among us, it must be remember'd he was born among them; and not to have them taste of the Blessing he hath attain'd, were to have him change his Virtue with his Fortune. Therefore they desire the King's Wants may be supplied; a Thing easie to be granted, and not to be valued by Wise Men, nor spoken of without Contempt. Philosophy saith, that all Riches are but Food and Raiment, the rest is *Nugato-*

rium quiddam: And that it is but *Parior pars terre*, *An. Reg. 7.* and therefore but *Crassior pars aquæ*, a thing unworthy the Denial to such a King who is not only the Wisest of Kings, but the very Image of an Angel, that hath brought good Tidings, and settled us in the Fruition of all good Things. He whose depth of Knowledge, as well as Conscience, deserves the Title of *Fidei Defensor*; whose Numerous Issue makes Foreign Princes study to keep their own, not look abroad. He that hath shut the Back-door of the Kingdom, and placed Two Lions, a Red and a Yellow to secure it; who would have us live under our own Olive, that we may *Laetari & benefacere*. That none will wonder at the Want, or startle at the Supply, but such as study to serve their own Turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the Stories of their own Ignorance. Among which those are to be reckon'd, who (hearing of an Order to bind up the Printed Proclamations in a Book, that the better Notice may be taken of the things contain'd in them) have rais'd a Bruit, that it was intended this Parliament to make Proclamations equal to the Laws, which never entred into the King's Heart; who is so far from governing by Will and Power, that he will yield to any Motion from them, wherein they shall hold a just Diameter and Proportion among themselves, and observe those Duties due to a Great and Gracious King.

Thus these Lords did please themselves and the King, by striving to keep the People in the milky way of Obedience, which they had long suck'd in, and found the Sweet of it tending to Nourishment, not yet meeting any Callous or Brawny Constitution, (which must harden them by Degrees) nor yet finding their own Tempers grown Robust enough, by so harsh a Diet as afterwards they met with. They therefore are willing to go on in the Way pointed out to them, as Pupils follow their Masters, minding rather the Smoothness of the Tract they saw, than the Roughness of the End. Yet some of them, whose Hopes were not so high Mounted, and their Spirits more, spoke plainly, *That the whole Wealth of England would not serve the King's vast Bounty*; therefore it was a vain thing to give him that would give it away again: That Gold and Silver in *Edinburgh* now in our *Solomon's* time are like the Stones in the Streets, never so much glittering there, like a perpetual Spring-time. Besides they look upon the King's Encroachments upon the Publick Liberty, by undermining the Laws, taking notice of some Expressions that fell from him publickly at his Dinner, in derogation of the Common-Law, extolling highly the Civil Law before it; and approving a Book lately written by Dr. *Cowell*, a Civilian, against it: Which nettled our great Lawyers, that had not some of them been rais'd so high, that they could not with that Court gag look downwards, it had bred a Contest.

The High Commission also began now to swell into a Grievance, which the Parliament complain'd of. Seldom is Authority and Power exercised with Moderation: Every Man must conform to the Episcopal way, and quit his hold in Opinion or Safety. That Court was

The High Commission a Grievance.

|| Queen Elizabeth's Funeral was nothing extraordinary, and could hardly swell up any great Article of his Debris. King James was so very glad to have it over, that as he went not into Close Mourning before her Interrment, so he gave positive Orders the Court-Mourning should be left off in less than Two Months after it.

An. Reg. 7. the Touch-stone, to try whether Men were Metal for their Stamp; and if they were not soft enough to take such Impressions as were put upon them, they were made Malleable there, or else they could not pass current. This was the beginning of that Mischief, which, when it came to a full Ripeness, made such a bloody Tincture in both Kingdoms, as never will be got out of the Bishops Lawn-sleeves. And though these Apples of Strife thrown in the Way did a little retard the Course in Hand, yet they carried not the Prize: For the King, according to his old wont, (like a cunning Hunter) when they began to run counter, call'd them off, and at *Whitehall* by one of his Lectures he strives to bring them into the Way again; by laying himself open as in a Glass, wherein, if they could not see his Heart, they might scent out his Meaning, and so follow the Chace which was to be pursued.

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Speech
to both
Houses.

He tells them, Though the King's Heart be in the Hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before the Eyes of the People; assuring them, That he never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law of the Land; though it be disputed among them, as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and govern by the absolute Power of a King. He knew, he said, the Power of Kings, resembling it to the Power Divine: For as God can create and destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure, so Kings can give Life and Death, judge All, and be judged of None. They can exalt low Things, and abase high Things, making the Subjects like Men at Chess, a Pawn to take a Bishop or a Knight. (But he left out the Power of a Pawn to take a Queen, or check a King.) And when he had raised the King's Power to the Height, with *Vos dii estis*, he brings them down again, with, *They shall die like Men*: And that all Kings, who are not Tyrants or Perjur'd, will bound themselves within the Limits of their Laws, and they that persuade them the contrary, are Vipers and Pests both against them and the Commonwealth. Yet as it is Blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his Power. And as he will not have his Subjects discourse of what he may, so he will do nothing but what shall be consonant to Law and Reason. Then he strives to mitigate the Sharpness of the Words drop'd from him at his Table to the Disparagement of the Common Law; and assures them, Though he likes the Civil Law very well, as being *Lex Gentium*, which maintains intercourse with Foreign Nations, and is fitted to the Ecclesiastical Courts, Court of Admiralty, and Courts of Request; yet he is so far from disavowing the Common Law, that he protests, If he were to chuse a new Law for this Kingdom, he would prefer it before any other National Law, yea, the Law of *Moses*, nay, without Blasphemy, the very Law of *God*. Then he recalls himself, and tells them, That though for this Nation he had prefer'd the Common Law to the Law of *God*, yet it is Inferiour to the Judicial Law: For no Book or Law is free from Corruption, but the Book and Law of *God*.

And therefore he could wish that Three things specially were purged out of the Common Law.

First, That it were written in the Vulgar Tongue, and made plain to the Peoples Understanding, that they might know what to obey, that the Lawyers in the Law, like the Romish Priests in the Gospel, might not keep the People in Ignorance.

An. Reg. 7. Secondly, That the Common Law might have a settled Text in all Cases, for being grounded upon old Customs, Reports, and Cases of former Judges, called *Responsa prudentum*, which are not binding (for divers times Judges disclaim them, and recede from the Judgment of their Predecessors) it were good upon mature deliberation, that the Exposition of the Law were set down by Act of Parliament, that the People might know what to depend upon.

Thirdly, There is in the Common Laws divers contrary Reports and Precedents, and divers Statutes and Acts of Parliament, that do cross one another, being so pen'd, that they may be taken in divers Senses; therefore he could wish, they might be review'd, and reconcil'd. And whereas he is thought an Enemy to Prohibitions, he saith, He is not ignorant of the Necessity of them, if every Stream might run in its own Chancel; but the Overflowing and Super-abundance of them in every Court, striving to bring more grist to their Mill, was a Distemper fit to be Cured; therefore he did not disallow the Use, but the Abuse.

Then he closes with the House of Commons, and not only thanks them for the Bonfire they made of certain Papers which were presented Grievances from some discontented Murmuring Spirits; but he instructs them how to receive Grievances hereafter: In which, he would have them careful to avoid Three things.

The First, That they meddle not with the main Points of Government, that is his Craft, *Tractent fabrilis fabri*. To meddle with that were to lessen him, who hath been Thirty Years at the Trade in *Scotland*, and served an Apprentiship of Seven Years here; therefore here needs no *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*.

Secondly, He would not have such ancient Rights as he hath received from his Predecessors accounted Grievances; that were to judge him unworthy to enjoy what they left him.

And Lastly, That they should be careful not to present that for a Grievance, which is established by a Law; for it is very undutiful in Subjects, to press their King wherein they are sure to be deny'd. Complaints may be made unto them of the High Commissioners, let the Abuse appear then, and spare not, there may be Errors among them; but to take away the Commission, is to derogate from him; and it is now in his Thoughts to rectifie it in a good Proportion.

Then he shews the emergent Cause of his great Expences, since his coming to the Crown, which makes him desire a Supply from them, confirming what the Lords formerly deliver'd; wherein he said, When they open'd his Necessities unto them, his Purse only Labour'd, now his Desires are taken notice of both at Home and Abroad, his Reputation Labours as well as his Purse; for the World will think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that both lessen'd their Hearts, and tied up their Hands towards him.

Thus the King expressed himself to the Parliament, desiring their Assistance, assuring them, He had no Intention to alter the Government, though he wish'd the Laws might be rectified. But his King-craft (as he calls it) fail'd in striking at the Common Law; and he was convinced in it, how dangerous it was to give too much knowledge to the People: The Two great Hammers of the State, the Churchman and Lawyer, that work the People to Obedience upon the Two Anvils of Conscience and Policy,

An Reg. 7. Policy, beat him to the Understanding of it; so that ever after he join'd with them, and that Three-fold Cord was not easily dissolv'd. But the times not being ripe yet to produce any thing but the Fruits of Obedience, they after this Lesson settled themselves to make divers good Laws, which they purchased at the rate of a Subsidy and a Fifteen.

An Christi 1609. About this time, the Suburbs betwixt London and Westminster had many ruinous Piles of Building, which Age had worn out, and Industry and Riches (the two great Supporters of this Momentary Eternity) did strive to renew. Among the rest, the Lord Treasurer erected out of the Rubbish of the old Stables of Durham-house, a goodly Fabrick, to be Rival to the Old Exchange, which the King by his Presence dignified with the Name of Britain's Burse. But he took notice of the swelling Buildings upon the new Foundations, which he look'd upon as a Rickery Constitution in the Head of the Kingdom, being Inviters of a Flux of Humours and Diseases to be near the Court; besides, he fear'd the Plague would come too near Whitehall, if that Distemper encreased. † And therefore he carefully, with mature deliberation of his Council, forbids all New Buildings to be set up, for the future, within Two Miles of the City; and by Proclamation strictly commands, if any be, they shall be pulled down, tho' not taken notice of till Seven Years after. Whereby many Men (that did not so well heed the Proclamation) laid out their whole Estates upon little Hovels, and building fair Houses upon New Foundations (though it were but two Yards from the Old) they became Trepassers, and must either purchase their Houses again at a dear rate, or pull them down, both ways tending to their Ruine. Thus falling under the Stroke of the Time's rough Hand, without a Providential Care of the Danger that would follow: For what was

so strictly forbidden then, was permitted after; and those Reasons that caused the restraint then (the increase of the Plague) were found upon better Experience to be a Remedy; for there was more Room and better Air to prevent it, among thin and single Families, than full-crowded Houses. And this Severity had a Second Consideration, which was, to prevent the greatness of the Body of the Kingdom from swelling to be all Head, when the Head it self wanted so much increase of Building, as to plump, and make those thin Parts appear more round and beautiful, which was then a Disgrace, but is now an Ornament to both Cities. So that what the Wisdom of one time doth decree, the Experience of another may advance: Such is the World's career! And they are only Miserable, whose imprudence, or ill luck, puts them in the way to be over-run by it.

An Reg. 7. *An Christi 1609.* This Year 1609. begot a Truce betwixt The Siege the King of Spain, and the Low-Countries; yet of Julius. by the Death of the Duke of Cleve, the War was like to revive again: For while two petty Princes, Brandenburg and Newburgh, strove for the Inheritance, Spain, like the Vulture in the Fable, attempted to catch it from both, seizing upon Juliers, one of the chief Strengths of the Country; which the States of the Netherlands, by the help of our King, and Henry IV. of France, besieged, and recover'd again. Sir Edward Cecil, Brother to the Earl of Salisbury, commanded Four thousand English at that Siege, whose Conduct gave Life to his Soldiers Valour, and that advanced the Glory of his Conduct. But where such fiery Spirits are congregated into a Body, there will be often violent and thundring Eruptions. Sir Hatton Cheek was next Commander to Sir Edward Cecil, a Man of a gallant and daring Courage in the difficultest Enterprises; who speaking to Sir Thomas Dutton (one of the Captains under his

† The Author, though he reasons well enough upon the Conveniencies and Inconveniencies of these new raised Buildings, omits the Illegality of the Proclamation that prohibited them; and has so much good Nature as to conceal the true Reason of this Proclamation, which, in the Opinion of most other Writers, was to bring in Money to some Favourites.

* * Why the Author has pass'd over so slightly this Treaty between Spain and the States of Holland, is the more strange, That it was the first Scene in which King James appear'd abroad, either as a Party or Mediator, since his Accession to the Crown of England; and was of such consequence, that all Europe was kept in suspense for several Years about the Event of it.

Indeed King James's Part in that Treaty was as mean as that of Henry IV. of France; the other Mediator was Glorious. And his Conduct towards the States for whom he pretended to Mediate, and towards France with whom he join'd the Mediation, was quite different from the Methods and Maxims observ'd by his Predecessor Queen Elizabeth.

There were employ'd in that Treaty two Ambassadors, Mediators from each of these two Crowns, one Extraordinary, and another Ordinary. All along, during the Course of it, the English Ambassadors gave not only the hand to the French, but in both the Treaty it self, and in the Guarantee of it, the Ordinary Ambassador of France is nam'd before the Extraordinary Ambassador of England.

But this was not all; for notwithstanding this low Condescension of King James, and though he was mediating a Treaty, wherein the States of Holland were to be acknowledg'd Free and Independent; yet at the same time, his Ambassador in Turkey gave it out industriously, and would have had it believ'd there, that the States were Feudatory and Depending of England.

This Story of the English Ambassadors at the Port was thought of such consequence in France, that President Jeannin, their Ambassador Extraordinary at that Treaty, was commanded to demand of the States an Authentick Declaration to the contrary, in order to be Transmitted to Constantinople.

It's true, Jeannin wrote back to the French Ministers, That he thought such a Declaration was needless; and that it would be sufficient to send to Constantinople a Copy of the Treaty between Spain and the States, wherein the King of England enter'd as Guarantee, and in which the States are own'd and acknowledg'd by all Parties Independent Sovereigns. But withall, (adds Jeannin) If these Reasons should not be thought sufficient, he would demand the Declaration they desir'd, which he question'd not easily to obtain.

What opinion the French Ministers had of King James in that Treaty, appears frequently in the same Jeannin's Printed Negotiations, and in several of his Letters to King Henry: In which he tells him again and again, That King James was never hearty in the Treaty, but had all along condemn'd the Hollanders for throwing off the Sovereignty of Spain upon the Account of its bad Example. In Answer to one of which Letters, King Henry owns his knowledge of King James's ill Intentions towards the States; and withall tells Jeannin, His Carriage did not break his Sleep; ending his Letter with this word of Contempt, rarely us'd among Princes of that Rank, *Je sçay sa parole & les Inclinations de son Peuple: I know his Capacity and the Inclinations of his Subjects.*

That the States themselves had no better Opinion of him, appears in a Printed Letter of the two French Ambassadors to King Henry: Therein they acquaint him with a private Conference between Barnevell, the First Minister of the States, and Jeannin; at which the former told him as a Secret, That his Countrymen were sensible King James bore no good Will to them; Hated them and their Cause in his Heart, and inclin'd more to the Spaniard; But that they were oblig'd to dissemble with him, and accept of his Mediation, for fear he should join with the Spaniard against them.

An. Reg. 8. Command) somewhat hastily, *Dutton* disdain-
An. Christi to be snapt up, (being a Man of a crabbed
 1610. Temper) returned as hot an Answer, which
 broke into a Flame: But *Dutton* quenched it,
 by telling Sir *Hatton Cheek*, He knew he was his
 Officer, which tied him in the Army to a strict Obe-
 dience; but he would break that Bond, and vindicate
 himself in another Place: And instantly quitting
 his Command, he went for England.

A Duel Some small time after the taking of *Juliars*,
betwixt *Cheek* fell sick; and his Distemper was the great-
Sir Hatton er, because he had heard *Dutton* strove to de-
Cheek, and fame him, both in Court and City; for being
Sir Thomas full with Passion, he vented it with Freedom e-
Dutton. nough in every place. *Cheek* being recover'd,
 and Heart-whole, would not give time to his
 decay'd Limbs to suck in their old Vigour, but
 sends to *Dutton* that threaten'd him, to give an
 Account of the large Expence of his Tongue
 against him. *Dutton*, that waited for such a
 Reckoning, willingly accepted the Summons:
Cheek took *Pigot*, one of his Captains, to be his
 Second; *Dutton* took Captain *Gosnald*, both Men
 of well-spread Fame; and they Four met on
Calais Sands: On which dreadful Stage, at first
 meeting, *Dutton* began to expostulate his Inju-
 ries, as if a Tongue-Combat might decide the
 Controversy; but *Cheek* would dispute it other-
 wise. Then their Seconds searching, and strip-
 ping them to their Shirts in a cold Morning,
 they ran with that Fury on each other's Sword,
 as if they did not mean to kill each other, but
 strive who should first die. Their Weapons
 were Rapier and Dagger, a fit Banquet for
 Death. At the first Course, *Cheek* ran *Dutton*
 into the Neck with his Rapier, and stab'd him
 in the Neck backward with his Dagger, mira-
 culously missing his Windpipe: And at the same
 instant, like one Motion, *Dutton* ran *Cheek*
 through the Body, and stab'd him into the
 Back with his left Hand, locking themselves to-
 gether thus with four bloody Keys, which the
 Seconds fairly open'd, and would fain have clo-
 sed up the bleeding Difference; but *Cheek's*
 Wounds were deadly, which he finding, grew
 the violenter against his Enemy; and *Dutton*
 seeing him begin to stagger, went back from
 his Fury, only defending himself, till the other's
 Rage, weaken'd with Loss of Blood, without
 any more Hurt, fell at his Feet. *Dutton*, with
 much Difficulty, recover'd his dangerous Wounds,
 but *Cheek* by his Servants had a sad Funeral;
 which is the bitter Fruit of fiery Passions.

Henry the The next Year was fatal to *Henry* the Great of
fourth of France, who (in the height of his Glory, when
France he had imp'd his Wings with a mighty Army,
stab'd by and a Mass of Treasure, and none knew which
Navaline. way his towering Spirit would fly) was stop't by
 a horrid Hand, that with a poyson'd Knife cut
 out his Passage to another World: Such poor
 and penetrable Things are Kings, as well as
 other Men! And when in this World's Sea they
 have toil'd their Spirits, in a continued Tempest
 of fond Hopes, and built upon the Sand their
 vast Desires, either old Age doth wash them
 quite away, or else some sudden Storm makes
 them cast Anchor upon the Shores of Death,
 and there's an end. But one Act of Providence
 is very remarkable towards him, as a Fore-runner
 of this ensuing Mischief. When he came first
 to the Crown, (which he (as it were) snatch'd
 out of the Fire, the whole Kingdom being in a
 Flame) he was a professed Protegee, so born,
 and so bred up; but finding him in a totter-
 ing Condition among his Popish Subjects, for
 his better Security, he did something comply
 with them in Ecclesiastical Affairs, which gave

great Scandal to the Reformed; yet did not
 much advance him in the good Opinion of
 their Opposites: For the Jesuits, unconfident of
 him, (inclining more to the hot Zeal of Spain)
 one of their Instruments stab'd him into the
 Mouth with a Knife, without much Hurt:
 Which done, an Intimate of his, that came to
 visit him, told him plainly, That the Hand of
 God was much seen in this Action; for he had
 now denied the Truths of God, and the Reli-
 gion he suck'd in with his Milk, but from the
 Teeth outward; and therefore this Punishment
 came to him as a Warning: But let him take
 Heed of denying it with his Heart; for if he
 did, (it is to be fear'd) God would strike him
 there also: Both which were too much mani-
 fested. So suitable often are God's Judgments to
 our Sins!

The Venom of this Blow reach'd presently
 into England, and came somewhat near to our
 King's Heart; therefore he took the best way
 to prevent his Fears, by striving to prevent his
 Dangers, having no other End but his own:
 For when he consider'd the Horridness of the
 Powder-Plot, and by it the irreconcilable Ma-
 lice of that Party, he thought it the safest Po-
 licy, not to stir those Ashes where so much Fire
 was cover'd; which gave way to a Flux of that
 Jesuitical Humour to infest the Body of the
 Kingdom.

But now being startled with this poyson'd
 Knife, he ventures upon a Proclamation, strict-
 ly commanding all Jesuits and Priests out of the
 Kingdom, and all Recusants to their own
 Houses, not to come within Ten Miles of the
 Court; and secures all the rest of his Subjects
 to him, by an universal taking of the Oath of
 Allegiance; which the Parliament, both Lords
 and Commons, (then sitting) began, and the
 rest of the People follow'd, to the King's great
 Contentment.

For the last Session the Parliament was pro-
 rogued till the Sixteenth of October this Year;
 and meeting now, they were willing to secure
 their Allegiance to the King out of Piety;
 yet they were so stout, (even in those Youth-
 ful Days, which he term'd Obstinacy) that
 they would not obey him in his Encroachments
 upon the Publick Liberty, which he began then
 to practise: For being now season'd with Seven
 Years Knowledge in his Profession here, he
 thought he might set up for himself, and not be
 still Journeyman to the lavish Tongue of Men,
 that pry'd too narrowly into the Secrets of his
 Prerogative, which are Mysteries too high for
 them, being *Arcana Imperii*, fitter to be admir'd
 than question'd: But the Parliament were ap-
 prehensive enough, that those hidden Mysteries
 made many dark Steps into the People's Lib-
 erties; and they were willing, by the Light of
 Law and Reason, to discover what was the
 King's, what theirs: Which the King un-
 willing to have search'd into, (after Five Ses-
 sions in Six Years time) dissolved the Parlia-
 ment by Proclamation.

Prince *Henry*, the prime Branch of this Royal
 Cedar, now growing Manly, (being in the Six-
 teenth Year of his Age) put forth himself in
 a more Heroick manner than was usual with
 Princes of his Time, by Tiltings, Barriers,
 and other Exercises on Horseback, the Mar-
 tial Discipline of gentle Peace, which caught
 the Peoples Eyes, and made their Tongues the
 Messengers of their Hearts, in daily extolling
 his hopeful and gallant Towardness to Admi-
 ration. And now the King thought him full of
 Ripeness for the Honour of Knighthood, (which
 ad-

An. Reg. 8.
An. Christi
 1610.

A Procla-
mation a-
gainst Je-
suits.

Prince
Henry cre-
ated
Prince of
Wales.

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admitted of a willing Contribution from the People; and such old Customs as bring in Money are never out of Date) and (to add the more Splendour to his sparkling Youth) created him Prince of Wales, (as he formerly intimated to the Parliament) with all the Pomp and Solemnity that a great King could express to a hopeful Son, his First-born; or the Merit of a Prince (that floated in the Peoples Affections) could possibly attain to: For as yet the King could discover nothing in him but that harmless and wanton Innocency that commonly accompanies Youth, being of a light Nature, and soon blown away. But how far the King's Fears (like thick Clouds) might afterwards blind the Eye of his Reason, when he saw him (as he thought) too high mounted in the Peoples Love, and of an alluring Spirit, to decline his Paternal Affection to him, and bring him to the low Condition he fell in, may be the Subject of my Fears, not of my Pen. With this Ingrandizing Title the King added a great Revenue, establishing also a full and splendid Retinue and Family to attend his Person at St. James's, now appointed to be the Prince's Court, where this new Star, plac'd in the Third House, might be fear'd to culminate, and become Lord of the Ascendant: His Palace being as gloriously attended with young and sprightly Blossoms, as the King's was with older, and more sage Plants. And now the King deliberates for a Wife for him, and sends to Sir Charles Cornwallis, his Lieger Ambassador in Spain, to treat with that King for his eldest Daughter. But after some Traverfes, it was found there was more Time lost than Ground gotten: For Princes in Treaties lie at the Snap, and the most backward often gets the better of it. But the King being not so hot then for this, as he was after for the other Son, with another Sister (the eldest being matched into France) made a quicker and a more honourable Retreat.

Bancroft
Archbishop of
Canterbury
dies.
About this time Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, died; a Person severe enough, whose Roughness gain'd little upon those that deserted the Ceremonies. || One Work of his shew'd his Spirit better than the ruggedest Pen can depaint it: For it was he that first brought the King to begin a new College by Chelsea, wherein the choice and ablest Scholars of the Kingdom, and the most pregnant Wits in Matters of Controversies, were to be associated under a Provost, with a fair and ample Allowance, not exceeding Three thousand Pounds a Year, whose Design was to answer all Popish Books, or others, that vented their malignant Spirits against the Protestant Religion, either the Heresies of the Papists, or the Errors of those that strook at Hierarchy; so that they should be two-edg'd Fellows, that would make old cutting and flashing; and this he forwarded with all Industry during his time; and there is yet a formal Act of Parliament in being for the establishment of it: But after his Death the King wisely considered, that nothing begets more

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Contention than Opposition, and such Fuellers would be apt to inflame, rather than quench the Heat that would arise from those Embers: For Controversies are often (or for the most part) the Exuberancies of Passion; and the Philosopher saith, Men are drunk with Disputes, and in that Inordinateness take the next thing that comes to hand to throw at one anothers Faces; so that the Design fell to the Ground with him; and there is only so much Building standing by the Thames-side, as to shew, that what he intended to Plant, he meant should be well Watered; and yet it wither'd in the Bud. I can lay nothing to the Charge of this great Mar, but from common Fame; yet this I may truly say, That for his Predecessor Whigfi, and his Successor Abbot, I never heard nor read any thing tending to their Disparagement: But on him, some unhappy Wit vented this Pasquin;

Here lies his Grace in cold Earth clad,
Who died with Want of what he had.

The Queen was Mistress of Somerset-House, (as well as the Prince was Master of St. James's) and she would fain have given it the Name of Denmark-House, which Name continued her time among her People; but it was afterwards left out of the common Calendar, like the dead Emperor's new-nam'd Month. She was not without some Grandees to attend her for outward Glory; the Court being a continued Mask in karado, where she and her Ladies, like so many Sea-Nymphs, or Nereides, appear'd often in various Dresses, to the Ravishment of the Beholders: The King himself not being a little delighted with such fluent Elegancies, as made the Nights more Glorious than the Day. But the Latitude that these high-flying Fancies, and more speaking Actions, gave to the lower World to judge and censure, even the greatest with Reproaches, shall not provoke Me so much as to stain the innocent Paper. I shall only say in general, That Princes, by how much they are greater than others, are look'd upon with a more severe Eye; if their Virtues be not suitable to their Greatness, they lose much of their Value: For it is too great an Allay to such Refinedness to fall under the common Cognizance.

As she had her Favourites in one place, the King had his in another. She lov'd the elder Brother, the Earl of Pembroke; he the younger, whom he made Earl of Montgomery, and Knight of the Garter: But either not finding him suitable to his Humour or Affections, or seeing another Object more delightful, his Fancy ran with a violent Stream upon a young Gentleman, who had neither Parts nor Birth to entertain such a Current. His Name was Robert Carr, born about Edinburgh in Scotland, descended from Gentry of that Name, a young Man about Twenty Years of Age, a comely Personage, mix'd with a handsome and courtly Garb, which he had been practising in France, and lately came over. Sir James Hayes, some say the Lord Dingwell, at a Tilting (among the rest of the

Masks in
great esteem.

Pembroke a
Favourite

Montgomery a
Favourite.

Carr a
Favourite.

|| I am apt to think the Author is mistaken about the Original of this intended College at Chelsea. It was one Sutcliffe, Doctor in Divinity, that procur'd a Patent from King James for erecting this College, to consist of a Provost and Twenty Fellows, to be chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Vice-Chancellors of the two Universities for the time being; which College he intended to build and endow, and in part did, with his own Money, and the free Contributions of others. He was the First Provost himself, and dy'd either after Archbishop Bancroft, or about the same time; for there were three Provosts after him successively, whereof the Learned Dr. Featly was one.

Now how far Archbishop Bancroft might encourage Sutcliffe's Design, I know not: But if it had been Originally Bancroft's own, it's not probable King James would have discourag'd it afterwards, as he did; or that his next Successor but one, Archbishop Laud, would have utterly neglected a Foundation laid by a Prelate, whose Memory he held in the highest Veneration, and whose Maxims and Character he made it his Business to imitate.

An. Reg. 9. Pages and Gentlemen that in their richest Ornaments attended him for that Day's Triumph) made Choice of Mr. *Car* (according to the Custom) to present his Shield and Device to the King; and as he was descending, the Horse, full of Fire and Heat, prevented him, threw him down before the King, and broke his Leg. This Accident gave the King Occasion to take Notice of him; and hearing that his Name was *Car*, remembered he had a Page of that Name when he came first into *England*, which this prov'd to be: For the Pages the King brought first with him, according to the *French* way, to wait upon his Coach, were discharg'd, and Footmen, according to the *English* way, supplied those Places. The King mustering up his Thoughts, fix'd them upon this Object of Pity, giving special Order to have him lodg'd in the Court, and to have his own Physicians and Chirurgeons use their best Endeavours for his Recovery. The King visited him often during his necessitated Restraint, sometimes an Hour or more discoursing with him, to sound him, and know what he was; and tho' he found no great Depth of Literature or Experience, yet such a smooth and calm Outside made him think there might be good Anchorage, and a fit Harbour for his most retir'd Thoughts. As soon as he recover'd (which the King with some Impatience attended) he made him Knight, and Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, took the Pains himself to teach him the Latin Tongue, and laid a Foundation, by his daily Discourses with him, to improve him unto a Capability of his most endear'd Affections.

Now all Addressees are made to Sir *Robert Car*; he is the Favourite in Ordinary; no Suit, nor no Reward, but comes by him; his Hand distributes, and his Hand restrains; our Supreme Power works by second Causes; the Lords themselves can scarce have a Smile without him. And to give the greater Lustre to his Power, about this time the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's old trusty Servant, (the Cabinet of his secret Counsels) died; so that he solely now took the most intimate of them into his Charge, and the Office of Lord High Treasurer of *Scotland*, which Staff the other left behind him; and though it could be no great Supporter, yet the Credit of it carried some Reputation in his own Country, where it was his Happiness to be magnified, as well as in *England*; for he had Treasure enough here, where the Fountain was. And to ingrandize all, the King created him Baron of *Brandspech*, and Viscount *Rocheſter*, and soon after Knight of the Garter. Thus was he drawn up by the Beams of Majesty to shine in the highest Glory, grappling often with the Prince himself in his own Sphere in divers Contestations: For the Prince being a high-born Spirit, and meeting a young Competitor in his Father's Affections, that was a Mushroom of yesterday, thought the Venom would grow too near him, and therefore he gave no Countenance, but Opposition to it; which was aggravated by some little Scintils of Love, as well as Hatred, (Rivals in Passion) being both Amorous, and in youthful Blood, fixing by Accident upon one Object, who was a third Man's; in which the Viscount got the Mastery, but to his Ruine. The Prince shewing his Affection, by his neglecting of her, to be grounded rather upon Envy to the Man, than Love to the Woman.

The Earl of *Essex* marries the Lady *Frances Howard*.

But before this time, the Treasurer *Salisbury*, that great Engine of the State, by whom all Wheels moved, held an intimate Correspondence

with the House of *Suffolk*, which he had strengthened with an Alliance; marrying his eldest Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Katharine*, the eldest Daughter of that Family. And being mindful of the Asperity and Sharpness that was betwixt him and the late Earl of *Essex*, he thought it a good Act of Policy and Piety not to suffer Malice to become Hereditary; and therefore he was a great Means in marrying the young Earl of *Essex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of those Sisters, that the Father's Enmity might be closed up by the Son's Nuptial Fraternity. The Earl of *Essex* was Fourteen Years of Age, and she Thirteen, when they married; too young to consider, but old enough to consent: Yet by the Advice of Friends separated after Marriage, she under her Mother's Wing, and he visiting *France* and *Germany*, till Time should mature and ripen a happy Union. The Court was her Nest, her Father being Lord Chamberlain; and she was hatch'd up by her Mother, whom the sour Breath of that Age (how justly I know not) had already tainted; from whom the young Lady might take such a Tincture, that Ease, Greatness, and Court Glories, would more distain and impress on her, than any way wear out and diminish. And growing to be a Beauty of the greatest Magnitude in that Horizon, was an Object fit for Admirers, and every Tongue grew an Orator at that Shrine.

The Prince of *Wales*, now in his Puberty, sent many loving Glances, as Ambassadors of his good Respects; and amorous Expressions are fit Subjects for jealous Reproaches to work on. Her Husband having been now Three or Four Years beyond the Seas, (sick with Absence from her whom his Desires longed after) came over again, and found that Beauty, which he had left innocent, so farded and sophisticated with some Court Drug which had wrought upon her, that he became the greatest Stranger at home. His Patience made way for him a while, and he bore up with a gentle Gale against the Stream of this Woman's Affections, which ran altogether (unknown to him) into another Chanel. Nor was her Reputation yet become so robust (being of a tender Growth) to strike his Ears with Reproaches; and therefore he imputed her sly Entertainments to a Maiden Bashfulness; till surfeited with that dull Potion (upon better Advice) he went to the Earl of *Suffolk* (her Father) and demanded his Wife, thinking himself capable to enjoy both her and her Love. The Father, that thought there had been an Intimacy betwixt them suitable to their Conjugal Knot, made use of his Paternal Power, to reduce his Daughter to the Obedience of a Wife. But while these things were struggling for, a most Violent Disease of a Poysonous Nature, imputed to, but far transcending, the small-Pox, seized on the Earl of *Essex*; and had not the Strength of Youth, and that Almighty Power that orders all things, wrought out the Venom of it, the Earth (as probably wish'd by her) had been his Marriage-Bed.

For this Lady being taken with the growing Fortunes of the Viscount *Rocheſter*, and grounding more hope upon him than the uncertain and hopeless Love of the Prince, she cast her Anchor there; which the Prince soon discover'd, and slighted her accordingly. For dancing one time among the Ladies, and her Glove falling down, it was taken up, and presented to him, by one that thought he did him acceptable Service; but the Prince refus'd to receive it, saying publicly, He would not have it, it is stretcht

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The Countess of *Essex* in Love with *Rocheſter*.

A. Reg. 10. stretcht by another, meaning the Viscount: This was an Aggravation of Hatred betwixt the King's Son and the King's Friend.

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¶¶ The Countess of Essex having her Heart alienated from her Husband, and set upon the Viscount, had a double Task to undergo, for accomplishing her ends: One was, to hinder her Husband from enjoying her; the other was, to make the Viscount sure unto her: For dishonest Love is most full of Jealousy. Her Husband she look'd upon as a private Person, and to be carried by him into the Country, out of her Element, (being ambitious of Glory, and a Beauty covetous of Applause) were to close (as she thought) with an insufferable Torment; though he was a Man that did not only every way merit her Love, but he lov'd her with an extraordinary Affection, having a gentle, mild, and courteous Disposition, especially to Women, such as might win upon the roughest Natures. But this fiery Heat of his Wife's mounted upon the Wings of Lust, or Love, (call it what you will) carried her after so much Mischief, that those that saw her Face, might challenge Nature of too much Hypocrisy, for harbouring so wicked a Heart under so sweet and bewitching a Countenance.

She consults with Mistris Turner.

And Forman about it.

To strengthen her Designs, she finds out one of her own Stamp, Mrs. Turner, a Doctor of Physick's Widow, a Woman whom Prodigality and Looseness had brought low; yet her Pride would make her fly any Pitch, rather than fall into the Jaws of Want. These two consult together how they might stop the Current of the Earl's Affection towards his Wife, and make a clear Passage for the Viscount in the place. To effect which, one Doctor Forman, a reputed Conjuror, (living at Lambeth) is found out: The Women declare to him their Grievances; he promises sudden Help; and to amuse them, frames many little Pictures of Brasse and Wax, some like the Viscount and Countess, whom he must unite and strengthen; others like the Earl of Essex, whom he must debilitate and weaken; and then with Philtrous Powders and such Drugs he works upon their Persons. And to practise what Effects his Art would produce, Mrs. Turner, that lov'd Sir Arthur Manwaring, (a Gentleman then attending the Prince) and willing to keep him to her, gave him some of the Powder, which wrought so violently with him, that, through a Storm of Rain and Thunder, he rode Fifteen Miles one dark Night to her House, scarce knowing where he was till he was there. *Such is the devilish and mad Rage of Lust, heighten'd with Art and Fancy.*

These Things matur'd and ripen'd by the Cunning of this Jugler Forman, gave them Assurance of happy Hopes. Her Courtly Invitations, that drew the Viscount to observe her, she imputed to the Operation of those Drugs he had tasted; and that Harshness, and stubborn Comportment she expressed to her Husband, making him (weary of such Entertainments) to absent himself, she thought proceeded from the Effects of those unknown Potions and Powders that were administred to him: So apt is the Imagination to take Impression of those Things we are willing to believe.

The Earl of Essex gets his Wife to Chartley.

The good Earl finding his Wife noursed in the Court, and seeing no possibility to reduce her

to Reason, till she were estranged from the Reason and Taste of the Delights she suck'd in there, made his Condition again known to her Father.

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The old Man being troubled with his Daughter's Disobedience, imbitter'd her, being near him, with wearisome and continual Chidings, to wean her from the Sweets she doted on, and with much ado forc'd her into the Country. But how harsh was the parting, being rent away from the Place where she grew and flourish'd? Yet she left all her Engines and Imps behind her; the old Doctor, and his Confederate Mrs. Turner, must be her two Supporters: She blazons all her Miseries to them at her depart, and moistens the way with her Tears. Chartley was an Hundred Miles from her Happiness, and a little time thus lost is her Eternity. When she came thither, (tho' in the pleasantest time of Summer) she shut her self up in her Chamber, not suffering a Beam of Light to peep upon her dark Thoughts: If she stir'd out of her Chamber, it was in the dead of Night, when Sleep had taken possession of all others but those about her. In this implacable, sad discontented Humour, she continu'd some Months, always murmuring against, but never giving the least civil Respect to her Husband; which the good Man suffer'd patiently, being loth to be the Divulger of his own Misery: Yet having a Manly Courage, he would sometimes break into a little Passion, to see himself slighted and neglected by himself; but having never found better from her, it was the easier to bear with her.

While she was at Chartley, she writ to her Confederate, That Her Husband found little Operation in their Drugs, complaining of his Lustiness, and her Misery: For (she said) the Viscount would never love her, if her Husband did meddle with her, which with difficulty she yet impeded, but how long she should resist his Violence she knew not; therefore she implor'd their Assistance, if they would not see her the most despicable Creature in the World: And for Satisfaction, they should make their own Price. With this kind of Stuff she fill'd her Letters, which were after found in Forman's Closet. These Instigations made him active; and the Man being skilful in Natural Magick, did use all the Artifice his Subtily could devise really to imbecillitate the Earl; for no Linen came near his Body that was not rinsed with their Camphire Compositions, and other faint and wasting Ingredients; and all inward Applications were foisted on him by corrupted Servants, to lessen and debilitate the Seminal Operations: Which *Veneficium* is one great part of Witchcraft, destructive to Nature, and horridly abominable to be practis'd. And this in time wrought such Effects upon his Person, that he found himself unable with her, tho' she permitted him; yet when he had been from her some reasonable time, to renovate his Spirits, by shaking off those Artificial Applications, then his Abilities made her unwilling and refractory. Tho' some are of Opinion, that he was not much debilitated, but that she got (by her virtuous Agents) an Artifice too immodest to be express'd, to hinder Penetration. And thus she tormented him, till he was contented to let her steer her own Course, which after run her on Ground.

For coming to London next Winter with this full Sail, loaden with Lust, she found the Viscount again to Court.

She comes again to Court.

¶¶ As the Author has given us a more full and particular Account of these Passages between the Earl of Essex, his Lady, and the Favourite *Car*; so he was best qualified to do it, being an intimate bosom Acquaintance of the Earl, from his Youth to his Death. But if any unusual Warmth be observed in his manner of relating them, it must be attributed to his Zeal for the Honour of his Patron.

COUNT

A. Reg. 10. count much prepar'd for her; who being at first fasten'd on the Object, Absence, and all those little Artifices that mischievous Women and cunning Impostures could devise, had advanced him as much in his Desires, as they had hindred the other. We could dispute the Nature of these Operations, how far they are contingent, and how the Fancy works with them, tho' ignorant of them, making their Impulsions more active, being the Sparks that kindle this combustible Matter; for we will never allow there was any other Diabolical Means used, Nature being strong enough for such a Production; but being not pertinent to the Story, will leave it, and follow them that found the Effects of it, and had Affections suitable to it, which they made use of with an unbridled Appetite, yet meeting closely in Corners, (Sin being at first shamefac'd) but afterwards they grew more bold; and every Hour that the Viscount could steal from his Royal Master, he dedicated it to his Disloyal Mistress: Being caught in this Net of Adulation, he becomes a willing Prisoner; Lust only getting Liberty to all Looseness and Licentiousness: Places of frequent Meetings are daily renew'd; Persons fitted for such Practices are employ'd; and when Nature was exhausted, Art, her subtil Imitator, brought in her Store, to contribute new Spirits, purchased at any rate. All outward Adornment, to present Beauty in her full Glory, were not wanting on both sides, being Lust's Fuel, which tended to the Consumption of all Reason: And among the rest, yellow Starch, the Invention and foil of Jaundice Complexions, with great Cut-work Bands, and Piccadillies, (a thing that hath since lost the Name) crouded in and flourish'd among us, Mrs. Turner being nominated to be the first Contriver, happily in England, but the Original came out from France; which Fashion and Colour did set off their lean and fallow Countenances. Thus did the Viscount get the Conquest of two, the King, and this Lady, but could not subdue his own Lustful Appetite.

The Lord Sanquir The Wheel of Fortune running towards the Scots, turn'd by the Viscount Rochester, was unhappily diverted upon the Lord Sanquir, a Baron of that Nation, and married to a good Family in England; who some Years before meeting with a sturdy Fencer, one John Turner, who was a Master of the Weapon-Trade in his own School, the young Lord strove to put some Affront upon him, (making it no little Conquest to disgrace a Master in the Art, as they term'd it) and the Man apprehensive of the Attempt, with a bold Rudeness press'd so hard upon him, that he thrust out one of the Baron's Eyes. This Mischief was much regretted by Turner, and the Baron being conscious to himself that he meant his Adversary some Ill, took the Accident with as much Patience, as Men that lose one Eye by their own Default use to do for the Preservation of the other. Some time after, being in the Court of the late Great Henry of France, and the King (courteous to Strangers) entertaining Discourse with him, ask'd him, how he lost his Eye: He (cloathing his Answer in a better Shroud than a plain Fencer's) told him, it was done with a Sword: The King replies, Doth the Man live? And that Question gave an end to the Discourse, but was the beginner of a strange Confusion in his working Fancy, which neither Time nor Distance could compose, carrying it in his Breast some Years after, till he came into England, where he hir'd two of his Countrymen, Gray and Carlile, (Men of low and mercenary Spirits) to murder him; which

they did with a Case of Pistols in his own House in White-Fryars, many Years after the Loss of his Bodily Eye: Thus the Baron lost the Eye of his Reason. This bold nefarious Act was very deeply resented at Court, and the King's Commands were so active for Apprehension of the Murderers, that they were all three taken; one upon the Borders of Scotland, so far had his Fears carried him; another in a Ship bound for Hamburg, who escaping in a Storm, the Seas deliver'd up; and the Lord himself being obscur'd, (in this Tempest of his Soul) hearing a Thousand Pound was offered to bring his Head, (so liberal was the King for Justice) threw himself into the Arms of his Mercy, by the Mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he presented himself an Object of Pity; but no Intercession could prevail, their Lives satisfied the Law, the Baron not having the Honour of a Noble Death.

The Cause of the King's Severity, (if Justice may be call'd Severity) was contrary to that of the Baron's Presumption; for he thought the Scots might do any thing, and he suffer'd because they had done so much: For Ramsey, one of the King's Servants, not long before had switch'd the Earl of Montgomery, who was the King's first Favourite, happily because he took it so. Maxwell, another of them, had bitten Hawley, a Gentleman of the Temple, by the Ear; which enraged the Templers (in those Times Riotous, and subject to Tumults) and brought it almost to a National Quarrel, till the King step'd in, and took it up himself. The Lord Bruce had summon'd Sir Edward Sackville (who was after Earl of Dorset) into France, with a fatal Compliment to take Death from his Hand: Such killing Civilities these Times produced! And the much lamented Sir James Stuart, one of the King's Blood, and Sir George Wharton, the prime Branch of that Noble Family, for little worthless Puntillo's of Honour, (being intimate Friends) took the Field, and fell by each other's Hand. These, and many more private Differences, (tho' some of them of an ancient Date) were bleeding fresh in Memory; so that the King, like a wise Physician, open'd this Vein of Blood, hoping by it to stop all other Issues.

The King's Affections were not so monopolized, but that his crafty Servant the Earl of Salisbury had a good Hole as well in his Councils as Treasure: And being not well pleased to see himself bearded by a Youth new started into the Affairs of the World, and mounted by the Wing of Love, not of Merit, he cast out many Mists before him, to hinder and damp his Passage so, that the Viscount could not rise to that Pitch (during his Life) that he afterwards arrived at. And one thing among the rest he obstructed, was Five thousand Pounds the King had given him to maintain his Riot: Which Sum the Treasurer thought too great a Bulk to be carried lightly away, and therefore he desir'd the King might see what he did. And having laid the Money in Silver upon Tables in his Gallery at Salisbury-House, he invited the King to Dinner, making this the Passage to his Entertainment. The King, stricken suddenly with such Heaps, ask'd the Treasurer what this Money was for; who told him, He had receiv'd his Majesty's Commands to give so much to the Viscount Rochester. The King, that either carelessly thought Five thousand Pound to be no more than the Noise so much makes in Scotland, (which doth not amount to above Five hundred Pounds) or, cunningly, (if he knew the Value, knew also the Treasurer's Meaning) said,

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Is hang'd.
Causes of
the King's
Severity.

Salisbury
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the Vis-
count's
Greatness.

A. Reg. 10. said, It was too much for one Man, and made him be contented with less than the half.

An. Christi 1612. And now the King casts his Thoughts towards *Peterborough*, where his Mother lay, whom he caused to be translated to a Magnificent Tomb at *Westminster*: And (somewhat suitable to her Mind when she was living) she had a Translucent Passage in the Night through the City of *London* by Multitudes of Torches; the Tapers placed by the Tomb and the Altar in the Cathedral smoking with them like an Offertory, with all the Ceremonies and Voices their Quires and Copes could express, attended by many Prelates and Nobles, who paid this last Tribute to her Memory. This was accounted a Piaculous Action of the King's by many; tho' some have not stuck to say, That as Queen *Elizabeth* was willing to be rid of the Queen of *Scots*, yet would not have it her Action; and being it could not be done without her Command, when it was done she renounc'd her own Act. So tho' the King was angry when he heard his Mother was taken away by a violent Death, recalling his Ambassador, threatening War, and making a great Noise (which was after calm'd and clos'd up with a large Pension from the Queen) yet he might well enough be pleas'd that such a Spirit was laid, as might have conjured up three Kingdoms against him: For *Patrick Grey*, that the King sent to dissuade Queen *Elizabeth* from taking away his Mother's Life, was the greatest Instrument to persuade her to it; distilling always into her this Sen-

A. Reg. 10. tence, *Mortua non mordet*, When she is dead she cannot bite: But the Love that tends to Self-Preservation is an Adjunct of Nature, more powerful than Filial Duty; and therefore there will be no great Strife where there are not adequate Operations.

This Time was also presented unto us in a various Dress, and the Event shew'd (tho' some Years after) there was more Cause of Mourning than Rejoycing, tho' the latter got the Pre-dominance: For the Prince Elector *Palatine* came over into *England* to marry the King's only Daughter, and Death depriv'd us of the King's eldest Son. * * A Prince as Eminent in Nobleness as in Blood, and having a Spirit too full of Life and Splendour to be long shrouded in a Cloud of Flesh. If that which gave Life to his Life had been less, he might happily have lived longer: Not that there was too much Oil, or that concurrent natural Balsamum in this fair and well-compos'd Lamp to extinguish it self, but the Light that came from it might cast so radiant a Lustre, as (by darkning others) it came to lose the Benefit of its own Glory. Jealousy is like Fire that burns all before it, and that Fire is hot enough to dissolve all Bonds that tends to the Diminution of a Crown. The Prince of *Spain*, (his Contemporary) Son to *Philip* the Second, (not long before this) like a young *Phaeton*, wish'd himself but one Day in his Father's Throne, and he fell (not long after) into the hard Hand of an immature Fate before he could step into the Chariot. So dan-

The Palatine's Arrival the 16th of October.

Prince Henry's Death the 6th of November. His gallant Spirit

* * How well or ill grounded our Author's Conjectures were about the Death of Prince *Henry*, I shall not take upon me to determine; since few Princes of so great Hopes die an untimely Death, but the World is apt to attribute it to foul Play.

This is certain, The Court was full of Suspicions about it; and it was whisper'd about, that the Prince having entertain'd a mortal Prejudice to the *Favourite* *Car*, he was taken off to prevent the Effects of it. These Surmises came likewise to be insinuated in the Pulpit; and we have yet extant in Print, a *Sermon* Preach'd at *St. James's* upon the Dissolution of his Family, wherein the Preacher that had been his Domestick Chaplain made such broad Hints about the manner of his Death, that melted the Auditory into a Flood of Tears, and occasion'd his being dismiss'd the Court.

Some Years after, when the Murther of *Sir Thomas Overbury* came upon the Stage, at one of the *Trials* before the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, there escap'd him some Words in Heat, that plainly import'd his Suspicion that *Overbury* had been Poyson'd, to prevent the Discovery of another Crime of the same nature committed upon one of the Highest Rank, whom he term'd a *Sweet Prince*, which was taken to be meant Prince *Henry*; for which Rashness the Lord Chief Justice lost the King's Favour, and some time afterwards his Place.

However it was that this excellent young Prince dy'd, our Author is mistaken in the length of his Sickness. He began to decline in his Health in *September*, and complain'd ever after of a Pain and Giddiness in his Head. After several Removes for change of Air, he took his Bed at *St. James's* the 25th of *October*, of a violent Fever, (as the Physicians term'd it) which carry'd him off the 6th of *November*, about 8 a Clock at Night. So instead of Five Days, as our Author computes, his last Illness continu'd near Twelve. As to the opening of his Body, it signified but little either way, there being Poysons of that subtle Nature, that they leave no convincing Marks behind them.

There had been more Matches than one under Consideration for this young Prince: And tho' he himself inclin'd most to a Protestant Family, his Father, on the contrary, would hear of none but of Royal Blood, tho' of the Romanish Religion.

A Princess of *Savoy* first, then an *Infanta* of *Spain*, and afterwards a Daughter of *France*, was design'd for him; and *Sir Thomas Edmonds* was sent into *France* to treat about the latter. This Treaty was in agitation when he dy'd; and tho' he express'd on all Occasions his own Opinion against it, he submitted to his Father's Commands, and was intirely passive in the whole Matter.

We have a Letter of his to King *James* in Print, in Answer to one the King had sent him of *Sir Thomas Edmonds*, concerning this Treaty of Marriage. Seeing probably it was the last he ever writ, it well deserves a Place here. For it's dated the 14th of *October*, 1612. and he dy'd the 6th of *November* following.

He therein, with great Prudence, gives his Opinion about every Article contain'd in *Edmonds's* Letter. As for the time (says he) they'll bring the Princess of *France* into *England*, I believe the sooner it is, the better, and that Your Majesty ought not to demur thereupon. As long as the Princess is in *France*, the Queen her Mother will be pressing either to forward the Marriage, or to stave it off, and to oblige her Daughter to give her Consent, or hinder her from it. The younger she is, the more Time we shall have, and easiness to instruct her in our Religion, and convert her. Since they ask of Your Majesty to explain your self as to the Liberty the Princess shall have in the Exercise of her Religion; I desire you, Sir, to answer your Ambassador positively, That you will not agree to any other Conditions with *France*, than what the Duke of *Savoy* had demanded when he offer'd you his Daughter; that is to say, That the Princess shall have the Liberty to follow her Religion in private, and in the most retir'd Chamber of her Apartment. I confess these are too narrow and strait Conditions: But if *France* speak sincerely, I do not question but she will be contented with them.

Prince *Henry* knew well his Father's covetous Temper, and for that Reason he has a nice Touch upon the Article of her Fortune. If Your Majesty (continues he) regards the Greatness of a Dowry, I think you will prefer the Princess of *Savoy*: She brings with her Two hundred thousand Crowns more than the Lady of *France*; for at least I can scarce persuade my self, that the Regent will give more to the Second Daughter than to the Eldest. But if Your Majesty lays aside Interest, to do what shall be more to the Mind of the general Body of Protestants abroad, it seems to me you will rather incline to *France* than *Savoy*. Lastly, (concluded the Prince) I fear least Your Majesty should not be contented with the Indifference I shew for all the Proposals of Marriage which are made me. I most humbly beg your Pardon for it. It's you, Sir, who is to take the most advantageous Resolution that may be for the Good of the State: I have but little Experience in Political Affairs, and cannot speak like a Man smitten with Love upon this Occasion.

Happy had it been for King *Charles*, and for *England*, if the Treaty of Marriage between him and the youngest Sister of this Princess had been set upon the same Foot that Prince *Henry* design'd his should have been.

A. Reg. 10. *An. Christi 1612.* gerous are the Paths of Greatness, that the Tongue (many times) rousing aside, makes Men tread awry. Strange Rumours are raised upon this sudden expiration of our Prince, the Disease being so violent, that the Combat with Nature in the Strength of Youth (being almost Nineteen Years of Age) lasted not above Five Days. Some say he was poisoned with a Bunch of Grapes, others attribute it to the venomous Scent of a pair of Gloves presented to him, (the Distemper lying for the most part in the Head.) They that knew neither of these, are stricken with Fear and Amazement, as if they had tasted, or felt, the Effects of those Violences: Private Whisperings, and Suspicions, of some new Designs a foot, broaching Prophetical Terrours, *That a black Christmas would produce a bloody Lent.* For the Spaniard, who opposed the Marriage of the Prince Palatine, and saw their Ruin growing up in Prince Henry's towards Spirit, were reputed (vulgarly) the Mint-masters of some horrid Practices; and that a Ship of Pocket-Pistols was come out of Spain, fit Instruments for a Massacre. And these Trepidations were not only in the lower Region, but wrought upwards so high, that Proclamations were sent abroad, to forbid the making or carrying of Pistols under a Foot long in the Barrel. And all Papists are not only disarm'd (being ever esteemed Vassals to the Catholick King) but their Actions with caution pried into. In such dark Clouds as these, the whole Kingdom was at a loss; all ordinary Transitions of Nature, are imputed to prodigious Omens; the greater the Fears are, the more blazing is the Meteor that arises from them.

Some that knew the Bickerings betwixt the Prince and the Viscount, muttered out dark Sentences, that durst not look into the light; especially Sir James Elphington, who (observing the Prince one day to be discontented with the Viscount) offered to kill him: But the Prince reprov'd him with a gallant Spirit, saying, *If there were Cause, he would do it himself.* Now whether these Rumours begot a further Scrutiny, or whether it be the Court-trick to daub and flubber over things that may be perspicuous, I know not: But the Physicians about the Prince gave it under their Hands (which was spread abroad in several Copies) that he died of a strong malignant Fever, (so are all violent Dissolutions, where Nature hath power of Resistance) that his Liver was Pale, and Livid, lead-like; the Gall had no Gall, but was full of Wind; the Spleen was unnaturally black, and the Lungs in many Places spotted, with much Corruption; the Midriff, or Diaphragma, blackish; and the Head in some Places full of Blood, and in some Places full of clear Water. Thus was he Anatomized to amuse the World, and clear the suspicion of Poison, as if no Venoms could produce these Effects. He died the Sixth of November, and was carried on a Hearse (triumphing even in Death) to Westminster, the Seventh of December following; the Pomp of the Funeral being fully compleated, with the Peoples Tears and Lamentations.

His Funeral. But the King (though he could not but be troubled to lose so near a part of himself) look'd over all these Mists, and (like the Sun) dispelled all these Clouds and Vapours; commanding, no Man should appear in the Court in Mourning; he would have nothing in his Eye to bring so sad a Message to his Heart. The Jollity, Feasting, and Magnificence of

A. Reg. 10. *An. Christi 1612.* Christmas, must not be laid down. There were Princes, and Nobles, that came out of Germany with the Prince Elector, that must see the Glory of the English Court; which was presented with so much Eminency in gorgeous Apparel, that the precedent Mourning was but as a fable Foil, the better to illustrate it.

The Prince Elector Palatine, and Maurice Prince of Orange, were made Knights of the Garter, Lodowick Count of Orange being Maurice's Deputy; and Prince Maurice took it as a great Honour to be admitted into the Fraternity of that Order, and wore it constantly; till afterwards, some Villains at the Hague, that met the Reward of their Demerit, (one of them a French Man, being Groom of the Prince's Chamber) robb'd a Jeweller of Amsterdam, that brought Jewels to the Prince, this Groom tempting him into his Chamber to see some Jewels, and there with his Confederates they strangled the Man with one of the Prince's Blue Ribbons; which being after discovered, the Prince would never suffer so fatal an Instrument to come about his Neck.

In February following, the Prince Palatine, and that lovely Princess, the Lady Elizabeth, were Married on Bishop Valentine's Day, in all the Pomp and Glory that so much Grandeur could express. Her Vestments were White, the Emblem of Innocency; her Hair dishevel'd, hanging down her Back at length, an Ornament of Virginity; a Crown of pure Gold upon her Head, the Cognizance of Majesty, being all over beset with precious Gems, shining like a Constellation; her Train supported by Twelve young Ladies in White Garments, so adorned with Jewels, that her Passage looked like a Milky-way. She was led to Church by her Brother Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton; the young Batchelor on the Right Hand, and the old on the Left. And while the Archbishop of Canterbury was Solemnizing the Marriage, some Coruscations and Lightnings of Joy appear'd in her Countenance, that express'd more than an ordinary Smile, being almost elated to a Laughter; which could not clear the Air of her Fate, but was rather a fore-runner of more sad and dire Events: Which shews how slippery Nature is, to troul us along to those Things that bring Danger, yea sometimes Destruction with them.

She return'd from the Chapel between the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Nottingham Lord High Admiral, two Married Men. The Feastings, Maskings, and other Royal Formalities, were as troublesome ('tis presum'd) to the Lovers, as the Relation of them here may be to the Readers: For such Splendour and Gayety are fitter to appear in Princes Courts, than in Histories.

The City of London (that with high Magnificence had Feasted the Prince Palatine, and his Noble Retinue) presented to the fair Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, by the Hand of the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, (in their Scarlet and Gold Chain Accoutrements) of such a Value, as was fit for them to give, and her to receive. And the People of the Kingdom in general, being Summon'd to a Contribution for the Marriage of the King's Daughter, did shew their Affections by their Bounty. And tho' it be the Custom of our Kings to pay their Daughters Portions with their Subjects Purfes; yet a Hundred years being almost past since such a Precedent, it might have made them unwilling (if their Obedience had not been full ripe) to recal such obsolete Things, as

A. Reg. 11. are only in Practice now by the meanest of the People.

An. Christi 1613.
The Prince Palatine returns home with the Princess.

But, tir'd with Feasting and Jollity, about the middle of April, when the Beauties of the Spring were enticing enough to Beguile the tediousness of the way, the Prince Elector willing to review, and the Princess to see what she was to enjoy; after all the Caresses, and sweet Embraces, that could be between the King, Queen, and Princes, that were to be separated so long, and at such a distance; and after all the Shews, Pastimes, Fireworks, and other Artifices that could be devised, and manifested, they parted at *Rochester*; the Lord Admiral being ready with a Royal Navy in the *Downes* for their Passage and Conduct. The Season smiled on them, and they arrived the Nine and twentieth of the Month in *Flushing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harington*, with divers Ladies and Persons of Quality, attended them to *Heydelburg*. Their Entertainment was great and magnificent in the *Low Countries*, not only suitable to the Persons, but the Place from whence they came, (the *English* having been ever a Bulwark to the *Netherlands*) and now they were in full Peace with *Spain*, which gave the better relish to their Banquettings. And in every eminent Town in *Germany* as they pass'd, they found that Welcome which prolong'd their Time, but made their Travel the less, so that with much ado they reach'd *Heydelburgh*. And after some time spent there, to see the Beauties and Delights of that Court, and Country, (which were extended and put forth to the uttermost) the Nobility and Ladies of *England* return'd home, only they left the Lord *Harington* behind them, who died by the way: A Gentleman much lamented in his own Person, but much more in his Sons, (who not long after surviv'd him) with whom were Buried, not only those excellent Endowments that make Noblemen great indeed, but the Memory of a noble Posterity, which makes them little, or indeed nothing at all.

Rochester rules all.

The Viscount *Rochester* all this while (tho' plunged in Lust) was held up by the Chin in the Glories of the Court; and the Prince (that interpos'd betwixt him and the Beams of Majesty) being remov'd, the Earl of *Salisbury* (another obstacle) dying Six Months after the Prince, in the way from the *Bath*; he now took full Possession of the King's Favours alone. He executes the Place of Principal Secretary, receiving all Pacquets, and dispatching Answers without the Knowledge of the King or Council; or if the King did know, his Love had hoarded up such a Confidence in him, as he laid all out upon that Stock. *Rochester's* greatest Assistant was a private Gentleman, one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, by whose Compass he steer'd his Course, who (being a Man of Parts and Abilities) had wrought upon the Viscount so, as not only to keep him in, and close with the King, but to make him capable of managing the highest Affairs, if he had kept himself within the Circle drawn to his Hand. This Intimacy betwixt them, spake *Overbury* an Actor in all his Privacies. And when he understood by the Viscount his Intention of Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*, he oppos'd it with all the powerful Arguments he could use: For tho' he might be so active, in his Initiation of Favour with the Viscount, to be assistant to his Pleasures, and for carrying forward some of his dark Contrivances, (those Secretaries being

Assisted by *Overbury*.

always the greatest Favourites) yet having now gotten good footing in his Affection, and building his Fortune thereon, his Reason might tell him, there could be nothing more destructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay a Foundation upon so much publick Injustice, as to Marry another Man's Wife, her Husband living; therefore he passionately perswaded him to cast his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not on one, whose Disloyalty (in her present Condition) was so much branded with Infamy, that the Marks of it would be visible on his Face. But the Viscount, bewitched with the Inticements of his Soul-ravishing Mistress, (uncapable of good Counsel) doth not only call home his Affections from *Overbury*, that had been long Lieger with him, (denouncing Enmity) but incites his Beloved against him also; who mustering up all her Passions, with the greatest Acrimony that a Feminine Malice could devise, she never left, till she had discharg'd all the Vollies of her Rage upon him. And the better to do it, she consults with her Uncle the Earl of *Northampton*, aggravating *Overbury's* Offence, as tending to the Dishonour of their whole Family: That he (a petty Fellow) should dare to raise such Scandals against her Innocency. The Earl of *Northampton*, that knew of the Endearments betwixt the Viscount and his Niece, (so base and mercenary was his Spirit) thought it good Policy to stop all Passages, that it might not come into the publick Mouth: For being in a Sphere elated above others, it was a Sin of a high Presumption for any of an inferiour Orb to move but in its own Place, or meddle with what is above them. He therefore closes with the Viscount, (whom in his flattering Acclamations by Letters he makes a little Deity) and after some dispute of the manner how to be revenged of *Overbury*, they conclude to dispatch him by Poison, which could not be done so well in a publick way; and therefore they subtilly contrive to exasperate the King against him, that being a Prisoner, and shackled by them to a Place, he might be a more settled Mark for their venom'd Arrows.

A. Reg. 12

An. Christi 1613.

Rochester and Northampton Plot Overbury's Death.

About the same time, the King thinking fit to send an Ambassador into *Flanders*, to the Arch-Duke, (some say, into *France*) the Viscount recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to the King for that Service, (extolling his Abilities, and fitness for the same, publickly, that more notice might be taken of the Affront) and the King made choice of him for that Employment. Which done, the Viscount (under the shadow of Friendship) imparts to *Overbury* what Intentions the King had towards him; but he thought it would not be so convenient for him to accept of it, because he should not only lose his Converse and Company by such an Alienation, (which he highly valued) but many a fair opportunity of improving his Respects to him, in some better way of Advancement. *Overbury* had not been so little a Courtier, or a Man of so mean Reason, but that he was sensible what Displeasure he should pull upon himself, by refusing the King's Commands: And therefore he told the Viscount, that betwixt the King's Favours, and his Friendship, he had a great Conflict in his Spirit, being willing to retain both; but how he should refuse the King's Commands with safety, he knew not. But the Viscount, with fair Promises, prevail'd with him to set up his rest at home, upon higher Expectations, (such a sweet Bait is Ambition!) protesting to take

Rochester betrays Overbury.

A. Reg. 11. off the Asperity of the King's Anger from him, and smooth his way so, as should be for his better Advantage. When he had wrought *An. Christi 1613.* Overbury in this Forge, he goes to the King, and blows the Fire, incensing him with all the Aggravations he could; so that the poor Gentleman, for his Contempt, was forthwith committed to the Tower. And to prepare all things for his Reception there, Sir William Wade, the late Lieutenant, was removed, and Sir Ferris Ellowis, a Person more Ambitious than Indigent (having made his way by Money, the common Merit) was admitted to the Place.

The Countesses Designs. Now the Countess, like another *Aleto*, drove furiously, her Chariot having two Wheels, which ran over all Impediments: One was, to sue a Divorce betwixt her and her Husband, that she might Marry the Viscount: The other was, to take away Overbury, the blemish in her Eye, and that laid such a Stain upon her, that nothing but his Blood could expiate. For these she hath several Engines; the one must be acted Overtly; the other Covertly, in dark Corners; and she and her Agents find fit Ministers for both.

Northampton joins with her. The Earl of Northampton resenting his Nieces Grievances, makes the King acquainted with her Maiden Bashfulness, how loth she is to divulge her Husband's Infirmitie, and how long it is since her Marriage, and yet she hath not enjoyed the happiness of a Wife; that her Husband's Inability must needs be an unnatural Conjunction, such as neither Law nor Reason can admit of; and that there was a great Affection betwixt the Viscount and her, so as there seem'd to be a more excellent Sympathy, and sweet Composition of Soul in them, more suitable to Reason and Nature, than in the State she was in. Which was seconded by the Viscount's humble Submissions to the King's great Wisdom, who (he acknowledg'd) had not only rais'd him to what he is, but may yet make him more happy, by uniting him to a Lady of so much Honour and Virtue.

Rob. Johnson's History of Scotland. The King, that took delight to compleat the Happiness of them he lov'd, commanded the Bishops to sue out a Divorce between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, that the Viscount might Marry her: For he had been practis'd formerly in Scotland, in his Minority, with the like Experiment. Elizabeth, Daughter to the Earl of Arbol, being married to the Earl of March, under pretence of Impotency, but meerly for Lust, (as the Author reports) was Divorced from her Husband, and Married to the Earl of Arran, (the King's Favourite) who had been before a Partner in her Adulterous Sheets, (so current is the Parallel, and so equally are Lust and Ambition yoked together, that they both (with full Violence) draw one and the same way.)

The Bishops, and others, having a Commission under the Great Seal of England, to Convene the Earl of Essex, and his Countess, before them, sent out their Summons, and they made their Appearance accordingly. But before they proceeded, they caused a Jury of Twelve discreet Matrons to be Impannelled, to search the Countess, whether she were (as she pretended to be, and was reputed) a Maid still; for if she were a Maid, they could fasten upon a Nullity, and so separate them

A. Reg. 11. for the more honour of her Virginity. The Countess being ashamed, and bashful, to come to such a Tryal, would not expose her Face to the Light; but being to appear before the Matrons under a Veil, another young Gentlewoman, that had less offended, was fobbed into the Place; and she passed, in the Opinion, both of Jury and Judges, to be a Virgin. Then the Articles were drawn up, where she accused her Husband of Impotency, (and that he was hindred with a perpetual and incurable Impediment, whereby he is unable to have Carnal Copulation with her, with *frigidity* *tas quoad hanc*, often reiterated, &c.) The good Earl, willing to be rid of so horrid a Mischief, did acknowledge he had attempted to enjoy her many times, but he never did, nor could Carnally know her, and believ'd he never should. Upon these Grounds the Judges proceed to a Divorce.

Declaring, That Robert Earl of Essex, and The Lady Frances Howard, contracted by shew of Countess's divorced from her Husband. Marriage, did cohabit in one House, and lie together in one Bed, Nudus cum Nuda, & Solus cum Sola; and that the said Lady Frances did shew her self Prompt, ready to be known of him; and that the said Earl neither did, nor could have knowledge of her, although he did think himself able to have knowledge of other Women. And that the said Lady Frances, by inspection of her Body by Midwives, expert in matter of Marriage, was proved to be apt for Carnal Copulation with Man, and yet a Virgin. Therefore we the said Judges deputed in the Cause, first invocating the Name of Christ, and setting God before our Eye, do pronounce, decree, and declare, That the Earl of Essex, for some secret, incurable, binding Impediment, did never Carnally know, or was, or is able Carnally to know, the Lady Frances Howard: And therefore we do pronounce, have decreed, and do declare, the pretended Marriage, so contracted, and solemnized, de facto, between them, to have been, and to be utterly void, and to no effect; and that they did want, and ought to want the strength of the Law: And that the Lady Frances was, and is, and so ought to be Free, and at Liberty, from any Bond of such pretended Marriage, de facto, contracted and solemniz'd. And we do pronounce, that she ought to be Divorced, and so we do Free and Divorce her; leaving them, as touching other Marriages, to their Conscience in the Lord. Which our Definitive Sentence, and Decree, we ratifie and publish.

Thomas, Wint.
Lancel. Elie.
Rich. Coven. & Lichfield. } Bishops.
John, Roffe.

Julius Cæsar. } Knights.
Thomas Parry.
Daniel Dun.

These Bishops, and the rest of the Judges, could not be ignorant what Scandalous Reports of this Lady's Actions flew up and down, from Lip to Lip; which, however sweetn'd by the Partakers, carried an ill Savour with them in every honest Understanding, who were not blinded with Willfulness, or deafened with Prejudice, which made the Bishops of * Canterbury and London decline the Business, though nomi-

* Archbishop Abbot did not only refuse to Sit in the Court of Delegates upon this Divorce, but publish'd his Reasons for the Nullity of the Sentence, mix'd with some severe Reflections upon the Lady. King James took so far the part of his Favourite, that he vouchsafed to Answer *Abbot's* Reasons himself, which silenc'd any further Debate.

A. Reg. 11. nated in the Patent. But Kings will never want fit Ministers in corrupted Times, both in Church and Common-wealth, as long as there are Degrees, and Places of Ascend to climb to. And though these things floated awhile upon the Stream of Greatness, yet there is One above that moves the Waters; who did not only see what passed in the Bishops Palace, but in the closest Prison, which he discover'd to the Shame and Ruine of the Actors.

Mrs. Turner employ'd to poison Overbury. For while this Wheel was turning at Lambeth, the other Wheel had its motion in the Tower. Mrs. Turner, the Mistress of the Work, had lost both her Supporters. *Ferman*, her first Prop, dropp'd away suddenly by Death; and *Gresham*, another rotten Engine (that succeeded him) did not hold long: She must now bear up all her self. But she wrought in a Mine of inexhaustible Treasure, therefore she may buy Instruments at any Rate. One *Weston* is thought on for this Under-work, who was sometime Doctor *Turner's* (her Husband's) Man, and hath a little Experience in the Nature of Poysonous Drugs. This venomous Plant is sent for out of the Country to be transplanted here, and Two hundred Pounds promised to disperse his Venom, so as it may be killing. Sir *Thomas Monson* is made by the Countess to recommend him to Sir *Fernis Ellouia*, and he to Sir *Thomas Overbury* to wait upon him; where he goes under the Character of a right Honest Man; making it good with a sober and fair Outside, the true Vizard of Hypocrisy, a fit Pipe for such corrupted Waters to run through; which must be provided by one *Franklin*, a swarthy, fallow, crooked-backt Fellow, who was to be the Fountain whence these bitter Waters came.

The Lieutenant of the Tower engaged in it. But *Overbury's* Meat must be dress'd in the Lieutenant's Kitchen, and therefore it is necessary to make him acquainted with it; which the Earl of *Northampton* undertook, smoothing him with such Language, and promising him such Rewards, as he thought fittest to gain upon him; *Assuring him*, that it would be an acceptable Service to the King to have him remov'd; being an insolent and pernicious Fellow (as he called him) of a Factious and Dangerous Spirit; and therefore advis'd him to be Cautious in admitting any to see him, lest his Passions should vent themselves and become Publick. The Lieutenant being a Man intelligent enough, could not but apprehend the dangerous Path he trod in pursuing this Business: For if he should make the King acquainted with it, to know more of his Mind, before it were done, and he disclaim it, *Northampton* was powerful enough to crush him on the one side; and if it should be discover'd after it were done, he might be sure the King would not own it; and it would bring him a certain Ruine on the other side: Betwixt these two Extreames he knew no Mean; and therefore he took that which tended (as he thought) to most safety, hoping that the Earl of *Northampton* had some higher Authority for the same. And now they begin to put their Design in Practice; *Franklin* furnishes *Weston* with Materials, compounded to consume Nature insensibly; but this was not quick enough; Malice must be as Active, as Cunning! Stronger Ingredients are infused, which *Weston* having received from the Countess by his Son, he meets the Lieutenant as he carried up *Overbury's* Meat, saying to him, Sir, shall I give it him now? The Lieutenant ask'd him, What? *Weston* answer'd, Sir, you know what is to be done. The Lieutenant, that would not have it known that he knew any thing, gave him a Check,

A. Reg. 11. and would not understand his Meaning, or at least would have him take notice that he understood it; for he thought that his Connivance would not bring him within the Compass of the Fact (and for the Guilt he could dispense with it well enough) and therefore his Part of Working was only not to seem to know what was done. So subtilly sometimes Men strive to couse themselves.

An. Christi 1613. But these Ling'ring Operations do not suit with the Countess's implacable Humour; *Weston* is chid by Mrs. *Turner* for being so slow. But he that knew that he might be too Active, kept on his old Pace, as the only way to have it pass unsuspected, aiming at his own Preservation, as well as *Overbury's* Destruction. He gets therefore (by the help of *Franklin*) several sorts of Poysons, tempering them with his Broaths, and every bit of Meat he eat, that he might diminish by Degrees; for his very Salt was mixt with white Mercury: And besides these, Sir *Thomas Monson* sent Tarts and Jellies of the Countess's and Mrs. *Turner's* Composition (by some of his Servants) to *Weston*, for the better Expedition. Thus was the poor Gentleman tortur'd and rack'd in a horrid Distemper; who being Young, and of a Strong Constitution, was able to grapple a long time with these Corroding Tormentors: But his Body being not always able to bear it, at length he fell extream Sick; and having no Friend that could or durst Visit him; none to complain to but the Caufers of his Misery (such strict Guards were kept about him) he languish'd both in Body and Mind. But some Friend by accident taking the Advantage for a Visit, and finding him very Sick, procur'd him a wholesome Glister, which *Weston* was willing enough to have administred, because he would not be too quick; and that retarded the Work, by carrying away some of the Poysonous Matter. Which *Northampton* hearing, the Lieutenant was check'd for being so careless; and commanded that none should come near him; being fearful lest the Desperateness of his Condition should make him reveal some thing of High Concernment that had been Machinated among them: And Mrs. *Turner* rebuked her Minister *Weston*, for looking no better to his Charge; so they dealt with him now upon a new Account.

The Countess got loose from her Husband, grows wanton in her Prosperity. Nature is unbounded where neither Law nor Grace doth Limit. The good Earl of *Essex* must repay the Portion; to do which, he is forc'd to sell *Benington* in *Hartfordshire*, a very gallant Seat, and glad he is rid of a Torment at any Rate. She now mounted on her Car, drives over all Oppositions; Her Beauties shine in the Court (as she would have it) she is the King's Favourite, as well as her Husband; the Glories of her Marriage must appear there, and she is a fit Gift for the King to bestow; he that took her away from one Husband, can give her to another, who must be of equal Rank to her, that she may not descend, therefore he is created Earl of *Somerset*; and all the splendid Equipage, and magnificent Preparation that can either fill a Court with Delight, or People with Admiration, are not wanting for the Marriage. She thinking all the World ignorant of her sly Practices, hath the Impudence to appear in the Habit of a Virgin, with her Hair pendant almost to her Feet; which Ornament of her Body (though a Fair one) could not cover the Deformities of her Soul: But these, and her high Elations, are Clouds to her Conscience,

Rochester made Earl of Somerset, Nov. 4. married Dec. 5. following.

A. Reg. 11. ence, that (though her Bauds might for her) her indeed lovely Cheeks did not betray themselves to Blushes. These glorious Days are seconded with as glorious Nights, where Masks and Dancings had a continued Motion; the King naturally affecting such High-flying Pastimes and Banquettings, as might wrap up his Spirit, and keep it from descending towards Earthly things.

An. Christi 1613.
Feasted in London. The City of London, and the Court at Whitehall, like two great Stars in Conjunction, had one and same Influence and Operation; they must do something for the Man whom the King loves: Therefore a great Feast is prepar'd by them in Merchant-Taylors-Hall (and all the Grandees and Ladies are invited) with so much Magnificence, as if it had been Competitor, and vied with Whitehall for Glory. They all rode a Horseback into the City in the Evening, following their two Leaders; the Men attending the Bridegroom, and the Women the Bride; so mounted, furnished, and adorn'd with Trappings, and so bespangled with Jewels, that the Torches and Flambeaux (which were numerous) were but little light to the Beholders.

Overbury hears of the Marriage. The Noise of these Triumphs resounding in the closest Corners, brought the News to Sir Thomas Overbury, which was an unfit and comfortless Companion to a Man in Misery; conscious to himself, that all his Sufferings proceeded from his Opposition to that which was now in Agitation; so that in his obscure Prison and darker Thoughts, he could not see the least Glimps of Hope that look'd toward Liberty, when he consider'd the implacable Nature of the Woman. But yet he was not so guilty to his own Reason, and that Friendship (as he thought) that was betwixt him and the Earl of Somerset, as utterly to despair, he having so faithfully promised to procure his Release.

Writes to Somerset. Therefore Overbury writes to him in the midst of his Glory, to let him know the sad Condition wherein he was, and how much his Health was impair'd, which he imputed to his Recluse-ness and want of Air; humbly imploring his Assistance, that he might no longer languish under the Burthens of his Infirmities. Somerset not willing to have him exclaim, made answer, That the King was now full of great Business; but he would take the first Opportunity to move him for his Release (though he was highly incens'd against him) and make his Indisposition a Ground for the King's Mercy to work upon: including in the Letter a white Powder, which he desir'd him to take; assuring him, That though it made him a little Sick at first, it would do him much good in the End. The poor abused Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poysonous Quality, added to his Afflictions: But there must be something more violent to work the Feat.

Somerset sends Poisons in his Answers. The Lieutenant of the Tower (that was his frequent Visitor) open'd his Breast to his Complaints; and with an outward Pity receiv'd them, against those that were Authors of his Calamities, and discharg'd them again into their Bosoms, against whom they were spoken; so that he could say nothing that came not to their knowledge, his very Words being rack'd, as well as his Body tormented. For the Lieutenant confess'd after, with repenting Tears, as one of his great Sins, that he was unfaithful and treacherous to him; doing things to his Disadvantage that he trusted him to do; promising him Secrecy, and betraying him to satisfy Greatness. Thus he continu'd in this dismal Den above four Months; whip'd daily (as

A. Reg. 11. it were) with Scorpions, whose venomous stings enter'd even into his Soul: So that his Enemies, being more impatient for his enduring so long, than he was to endure so much, forced Nature so, with an impoyson'd Glisten, (compounded by Franklin) that within a short time after he died.

An. Christi 1613.
And to kill him again after Death, they brand him with the Scandal of a Lascivious Life; giving out, that he died of the Pox: Which Northampton expressed to Somerset in a Letter; telling him of strange Sores and Ulcers found upon his Body, ugly to behold, stinking intolerably; the People forced to throw him in a loose sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on Tower-Hill: Concluding, That God is gracious in cutting off evil Instruments before their time. Which Sentence (while he was writing it) reflected the Judgment on himself; for Northampton having a great Influence in the Kingdom, being a prime Counsellor to the King, and intimate with Somerset, they Two grasping all Power; and Northampton having the better Head to manage it, the Miscarriages were, not without cause, imputed to him. For being a Papist, he did not only work upon Somerset to pervert him (by letting him see there was a greater Latitude for the Conscience in that Religion) but got him to procure many Immunities for the Papists, as the King's best affected Subjects. And being Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, he gave free Access to Priests and Jesuits, that abundantly flock'd again into the Kingdom, the Operation of the last Parliament having now lost the Vertue. And a Letter being discover'd which he had written to Cardinal Bellarmine, wherein he expresses the Condition of the Times; and the King's Importunity compelled him to be a Protestant in shew, yet nevertheless his Heart stood firm with the Papists, and if there were Cause he would express it; with much more to this Purpose. These Things first mutter'd, then urg'd against him, touch'd him to the Heart; so that he retir'd, disposed of his Estate, and died. He had a great Mind tending towards eminent Things, which he was the better able to effect, by living a Batchelor to an old Age, being always attended (and he loved it) with Gentlemen of Quality, to whom he was very Bountiful. His Affections were also much raised to Charity, as by the Alms-House he erected appears; and his Works shew him to be a great Getter. But leaving no Issue to Propagate his Name, he built a fair House by Charing-Cross to continue it; which it lost soon after his Death, being called Suffolk-house for a time, and now Northumberland-house. Such Changes there are in the World's Measures! His Body was carried to be buried at Dover, because he was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, as was reported by some of his Followers; but it was Vulgarly rumour'd to be transported to Rome. But these Actions of his about Overbury lying Dormant, made no great noise at this time against him; but when they broke out, they laid upon his Name as great a Stench as Infamy or Odium could produce.

The Bishops that were only to move in their own Spheres, had an Influence over more than their own Sees: For some of them that were never unactive for establishing their Temporal Greatness, were not contented to suppress many Pious and Religious Men; but, I know not for what Policy, restrain'd their going beyond Sea: For there were divers Families about this time Shipp'd for New-England, and were not suffer'd to go; though afterwards they were upon

A. Reg. 12. upon better Thoughts permitted. For in Reason (being there was an Impossibility to reduce them to their Wills) it had been the best Course to have set open the Door, that the Enemy might have had a smooth Passage. But this Malicious Proceeding was no hindrance to the Establishment of that Colony, nor is the Blame to be laid upon the Function, (for some of the † Bishops in these Times were Holy Men, and great Lights to the Truths of God) but on such, whose Ambition made them endeavour more after Earthly things than Heavenly, and less to please God than the King, (as Cardinal *Woolsey* long since confessed of himself) and the Malice of Evil Men may protract, but it shall never destroy what God intends to build up. A Wonderful Light breaking forth in the *West-part* of the World; this Latter Age discovering the Nakedness of the Nations both in Body and Soul; which carried a Resemblance of the Creation of a new World, or at least the Imperfection of the Old. A vast Territory, and few People.

New-England described. The Spaniards, the first Discoverers, being more covetous to grasp, than well able to plant, took Possession of the most precious Places; so that the *English, French and Dutch*, caught but what they left. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others (after Sir *Francis Drake*) found out that Country now called *Virginia*, which was long since planted with a Colony. And in that Tract of Land more Northerly, within the Degrees of 40 and 48 of Latitude, lies *New-England*, a Climate Temperate and Healthful, but not so much as the *Old*. It is rather a low than a high Land, full of Rocky Capes or Promontories. The Inmost Parts of the Country are Mountainous, intermix'd with fruitful Valleys and large Lakes, which want not store of good Fish. The Hills are no where Barren (though in some places Stony) but fruitful in Trees and Grass. There are many Rivers, fresh Brooks and Springs, that run into the Sea. The Rivers are good Harbours, and abound with plenty of excellent Fish; yet are they full of Falls, which makes them not Navigable far into the Land. The Seas bordering the Shores are studded with Islands, about which great Shoals of Fishes (Cod, Haddock, and such like) do wantonly sport themselves. The main Land doth nourish abundance of Deer, Bears, Wolves, and a Beast called Moose, peculiar to those Regions; and the Rivers and Ponds are stor'd with some Beavers, Otters, and Musquashes. There are also divers kinds of small Beasts, but the most offensive are Foxes. Fowls there are store in their several Seasons, as Turkeys, Geese and Ducks; and the Soil naturally produces wild Vines with very large Bunches of Grapes; but the extremity of Heat and Cold, hinder their just Temper. There are many other Fruits which are very good, with Plants, whose Rinds or Barks transcends our Hemp or Flax; both Air and Earth concurring to bring forth most things that Industry and Art can provide for the Use of Man.

Planted first 1606. The First that sent a Colony into this Country, was the Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, in the Year 1606. A Man highly Renown'd in his time, for

A. Reg. 12. persecuting such as transgressed the Laws among Christians; living like Beasts of Prey to the prejudice of Travellers. And in this he had a special Aim and Hope also, to establish Christian Laws among Infidels; and by Domestical, to chase away those Feroous and Indomitable Creatures, that infested the Land: Brave and Gallant Spirits having ever such Publick Ends. But Planters are like Alchymists, they have something in Projection, that many times fails in Production. It is conceiv'd the *Romans* were not well advis'd to settle one of their first Colonies at *Maldon in Essex*, whose Soil about is neither yet found, nor Air salubrious. And the first opening of Ground in a Climate not Natural, hath an extraordinary Operation upon the Bodies of Men, whose Senses must comply to give Entertainment to a Stranger, that often spoils the Place where it finds Hospitality. For the first Planters in *New-England* having seated themselves low, few of them were left to direct those that succeeded in a better way. Yet People, by dear Experience, over-came it by degrees, being Yearly supplied by Men, whose Industry and Affections taught them, there was more Hope to find Safety in *New-England* than in the *Old*.

Though these found some stop, yet our great *Somerset's* Favourite, the Earl of *Somerset*, and his Business, runs smoothly, without Rub, since *Overbury's* Death. But he must alter his Bias, and go less, or find some new Ways to bring in Moneys; the Revenues of the Crown are not competent to maintain such vast Expences, accumulated by his Riot, though he had all the Earl of *Westmorland's* Lands at his Marriage, and Creation, added to his Earldom. || There must be therefore a new Order of Baronets made, in number Two hundred, that must be next Degree to Barons; and these must pay a Thousand Pound a-piece for their Honour; having it by Patent under the Great Seal, and continued to Posterity with the Title of Knights. Some of these new Honourable Men (whose Wives Pride, and their own Prodigalities, had pump't up to it) were so drain'd, that they had not Moisture to maintain the Radical Humour, but wither'd to nothing. This Money thus rais'd, is pretended for planting the North of *Ireland*; but it found many other Channels, before it came to that Sea. And though at our King's first access to the Crown, there was a glut of Knights made, yet after some time he held his hand, lest the Kingdom should be cloy'd with them: And the World thriv'd so well with some, that the Price was afterwards brought up to Three hundred Pounds a piece. But now again, the poor Courtiers were so Indigent, that Sixty Pounds would purchase a Knighthood, the King wanting other Means to gratifie his Servants.

Yet he was of so free a Nature, and careless of Money, when he had it (though solicitous to get it) that he Battled in his own Bounty. For being one Day in the Gallery at *Whitehall*, and none with him but Sir *Henry Rich* (who was second Son to the Earl of *Warwick*) afterwards Earl of *Holland*, a Gentleman of Excellent Natural Parts, but youthfully Expensive;

† From this Character which the Author gives several Bishops of that time, it appears he was no Sectarian or Dissenter, as some would pretend, but a Moderate Churchman.

|| It's true, the Earl of *Salisbury* had given the King a Project for Erecting this new Order of Knighthood some time before, in order to supply in some Measure his empty Coffers: But it was *Somerset* that got it put in Practice, and he had most of the Money arising from it.

A. Reg. 12. and James Maxwell, one of his Bed-Chamber; some Porters pass'd by them, with Three thousand Pounds, going to the Privy-Purse: Sir Henry Rich whisper'd Maxwell; the King turn'd upon them, and asked Maxwell, What says he? What says he? Maxwell told him, he wish'd he had so much Money; Marry shalt thou Harry, (saith the King) and presently commanded the Porters to carry it to his Lodging, with this Expression; *You think now you have a great Purchase; but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleased you in giving this Money, than you can be in receiving it.* This Story intervenes, to shew the Temper of his Mind.

Gold
raised

About this time also Gold was rais'd to Two Shillings in the Pound, occasion'd from the high Value set upon it abroad, which made the Merchants transport it. But the first Inhancers can make their Markets, by ingrossing great Sums; especially the Payments of those Times, and all this King's Reign, being for the most part in Gold, so that it might be call'd the Golden Age; that it is a Wonder now what Gulph hath swallow'd those great Sums, if their Golden Wings be not flown to the Sun-riking. But these little Projects will bring in but small Store of Money to maintain the Work: Many such Materials must go to make up a Royal Building; and little Streams will not easily fill a Cistern that hath many Issues. A Parliament can furnish all; but who dare venture on such Refractory Spirits.

A Parlia-
ment un-
dertaken.

Yet there was a Generation about the Court, that, to please and humour Greatness, undertook a Parliament, as Men presuming to have Friends in every County and Borough, who (by their Power among the People) would make Election of such Members for Knights and Burgeses, as should comply solely to the King's Desires; and Somerset is the Head and Chief of these Undertakers: But this was but an Embrion, and became an Abortive. The English Freedom cannot be lost by a few base and tame Spirits, that would unmake themselves and their Posterity to aggrandize one Man. For the Parliament meeting according to their Summons, such Faces appear'd there as made the Court droop; who, instead of contributing to the King's Wants, lay open his Waists, especially upon the Scots, with whom they desire *Medietatem Linguae*, a Share of Favour; the Bread (by our Saviour's Rule) properly belonging to the Children of the Kingdom. And they beseech his Majesty to stop the Current of future Access of that Nation, to make Residence here, having enough to eat up their own Crums. They enquire into the Causes of the unexpected Encrease of Popish Recufants since the Gunpower-Plot, the Detestation whereof (they thought) should have utterly extinguished them; and they find it owing to the Admission of Popish Nobility into his Councils; the silencing of many watchful and diligent Ministers; † the divers Treaties his Majesty hath entertain'd, not only for the Marriage of the deceased Prince Henry, but for Prince Charles, that now liveth, with the

A. Reg. 12. Daughters of Popish Princes; which dishearteneth the Protestant, and encourageth the Recufant; laying open, with these, many other Miscarriages in Government; which the King willing to have conceal'd, stop'd them in their Course, dissolving the Parliament, and committing to the Tower and other Prisons (the Beginning of Encroachment upon the Publick Liberties) such as were most active for the Common Good.

A. Reg. 12.
An. Christi
1614.

These fair Blossoms not producing the hop'd-for Fruit, they find out new Projects to manure the People, different much in Name and Nature, a Benevolence extorted, a Free-Gift against their Wills was urg'd upon them; and they that did not give in their Money, must give in their Names, which carried a kind of Fright with it. But the most knowing Men (like so many Pillars to the Kingdom's Liberties) supported their Neighbour's tottering Resolutions, with assuring them, That these kind of Benevolences were against Law, Reason, and Religion.

A Bene-
volence
required.

First, against Law, being prohibited by divers Acts of Parliament, and a Curse pronounced against the Infringers of them.

Secondly, against Reason, that a particular Man should oppose his Judgment and Discretion, to the Wisdom and Judgment of the Kingdom assembled in Parliament, who have there denied any such Aid.

Thirdly, against Religion, that a King, violating his Oath, (taken at his Coronation, for maintaining the Laws, Liberties and Customs, of the Realm) should be assisted by the People in an Act of so much Injustice and Impiety. These, and many other Arguments, infilled into the People by some good Patriots, were great Impediments to the Benevolence; so that they got but little Money, and lost a great deal of Love: For no Levies do so much decline and abase the Love and Spirits of the People, as unjust Levies. Subsidies get more of their Money, but Exactions enslave the Mind; for they either raise them above, or depress them beneath, their Sufferings, which are equally mischievous, and to be avoided.

This Summer the King of Denmark re-visited his Sister the Queen of England, with some Forty Lords, Gentlemen and others, in his Train: Landing at Yarmouth, and passing directly to London, took up his Lodging in our common Inns, and was not known, but for some Outlandish Noblemen, till he came to the Queen's Palace in the Strand, where she was surpris'd with the unexpected Joy of a Brother's Company, distant'd from her by the Interest of his People, the great Bar that hinders Princes the common Civilities and Happiness of their Inferiors. But the Joy continu'd not long; for after some Fourteen Days Interview, they parted again. But those Days had such a Plenitude of all those Delights that contend to Satisfaction, as if a great deal of more Time had been involved and contracted in them.

The King
of Den-
mark's se-
cond
Coming.

The Earl of Somerset, new made Lord Chamberlain, succeeding his Father-in-law the Earl

The
Queen
opposes
Somerset.

† It's remarkable, That in a Speech of his to the preceding Parliament, King James denied that ever he had any Design to match his Children in Roman Catholick Families; notwithstanding the Great Monsieur de Thou, and most of the Foreign Historians of that Time, mention the Steps he made towards a Match for Prince Henry with the eldest Infanta of Spain, afterwards Queen of France; to which that young Prince shew'd an utter Aversion: And there is yet extant in Print, a Memorial sent by Sir Dudley Carleton, then Ambassador at Venice, to the Earl of Salisbury, setting forth Reasons against that intended Match, and shewing how much it was the Interest of King James to match his Son to a Protestant Princess. But however secret the Design of thus matching Prince Henry was kept, his Treaty afterwards for a Match between his surviving Son and that Infanta's Sister, was one of the most publick Transactions of his Reign.

A. Reg. 12. of Suffolk, and the Lord Treasurer Successor to Salisbury, were not very acceptable to the Queen, having the same Spirit and Animosity against Somerset that her Son had: But whether from an Apprehension that the King's Love and Company was alienated from her by this Masculine Conversation and Intimacy, or whether the Man's Insolence (thus high mounted) had carried him too near the Beams of Majesty, (his Creature Overbury being a little before his

A. Reg. 12. Commitment condemned for presumptuous walking with his Hat on in her Palace Garden, she being in the Window) or whether from that natural Inclination that makes every one oppose Pride in others, though it be more active in themselves and see it not, or from that Rumour of Prince Henry's Death, covertly imputed to Somerset, I know not: * But she became the Head of a great Faction against him.

* I remember to have read a Latin Account of the Life of Christian King of Denmark, Queen Anne's Brother, (the Author's Name I have forgot) in which Mention is made of her Hatred to Somerset, and her Suspicions of some foul Play done her Son Prince Henry.

It's certain, she was a great Instrument in his Fall, and would never see him after, though the King sometimes did; which must have proceeded from some rooted Prejudice, the rather that it was almost the only Turn of Court she meddled in all the Time she liv'd after her coming to England.

It's true, the whole Court was weary of Somerset before; but they durst not appear against him till the Queen had openly declar'd her self his Enemy: Nor durst Winwood trust the Discovery he had made of Overbury's Murder to any of the Ministers, till he had sounded the Queen before-hand, to know if she would stand by him, and protect him against the Favourite.

But neither she, nor all the World besides, could have brought about his Overthrow, if the King's growing Favour to Villiers had not given them Encouragement; which they promoted with all the Industry imaginable, as the only way to jostle out the other.

It's true, the Queen would much rather have had no Favourite about the King, if it had been possible: For when Archbishop Abbot was put upon it, by the rest of the Court, to persuade her to recommend Villiers, he tells us, in his printed Narrative, she made him this Answer: *My Lord, Neither you nor your Friends know what you desire. I know your Master better than you all. If Villiers get once into his Favour, those who shall have most contributed to his Preferment will be the first Sufferers by him. I shall be no more spared than the rest. The King will teach him himself to despise us, and to treat us with Pride and Scorn. The young proud Favourite will fancy that he is obliged to no body for his preferment, but his own Merit.*

The Queen's Conjectures were not ill grounded; for she was soon obliged to apply her self to the new Favourite for every thing she had to ask of the King.

We have an early Instance of this in a Letter of hers to Buckingham, when but Sir George Villiers, dated at Denmark House, Febr. 2. 1617. contain'd in the Collection of Original Letters after-mention'd.

There she desires his Intercession with the King, for the Reversion of the Wardship of Sir George Savill's Heir, within the Lordship of Pomfret; telling him, *That though the Lordship was properly her own, yet she would be obliged to Villiers for that Reversion, to prevent any Mistakes that might arise when the Thing happen'd.*

Now since I have already, and may hereafter more than once, make mention of this Collection of Original Letters, it's but reasonable the Reader should once for all have some short Account of them.

There are in all Six Bundles of these Letters, most of them mark'd with King Charles I. his Hand, some few with Archbishop Laud's, if I mistake not the Character, and the rest with a Hand I remember not to have seen before.

In the first Bundle there are Twelve of King James's Letters, and Two of the Queen of Bohemia's, to the Duke of Buckingham. In the second Bundle there are Fourteen Letters of King James to the Prince and Buckingham jointly. In the third there is One Letter of King James to the Prince, and Two of the Prince's to him. In the fourth there are Ten Letters of King Charles I. to Buckingham, Eight of them when he was Prince, and Two when he was King; together with Two of Queen Anne's to the same Duke. The fifth Bundle contains Seven Letters of the Duke of Buckingham to King James. And the sixth Nine Letters of the Prince and Buckingham jointly to him.

All these are Original Letters, and the whole of their own Hand-writing. How they came into Archbishop Laud's Hands, I know not; but they were among the rest of his Papers seized by Primme, by Vertue of an Order of the then House of Commons, and continued in his Hands till the Restoration, when all Archbishop Laud's Books and Papers were ordered by the King in Council to be delivered to Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and after Archbishop Sheldon's Death, they fell into the Hands of his Executors.

It looks strange, that Primme in all his virulent Writings should never take Notice of these Letters, considering that as he wanted not Inclination to bespatter the Memory of King James, so he had sufficient Matter in them to feed his Humour, there being Expressions in some of these Letters of King James to Buckingham might make a Bawd blush to repeat. But I have been credibly told they were found among a Heap of waste Paper, when Archbishop Sheldon had them from Primme, and so probably it was they escaped Primme's Notice all the time they were in his Possession.

The Letters that passed between the King and Buckingham are wrote in a peculiar Stile of Familiarity, the King for the most part calling him *His Dear Child and Gossip*, and *His Dear Child and Gossip, Steiny*; and subscribing himself, *His Dear Dad*, and sometimes *His Dear Dad and Stewart*; and once, when he sends him Partridges, *His Dear Dad and Purveyor*. Buckingham calls the King, for the most part, *Dear Dad and Gossip*, and sometimes *Dear Dad, Gossip, and Stewart*; and subscribes always, *Your Majesty's most Humble Slave and Dog, Steiny*.

The Prince's Letters, both to the King and Buckingham, are of another Stile, and much more manly Sense. These of his and Buckingham jointly to the King from Madrid are all of Buckingham's Hand; and upon the top, the King is call'd *Dear Dad and Gossip*; the Prince signing beneath on the right Hand, *Your Majesty's most Obedient Son and most Humble Servant*; and Buckingham on the left, *Your Majesty's most Humble Slave and Dog, Steiny*. The Prince, in his Letters to Buckingham, calls him always *Steiny*, and signs, *Your Constant Faithful Friend*.

Not to blot this Paper with the Bawdy that is in some of these Letters of King James, I shall only observe, that such was the Familiarity and Friendship between him and Buckingham, that in one of them he tells Buckingham, *He wears Steiny's Picture under his Waistcoat, next his Heart*; and in another, *He bids him, his only Sweet and Dear Child, hasten to him to Birely that Night, that his white Teeth may shine upon him*.

But the Reader may better judge of the rest of King James's familiar Letters to the Duke of Buckingham by the following short one, which runs thus *verbatim*, and is without Date.

My only Sweet and Dear Child,

Blessing, Blessing, Blessing, on thy Heart's Roots, and all Time, this Thursday Morning. Here is great Store of Game, as they say, Partridges and Stencorlews: I know who shall get their Part of them: And here is the finest Company of young Hounds that ever was seen. God bless the sweet Master of my Harriers, that made them to be so well kept all Summer; I mean Tom. Badger. I assure my self thou wilt punctually observe the Day and Journey I sett thee down in my first Letter from Theobalds. God bless thee, and sweet Kate, and Mall, to the Comfort of

Thy Dear Dad,

JAMES R.

P. S. Let my last Compliment settle to thy Heart, till we may have a sweet and comfortable Meeting, which God send; and give thee Grace to bid the Drugges adieu this Day.

Now the Reason why King James gave Buckingham the Name of Steiny, was for his Handfomness, it being the Diminutive of St. Stephen, who is always painted with a Glory about his Face.

A. Reg. 12. Sir Ralph Winwood, who had been Lieger-Ambassador with the States in the Netherlands, for his Abilities and good Service had merited so much from the King, that he made him Secretary of State: The Queen closes with him, the better to discover *Somerſet's* Miscarriages; and he was ready enough to oblige her; for *Somerſet* made him but an Underling, grasping all Publick Employments into his own Hand, not caring whom he disoblige, or what Malice he pull'd upon himself; for, like a Coloss, he stood the Brunt of all the Tempests of Envy, making those that carried the greatest Sail to strike and come under him. Nor would he suffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be bestow'd, which was not sweetned with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it; so that (it was thought) he engrossed a Mass of Coin, as if his Soul intended to take her Ease. This Pride and Covetousness added to his other Miscarriages such a Number of Underminers, that he stood upon a tottering Foundation, having no Support but the King's Favour, which, whether by Providence from above, or Purposes below, (both ever concurring from the Will to the Means) was soon removed.

George Villiers a Favourite. For about this Time the King cast his Eye upon a young Gentleman, so rarely moulded, that he meant to make him a Masterpiece: His Name was *George Villiers*; he was second Son to Sir *George Villiers*, a Knight of *Leicestershire*, by a second *Venter*: For the old Man coming to *Coleborton*, in that County, to visit his Kinswoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that Name ally'd, and yet a Servant to the Lady, who being of a handsome Presence and Countenance, took his Affections, and he married her. This was the Soil where the glorious Cedar grew; who, having only the Breeding and Portion of a younger Brother, with the Mother's Help and Travel, got the Addition of a *French* Garb, which brought him to the Court in no greater a Condition than Fifty Pounds a Year is able to maintain.

The King, stricken with this new Object, would not expose him to so much Hazard as the Malice of a jealous Competitor, nor himself to so much Censure as to be thought changeable, and taken again with a sudden Affection; therefore he instructs some of his Confidants to bring him in by Degrees, who intimated the King's Pleasure to him, that he should wait Cup-bearer at large, being so, at too great a Distance of Place to have any Mark of Favour for Suspicion to level at. And if the King had not receiv'd a new Impression thus, the old Character of *Somerſet*, that was imprinted in his Soul, could not so soon (as many Men thought) have been blotted out. But Courts that are the wisest, though not the most virtuous Schools, do teach their Scholars to observe the Seasons, and, by the Astronomy of the Prince's Eye, to calculate what Fortune such Aspects and such Conjunctions may happily produce: And they found so much as gave them Encouragement to hear, and Boldness to discover, that which pull'd down the one, and set up the other.

Somerſet's Decline, 1615. But *Somerſet*, that had the Pulse of Conscience always beating at *Overbury's* Door, was as active to preserve himself, as his Enemies were to ruin him: And finding himself shaking, (though there was nothing yet laid to his Charge but the imbezelling some of the Crown Jewels) he throws himself at the King's Feet, acknowledging the great Trust his Majesty had

reposed in him, and the Weight of Business lying on him, might make him encounter him with some Miscarriages through Youth and Ignorance, (great Employments often meeting with Envy, that jostles them in the way:) He therefore humbly besought his Majesty to grant him a general Pardon for what was past, that he might not be exposed to the Malice of those that would wrest all his Actions to the worst Meaning. The King, that raised this fair Edifice, being loth to have it quite pull'd down again, gave Order for the drawing up of a general Pardon, in so ample and full a Manner, that it might rather Exceed than take Rise from any former Precedent: This the King sign'd, and sent to the Great Seal; but the Queen having Notice of it, and using her Power with the Lord Chancellor, gave stop to the Seal till the King's coming to Town, (who was on his Progress in the West) and then what was mutter'd in Corners before, rung openly in the Streets: For the Apothecary's Boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the Glisten, falling sick at *Flushing*, reveal'd the whole Matter, which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by his Correspondents, had a full Relation of; and a small Breach being made, his Enemies, like the Noise of many Waters, rise up against him, following the Stream.

The King hearing of the Business, and what ill Sound it carried with it, (as it was set out to him) that in the Face of the Court, and so near his own Bosom, such poisonous Practices should be perpetrated, and on one that was his Prisoner, he seem'd to be much mov'd with the Relation, and sending for the Judges, gave them strict Charge to examine the Matter thoroughly, imprecating a Curse upon them and their Posterity, if they did not endeavour to discover it; and if he did spare any guilty Person, he wish'd Gods Curse might light upon him, and his Posterity; so violent the King appear'd in Prosecution of it: And away to *Royſton* he goes, and *Somerſet* with him; thither these Rumours came buzzing about his Ears, like a rising Storm upon a well-spread Oak; but he thought himself too firmly rooted in the King's Favour to be removed, therefore he went back to *London*, to still the Murmurs vented against him. Some say, the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* sent for him; upon which he went to the King with a Complaint, as taking it to be a great Presumption; but the King made answer, *Thou must go then; for if Coke sends for me, I must go too.* Others say, when he came to take his Leave of the King, he embrac'd and kiss'd him often, wish'd him to make hast back, shew'd an extream Passion to be without him; and his Back was no sooner turn'd, but he said with a Smile, *I shall never see thy Face more.* Whether either or both of these were so cannot be asserted; but to *London* he went; his Countess was apprehended (and committed to Custody in *Black Fryars*) before he came thither: He was no sooner there, but he was seiz'd on, and commended to the Charge of Dr. *Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*; and then they went on roundly with the Business.

For a little before this, *Weston* was taken, and examin'd; but, like a stubborn Piece, (unmoulded for Impression) nothing could be drawn from him: But God (by the Means and Perswasion of the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *King*, a Man eminent for Piety in his Time) so wrought upon his Heart, that the Eye of his Soul being open'd to the Foulness of his Sin, he discover'd all; so that the whole Confederacy were laid hold on; who falling into the Hands of

A. Reg. 13. of the Lord Chief Justice Coke, (a Spirit of a fiery Exhalation, as subtle as active) he left no Stone unturn'd, till he had ript up the very Foundation.

An. Christi 1615. But in the mean time, between Weston's standing mute, and his Trial, one Lumsden, a Scotchman, took upon him to make a false and libellous Relation of the Business, and delivers it to Henry Gib of the Bed-Chamber, to be put into the King's Hand; in which Writing he falsifies and perverts all that was done the first Day of Weston's Arraignment, turning the Edge of his Imputations upon the Lord Chief Justice Coke; which Bolt was boldly shot by him, but it was thought not to come out of his own Quiver; and it lighted into an ill Hand for him, for the King discover'd it, and left him an open Mark to that Justice he had traduc'd.

Weston executed. Weston was the first that suffer'd by the Hand of the Law; which Sir John Hollis, (after Earl of Clare) out of Friendship to Somerset, and Sir John Wentworth, a Person debauch'd and riotous, (hoping, from the Beams of Somerset's Favour, to increase his wanting Fortunes) strove to blast in the Spring; for they rode to Tyburn, and urged him at his Execution to deny all, hoping that way to prevent the Autumn that followed: But Weston's Soul being prepar'd for Death, resisted their Temptations, sealing penitently the Truth of his Confession with his last Gasps. And this Attempt of Hollis, Wentworth, and Lumsden, to pervert Justice, being aggravated against them in the Star-Chamber by the King's Attorney, Sir Francis Bacon, they were sentenc'd there, and found the Reward of their Presumption.

Mrs. Turner. Mrs. Turner follow'd next: A Pattern of Pride and Lust; who having always given a loose Rein to her Life, she ran this Carrier at last into the Jaws of Death.

Sir Jervis Ellowis. Sir Jervis Ellowis, Lieutenant of the Tower, was the third, who suffer'd on Tower-Hill; a Man much pitied, being drawn in by the Allurements of Northampton to be a Spectator rather than an Actor in this bloody Tragedy; but this Connivance cost him his Life. And being a Man full of Sorrow for his Offence, he left two Pillars behind him at his Death, for Watch Towers to all that pass by, in this Bark of frail Mortality, to prevent Shipwrack. One was, Not to vow any thing to God, but to perform it. The other was, Not to take a Pride in any Parts, tho' never so Excellent. For the first, he said he was a great Gamester, and lov'd it; and having lost one time much Money, he seriously and advisedly, between God and his own Soul, clapping his Hand on his Breast, spake thus, (as it

were to God) If ever I play again, then let me be hang'd; And breaking my Vow, (said he) now God hath paid my Imprecation home. The second was, He took a great Delight in his Pen, And that Pen (to use his own Words) which I was so proud of, hath struck me dead, and, like Absolon's Hair, hath hang'd me; for there dropt a Word or two from my Pen, in a Letter to the Earl of Northampton, which upon my Salvation I am not able to answer: At my Arraignment I pleaded hard for my Life, and protested mine Innocency; but when my own Pen came against me, I was not able to speak for my self, but stood as one amaz'd, or that had no Tongue. Such Damps doth Guiltiness cast upon the Spirit!

The fourth that fell by the Stroke of Justice, And was Franklin, a Fellow as sordid in his Death, as pernicious in his Life, whose Name deserves not so much as Memory.

The fifth and sixth were Somerset and his Countess. At her Arraignment, all the Letters that passed betwixt Forman and she were read in open Court, and the Waxen and Brazen Poppets were made visible, dancing up and down from Hand to Hand, which discover'd the Folly of her Actions: But the Earl and she being condemn'd, found the King's Mercy, and were, after some time of Imprisonment in the Tower, set at Liberty, holding their Lives by a Lease of the King's Will, living in a private and almost obscure Condition: † Shewing in it, That no Content or Happiness can be truly establish'd, but on the Foundation of Justice: For that Love that made them break through all Oppositions, (either by her declining to some new Object, (as was the common Rumour) or his inclining to Reluctancy for the old) grew so weak, that it pin'd away, and they liv'd long after (tho' in one House) as Strangers one to another.

The Countess's Description in her Death. She died before him. Her Death was Infamous, his without Fame, the Obscurity of the rest of his Life darkening the Splendour of it. And tho' she died (as it were) in a Corner, (in so private a Condition) the Loathsomeness of her Death made it as conspicuous as on the House-top: For that part of her Body which had been the Receptacle of most of her Sin, grown rotten, (tho' she never had but one Child) the Ligaments failing, it fell down, and was cut away in Flakes, with a most nauseous and putrid Savour; which to augment, she would roul her self in her own Ordure in her Bed, and took Delight in it. Thus her Affections varied; for nothing could be found sweet enough to augment her Beauties at first, and nothing stinking enough to decipher her Loath-

† Somerset liv'd to an old Age, in a very obscure Retreat, tho' visited sometimes by King James, but never by his Son King Charles I. He was suffer'd to enjoy the greatest part of his Estate, and thought himself ill us'd that he was not restor'd to the whole. We have a Letter of his to this purpose Printed in the Cabala; wherein he complains to King James about the Delay he met with in that Business, and after a perplex'd manner vindicates his Innocency, or at least extenuates his Crime. The whole of that Letter is couch'd in obscure Terms, and some Sentences require an Interpreter. Among other expostulatory Expressions, he hath these following: I have presum'd to this end (saith he) to awaken Your Majesty's own Conceit upon this Subject, which can gather to it self better and more able Defences in my behalf upon this View: For tho' the Acts of your Mercy, which are not communicable, nor the Causes of them, as being deriv'd from those secret Motives which are only sensible and privy to your own Heart, and admits of no Secret or Discovery to any general Satisfaction; yet my Cause needs not hide its self, but attend the Dispute with any that would put upon it a monstrous and heavy Shape. Some few Lines after, he tells the King, That the Crime whereupon he was judg'd might have been none, if his Majesty's Hand had not once touch'd upon it; and that he fell rather for want of well Defending, than by the Violence or Force of any Proofs; for (says he) I so far forsook my self, and my Cause, that it may be a Question, Whether I was more condemn'd for that, or for the Matter it self?

The last Period of this Letter begins with another, yet darker, Expression. I will say no further (continues he) neither in that which Your Majesty doubted my Aptness to fall into; for my Cause nor my Confidence is not in that Distress as far to use that Mean of Intercession, but to remember Your Majesty that I am the Workmanship of your Hands, &c. To this Letter he signs, Your Majesty's Loyal Servant and Creature, Somerset.

How far any Expressions in this Letter may have Relation to a Report spread about at that time, of Somerset's threatening Message sent to King James by the Lieutenant of the Tower, That if he had not his Pardon, he would discover an important Secret, which was King James's Interest to have conceal'd, is left to the Reader to judge.

A Reg. 13. somness at last : Pardon the Sharpness of these
An. Christi Expressions, for they are for the Glory of God,
 1615. who often makes his Punishments (in the Bal-
 ance of his Justice) of equal Weight with our
 Sins.

Somerſet's
in his Life.

For his Person, he was rather well compacted than tall ; his Features and Favour comely and handsome, rather than Beautiful ; the Hair of his Head Flaxen, that of his Face tinctur'd with Yellow, of the Sycambrian Colour : In his own Nature, of a gentle Mind, and affable Disposition, having publick Affections, till they were all swallow'd up in this Gulf of Beauty, which did precipitate him into these dangerous Contrivances : For that which made his Friendship false, diverted his publick Affection to his private Interest ; and when he found himself guilty of what he thought might ruine him, he grew covetous to heap that together, which he thought might preserve him : So that at one Breach that our Corruptions make, many Mischiefs follow in the Crowd. And if he had not met with such a Woman, he might have been a good Man : But Trials and strong Temptations enhanceth the Price of Virtue ; the Conflict is gallant, but to be overcome, debaseth a Man the more, by how much his Fall is the greater.

I was loth to separate these Delinquents in their Trials (being close woven) by the length of Sir Francis Bacon's Speech in the Star-Chamber, against Hollis, Wentworth, and Lumsden. But knowing what an Ornament his Oratory will give to this Story, and how usual it was for ancient Historians to insert their Harangues of State, as well as Military Orations, I could not decline this, tho' it comes almost in the Rear ; the rather because it will serve as a Seal and Confirmation of what is formerly written. And thus it was :

Sir Francis
Bacon's
Speech in
the Star
Chamber. **T**HE Offence wherewith I shall charge the three Offenders at the Bar, is a Misdemeanour of a high Nature, tending to the Defacing and Scandal of Justice, in a great Cause Capital. The particular Charge is this :

The King, among many of his Princely Virtues, is known to excel in that proper Virtue of the Imperial Throne, which is Justice : It is a Master Virtue, unto which the other three are Ministrant, and do Service : Wisdom ferveth to discover and discern of Innocencies and Guiltiness ; Fortitude is to prosecute and execute ; and Temperance so to carry Justice, as it be not passionate in the Pursuit, nor confus'd in Valuing Persons, nor precipitate in Time.

For this his Majesty's Virtue of Justice, God hath of late raised an Occasion, and erected (as it were) a Stage, or Theatre, much for his Honour, to shew and Act in it, in the pursuit of the violent untimely Death of Sir Thomas Overbury, and therein cleansing the Land from Blood : For if Blood doth cry to Heaven in God's Ears, this is a Stench, I may say, in the Nostrils of God and Man.

This Work of Justice, the greater and more excellent it is, you will soon conclude, the greater is the Offence of any that have sought to affront or traduce it. And therefore, before I descend unto the particular Charge of these Offenders, I will say somewhat of the Crime of Impoysonment ; somewhat of the particular Circumstances of this Fact upon Overbury ; and thirdly, of the King's great and worthy Care and Carriage in this Business.

A Reg. 14.
An. Christi
 1616. The Offence of Impoysonment is most truly figured in that Device and Description which was made of the Nature of *Cainus Caligula*, That he was *Lutum sanguine maceratum*, Mire cemented with Blood : For as it is one of the highest Offences in Guiltiness, so it is the basest of all others in the Minds of Offenders. Treasons *Magnum aliquid spectant*, They aim at great Things ; but this is vile and base. I have found in the Book of God, Examples of all other Offences, but not any one of an Impoysonment, or an Impoysoner. I find Mention of some Fear of casual Impoysonments ; when the Waters were corrupted and bitter, they came complaining in a fearful manner, *Master, Mors in olla* : And I find Mention of Poysons of Beasts and Serpents ; *The Poysons of Asps is under their Lips*, saith the Psalm ; but I find no Mention in a Humane Creature of a malicious and murderous Impoysonment. Let their Table be made a Snare, is certainly most true of Impoysonment ; but that I think was meant of the Treachery of Friends, that were participant of the same Table.

This is an Offence that hath two Spurs of offending, *Spes perficiendi*, & *Spes celandi*, It is easily committed, and easily conceal'd. It is an Offence, that is, *Tanquam sagitta nocte volans*, It is the Arrow that flies by Night, it discerns not whom it hits ; for many times the Poyson is laid for one, and another takes it. As in Sanders's Case, where the poyson'd Apple was laid for the Mother, and the Child eat it. And so in that notorious Case, whereupon the Statute of 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 9. was made, where the Intent being but to poyson one or two, Poyson was put in a little Vessel of Barm that stood in the Kitchen at the Bishop of Rochester's House, of which, Barm, Pottage or Grewel was made, wherewith 17 of the Bishop's Family were poyson'd ; nay, divers of the Poor that came to the Bishop's Gate, and had the Pottage in Alms, were likewise poyson'd. Here is great Talk of Impoysonment, I hope I am safe, I have no Enemies, nor any thing Men can long for ; that is all one ; for he may sit at the Table by one for whom Poyson is prepar'd, and have a Drench of his Cup, or of his Pottage, and so (as the Poet saith) *Concidit infelix alieno vulnere*, He may die another Man's Death ; and therefore it was most gravely, judiciously, and properly provided by that Statute, That Impoysonment should be High-Treason, because whatsoever Offence tendeth to the utter Subversion and Dissolution of Humane Society, is in the Nature of High-Treason.

But it is an Offence, that I may truly say of it, *Non est nostri generis nec sanguinis* ; It is, Thanks be to God, rare in the Isle of Britain : It is neither of our Country, nor of our Church : You may find it in Rome and Italy, there is a Religion for it ; if it should come among us, it were better living in a Wilderness than in a Court.

For the particular Fact upon Overbury, I knew the Gentleman, it is true, his Mind was great, but it mov'd not in any great good Order ; yet certainly it did commonly fly at good Things ; and the greatest Fault that ever I heard by him, was, That he made his Friend his Idol. But take him as he was, the King's Prisoner in the Tower, and then see how the Case stands. In that Place the State is (as it were) a Respondent to make good the Body of the Prisoner ; and if any thing happen to him there, it may (tho' not in this Case, yet in

A. Reg. 14. in some others) make an Aspersion and Reflection upon the State it self: For the Person is utterly void of his own Defence; his own Care and Providence can serve him to nothing: He is in the Custody and Preservation of Law; and we have a Maxim in our Law, That when a State is in Preservation of Law, nothing can destroy it, or hurt it; and God forbid but the like should be in Persons; and therefore this was a Circumstance of great Aggravation.

Lastly, To have a Man chased to Death, in a manner, as it appears now by Matter of Record, (for other Privacy of Cause I know not) by Poyson after Poyson: First *Rosaker*, then *Arfnick*, then *Mercury Sublimate*, then *Sublimate* again: It is a thing would astonish Man's Nature to hear it. The Poets feign, That the Furies had Whips, and that they were corded with poysoned Snakes; and a Man would think that this Subject were the very Case: To have a Man tied to a Post, and to scourge him to death with Serpents; for so truly may Diversity of Poysons be termed.

It pleased my Lord Chief Justice to let me know that which I heard with great Comfort, which was the Charge that his Majesty gave to himself, and the rest of the Commissioners in this Case, worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, That the Business should be carry'd without Touch to any that was innocent, not only without Impeachment, but without Aspersion, which was a most Noble and Princely Caution; for Mens Reputations are tender Things, and ought to be, like Christ's Coat, without Seam. And it was more to be respected in this Case, because it met with two great Persons; a Nobleman that his Majesty had favour'd and advanc'd, and his Lady, being of a great and Honourable House; tho' I think it be true that the Writers say, That there is no Pomegranate so fair or so sound, but may have a perished Kernel. Nay, I see plainly in those excellent Papers of his Majesty's own Hand-writing (as so many Beams of Justice issuing from that Virtue which so much doth shine in him) the Business so evenly carry'd without Prejudice, whether it were a true Accusation on the one part, or a Practice or false Accusation on the other, as shew'd plainly that his Majesty's Judgment was, *Tanquam tabula rasa*, as a clean pair of Tables, and his Ears, *Tanquam janua aperta*, as a Gate not one side open, but wide open to the Truth, as it should be discover'd. And I may truly affirm, That there was never in this Kingdom, nor in any other, the Blood of a private Gentleman vindicated, *Cum tanto motu Regni*; or to say better, *Cum tanto plausu Regni*: If it had concern'd the King or Prince, there could not have been greater or better Commissioners. The Term hath been almost turn'd into a *Justitium*, or Vacancy; the People being more willing to be Lookers on in this Business, than Proceeders in their own. There hath been no Care of Discovery omitted, no Moment of Time lost; and therefore I will conclude, with the Saying of *Solomon*, this part of my Speech, *Gloria Dei celare rem*, and *Gloria Regis scrutari rem*, It is the Glory of God to conceal a Thing, and it is the Glory of the King to find it out: And his Majesty's Honour is the greater; for that he shewed to the World this Business as it hath Relation to my Lord of Somerset, (whose Case in no sort I do fore-judge, being ignorant of the Secrets of the Cause, but take him as the Law takes him, hitherto

A. Reg. 14. for a Suspect): I say, the King hath, to his great Honour, shew'd, That were any Man in such a Case of Blood, as the Signet of his Right Hand, (as the Scripture saith) he would put him off.

Now I will come to the particular Charge of these Gentlemen. And first I will, by way of Narrative, relate the Fact, with the Occasion of it.

This wretched Man *Weston*, who was the Actor, or Mechanical Party in this Impoysonment, the first Day being indicted by a very substantial Jury of selected Citizens, to the Number of Nineteen, who found *Billa vera*; yet nevertheless at the first stood mute: But after some Days Intermission, it pleased God to cast out the Dumb Devil, and he put himself upon his Trial, and was by a Jury of great Value, upon his own Confessions, and other Testimonies, found guilty: So as Thirty and one sufficient Jurors have pass'd upon him, and he had also his Judgment and Execution awarded. After this, being in Preparation for another World, he sent for Sir *Thomas Overbury's* Father, and falling down upon his Knees, with great Remorse and Compunction, ask'd him Forgiveness; and afterwards again, of his own Motion, desir'd to have his like Prayer of Forgiveness recommended to his Mother, who was absent. And at both times, out of the Abundance of his Heart, confessed, that he was to die justly, and that he was worthy of Death. And after again at his Execution, (which is a kind of sealing time of Confessions) even at the Point of Death, (tho' there were Tempters about him) he did again confirm publicly, That his Examinations were true, and that he had been justly and honourably dealt with. So here is a Period of this Man, which was the Subject of this Calumny or Affront of Justice; wherein Mr. *Lumsden* plays his part first, who in the time between *Weston's* standing mute and his Trial, frames a most odious and libellous Relation, containing as many Untruths as Lines; sets it down in Writing with his own Hand, and delivers it to one of the Bed-Chamber to be put into the King's Hands, falsifying all that was done the first Day of *Weston's* Arraignment, turning the Pike and Point of his Imputations upon the Lord Chief Justice of England; whose Name thus occurring, I cannot pass by, and yet I cannot skill of this same Flattery, or Vulgar Attribute; but this I will say of him, and I would say as much to Ages, That never Man's Person and his Place were better met in a Business, than my Lord *Coke*, and my Lord Chief Justice, in the Case of *Overbury*.

Now for the Person of Mr. *Lumsden*, I know he is a Scotch Gentleman, and thereby more ignorant of our Laws; but I cannot tell whether this doth extenuate his Fault, or increase it; for as it may extenuate it in respect of Ignorance, so it doth aggravate it much in respect of Presumption, to meddle in that he understood not, unless some other Man's Cunning wrought upon this Man's Boldness. The Infusion of a Slander into a King's Ears, of all Forms of Libels and Slanders, the worst. It is true, that Kings may keep secret their Information, and then no Man can enquire after them, while they are shrouded in their Breast: But where a King is pleased that a Man shall answer for his false Information, divers Precedents of slanderous Petitions have been as severely punish'd, as slanderous Libels.

For

A. Reg. 14. For the Offence of Sir John Wentworth, and *An. Christi* Sir John Hollis, which was, to scandalize the *1616.* Justice already past, or to cut off the Thread of something that is to come, these two Gentlemen came mounted on Horseback, and in a ruffling and facing Manner, presum'd to Examine Weston, whether he did Poyson Overbury, or no: Directly cros to that which had been Try'd and Judg'd. For what was the Point tried? That Weston had Poyson'd Overbury: And Sir John Wentworth's question was, Whether he did Poyson him? A direct Contradictory. Whereupon Weston answer'd, That he did him wrong. And turning to the Sheriff, said, *You promised me I should not be troubled at this time;* and yet nevertheless Wentworth press'd him to answer, that he might pray with him. I know not that Sir John Wentworth is an Ecclesiastick, that he should cut any Man from Communion of Prayer; and for all this vexing of the Spirit of a poor Man, now in the Gate of Death, Weston stood constant, and said, *I die not unworthily, my Lord Chief Justice hath my Mind under my Hand; and he is an Honourable and Just Judge.* Sir John Hollis was not so much a Questionist, but wrought upon the other Questions; and, like a Counsellor, wish'd him to discharge his Conscience, and to satisfie the World: What World I marvel! It was the World at Tyburn: For the World at Guildhall, and the World at London, were satisfi'd before; *Teste*, the Bells that rang every where. But Men have got a Fashion now a Days, that Two or Three Busy-bodies will take upon them the Name of the World, and broach their own Conceit, as if it were a general Opinion. Well, what more? When they could not work upon Weston, Sir John Hollis, in an Indignation, turn'd about his Horse, as the other was turning to his Death, and said, he was sorry of such a Conclusion: That was, to have the State Honour'd or Justify'd. Sir John Hollis's Offence hath another Appendix, before this in time, which was at the Day of Tryal. He presum'd to give his Verdict openly, That if he were of the Jury he would not doubt what to do. Marry, he saith, he cannot well tell whether he spoke this before the Jury had given up their Verdict, or after. Wherein there is little gain'd; For, whether he were a Prejuror, or a Postjuror, the one was to Prejudice the Jury, the other was to attaint them.

The Offence of these Gentlemen is greater and more dangerous than is conceiv'd. We have no Spanish Inquisition; no Justice in a Corner; no Gagging of Men's Mouths at their Death, but they may speak freely to the Last; but then it must come from the free Motion of the Party, not by tempting of Questions. The Questions that are asked ought to tend to further revealing of their own, or others Guiltiness: But to use a Question in the Nature of a cross Interrogatory, to falsitie that which is *Res Judicata*, is intolerable. That were to erect a Court, or Commission of Review at Tyburn, against the Court of Westminster: For if the Answer be according to the Judgment past, it adds credit to Justice: If it be contrary, it derogateth nothing; yet it subjecteth the Majesty of Justice to a popular vulgar Talk and Opinion. My Lords, These are great and dangerous Offences: For if we do not Maintain Justice, Justice will not Maintain us.

Then the Examinations being read, and further aggravated against these three Gentlemen,

there passed Judgment upon them of Fine and Imprisonment. *A. Reg. 14.*

Sir Thomas Monson, another of the Countesses Agents in this Poysoning Contrivance, had past one days Tryal at Guildhall. But the Lord Chief Justice Coke, in his Rhetorical Flourishes at his Arraignment, vented some Expressions (which he either deduced from Northampton's assuring the Lieutenant of the Tower, that the making away of Sir Tho. Overbury would be acceptable to the King; or from some other secret Hint receiv'd) as if he could discover more than the Death of a private Person; intimating, tho' not plainly, that Overbury's untimely Remove had something in it of Retaliation, as if he had been guilty of the same Crime against Prince Henry; blessing himself with Admiration at the Horror of such Actions. In which he flew so high a Pitch, that he was taken down by a Court Lure; Sir Thomas Monson's Tryal laid aside, and he soon after set at Liberty; and the Lord Chief Justice's Wings were clipt for it ever after.

And it was rumour'd, that the King (heightened to so much Passion by this Eruption of Sir Edward Coke's) went to the Council Table, and kneeling down there, desir'd God to lay a Curse upon him and his Posterity for ever, if he were consenting to Overbury's Death. But this cannot be asserted, being above our Sphere; yet as Mathematicians do propose to themselves imaginary Circles, for the several Motions in the Heavens; and though there be none discover'd, yet they find the Effects of what they apprehend: So the sudden stopping of Monson's Tryal, put strange Imaginations into Mens Heads; and those seconded by Reports too high for private Discovery, their Operation only falling under the common Notion. But the Lord Chief Justice was blam'd for flying out of his way; that having enough to prosecute the Business, since blam'd. he would grasp after more till he lost all: For this Crime was thought Second to none but the Gunpowder-Plot; That would have blown up all indeed at a Blow, (a Merciful Cruelty!) This would have done the same by Degrees, a Lingring, but as sure a way; one by one might have been cull'd out, till all Opposers had been remov'd. Besides, the other Plot was Scandalous to Rome, making Popery odious; This was Scandalous to the Gospel ever since the first Nullity. The Devil could not have invented a more Mischievous Practice to Church and State.

The Lady Arabella dying about this time in the Tower, set Mens Tongues and Fears a-work, that she went the same way. Such Mischiefs doth one Evil Action introduce, that it makes a great Rode for Jealousie to pursue after it. The Lady was Daughter to Charles Stuart, younger Brother to our King's Father by Elizabeth Cavendish, who was married some Years past to Sir William Seymour, Son to the Lord Beauchamp, and Granchild to Edward Earl of Hertford; both at some distance ally'd to the Crown, therefore such a Conjunction would not be admitted in the Royal Almanack; so dreadful is every Apparition that comes near Princes Titles. Sir William Seymour for the Marriage was committed to the Tower, and the Lady Arabella confin'd to her House at High-gate. But after some Imprisonment, they conclude to escape beyond Sea together; appointing to meet at a certain Place upon the Thames. Sir William leaving his Man in his Bed to act his Part with his Keeper, got out of the Tower in a Disguise, and came to the Place appointed. She dress'd like a young Gallant in Man's Attire, follow'd him from her House; but staying

A. Reg. 14. ing long above the limited time, made him suspicious of her Interception; so that he went away, leaving notice if she came, that he was gone away before to *Dunkirk*. She, good Lady, fraught with more Fears, and lagging in her Flight, was Apprehended, brought back to the Tower, and there finish'd her Earthly Pilgrimage. She being dead, Sir *William Seymour* got Leave to return home, and Marry'd since to the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the late noble Earl of *Essex*; a Lady, in whose Breast dwells as much Honour as can be derived from noble Progenitors, by whom he hath a very hopeful Issue; and by the Death of his Grandfather was Earl, and now is Marquis of *Hertford*.

Peace e-very where. And now the Temples of *Janus* being shut, Warlike Abilliments grew rusty, and *Bellona* put on Masking-Attire; for *Scotland* bought her Peace at a good Rate, and *Ireland* found the Fruits of hers growing up to her Hand. Those *Irish* that had great Estates (though rude enough) the King suppl'd and tam'd with Honours; and they that had little, were content calmly to suck in what they had, and battel'd by it; so that they wanted nothing but Moderation to make them Happy. These *Halcion* Days shin'd round about us. The Influence of our King's peaceable Mind had almost an Universal Operation. *Spain's* Ambition was contented to be bounded by the *Pyrene* Hills and the *Atlantick* Ocean, sucking in the Fruits of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and hoarding up the Treasures of the *Indies*; willingly fingering a *Requiem* to the *Netherlands*. *France* wanting Exercise, surfeited with Diseases at Home, which by Fits broke out into Tumours among themselves. The *Germans* swell'd into a Dropsy of Voluptuousness, by Plenty, and the Sweets of Peace. Politick Bodies are like Natural; full Feeding contracts gross Humours, which will have vent. Only such Exercise as may refine, and keep the Spirits active, and digest the grosser and fuliginous Matter, strengthens the Nerves of a Kingdom, or Republick. Nothing now but Bravery and Feasting; the Parents of Debauchery and Riot flourish'd among us. There is no Theam for History, when Men spill more Drink than Blood; when Plots and Contrivances for Lust, acted in dark Corners, are more practis'd than Stratagems in War; and when the Stages with silken Pageants and Poppets, that slacken the Sinews, are more frequented than those Theatres of Honour, where Industry brawns and hardens the Arms: Peace is a great Blessing, if it bring not a Curse with it; but War is more happy in its Effects than it, especially if it takes away the Distemper that grows by long Surfeits, without destroying the Body. But since these Buskind Ornaments are wanting, we must imbellish our Discourses with such Passages as paced up and down in the Sock of Peace.

The King thinks of a Match for his Son Prince Charles. There had been in Prince *Henry's* time a Treaty of Marriage betwixt him and a Daughter of *Spain*; which took no effect. Our King was real in his Intentions, not willing to have his Son's Beams to display themselves but in a Royal Horizon. The *Spanish* Policy clouded the Business with Delays; whether from the old Grudge that was betwixt Queen *Katharine* and *Henry* the Eighth, or the Difference between the Nations in Religion? But the *Spanish* Courtesie, being loth directly and point-blank to tell our King, he lik'd not the Conjunction, went with a slow-pac'd Gravity, such as he thought befitted the Civility of Princes, and gave a little Light to hope that it might be accomplished. But *Salisbury* and others, that ma-

A. Reg. 14. naged those great Affairs then, did at this Chink discover, that their Formalities were but *Spanish* Compliments, which like the Air that gave them being, soon vanish'd away. After this, our King's Thoughts-cast about, how he might provide a fit Match for Prince *Charles*, who shin'd in the same Sphere of Honour (that his Brother left for a Better) but not so much enlightned with the Peoples Love, being less Active and Splendid, and (that I may not call it Sullenness) more Reserv'd. The *German* Dames were discourf'd on (where his Sister shin'd in her Glory) as being of the same Religion, and more suitable in Christian Policy; but they were (in a manner) Subjects to the Emperor; and that would give an Allay to the Super-clementary Extraction of Kings, which should be of a higher Origine, to amuse, and that they might be the more admir'd by their People, and therefore not so fitting in State-Policy. And seeing there were small Hopes expected from *Spain*, a Daughter to *Henry* the Great, late King of *France*, was aim'd at, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, our King's Lieger Ambassador, had (long before this time) made his little Addresses superficially, and founded the Chancel; but he met some Rocks and Remoras in the Way, so that he could not discover clearly their Intentions; and the King was loth to express himself plainly, lest he should receive an Affront. And now sending (as he thought it civilly necessary) an Extraordinary Ambassador to congratulate the King of *France* his Marriage with *Anna* the Infanta of *Spain*, he thought it good Policy to take this Occasion to make a stricter Scrutiny, whether there were any Ground to rest upon for matching his Son.

And who is fitter for that Employment, being only for Courtship and Bravery, than the Lord *Hayes*, a Gentleman whose Composition of Mind tended that way? He was Born in *Scotland*, where Bravery was in no Superfluity; bred up in *France*, where he could not have it in Extravagancy; but he found it in *England*, and made it his Vanity. The King had a large Hand, and he had a large Heart; and though he were no great Favourite ever, yet he was never but in Favour. He with a great Train of young Noblemen, and other Courtiers of Eminency, suited themselves with all those Ornaments that could give Lustre to so dazelling an appearance as Love, and the Congratulation of it carried with it. All the Study was, who should be most Glorious; and he had the happiest Fancy, whose Invention could express something novel, neat, and unusual, that others might admire. So that *Humington's* Prophecy was fulfill'd here, when speaking of the time of the *Scor's* Conquest of *England*, he said, *Multimoda variatione vestium & indumentorum designaretur*. I remember I saw one of the Lord Ambassador's Suits, (and pardon me that I take notice of such petty Things) the Cloak and Hose were made of very fine white Beaver, imbroidered richly all over with Gold and Silver; the Cloak, almost to the Cape, within and without, having no Lining but Imbroidery; The Doublet was Cloth of Gold, imbroidered so thick, that it could not be discerned; and a white Beaver-Hat suitable, brim-full of Imbroidery, both above and below. This is presented as an Essay, for one of the meanest he wore; so that if this Relation should last longer than his old Clothes, the Reader might well think it a Romance, favouring rather of Fancy than Reality.

But

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The Lord
Hayes sent
into
France.

6 lib. H.
Hum.

The Lord
Hayes
rides in
State to
the Court.

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But this kind of Vanity had been long active in England: For the last Parliament it was mov'd by some well-affect'd to Reformation of the Abuses of Excess in Apparel, that there might be a Regulation of this kind of Gallantry, to the distinguishing of Men one from another: For (it was said) some of mean Fortunes wore Garments fitter for Princes than Subjects; and many Gentry of antient Descent had wasted, and impoverish'd themselves and their Posterities with this Extravagancy, so that it was very requisite to give some stop to this redundant Humour. To which was answer'd, That if those of Mean Fortunes went so richly attir'd, and came not honestly by their Ornaments, they would be quickly found out, and there were good Laws enough for such Transgressors. But as there is no perpetuity of Being on Earth; so there is a continual Vicissitude and Revolution in all Sublunary Things; some are advanced, and some decline: *God pulleth down one, and setteth up another.* If any Noble, or anciently descended Family, will be so Mad and Foolish to beggar themselves and their Posterities with this, or any other Excess, 'tis very probable that some Man of more Wisdom and Merit will enjoy that which the other hath so idly and prodigally mispent; for to set such Limitations, will damp the Spirits of Industry. So the Motion was declin'd.

But to return to the Lord Hayes. Thus accouter'd and accomplish'd, he went into France; and a Day for Audience being prefix'd, all the Argument and Dispute betwixt him and his gallant Train (which took up some time) was, how they should go to the Court. Coaches, like Curtains, would eclipse their Splendor; riding on Horseback in Boots, would make them look like Travellers, not Courtiers; and not having all Foot-cloths, it would be an unsuitable Mixture: Those that brought rich Trappings for their Horses, were willing to have them seen; so it was concluded for the Foot-cloth, and those that have none (to their bitter Cost) must furnish themselves. This Preparation begot Expectation; and that fill'd all the Windows, Balconies and Streets of Paris, as they pass'd, with a Multitude of Spectators. Six Trumpeters, and two Marshals (in Tawny Velvet Liveries, compleatly Suited, lac'd all over with Gold, richly and closely laid) led the Way; the Ambassador followed with a great Train of Pages and Footmen in the same rich Livery, encircling his Horse, and the rest of his Retinue according to their Qualities and Degrees, in as much bravery as they could devise or procure, follow'd in Couples, to the Wonderment of the Beholders. And some said (how truly I cannot assert) the Ambassador's Horse was shod with Silver-shoes, lightly tack'd on; and when he came to a Place where Persons, or Beauties of Eminency were, his very Horse prancing and curveting, in humble Reverence flung his Shoes away, which the greedy Understanders scrambled for; and he was content to be gazed on and admir'd, till a Farrier, or rather an Argentier in one of his rich Liveries, among his Train of Footmen, out of a Tawny Velvet Bag took others, and tack'd them on; which lasted till he came to the next Troop of Grandees: And thus with much ado he reach'd the *Louvre*.

All Compliments and outward Ceremonies of State being perform'd, the Lord Ambassador made his Business known by more private Addresses; which in appearance was well resented, but indeed not intended; and came to no effect:

For the Duke of Savoy had anticipated the young Lady's Affection for the Prince of Picmont his Son. The Savoyan Agents bringing more Gold in their Hands than on their Backs, had so smoothed the Way, that not only those about the Princess, but the Great ones themselves, were made Workers for him. After the Ambassador had been feasted magnificently, with all his gallant Train, in several Places, to shew the Grandure of France, he came over into England, and practis'd it here; making many times upon several Occasions such Stupendious Feasts, and heaped Banquets, as if all the Creatures had contributed to his Excess. I know not what Limits or Bounds are set to the Glories of Princes Courts, or Noble Minds. We see the Sea it self, and all his Tributary Rivers, do ebb and flow; but if they swell so high to overflow that Bank, that Reason hath prescrib'd to keep them in, what Inundations of sad Mischiefs follow, Experience shews.

A little before this time, there was a Breach between the Lord Chief Justice Coke, and the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, which made a Passage to both their declines. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determin'd a Cause at the Common Law; and some report, there was juggling in the Business. The Witnesses that knew, and should have related the Truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any Man would undertake to excuse his Non-Appearance: A pragmatical Fellow of the Party undertook it; went with the Witnesses to a Tavern; call'd for a Gallon-pot full of Sack; bid him drink; and so leaving him, went into the Court. This Witness is call'd for as the Prop of the Cause; the Undertaker answers upon Oath, *He left him in such a Condition, that if he continues in it but a Quarter of an Hour, he is a Dead Man.* This Evidencing the Man's Incapability to come, deaded the Matter so, that it lost the Cause. The Plaintiffs that had the Injury bring the Business about in Chancery: The Defendants (having had Judgment at Common Law) refuse to obey the Orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for Contempt of the Court, commits them to Prison. They Petition against him in the Star-Chamber; the Lord Chief Justice joins with them, foment the Difference, threatening the Lord Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the Business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon his Attorney-General, Sir Henry Montague and Sir Randolph Crew, his Serjeants at Law, and Sir Henry Yelverton his Solicitor; commanding them to Search what Precedents there have been of late Years, wherein such as complain'd in Chancery were reliev'd according to Equity and Conscience, after Judgment at Common Law. These being Men well vers'd in their Profession (after canvassing the Matter thoroughly) return'd Answer to the King, That there hath been a strong Current of Practice and Proceeding in Chancery, after Judgment at Common Law, and many times after Execution, continu'd since Henry VII's time, to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the Reigns (*Seriatim*) of the several Kings, and the Times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great Learned Men in the Law: It being in Cases where there is no Remedy for the Subject by the strict Course of the Common Law, unto which the Judges are sworn. This satisfied the King; justified the Lord Chancellor; and the Chief Justice receiv'd the Foil: Which was a bitter Portion to his Spirit, but not strong enough to work on him as his Enemies wish'd. There-

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A Breach betwixt the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice.

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Therefore to humble him more, he is brought on his Knees at the Council Table, and Three other Ingredients added to the Dose, of a more Active Operation.

The Chief Justice is humbled.
First, He is charged, That when he was the King's Attorney in the beginning of his Reign, he conceal'd a Statute of Twelve thousand Pounds, due to the King from the late Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, wherein he deceiv'd the Trust reposed in him.

Secondly, That he utter'd Words of very high Contempt as he sat in the Seat of Justice; saying, The Common Law of *England* would be overthrown, and the Light of it obscur'd; Reflecting upon the King.

And Thirdly, His uncivil and indiscreet Carriage before his Majesty (being assisted by his Privy Council and Judges) in the Case of *Commendams*.

The Last he confess'd; and humbly crav'd his Majesty's Pardon. The other Two he palliated with some colourable Excuses, which were not so well set off; but they left such a Tincture behind, that he was commanded to a private Life. And to Expiate the King's Anger, he was enjoin'd in that leisurely Retirement to review his Books of Reports, which the King was inform'd had many extravagant Opinions, publish'd for Positive and Good Law, which must be corrected, and brought to his Majesty to be perused. But the Title of the Books, wherein he styles himself Lord Chief Justice of *England*, was to be expunged, being but Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. And at his departure from the Council Table, (where he humbly acknowledged his Majesty's Mercy, and their Lordship's Justice) the Lord Treasurer gave him a Wipe, for suffering his Coachman to ride bare before him in the Streets; which Fault he strove to cover, by telling his Lordship, his Coachman did it for his own ease. But not long after, the Lord Treasurer came under his Lash in the Star-Chamber, and he requited him for it.

His Faults.
While he was under this Cloud, all his Faults were ripped up, either by his Enemies, or his Well-wishers, who advise him to be humbled for this Visitation. That Affliction only levels the Mole-hills of Pride in us, plows up the Heart, and makes it fit for Wisdom to sow her Seed, and Grace to bring forth her Increase. That he delighted to speak much, which becomes a Pleader, and not a Judge; for so his Affections were entangled with a liking of his own Arguments, and an undervaluing of others; when having a large and fruitful Mind, he should not labour so much what to speak, as what to leave unspoken: *Such lusty Soils are often to be weeded!* That he was wont to praise and dispraise, upon slight Grounds, the same Man, and that sometimes suddenly; so that his Reproofs or Commendations are neglected and contemned; when as the Censure of a Judge (coming slowly, but surely) should be a Brand to the Guilty, and a Crown to the Virtuous. That he will Jest at any Man in publick, without respect of the Persons Dignity, or his own; which disgraceth his Gravity, more than it can advance the Opinion of his Wit. That he makes the Law to lean a little too much to his own Opinion, whereby he shews himself a legal Tyrant, striking with that Weapon whom he pleases, being able to turn the edge any way. That having the Living of a Thousand, he hath no Bowels of Compassion to Men in want; the Hand that hath taken so much can give little, but gets

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gets still, as if he did try how much he could gather to Account for at the great and general Audit-Day. That in the Case of *Overbury*, he used too many Delays, till Delinquents hands were loose, and his bound; in which slowness he was a *Fabius*, but the Humour of *Marcellus* would have done better; for he stopt the Confessions and Accusations of some, that would have spoken enough to remove more stumbling Blocks out of his way; and yet he did not this in favour of any, but out of present unadvised Humour, supposing enough behind to discover all; which fell not out so: And therefore, though he were to be commended for what he did, yet he is to be reprehended for many Circumstances in the Doing; and these are now Briars in his Sides, and Thorns in his Eyes. Much more, to this purpose, was written to him, and vented against him.

Truly he was a Man of excellent Parts, but not without his Frailties: For as he was a Store-house and Magazine of the Common Law, for the present Times; and laid such a Foundation for the future, that Posterity may for ever build on; so his Passions and Pride were so predominant, that Boiling over, he lost (by them) much of his own Fulness, which extinguished not only the Valuation, but respect to his Merit: *So often is that heat, that gives life to noble Parts, by a circular Motion, the ruin of them!* Yet to cool his Distemper, and to bring him to himself, he is within a short time called to the Council Table, the King being loth to lose his Abilities.

The Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer* also about this time, weary of his publick Employment, and weakened with Age, desired the King's Leave to retire, that he might make use of the short time left him, to cast up his Accounts for another World: The King gave the Seal, and the Place of Lord Chancellor, to Sir *Francis Bacon*, his Attorney General; and the old Lord *Ellesmer* wore out the Remnant of his Life in quiet, dying in a good old Age, and full of virtuous Fame, leaving a noble Posterity, who enjoy a great Estate, with the Title of Earl of *Bridgewater*.

Time and Age had also worn out Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the King's able, faithful, and honest Servant, and Secretary; who dying, Sir *Robert Nanton*, and Sir *George Calvert*, were made Secretaries; Men of contrary Religions and Factions, (as they were then styled) *Calvert* being an Hispaniolized Papist; the King matching them together, like contrary Elements, to find a Medium betwixt them.

But the greatest Remove was the Lord Treasurer's Staff, which was broken by *Somerset's* fall, the way being now made plain, and laid open, that discovered the Treasurer's Imperfections, and his Wives Corruptions: The Lady keeping the Shop, and Sir *John Bingle*, her Officer, crying, *What d'ye lack?* as the new Lord Chancellor *Bacon* was pleased to express himself in the Star-Chamber; whither the Business being brought, the Sore was open'd, and all the bad Humours flow to the ill-affected Party. Bribery and Extortion is the Matter that appears, which is squeez'd out, and aggravated by Sir *Edward Coke*, (newly perk'd up, such is the World's Bucker!) who very learnedly cited many Precedents of Treasurers in former King's Reigns, that Miscarried, and their several Punishments.

He begins with *Randolphus de Briston*, Treasurer to King *Henry III.* who had mis-employed the King's Treasure, deceived the King in his Office,
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Office, for which he was questioned, his Lands and Goods seized into the King's Hands, and sent Prisoner to the Tower, where he submitted himself to the King, confess'd his Fault, gave up his Place; & *pro Gratia habenda*, (saith the Record) obtained Restitution of his Goods and Lands, paying only Three thousand pounds Fine. This was a piece of Wisdom (saith he) as well as Humility, alluding to the present Lord Treasurer's stout Heart that would not submit.

The Second was *Petrus de Rivallis*, who was Treasurer of Ireland, and Chamberlain of England, in Edward I.'s time, who had taken Bribes in his Office, *Tam de Religiosis, quam de Laicis*. Of which being Convicted, he lost his Place, and was put to his Fine and Ransom.

And in the same King's Reign, the Abbot of Westminster, and his virtuous Monks, took out of the King's Treasure at Westminster many Thousand Pounds, *Ad inestimabile damnum Regis & Regni*. The Abbot being sent to the Tower, and the Monks disposed to several Prisons; and notwithstanding they pleaded Privilege of Clergymen for their Tryal, yet in the Case of Imbezelling the King's Treasure, they had no Privilege, but the Temporalities of the Abbey were seized for Satisfaction.

Gov. and
Licif.

In King Edward II.'s time, *Walter de Langton*, a Bishop, was Treasurer to the King: He did take of the Earl of Montcalm, to be a Friend to him, (*in agendis negotiis versus Dominum Regem*) a Hundred pounds, (the said Earl, being a Prisoner) to let him go free to do his Business. And this was given, as the Record speaks, *De spontanea voluntate*, for a Gratuity, & *ex curialitate sua*, for his Courtesie, yet this was adjudged Extortion and Bribery. Again, *John de Engam* was Indicted of Trespass by this Bishop for the Mannor of *Fisbie*, whereunto the King pretended Title, and was by the Bishop Imprisoned for the Trespass. But afterwards another Mannor was conveyed to this Bishop, *ob diversas curialitates*, for Courtesies that he had done, and so Engam was discharged of his Indictment; and tho' that the Bishop pleaded, that *Voluntas Regis potius ad imprisonmentam quam ad finem*, because it was the King's Pleasure rather to punish by Imprisonment than Fine, yet this was adjudged Bribery. Again, The Bayliff of Oxford was committed for Arrearages of a Hundred Pounds in his Account, and thereupon the Mannor of *Calcot* was conveyed unto the Bishop, and the Bishop of his pure Devotion did discharge him of that Imprisonment. But these were Pleas and Flourishes of guilty Men, as the Record saith, but they were all three judged Extortion and Bribery; and for these, the Bishop was put from his Place, Fined, and committed to the Tower.

William Lord Latimer, in Edward III.'s time, being appointed to pay the King's Debts, did Buy in some of them at lower Rates than was due, as Eighty Pounds for a Hundred, and Thirty Pounds for Forty; by which Course he made the King a Bankrupt Compounder, and for this he was Fined, and lost all his Offices.

In like case was the Lord *Nevil*, who was trusted to pay the Army; but he bought the Debt of them, and justified, that they gave him the remainder of their free Gift; but for this he was Fined, and committed to the Tower.

These, and many other Precedents and Examples, armed with Authority and Antiquity, were mustered up, and the Lord Treasurer's Miscarriages exasperated, especially for Embe-

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zelling those Monies the King lately received of the State of the Netherlands for the Redemption of the cautionary Towns, *Flushing* and *Brill*, which the King was forced to relinquish again to the States, because he had no Money to Pay the Soldiers there; and that Money being designed for the Irish Army (which was also in great Want) it was thought the more heinous, and a double Miscarriage, being it was so dearly bought, and so unduly spent. But the Earl himself being a Man of a noble Disposition (though too indulgent to his too-active Wife) had retained the King's Favour, if he had taken Sir *Edward Coke's* Counsel, and submitted, and not strove to justify his own Integrity, which he maintained with a great deal of Confidence, till it was too late, for then his Submission did him little good. But his Wives Faults being imputed to him, he was fined Thirty thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment in the Tower; Sir *John Bingley* Fined Two thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment in the Fleet: For it was thought the Lord and Lady could not have found the way into these obscure, low, and dark Contrivances, without the light of his help. Which Sentence was pronounced by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, who though he were of transcendent Parts, yet was he tainted with the same Infection, and not many Years after perished in his own Corruption; which shews, That neither Example nor Precept (he having seen so many, and been made capable of so much) can be a Pilot sufficient to any Port of Happiness (tho' Reason be never so able to direct) if Grace doth not give the Gale.

But the King, more to exalt Justice, and to shew the People his high Abilities, came in June this Year to the Star-Chamber, where in a long, and well-weighed Discourse, he turns over the Volume of his Mind, that the World might read his excellent Parts in lively Characters.

He told the Lords, he came thither in Imitation of *Henry VII.* his great Predecessor; and the reason he came no sooner was, that he resolved with *Pythagoras*, for Seven Years to keep silence, and learn the Laws of the Kingdom, before he would teach others, and the other Seven Years he was studying to find an Occasion to come, that might not be with Prejudice: For in his own Cause he could not come; in a great Cause betwixt Man and Man, it might be thought some particular Favour brought him thither; and in a small Cause it was not fit for him to come; but now he had so much to say in relation to good Government, that he could no longer forbear.

First, He charges himself.

Secondly, The Judges.

Thirdly, The Auditory in general.

In his own Charge, he lays a Foundation for raising a most excellent Structure in Government, wherein he was a Master-workman, and had a most admirable Theory, and full Abilities to put it in Practice, and happily the bent of his Intentions tended that way, though it had for the most part a loose string.

And to that which concerned the Judges, he not only reckons up their Duties in their publick Relation, but shews them the Jurisdiction and Power of their several Courts, how far every one did extend, to which he would have them limited, that they might not clash and contest one against another, to shake the Basis on which they were built, but that there might be a Harmony and sweet Con-

The King
comes to
the Star-
Chamber.

A. Reg. 14. Concordance among them, expressing himself with such Elegance and Prudence, that the most studious Lawyer (whose Design had been to imbellish a Discourse fitting for the Ears of his Prince) could not have gone beyond what he express'd to his People; so strong and retentive was his Judgment and Memory, so natural and genuine that which came from them, that it did emanate, flow from him, to the Admiration of the Hearers.

To the People in general, and Under-Officers, he gave an Admonition to submit to the Law, and Justice of the Land, and not to go upon new Puritan Strains (such was his Expression) to make all things Popular, but to keep themselves within the ancient Limits of Obedience: *For he feared Innovation as a Monster got loose, which should be always kept in such a Labyrinth, as none should come at, but by the Clew of Reason.*

Then he commands the Judges in their Circuits, to take notice of those Justices of the Peace that were most active for the good of the Country, that they might have Encouragement from him. *For, (to use his own Words) I value them that serve me faithfully there, equally with those that attend my Person.* Therefore let none be ashamed of this Office, or be discouraged in being a Justice of the Peace, if he serve worthily in it.

The Chancellor under me makes Justices, and put them out; but neither I, nor he, can tell what they are: Therefore we must be informed by you, Judges, who can only tell who do well, and who do ill; without which, how can the Good be cherished, and the rest put out? The Good Justices are careful to attend the Service of the King and Country; the Bad are idle Slow-bellies, that abide always at Home; given to a Life of Ease and Delight, liker Ladies than Men; and think it is enough to contemplate Justice, when as, *Virtus in actione consistit*; to contemplate Justice is no Justice; and contemplative Justices are fit to be put out.

Another sort of Justices are Busy-bodies, and will have Men dance after their Pipe, and follow their Greatness, or else will no be content: A sort of Men, *Qui se primos omnium esse putant, nec sunt tamen*: These proud Spirits must know that the Country is ordained to follow God and the King, and not them.

Another sort are they that go seldom to the King's Service, but when it is to help some of their Kindred or Alliance; so they come to help their Friends, or hurt their Enemies, making Justice serve for a Shadow to Faction, and tumultuating the Country.

Another sort are Gentlemen of great Worth in their own Conceit; and cannot be content with the present Form of Government, but must have a kind of Liberty in the People, and must be Gracious Lords, and Redeemers of their Liberty; and in every Cause that concerns Prerogative, give a Snatch against Monarchy, through their Puritanical itching after Popularity; some of them have shew'd themselves too bold of late in the Lower House of Parliament: And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be less cared for than other Men. So wise the King's Fears made him, and so wary to prevent

the Popular Violence! And even in these Infant-times, the Contention doth appear; which afterward got more strength, when by his Power he had gain'd in every County such as he made subservient to his Will: For as the King strove to loosen the Piles and Banks of the Peoples Liberties, so the People strove to bound and keep off the Inundation of his Prerogative.

Then he takes notice of the Swarms of Gentry, that through the Instigation of their Wives, or to new Model and Fashion their Daughters (who, if they were Unmarried, marr'd their Marriages; if Married, lost their Reputations, and rob their Husbands Purfes) did neglect their Country Hospitality, and cumber the City; a general Nuisance to the Kingdom, being as the Spleen to the Body, which as in Measure it over-grows, the Body wastes: And seeing a Proclamation will not keep them at Home, he requires that the Power of the Star-Chamber may not only regulate them, but the Exorbitancy of the New Buildings about the City (which he still much repined at) being a Shelter for them; where they spent their Estates in Coaches, Lacquies, and fine Clothes, like *Frenchmen*; living miserably in their Houses, like *Italians*; becoming Apes to other Nations: Whereas it was the Honour of the *English* Nobility and Gentry (above all Countries in the World) to be Hospitable among their Tenants; which they may the better do, by the Fertility and Abundance of all things. Thus the King pried into every Miscarriage; being willing to Reform these (then growing) Abuses.

But among all the Heights of Reason that the Spirit of Man doth Actuate and give Life to, the Highest and most Transcendent is that of Religion; which as it partakes more or less of Faith, so it inclines more or less to Fancy: *Unstable* Wavering and Unstable Minds are not only blown about with the Wind of every Opinion, but Pride and Discontent (conjoined often, though of different Operations) are Engines sufficient to shake the Foundation, though never so firmly settled. Some Men turn over the Leaf of Conscience, and change a Good Religion for a Worse; some the Leaf of Policy, leaving an Evil Religion for a Better: But these kind of Spirits will not be brought under by Fasting and Prayer, unless it be by him that can discover the Heart of Hypocrisie, though in as variable a Capacity as the Countenance.

These Times gave Examples of both these Humours; some that went from us to *Rome*, and some that came from *Rome* to us. Among the rest, one of Eminency, **** Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato*, a Man old an corpulent; unfit for Travel, being almost at his Journeys End by Nature, came into *England* with as little Grace. Here he Preaches, Rails, and Writes against *Rome* (extolling the Protestant Religion) till he came to be Dean of *Windsor*, and Master of the *Savoy*, which some few Years he enjoy'd; then, whether he had higher Hopes homewards, or the Humour and Fancy altering, like a Wandring Star, he goes Retrograde, placing himself again in the *Roman Calendar*: But he is made to reckon at *Rome* by the *Gregorian* Account; and though he thought himself in a full Conjunction with the Stars

**** Our Author had been more tender of the Character of the Archbishop of Spalato, if he had known or remember'd how much the World has been oblig'd to him for that Noble History of the Council of Trent, wrote by Father Paul the Venetian. For it was by his Means, and the Measures he had concerted with that Father before he left Italy, that Archbishop Abbot got the Manuscript transmitted in Parcels into England.*

A. Reg. 15. there of the greatest Magnitude (having publicly Recanted, and as bitterly Reproached the Protestant Doctrine there, as he had Exalted it here) yet the Inquisition had so strong an Influence upon him, that it hindered the Operation of it; for he died in Prison, and they buried him both like a new Heretick and an old Emperor, committing his Body to the Flames. *Such Honour have all such Saints!* For they hold it as a Maxim, That that Foundation is never again to be built upon, that was once of a tottering Temple.

Dies at Rome.

France in Combustion.

About this Time, France raging with Passion, play'd her bloody Pranks. There is in that Kingdom a mad Genius domineering, which, like Climaterical Diseases, take rest, and after some Intermission break out again. The very same Tragedy acted at this time, was newly Reviv'd there Three and thirty Years after, as is now in the Year 1650. Perspicuous to every Eye of Reason; the Persons in Power the same, running all in one Parallel. The Queen-Mother and the Marquis *D'Ancre* then, the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal *Mazarine* now; both Aliens, both Favourites. The Prince of *Conde* (the Head and Prime of the Nobility) imprison'd then, for opposing the swelling Greatness of that Favourite: The Prince of *Conde*, and the other Princes, *Conti* and *Longueville*, imprison'd now (though since set at Liberty, having a powerful Army a-foot) for opposing this. The Nobility rise in Arms against the young King and his Mother, to assist the Princes; so they do now. The Complaints and Grievances are the same; The Princes repin'd that such an Upstart should manage all the great Affairs with so much Licentiousness, and they sit still as lookers on, and have nothing to do; All Offices, both Civil and Military, bringing their Garlands, and strowing their choicest Flowers at Marshal *D'Ancre's* Feet, which stunk in their Nostrials, and they infected the People, who are there but what the great Ones will make them; so that the Kingdom groaned under the Insolencies of an insulting Mushroom, bred from the Excrecency of Royal Humours, as it doth now. *Lewis XIV.* fights with his Subjects now upon the same Account that *Lewis XIII.* did then. But I can only give a Catastrophe to one of these Tragedies; the last Act of this now a playing wants its Exit.

And to conclude the First, *Lewis XIII.* finding his Mother's Power swell so high, as to threaten a Deluge of Noble Blood for the Preservation of a Mechanick *Florentine*, and willing to be rid of a Governess who eclips'd his Glory, commanded Monsieur *De Vitry*, Captain of his Guard, to seize on the Marquis at his first access to Court. The Marquis (being then in his Government in *Normandy*, placing and displacing Officers, for his greater security) hearing there were new Whisperers admitted to the King, came to the Court in a full Career, with a rustling Retinue at his Heels, thinking to remove all Obstacles in his Way; but there he met the great One, Death, waiting for him, that his Policy and High-Flying Thoughts never minded: For he had no sooner entered the Gates of the *Louvre*, but *De Vitry* Arrested him; and seeing him step back upon his Arrest, as it were, to lay hold of his Sword, he kill'd him instantly with a Pistol; the Noise whereof put the whole Court into an Up roar. The

King approved the Fact, the Queen lamented it; But she must mourn no longer in the Court, therefore removed thence with a small Train, to practice her Italian Artifices, as she afterwards did, to the Disturbance of most Parts of Christendom. The poor Marquis rested not in Death; for though he was privately buried that Night, yet the Rage and Malice of the People lighted them to his Grave the next Day; and tearing him thence, and tying his naked Body to an Ass's Tail, drew him through the Streets of *Paris*, and hanged him by the Heels upon a Gibbet on the new Bridge; where they cut off flakes of his Body, to send as Presents to their Friends. And when they had satiated themselves thus, they took down the mangled Carcass, and made another Progress through the City, till wearied with their Delight, they strove to burn the Body, to be rid of it; but the Fire being not so active as their Malice, they threw the tatter'd Bones into the River; so that their Rage pulled him out of the Earth, hung him in the Air, burnt him in the Fire, and left him in the Water. And (as they thought) to leave no Memory of him, pulled down his House to the Ground; which was afterwards ratified by publick Justice, and his Wife was condemn'd by the same, and burn'd for a Witch. And to make their Names the more Odious, their very Birth-places were ripped up, and they were both found to proceed from the † *Dung-hills of Florence*. Thus ended this sad Tragedy; which serves as Lights and Sea-marks of Mortality, to teach us how to steer our Brittle Bark in this World's Tempest, that we bear not too much Sail, but keep a moderate and even Course betwixt the Rocks of Pride, and Shallows of Contempt; both which are equally dangerous.

Our King dedicated this Summer to the Northern Climate; it is now Fourteen Years Revolution since the Beams of his Majesty appeared in *Scotland*. He begins his Journey with the Spring, warming the Country as he went with the Glories of the Court: Taking such Recreations by the way, as might best beguile the Days, and cut them shorter; but lengthen the Nights (contrary to the Seasons) for what with Hawking, Hunting and Horse-Racing, the Days quickly ran away; and the Nights with Feasting, Masking and Dancing, were the more extended. And the King had fit Instruments for these Sports about his Person; as Sir *George Goring*, Sir *Edward Zouch*, Sir *John Finnis*, and others, that could fit and Obtemperate the King's Humour: For he loved such Representations and Disguises in their Masquerades, as were witty, and sudden; the more Ridiculous, the more Pleasant.

And his new Favourite being an excellent Dancer, brought that Pastime into the greater Request. To speak of his Advancement by Degrees, were to lessen the King's Love; for Titles were heaped upon him; they came rather like Showers than Drops. For as soon as *Somerset* declin'd, he mounted. Such is the Court motion! Knighthood, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, were the first Sprinklings: And then the old Earl of *Worcester* (who had been long Master of the Horse to the late Queen, and continu'd it to this time) was made Lord Privy-Seal, in exchange of his Place, and a good Sum of Money put into the Scale: And

† The Author has mistaken the Birth of the Marquis *D'Ancre* and his Lady, for she was descended of a tolerable good Family in *Tuscany*, and he of a Noble Extraction originally from *Lucca*.

A. Reg. 15. Sir George Villiers (Baron of Whaddon, Viscount Villiers, and Earl of Buckingham, also of the Privy-Council) is made Master of the Horse. In this Glory he visits Scotland with the King, and is made a Privy-Counsellor there. Favou-rites are not compleat Figures, if the Prince's Bounty be not Circular, as well in his Northerly motion as his Southerly. He now Reigns sole Monarch in the King's Affection; every thing he doth is admir'd for the Doer's sake. No Man Dances better; no Man Runs, or Jumps better; and indeed he jump'd Higher than ever *Englishman* did in so short time, from a private Gentleman to a Dukedom. But the King is not well without him; his Company is his Solace, and the Court Grandees cannot be well but by him; so that all Addresses are made to him; either for Place or Office, in Court or Common-wealth. The Bishops See did also Ebb and Flow, from the Wane or Fulness of his Influ-ence upon them; and having a numerous Kin-dred of the Rank of Gentry, which he planted about him, as a Nursery in the Court, to make them *Virefcere*, and Spring up the better; the Dew of these Offices, and the fresh Springs that came from these Seas must be contributed. It cannot with Modesty be expressed how gree-dily some of our Prelates would clear all the Passages of a bad Conscience, to bring in such Waters of Comfort, lest it should bespatter the more Worthy, and brand them all with Simony, which dares not be done. But where God hath his Church, the Devil many times will have his Chapel: It was ever his Ambition to be like unto him.

The Book of Sports obtruded. But among all the Dances that these Times were guilty of, none of the Masqueradoes pre-sented so horrid a Vizard as the Churchmans: For some of the Bishops, pretending Recrea-tions, and Liberty to Servants and Common People, (of which they carved to themselves too much already) procur'd the King to put out a Book to permit Dancing about May-poles, Church-ales, and such debauched Exercises up-on the Sabbath-day after Evening Praying, (being a specious way to make the King, and them, acceptable to the Rout) which Book came out with a Command, enjoining all Mi-nisters to read it to their Parishioners, and to approve of it; and those that did not, were brought into the High Commission, Imprison'd and Suspended. This Book being only a Trap to catch some Conscientious Men, that they could not otherwise with all their Cunning in-sinare: For they would preach the Gospel in a Fool's-Coat (as some of them express'd) rather than be silenced for a Surplice. And their Con-juring of them with the Cross in Baptism, and the Circle of the Ring in Marriage, could not make a well-composed Reason and a sound Conscience then start at it: But when so Fright-ful an Apparition as the Dancing Book appear'd, some of the Ministers left all for Fear, others by Force, they were so terrified with it. These, and such like Machinations of the Bishops, to maintain their Temporal Greatness, Ease and Plenty, made the Stones in the Walls of their Palaces, and the Beam in the Timber, after-wards cry out, moulder away, and come to no-thing: Whereas, if those in most Authority had not been so Pragmatical, but Holy, Prudent,

and Godly Men ††† (as some others of the Function were) their Light might have shin'd still upon the Mount; and not have gone out as it did, offensive to the Nostils of the Rubbish of the People.

The King in his return from Scotland made his Progress through the Hunting-countries, (his Hounds and Hunters meeting him) *Sher-wood-Forest*, *Needwood*, and all the Parks and Forests in his way, were ranfack'd for his Re-creation. And every Night begat a new Day of Delight, till he brought *Holyrood-day* (not **Holyrood-house*) to *Whitehall*.

This new Encroachment upon the Sabbath gave both King and People more liberty to Prophane the Day with Authority: For if the Court were to remove on *Monday*, the King's Carriages must go out the Day before. All times were alike; and the Court being to re-move to *Theobalds* the next Day, the Carriages went through the City of *London* on the Sab-bath, with a great deal of Clatter and Noise in the time of Divine Service. The Lord Mayor hearing of it, commanded them to be stop'd; and this carried the Officers of the Car-riages with a great of Violence to the Court; and the Business being presented to the King with as much Asperity as Men in Authority (crossed in their Humours) could express it; It put the King into a great Rage, Swearing, *He thought there had been no more Kings in England but himself*; yet after he was a little Cool'd, he sent a Warrant to the Lord Mayor, comman-ding him to let them pass, which he obey'd, with this Answer, *While it was in my Power, I did my Duty; but that being taken away by a Higher Power, it is my Duty to Obey*. Which the King upon se-cond Thoughts took well, and thanked him for it.

As Prophaneness crept in on one side, so did Juggling Idolatry and Superstition on the other; for of the Je-suits. there was more Enmity against Ministers of the Gospel than Popish Priest; they swarm'd over the Kingdom, working Miraculous Pro-jects in every Corner. One Pack of them got into *Staffordshire*, among some of the *Giffords* in that County, Gentlemen of good Estates, where they practis'd their Artifices to seduce the People. There must be a Ground-work, Estates to keep them (being like the Gout, never troubling the Poor) and then there must be Materials, Correspondents to act for them. Holiness and Piety must be confirmed by Mi-racle; and these Miracles must be visible to the Peoples Eyes, that they may convey Belief better to the Heart. If the Priests be Holy, and can subdue Satan, the Religion they pro-fess must be Heavenly, that triumphs over Prin-cipalities, and Powers, and Spiritual Wicked-ness, bringing all to Obedience. These are Finesses and Subtilties of Masfring Wits (calling them *Pla Fraudis*, Godly Deceits, Worms to bring Fish to the Net) and this kind of Fri-pery they are ever fraught with.

For about this time there was a Boy born at *The Boy Bilson* in that County, whose Father, Mother, of *Bilson*. Neighbours, and many other People, with Ad-miration, did absolutely think possess'd with a Devil; for he had strange, sudden, violent, distorting Fits, that appeared to all the Behol-ders contrary to Nature; and being not full

††† There were several of the Bishops that declar'd their Opinion against the Book of Sports: And Archbishop Abbot being at *Greydon* the Day it was order'd to be read in Churches, Arly forbade it to be read there; which King James was pleas'd to wink at, notwithstanding the Daily Endeavours that were us'd to irritate the King against him.

A. Reg. 15. Fifteen years old, it could not be imagin'd that any thing of Imposstory could result from him, and therefore the Fame of it was the more remarkable.

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The Jesuits (that are the best Physicians in such Distempers) hearing of it, visited the Boy, Prayed by him, and used such other Charms and Exorcisms, as are fit to make them be admir'd; giving his Parents good hope of Dispossessing him of that Foul Spirit, by which might palpably be discerned, how much God's Power was express'd in their Weakness; and difference the Truth and Holiness betwixt the Catholick Religion, and the Heresy professed among Protestants. So that they that heard them (as many resorted to the Place) must needs take them for very Holy Men, by whom such Wonders were to be accomplished. The Jesuits visited him often, sometimes in Private, sometimes in Company; but this kind of Spirit would not be commanded by them, so that they grew almost desperate of the Cure.

Accuses a
Woman
to be a
Witch.

The Boy in his Fits would rave against an old Woman dwelling near to his Father, intimating by Signs and Ghastly Behaviour, that she had sent a Spirit to torment him; and in plain Terms (when he was out of his Fits) accused her to be a Witch, and the Author of all his Misery. This old Woman is sent to the Bishop's Chancellor at *Litchfield* to be examined: The Boy is brought thither to confront her; and having his Back towards her, at her coming into the Room, where the Chancellor was, before she yet enter'd or appear'd, he falls into a most bitter Agony, crying out, *Now she comes, now my Tormentor comes!* Wreathing and Tearing himself in so horrid a manner, that it did not only breed Amazement, but Pity in the Spectators, there being many with expectation attending the Issue; which, with some other Probabilities, were an Inducement to the Chancellor to send the Woman to *Stafford Gaol*.

At the next Assizes for that County, the Boy and his Parents appear as Witnesses against the Witch; the Boy was placed in a conspicuous part of the Court, with his Face to the Bench, Eying the Judge continually in a very peaceable and quiet Posture; and as the Woman was coming in (when the Court thought it impossible the Boy should be sensible of her appearance) he fell into a more raging Fit than ever he was possess'd with before: So stupendously unnatural, that it was deem'd by all that saw it, that nothing but a Diabolical Spirit could work such horrid Effects. This, thus openly acted, and the Relation of what was done at *Litchfield*, and other Probabilities evidencing, the old Woman (that had no good Reputation among her Neighbours, being of a tetrical and froward Temper, incident to old Age) found few Friends to plead her Cause; so that being indicted for Witchcraft, she was found Guilty by the Jury, and Condemn'd to die.

She is
condemn-
ed.
Bishop
Morton
gets her
Reprieve.

Dr. Morton, Bishop of that Diocese, a great Father of the *Anglicane* Church, (and happily then on the Bench about Secular Affairs) hearing that some Romish Priests had been tampering with their Exorcisms, to the undevilling of the Boy, and finding little Reason produced, why, or for what Cause, the Witch should use the Child so ill, was perswaded, that this might be some juggling Trick in them, for effecting their miraculous Ends. He therefore besought the Judge to reprieve the Woman till the next Assizes, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and strictly looked to, and doubted not before that time to find out the

bottom of some secret and hidden Contrivance. *A. Reg. 15.* The Judge assented to the Bishop's Request, and so the Boy was carried to *Eccleshal Castle*, the Bishop's House, whither his Fits followed him with a great deal of Violence: For being put out of his Road (having formerly all sorts of People come to admire him, and now being more carefully looked to) he grew fullen, and would not eat sometimes in two or three Days; so that his Belly was almost clung, and grown to his Back, and he had a new Swelling about his Throat, which never appeared before; lay in his Bed, sometimes as it were senseless, sometimes staring with his Eyes, and foaming at the Mouth, sometimes striking those that stood near him, (his own careful Mother being one, whom he made all black about the Arms and Breasts) never spoke but in his Fits, and then a strange Gibbrish; at other times he only muttered, and made Signs. The Bishop visited him often, striving sometimes to soften him with Gentleness; at other times he handled him roughly, with Objurcations and Threatenings; but his ill Spirit is capable of neither. He spoke to him one time some of the Greek Testament, to see how that would work, and it brought him into his Fit. At another time, he uttered some Verses out of the Greek Poets, which his Devil was not so Learned as to distinguish, for that put him into a Fit again; so that the Bishop was confirmed, that he was an Impositor of a most pernicious and pertinacious Spirit; but how to conjure it out of him, was the Difficulty. And finding Words and Menaces made no Impression in him, he fell to Blows; for taking him out of his Bed, and having one to hold him, the Bishop gave him six very smart Lashes with a Rod, which moved the Boy no more than if he had been an insensible Stock. They also thrust Needles into his Toes and Fingers, betwixt the Nails, clapt burning Candles to his Eye-lids, till they singed the Hair off, to divert him when he was in his Fits; but with all their Persecutions he neither winch'd nor stirr'd; so that the Actors were more troubled to execute, than he to suffer.

And in this Condition growing almost desperate, he would make Signs for Knives, or any other Instrument, to do himself a Mischief: Therefore strict Care was taken, and many watchful Eyes set over him, to prevent any such Danger. Thus he continued almost a quarter of a Year; at last his Urine grew so black, that the Physicians thought Nature had left her usual Operations, having never found in any Humane Body so much Adust Matter, to give so deep and deadly a Tincture.

This struck the good Bishop very near; for The Bi- he was certain the Priests had been hammering shop trou- about him, and now, if he should miscarry un- bled der his Hand, those Mint-masters of Mischief for the Boy. would in their dark Shops coin such Scandals against him, as might pass current in the World's Opinion: Therefore he used all the Means he could possible, as well to preserve him, as to discover him; but finding the Boy endure so many Trials with Patience, so much tough Hardship and Robustness in tender Years, he resolved, if his Water continued black, to sift the Matter no further. To find out which, he set a trusty Servant to watch him through a Hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the Boy knew not of. The Bishop going that Morning with his Family to a Lecture, all things were very still in the House; and the Boy finding all quiet, no Noise about him, he lifts himself up, stares, and listens, and at length gets

A. Reg. 15. gets out of his Bed, and in the Straw or Mat under it takes out an Inkhorn, and makes Water in the Chamberpot through a piece of the Cotton in his Hand; another little piece of the Cotton he puts into his Prepuce, covering it with the Skin, and that was for a Reserve, if he should be forced to make Water when Company is by. Thus having cunningly put himself in order, he hides the Inkhorn again, and returns to his Bed.

The Impostor discovered.

The Man that was appointed to watch him seeing all this, discovered it to the Bishop at his coming home, who came to him presently, and ask'd him how he did? He, according to his usual manner, pointed to his Water, looked ghastly on it, and mutter'd out his old howling Tone. The Bishop, that meant now to deal roundly with him, said, Sirrah, you have Ink in your Bed-straw, which you make use of to black your Water, and your Knavery is found out; and calling in his Man, he took out the Inkhorn where the Boy had hid it, and the Man justified, that he saw him make Water through the Cotton; which (with the Bishop's threatening to send him to the House of Correction) struck the Boy with such a sudden Terror, that he rose from his Bed, fell upon his Knees, and humbly besought the Bishop to pardon him, and he would discover to him the whole Truth. And as he put on his Clothes, the Bishop laid open the Grievousness of his Sin, which wrought so upon his Spirit, that he melted into Tears, crying to God for Mercy. A very strange Alteration! That, what he did but counterfeit, the Devil had so hardened in him, that all the Torments and Pains inflicted by Man could not produce a Tear, till God, that melted the Rock, had first touched the Heart.

His Confession.

Then he confess'd, a Pedlar with a Pack on his Back met him when he was going to School, and with many inticing Words perswaded him to go to Mr. Gifford's House, assuring him of good Entertainment; and by his Allurements he went thither with him. There he found four Romish Priests, who gave him Money, and many fair Words, promising him great Matters, if he would be conformable to their Instructions. They were three Days teaching him how to demean himself, and after he was well tutor'd, and had practis'd his Tricks there privately, then they sent him home to his Father (who thought he had been lost, and was much troubled for him) to exercise them in a more publick way. He came home in a very distracted manner, to the Amazement of his Parents, and in short time drew much Company to visit him; and his Parents being poor, got Money from many charitable People, which did encourage him to persist in that way. But when the Fame of his being possess'd with an evil Spirit was sufficiently bruited abroad, the Priests came to dispossess him; but he found so much Sweetness in the Ease, and Profit of that Life, that he would not be dis-inchanted by them, tho' they charmed never so cruelly; for they beat him, and pinch'd him, and us'd him bitterly ill, to make him desist. Thus were the Deceivers deceiv'd! The Bishop ask'd him, Why he accus'd the poor old Woman of Witchcraft? He answer'd, The Priests told him he must lay the Cause of his being possess'd upon some old Woman, and she being known to him, and of a scolding Humour, he fix'd it on her. Then the Bishop ask'd him, How he came to fall into his Fits a little before the Woman appear'd in the Room, both at her Examination and Arraignment, his Back being towards her? For the first, at *Lichfield*, he said, He heard some

about him mutter, *She is here*; which made him cry out, *She comes, she comes*: And for the second, at *Stafford*, He heard the People remove, and her Chains gingle as she came, which gave him the Sign. Lastly, he was ask'd, How he made his Throat swell? And he shew'd, it was by thrusting his Tongue (being very long) down his Throat, which Trick he found out himself; the rest were taught him by the Priests. Thus did the Bishop preserve an innocent old Woman condemned by the Law to die, discover the abominable Forgeries of the Priests, and convert a wicked Boy, whom afterwards he bound Apprentice, and proved a good Man. This Story I heard from the Bishop's own Mouth, almost Thirty Years before it was inserted here. And the Result of all is, That Falshood with her painted Countenance appears often as beautiful as Truth it self, deceiving many, specially in this Point of Witchcraft, which is a Structure established in the Vulgar Fancy, that hath many odd Passages and Ways opening to it, and is many Airy Stories high; but being well examined, it will prove (for the most part, I will not say always) Paper-proof, as there may be occasion to express in another place.

The King took Delight by the Line of his Reason to sound the Depth of such Brutish Impostors, and he discover'd many: For in the beginning of his Reign, *Richard Haydock*, of *New-College* in *Oxford*, practis'd Physick in the Day, and preached in the Night in his Bed. His Practice came by his Profession, and his Preaching (as he pretended) by Revelation; for he would take a Text in his Sleep, and deliver a good Sermon upon it; and tho' his Auditory were willing to silence him, by pulling, hauling, and pinching, yet would he pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still. The Fame of this Sleeping-Precacher flies abroad with a light Wing; which coming to the King's Knowledge, he commanded him to the Court, where he sat up one Night to hear him: And when the time came that the Preacher thought it was fit for him to be asleep, he began with a Prayer, then took a Text of Scripture, which he significantly enough insisted on a while; but after made an Excursion against the Pope, the Cross in Baptism, and the last Canons of the Church of *England*, and so concluded sleeping. The King would not trouble him that Night, letting him rest after his Labours; but sent for him the next Morning, and in private handled him so like a cunning Chirurgeon, that he found out the Sore; making him confess not only his Sin and Error in the Act, but the Cause that urged him to it; which was, That he apprehended himself as a buried Man in the University, being of a low Condition, and if something Eminent and Remarkable did not spring from him, to give Life to his Reputation, he should never appear any body, which made him attempt this Novelty to be taken notice of. The King finding him ingenuous in his Confession, pardoned him, and (after his Recantation publicly) gave him Preferment in the Church. Some others, both Men and Women, inspired with such Enthusiasms, and Fanatick Fancies, he reduced to their right Senses, applying his Remedies suitable to the Distemper, wherein he made himself often very merry (being happily practiced, to be taken notice of by him); but some of their Stories being a little coarse, are not fit to be here related. And truly the Looseness and Carelessness of Publick Justice sets open a Door to such flagitious and nefarious Actions, as severer Times would never have perpetrated.

The King discovers many Impostors.

About

A. Reg. 15.
An. Christi
 1617.
 Sir Walter
 Raleigh's
 West-Indi-
 an Voy-
 age.

About this time, that gallant Spirit, Sir Walter Raleigh, (who in his Recesses in the Tower had presented in lively Characters the true Image of the Old World) made Accesses to the King, whereby he got Leave to visit the New World in America: Captain Kemish (one of his old Seamen and Servants) shewing him a Piece of Ore in the Tower, of a Golden Complexion, (a glittering Temptation to begin the Work) assuring him, he could bring him to a Mine in Guiana of the same Metal; which (together with Freedom, the Crown of Life and being) gave Rise to this Enterprize.

The King looking on Raleigh as a Man whose Abilities might better the Nation, if improv'd the right way, gave him Liberty, and a Commission under the Great Seal, to equip and set forth Ships and Men for that Service. His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates and Persons upon the Design; and being gallantly furnished with all things necessary, either for Peace or War, they set out; and met no Difficulties till they came to Cape Vert in Africa; and then they found the Winds averse to them, (contrary to the usual Nature of it) with many violent Storms, which much impeded their Voyage: For they that usually navigate betwixt Cape Vert and America, run it in less than twenty Days; but it took them double the time. And being driven from the Isle of Bravo by a Tempest, there left they Cables, Anchors, and Water-Cask, behind them; so that by the Length of the Time, Heat of the Climate, and their Want of Water, great Sicknefs fell among them, and swept away many of their ablest Men, both for Sea and Land.

But with much Patience and Hardship, getting sight of the Coast of Guiana, they came to an Anchor in five Degrees, at the River Caliana, where they landed their sick Men, set up Barges and Shallops, which were brought out of England in Quarters, washed their Ships, and took in fresh Water, being fed and assitied by the Indians that Sir Walter Raleigh had formerly known; who (in this general Contagion, having grappled long with Sicknefs, and not yet able to move, otherwise than he was carried in a Chair) gave Order to five small Ships to sail into the River Orinoque (having Captain Kemish for their Conductor) towards the Mine, the Star that directed them thither. And in these five Ships were five Foot-Companies, under the Command of Captain Parker, and Captain North, Brothers to the Lord Monteagle, and the Lord North; Captain Walter Raleigh, the General's eldest Son; Captain Thornhurst, and Captain Chidley, Gentlemen of great Valour, and infinite Patience, in suffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. Major Pigot died in the miserable Passage, and Sir Warham Santleger (who was Lieutenant-Colonel) lay sick, without hope of Life; so that the Command of the five Companies being conferred upon George Raleigh, the General's Nephew, (made Major in Pigot's room) he was not so well obey'd as the Enterprize required. As they pass'd up the River, the Spaniards began the War, and shot at the Ships, both with their Ordnance and Musket; but they landed their Forces, without any great Loss, near unto a Town upon the River, called St. Thome, and gallantly charged the Enemy to the very Ports; where finding some little Opposition, they at last forced a Passage, and made themselves Masters of the Town. In the Assault, Captain Walter Raleigh, the General's Son, (a Man of Fire and Courage, fitter to execute, than to or-

der his Valour) was slain, to the great Grief of the Conquerors. *A. Reg. 15.*

The other five Ships staid with the General at Trinidad, having no other Port capable of them near Guiana. The first was commanded by the General himself; the second by Captain John Pennington, Vice-Admiral; the third by Sir Warham Santleger; the fourth by Sir John Fern; the fifth by Captain Chidley of Devonshire. The General had twelve Ships in all set out with him; but Captain Whitney and Captain Wolleston mutinied against him, and run home again from the Granadoes. With these five Ships they daily attended the Armada of Spain, and had they set upon them, their Force divided, (one half being in Orinoque, a Hundred and fifty Miles from them) they in Trinidad had not only been endangered, but all those in the River had also perished. And tho' these five Ships with the General were but of little Defence against so strong a Power as the King of Spain's Gallions; yet they would have given them their Hands full; for they were all resolved to have burned, and died by their sides. But the Armada staid for them at Margarita, by which Island they expected them to pass towards the Indies.

For the King, unwilling to displease his Brother of Spain, commanded Sir Walter Raleigh upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to set down under his Hand, the Country and the River which he was to enter, the compleat Number of his Men, the Burthen of his Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried: Which being made known to the Count Gondemar, the Spanish Ambassador here, and by him in Post to the King of Spain, a Dispatch was made by that King to the Indies, and his Letters sent from Madrid, before Sir Walter Raleigh with his Fleet departed out of the River Thames. For the first Letter, sent by a Bark of Advice, was dated the 19th of March, 1617. at Madrid. The second Letter was sent by a Carvell to Diego de Palomeque, at Trinidad. The third Letter by the Bishop of Puerto Rico: And the fourth was sent by the Farmer and Secretary of the Customs, at the same time. By that of the King's Hand, there was also a Commission for the speedy levying of Three thousand Men, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, to be sent from Puerto Rico for the Defence of Guiana. These Provisions were made to entertain the English, and had they met them, they would have found a harsh Banquet.

But the Spaniards at St. Thome (their Supplies being not come) were not so numerous as to defend both the Town and the Passages to the Mines; therefore they quitted the Town, and fortified the way to the Mines near the Town. But the Passages leading to the Mine that Kemish had in his Eye, were Aspera & Fragosa, as Sir Walter Raleigh express'd them; and Kemish found the River so low, that he could not approach the Banks, in most places near the Mine, by a Mile; and where he found an Ascent, a Volley of Musquets came from the Woods, and at one time slew two of the Rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman, Captain Thornhurst, in the Head, of which he with great Difficulty recovered. Kemish seeing so much Hazard in attempting to find the Mine, the Passage to it being full of thick and impassable Woods; and thinking the English that were left in the Town of St. Thome would not be able to defend it, especially if the Enemy should be recruited, the Country being all in Alarm, he gave over the Enterprize, and returned: For if he

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A. Reg. 15. he should have discovered the Mine, he had no Men (as he pretended) to work in it; and being a great way up into the Land, Men would have been got thither with much Danger and Difficulty. And that was true. The *Spaniards* themselves complain for want of Negroes to work in their Mines; for the *Indians* cannot be constrained, by a Law of *Charles the Fifth*; and the *Spaniards* will not, neither can they endure the Labour. But this was ill advised, to take so much Pains, and run so much Hazard, to get and possess that, which, when they had it, they could not make use of; so that which *Kemish* pleaded (when he returned) for an Excuse, reflected upon him as a great Miscarriage. As soon as he came to *St. Thome*, the *English* pillaged the Town, carried away the best and most portable Things; and the Enemy not daring to appear for the Redemption of it, they set it a-fire, leaving behind them an infinite Mass of Treasure, which, either for want of Knowledge or Power, they could not attain to: For there were two Gold Mines near the Town, the one possessed by *Roderigo de Parama*, the other by *Herman Frontino*, and a Silver Mine by *Francisco Fashardo*: To preserve and fortify which, they employed all their Strength and Industry; so that they needed not have gone so far up the River to find a new Mine, when they had so many nearer them, that either Ignorance or want of Strength made them neglect.

Raleigh troubled. The General, with the News of the Death of his Son, and *Kemish's* Return without effecting his Work, was perplexed to the very Soul, telling *Kemish* he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King, past recovery; but he must think (he told him) to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himself; for he must avow that *Kemish* knew the Mine, and that with little Loss he might have possessed it. *Kemish*, much troubled in his Mind, retires to his Cabin, which he had in the General's Ship, and presently after his being there, he shot himself with a Pistol: The General hearing the Noise, ask'd what Pistol it was? Answer was made, That Captain *Kemish* shot it off in his Cabin to cleanse it; but *Kemish's* Man going into the Cabin, found his Master lying in his own Blood. The Pistol having a little Bullet, did only crack the Rib; which being too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in after it up to the Hilt; and with him the Glory of the Voyage expired: For the Design being thus broken, the Ships leaky, Victuals failing, and missing of those Golden Showers they gaped after, (that Radical Moisture which fills the Veins of the Affections, and gives Life and Vigour to all Actions) some of the Men began to mutiny against the General, others were for him; some would have him go home, others would have him stay; the major part forced him to swear not to go home but by their Allowance; and yet his Ships dwindled away one after another, (his Strength was best discovered by his Weakness) ten Ships being reduced to four, and those would do what they list. Some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, few for *England*, fearing the *Spanish* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*. Thus they were shatter'd in Judgment, with a greater Tempest than the Seas or Winds could produce. *Miserable is that Government where the Multitude is Master!* At last he is brought to *Kinsale* in *Ireland*.

Gondemar incenses the King against Raleigh, 1618. The News of taking and burning *St. Thome* coming to *Gondemar*, he besieges, and (as it were) assaults the King with Importunity for Reparation: For he was a Man not only of an iniqui-

ating and glozing Spirit, but of a violent and fiery Temper, when any cross Accident blew up the Humour. The Matter is aggravated with the highest Circumstances by those of the *Spanish* Faction, as if this Irruption of *Raleigh's* not only tended to the Breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, (that was then in motion) but to the Infringement of the Peace and Amity established betwixt the two Crowns. The King's Fears being heighten'd to Anger, he disavows the Action; and lest others of his Subjects should by this Example take the Boldness to attempt the like Hostility against the King of *Spain*, he puts out a Proclamation, wherein he shews his Detestation of such Proceedings, and threatens severe Punishment to the Enterprisers, thereby to deter them: Which gave *Gondemar* some Satisfaction; whose Design being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home, (after this Brush) vented little Passion; but so cunningly skinned over his Malice, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found nor heard of no such great Difficulties, (Dangers often flying upon the Wings of Rumour) but that he might appear in *England*; and the Men not willing to be banished their own Country, (tho' some of them had *France* in their Eye) put in at *Plimouth*. *Raleigh* was no sooner ashore, but he had private Intimation, which gave him cause to suspect, the Smoothness of the Beginning would have a Rough End: Therefore he attempted an Escape from thence in a Bark of *Rochel*: But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukley* (his Kinsman) who had private Warrant and Instructions to that purpose, (so unnatural and servile is the Spirit, when it hath an Allay of Baseness, there being many others fitter for that Employment) he is brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower.

He was no sooner in the Tower, but all his Transactions in this Business are put to the Rack, and tenter'd by his Adversaries. They say he knew of no Mine, nor did *Kemish* know that the Mine he aimed at was Gold; but *Kemish* bringing him a Piece of Ore into the Tower, he fobb'd a Piece of Gold into it in dissolving, making the poor Man believe the Ore was right, that by these Golden Degrees he might ascend to Liberty; promising the King to fetch it where never *Spaniard* had been. But when *Kemish* found by better Experience he was cozen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the Mine: And *Raleigh* knowing that none but *Kemish* could accuse him, made him away. This Vizard was put upon the Face of the Action, and all the Weight of the Miscarriage was laid upon *Raleigh's* Shoulders.

Gondemar, that looked upon him as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Animosity enough to do his Master Mischief, (being one of those Scourges which that old *Virago* (the late Queen) as he call'd her, used to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his Baits about the King. There is a strange Virtue in this Spirit of *Sol*! The Intensity makes Men firm; the Ductilness brings them to be active. *French* Crowns are not so pure, nor so piercing, as *Spanish* Pistoles. *Auri sacra fames! Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* The King, that loved his Peace, is incensed by them that loved their Profit, and the poor Gentleman must lay down the Price of his Life upon the old Reckoning.

In *October* this Year he is brought to the King's Bench Bar at *Westminster*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were open'd; and Demand was made, Why Execution should not

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He is committed to the Tower.

A. Reg. 15. he done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounced against him? To which, in way of Answer, he began to justify himself in the Proceedings of the late Voyage; but the Lord Chief Justice wished him to spare that Trouble; for there was no other Matter in question but the former Judgment, which the King would have executed upon him, for some Occasions best known to himself, unless he could shew good Cause to the contrary.

Raleigh answered, That he was told by his Council, that Judgment was void, by the Commission his Majesty was pleased to give him since under the Great Seal for his last Employment, which did give him a new Vigour and Life to that Service. The Lord Chief Justice replied, That he was deceived, and that the Opinion of the Court was to the contrary. Then he desir'd, that some reasonable time might be allowed him to prepare for Death; but it was answered, That the time appointed was the next Morning, and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himself for Death long since. *Raleigh* having a Courageous Spirit, (finding the Bent of the King's Mind, and knowing Disputes to be in vain, where Controversies are determined) acquiesc'd, was conveyed to the Gatehouse, and the Day following was brought to the Old Palace-yard at Westminster, and, upon a Scaffold there erected, * * lost his Head.

And Be-headed.

His Character and Description.

He had in the outward Man a good Presence, in a handsome and well-compacted Person, a strong natural Wit, and a better Judgment, with a bold and plausible Tongue, whereby he could set off his Parts to the best Advantage. And to these he had the Adjuncts of general Learning, which (by Diligence and Experience (those two great Tutors) being now Threescore Years of Age) was augmented to a great Perfection, being an indefatigable Reader, and having a very retentive Memory. At his Arraignment at Winchester, his Carriage to his Judges was with great Discretion; humble, yet not prostrate; dutiful, yet not dejected: Towards the Jury affable, but not fawning; not in despair, nor believing, but hoping in them; carefully perswading them with Reasons, not distemperately importuning them with Conjurations; rather shew-

ing Love of Life, than Fear of Death. Towards the King's Council patient, but not insensibly neglecting, nor yielding to Imputations laid against him in Words, (which Sir Edward Coke, then the King's Attorney, belched out freely) and it was wondred a Man of his high Spirit could be so humble in suffering, not being much overtaken in Passion. And now at his last, when Death was presented before him, he looked upon it without Affrightment, striving to vindicate his Actions, by taking off the Veil that false Reports had cast upon them, (especially the Imputation of his glorying, and rejoicing in the Fall, and at the Death of the late Earl of Essex, which had stuck so many Years in his Breast; and this new Miscarriage of *Kemish's*, of a later Date, imputed to him) for having provided himself privately for Heaven, clearing his Accounts with God before he came to the Scaffold, he publickly at last reckon'd with Man, (being to quit all Scores) and so made an end.

Times of Peace are accounted the happiest Times; and tho' they are great Blessings, proceeding from the Influence of Supreme Mercy, and the Showers of Grace, yet the Branches of the Tree of Knowledge, (growing by this Sunshine) for want of due pruning, do often become so exuberant, that their very Fruits are not only their Burthen, but sometimes their Ruine. Prosperity is of an Airy Constitution, carried about with the Breath of strange Fancies, which mount sometimes as high as Omnipotency; but there finding Resistance, they come down amain, and beat the lower Region with a Tempest of Strife and Malice. When the Romans wanted Enemies, they digged them out of their own Bowels. Active Spirits will be set on work.

Our Neighbours of the Netherlands (that had so long bounded the Spanish Power, and humbled their Pride so far, as to acknowledge them a Free-State, before they would so much as listen to an Overture of Peace) had a Fire kindled in their own Bosoms. It is now some time since the Twelve Years Truce betwixt Spain and them began, being in the Wane and Last Quarter. While they had their Hands full of Business, they had not their Heads full of old Cu-

Disunion in the United Provinces.

* * As Sir Walter Raleigh's Conspiracy before had been a Riddle of State, so his Death now was a Sacrifice of State. King James was at this time openly in the Spanish Interest, and some Steps had been already made towards a Match between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain, which a little after was made publick. Gondemar was then a Favourite, as well as an Ambassador, and had acquir'd so great an Ascendant over King James, that he was led into his most secret Counsels, and, in conjunction with Buckingham, entirely govern'd him.

Raleigh was the last of Queen Elizabeth's Captains, and had done her Signal Services against Spain. After King James's Accession to the Crown, tho' then a Prisoner, and under the Sentence of Death, he had writ several Memorials to him against a Peace with Spain, laying open the Advantages accruing to England, and the Disadvantages to Spain, in continuing the War. This was what the Court of Spain could never forgive him; and so upon Pretence of his Sacking of St. Thomas, a Colony of theirs in the Indies, they got rid of his working Head.

I am apt to believe there was something of a Personal Prejudice in King James against him, that concurr'd with Gondemar's Sollicitations to bring about the Fate of this Great Man. He had during his Imprisonment made Applications to Prince Henry, who contracted a particular Esteem for him, kept a constant Correspondence with him by Letters and Messages, and had again and again solicited the King for his Liberty.

When the Prince fell into his last Illness, the Queen sent to Sir Walter Raleigh for some of his Cordial, which she herself had taken in a Fever some time before, with remarkable Success. Raleigh sent it, together with a Letter, to the Queen, wherein he expressed a tender Concern for the Prince; and boasting of his Medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an Expression to this purpose, *That it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a Fever, except the case of Poyson.*

The Prince dying, tho' he took it, the Queen, in the Agony of her Grief, shew'd Raleigh's Letter, and laid so much Weight on the Expression about Poyson, that to her dying Day she could never be dissuaded from the Opinion, That her be'ov'd Son had had foul Play done him.

It's certain Sir Walter Raleigh lov'd the Prince with an Esteem next to Idolatry; his Death putting an end to the First, and indeed the only remaining Part left us of his Noble History, which he sums up in these Words. *Lastly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls it self, The First Part of the General History of the World, implying a Second and Third Volume, which I also intended, and have hewen out: Besides many other Discouragements perswading my Silence, it hath pleased God to take that Glorious Prince out of the World, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never-enough lamented Loss has taught me to say with Job, Versa est in luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in Vocem fletuum.* But Great tho' Sir Walter Raleigh was in most other Things, it was both Vanity and Indiscretion in him to lay such a Stress on this Medicine of his, as to suppose nothing but Poyson could resist the Power of it; and at the same time to start such a Suspicion in a fond Mother, that perhaps he had no true Ground for, and might in the Consequence prove fatal to himself.

riofities.

A. Reg. 16. riotities. Now, like Plethorique Bodies that want letting Blood, they break out into Distemper; a Schism in the Church, and Faction in the State.

The first Author of the Schism, was *Arminius*; of the Faction, *Barneveldt*; Persons of great Parts and Power (tho' of different Natures.) The one had been Divinity-Professor at *Leyden*, the other the Manager of all the great Affairs of the State. Distempers in Kingdoms and States are like Madnes in Bodies, which doth not break out till some Accident doth stir the Humour. *Arminius* died just upon the beginning of the Treaty, which was in the Year 1609. leaving behind him the Seeds of this *Pelagian* Heresy, which tho' it were cherished much by some, in whose Bosoms he had sown it, yet happily it might never have taken Root, had not Peace and Ease manured it, and made it fruitful. The Mysteries of Predestination, and the ineffable Essence of God (*Quæ tremenda & admiranda sunt, sed non scrutanda* (to use our King's own Words) which are to be trembled at, and admired, not pried into) are the great Theme. Such Intuitions are too high for Flesh and Blood: Yet what will not Pragmatical Spirits do, when they proudly look into Divine Things with the Eye of Reason, not humbly with the Eye of Faith?

This Rupture in the Bowels of the Church grew so great, that it endangered the Body of the State. The Chief Rulers and Magistrates in the several Provinces being tainted with this Error, strove to establish it by Power; among whom *Barneveldt* was a Principal Agent, who, by the Assistance of *Hoogenberts* of *Leyden*, *Grotius* of *Rotterdam*, and *Leidenburgh* Secretary of *Utrecht*, with others their Adherents, drew on the Design, which was to suppress the Protestant Reformed Religion, and establish the Tenents of *Arminius*, being fomented by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, as the immediate way to introduce Popery. This went on so smoothly, that the Orthodox Ministers were expelled out of their principal Towns, and none but *Arminians* admitted to Preach to the People, which in some Places bred many Combustions, that tended to nothing but Popular Confusion.

Our King forewarns them of it Anno 1611. But long before this time, our King saw the Storm coming upon them: For in the Year 1611. he forewarns the State; telling them, That by the unhappy Succession of Two such Prodigies in one Sphere, as *Arminius* and *Vorspius*, some dreadful Mischief would succeed. For *Arminius* was no sooner Dead, but those that drew on the Design had an Eye on *Vorspius*, his Disciple, to make him Divinity-Professor in his Place; which the King hearing of, and having read some of *Vorspius's* Blasphemous Writings, sends to his then Ambassador *Sir Ralph Winwood*, Resident there, to let the State know, that *Vorspius* rather deserved Punishment than Promotion; that the Head of such a Viper should be trod upon and crush'd, that was likely to eat his way through the Bowels of the State. And if they (nevertheless) would persist to prefer him, he would make known to the World publickly in Print, how much he detested such abominable Heresies, and all Allowers and Tolerators of them.

The Ambassador urging the King's Desires, they returned a long Answer in Justification of *Vorspius*.

The States Answer. First, 'That the Curators of the University of *Leyden* (according to their Duty, and the ancient Custom ever since the Foundation of that University) having diligently made En-

quiry for some Doctor to be chosen in the Place of Divinity-Professor there, at that time void; after Mature Deliberation, they made Election of *Conradus Vorspius* to that Place. Which Election and Calling, was countermin'd presently after by certain Persons, to whose Office or Disposal the Business did nothing at all belong; who charged the said *Vorspius* with Unsoundness of Doctrine; whereupon the Curators thought fit (with the good liking of *Vorspius* himself) that both at *Leyden*, and at the *Hague*, he should appear in his own Justification, to answer all Accusers; which he did; and there came none to Charge him. But not long after, six Ministers undertook to prove, That *Vorspius* had publish'd False Doctrine, who being heard in a full Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *Westfrizeland*, they could by their Arguments find no Reason, why the Execution of what was done by the Curators lawfully, ought to be hindred or impeached. And they do assuredly believe, That if his Majesty of *Great Britain* were well informed of the true Circumstances of this Business, he would, according to his High Wisdom and Prudence, conceive favourably of them, they proceeding in this Business with all Reverence, Care and Respect, to his Majesty's serious Admonition. Dated at the *Hague*, 1 October, 1611.

The King seeing which way the States went, by the Print of the Footing that *Vorspius* had Books set among them, caused his Books publickly to be burned in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and both the Universities. And not giving it over, he writes to them again, to be mindful of the Glory of God, and not suffer such Scandalous Members to remain in the Body of the true Reformed Church, that maintain such execrable Blasphemies, as to deny the Eternity and Omnipotency of God: Furthermore, he desires them so much to consult their own Honour and Safety, as to Extirpate such Atheisms and Heresies. But if they suffer such Pestilent Hereticks to nestle among them (who dare take upon them the licentious Liberty to fetch again from Hell ancient Heresies long since condemned, and invent new ones of their own, to the Depravation of the true Catholick Church) he should be constrained publickly to protest against them. Dated at *Theobalds*, 6 October, 1611.

Sir Ralph Winwood represented this Letter to the States; and finding them cold and backward in proceeding any further against *Vorspius*, according to the King's Directions to him, he made this Remonstrance to them.

My Lords,

IF ever the King of *Great Britain*, my Master, hath merited any thing of this State, (and how much he hath merited, in respect of his great Favours and Royal Assistances, your Lordships acknowledging them with all Gratitude, can best Judge and Witnes) he hath surely merited at this present, having by his Letters full of Zeal and Piety, which he hath written unto you, endeavour'd to procure the Establishment of that Religion only within your Provinces, which the Reformed Churches of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Germany*, by a mutual Consent have generally Imbraced. For what is it to his Majesty, whether Dr. *Vorspius* be admitted Professor in the University of *Leyden*, or not? Or whether the Doctrine of *Arminius* be preached in your Churches? Saving that as a Christian Prince, he desires the

Sir Ralph Winwood's Remonstrance to the States.

A. Reg. 16. Advancement of the Gospel; and as your best
An Christi Friend and Ally, the Strengthening of your
 1618. Commonwealth, whose first Foundations were
 cemented with the Blood of his Subjects; and which
 in his Judgment can no way subsist, if wittingly
 and willingly you suffer the Reformed Religion to
 be (either by the Practices of your Doctors sophisticated,
 or by their Malice) depraved. If therefore Religion
 be as it were the Palladium of your Commonwealth;
 and that to preserve the One in her Glory and
 Perfection, be to maintain the Other in her
 Purity, let your selves then be Judges, in how
 great a Danger the State must needs be at
 this present, so long as you permit the Schisms
 of *Arminius* to have such Vogue (as now they
 have) in the Principal Towns of *Holland*; and
 if you suffer *Vorsinus* to be received Divinity-
 Professor in the University of *Leyden* (the
 Seminary of your Church) who, in scorn of the
 Holy Word of God, hath, after his own Fancy,
 devised a new Sect, patch'd together of several
 Pieces of all sorts of Ancient and Modern
 Heresies. The Fool said in his Heart, there is
 no God: But he that with an open Mouth,
 of set Purpose, and premeditated Malice, hath
 let his Pen run at random, to disgorge so
 many Blasphemies against the sacred Majesty
 of God, this Fellow shall wear the Garland
 of all that ever yet were heard of, since the
 Means of the Gospel, the Light of Christian
 Religion, hath shined unto the World. If any
 Man doubt of it, see here what his Majesty,
 with his own Hand, hath collected out of his
 Writings. And then presenting them a Paper, he
 proceeded.

These are, in part, the Opinions of that
 great Divine, who is chosen to domineer in
 the Chair at *Leyden*: In opposition whereunto,
 I mean not to say any thing, but that which
 the Roman Orator did once pronounce in the
 like Case, *Mala est, & impia consuetudo, contra
 Deum disputandi, sive sermō id sit, sive si-
 mulatē*; It is an evil and wicked Custom to
 dispute against God, whether it be in earnest,
 or in jest.

Now my Lords, I address my self unto you,
 and according to the Charge which I have re-
 ceived from the King my Master, I conjure
 you by the Amity that is betwixt his King-
 doms, and your Provinces, to awaken your
 Spirits, and to have a Careful Eye at this As-
 sembly of *Holland* (which is already begun)
ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat, that the Com-
 monwealth take no harm; which undoubtedly
 at one time or other will be turned upside
 down, if you suffer such a dangerous Conta-
 gion to harbour so near you, and not remove
 it as soon as possibly you may. The Disci-
 ples of *Socinus* (with whose Doctrine *Vorsinus*
 hath been suckled in his Childhood) do seek
 him for their Master, and are ready to em-
 brace him. Let him go, he is a Bird of their
 own Feather, *Est dignum sanè patellæ operculum*,
 a fit Cover for such a Dish.

On the other side, the Students in Divinity
 at *Leyden*, to the Number of Six and Fifty,
 by a Dutiful Remonstrance, presented unto
 the States of *Holland* the Sixteenth of *October*,
 the last Year, being 1610. did most humbly
 beseech the said States, not to use their Au-
 thority in compelling them to receive a Pro-
 fessor, who both by the Attestations of the Di-
 vinity-Colleges at *Basil* and *Heidelberg*, as also
 by manifest Evidence out of his own Writings,
 is convinc'd of a Number of manifest Here-
 sies.

A. Reg. 16. These Reasons therefore, namely, the enor-
 mous and horrible Heresies maintained by
 him; the Instance of his Majesty, ground-
 ed upon the Welfare and Honour of this
 Country; the Requests either of all, or of the
 most part of your Provinces; the Petitions
 of all the Ministers (excepting those only
 which are of *Arminius's* Sect) should methinks
 prevail so far with my Lords the States of
Holland, as they will at the last apply them-
 selves to the Performance of that, which both
 the Sincerity of Religion, and the Service of
 their Country, requireth at their Hands.

Furthermore, I have Commandment from
 his Majesty, to move you in his Name, to set
 down some certain Reglement in Matters of
 Religion throughout your Provinces, that this
 licentious Freedom of Disputation may be re-
 strain'd, which breeds Factions and Part-
 takings; and that you would absolutely take
 away the Liberty of Prophefying, which
Vorsinus doth so much recommend unto you in
 the Dedicatory Epistle of his *Anti-Bellarmino*,
 the Book whereof his Patrons do boast so
 much.

And his Majesty doth exhort you, seeing
 you have heretofore taken Arms for the Li-
 berty of your Consciences, and have endur'd
 a violent and bloody War, the space of Forty
 Years, for the Profession of the Gospel; that
 now, having gotten the upper Hand of your
 Miseries, you would not suffer the Followers
 of *Arminius* to make your Actions an Example
 for them to proclaim throughout the World
 that wicked Doctrine of the Apostacy of the
 Saints. The Account which his Majesty doth
 make of your Amity, appears sufficiently by
 the Treaties which he made with your Lord-
 ships, by the Succours which your Provinces
 have received from his Crowns, by the De-
 luge of Blood, which his Subjects have spent
 in your Wars. Religion is the only Solder of this
 Amity. For his Majesty being, by the Grace
 of GOD, Defender of the Faith, doth hold
 himself obliged to defend all those who pro-
 fess the same Faith and Religion with him:
 But if once your Zeal begins to grow cold
 therein, his Majesty will then straightways
 imagine, that your Friendship towards him,
 and his Subjects, will likewise freeze by little
 and little.

This was the Effect of Sir *Ralph Winwood's*
 Remonstrance; to which, after six Weeks De-
 lay, he received this cold and ambiguous Answer:

The States Answer. That the States General had deliberated up-
 on his Majesty's Proposition and Letter,
 dated the 6th of *October*, 1611. and do give
 him humble Thanks for the continuance of his
 Royal Affection towards the Welfare of their
 Country, and Preservation of Religion. And
 that they had entred into Consultation con-
 cerning the Articles charged against *Vorsinus*;
 and the Curators of *Leyden* did thereupon
 make an Order Provisional, That *Vorsinus*
 should not be admitted to the Exercise of his
 Place, but remain in *Leyden* only as an Inha-
 bitant and Citizen. And in case *Vorsinus* should
 not be able to clear himself from those Accu-
 sations which were laid to his Charge, at or
 before the next Assembly (which was to be
 holden in *February* following) that then they
 would decide the Matter with good Con-
 sentment to his Majesty.

But this Answer still favouring of Delays,
 could not in effect be esteemed less than an ab-
 solute Refusal to yield to the King's Desires;
 besides,

A. Reg. 16. besides, the specious Separation of *Vorstius* as a Citizen, was only to satise the King at present; for he (after) notwithstanding exercised his Place of Professor. Whereupon Sir Ralph Winwood knowing the King's Mind, made this Protestation in their Publick Assembly.

Sir Ralph Winwood's Protestation.
My Lords,
 There is not any one of you, I suppose, in this Assembly, that will not acknowledge the Brotherly Love wherewith the King, my Master, hath always affected the Good of your Provinces, and the Fatherly Care which he hath ever had to procure the Establishment of your State. In which respect, his Majesty having understood, that *Vorstius* was elected Divinity-Professor of *Leyden*, a Person attained by many Witnesses, *Juris & Facti*, of a Number of Heresies, is therewith exceedingly Offended. And for the timely prevention of an Infinite of Evils, did give me in charge to exhort you (which I did the 21st of September last) to wash your Hands from that Man, and not suffer him to come within your Country. To this Exhortation your Answer was, *That all due Observance and Regard should be had unto his Majesty*: But his Majesty hath receiv'd so little Respect therein, that instead of debarring *Vorstius* from coming into the Country (which even by the Laws of Friendship his Majesty might have requir'd) the Proceedings have been clean contrary; for he is permitted to come to *Leyden*; hath been received there with all Honour; taken up his Habitation; Treated, and Lodg'd, in the Quality of a Publick Professor. His Majesty perceiving his first Motion had so little prevailed, writ a Letter to you to the same Purpose, full of Zeal and Affection; perswading you, by many Reasons, not to stain your own Honour, and the Honour of the Reformed Churches, by calling unto you that wretched and wicked Atheist. These Letters were presented to this Assembly the Fifth of November last, at which time, by his Majesty's Command, I used some Speech my self to the same effect. Some Six Weeks after, I received an Answer, but so Confused, Ambiguous, and Impertinent, that I have reason to conceive there is no meaning at all to send *Vorstius* away, who is at present in *Leyden*, received, acknowledged, respected and treated as Publick Professor: Whether it be to grace that University instead of the Deceased *Joseph Scaliger*, or whether to give him means to do more Mischief in Secret, which perhaps for Shame he durst not in Publick, I cannot tell. For these Reasons, according to that Charge which I have received from the King, my Master, I do in his Name, and on his Behalf, Protest in this Assembly, against the Wrong, Injury, and Scandal, done unto the Reformed Religion, by receiving and retaining *Conradus Vorstius* in the University of *Leyden*, and against the Violence offered unto that Alliance which is betwixt his Majesty and your Provinces; which being founded upon the Preservation and Maintenance of the Reformed Religion, you have not omitted to Violate, in the Proceeding of this Cause. Of which Enormous Indignities committed against the Church of God, and against his Majesty's Person, in preferring the Presence of *Vorstius* before his Amity and Alliance, the King, my Master, holds himself bound to be sensible; and if Reparation be not made, and that Speedily (which cannot be by any other Means, than by sending *Vorstius* away) his

Majesty will make it appear unto the World, by some Declaration (which he will cause to be Printed and Published) how much he detests the Atheisms and Heresies of *Vorstius*, and all those that Maintain, Favour and Cherish them.

To this, the States promised a better Answer at their next Assembly; but that producing no good Effect, the King writes a Declaration against *Vorstius*, which is extant in his own Works, collected by Doctor *James Montague*, Son to Sir *Edward Montague*, of *Bowdington* in the County of *Northampton*, Knight, then Bishop of *Winechester*, and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel; in which Volume is depainted the King's excellent Spirit, and many Royal Graces tending to Religion and Piety.

Thus the States let in a Deluge of Impiety, by being so pertinaciously affected to *Vorstius*; and though he lived not long among them, yet what he had planted grew up abundantly, and were the bitter Roots of these present Divisions.

And after, in the Year 1613, there were many Our King Discords among them, which our King hearing writes to of, he incited the States by Letters again (so the States in 1613. willing he was to have Unity among them) that this War of the Tongue might be pacified, rather by Publick Authority than School Disputations; and, by his Mediation, for a good time the Humour was abated, or rested, as in the Interpolate Fits of Agues; but the Rancour broke out again more than ever.

For this Year 1618. (as formerly expressed) And now in 1618. the Distemper came to the State, or Height, and had ever after a Decline. Our King hearing of the Disorders and Tumults among them, look'd upon them (now) as so many ill Omens, portending not only the Ruine of the *Netherlands*, but the Tempest growing greater, might beat too soon upon the *British Shores*. To stay therefore the swelling Progress of this Gangrene Humour, he prohibits his Subjects by Proclamation to send their Children to *Leyden*; and solicites the States by Letters again, not only to forbid the Preaching of these Controversies, (the Pulpits being made but the Bellows of Dissention) but commands his Ambassador, Sir *Dudley Carleton*, to shew them their Disease, and then prescribes them the Cure. Their Disease was this; Schism in the Church, which usher'd in a Faction in the State; Jealousie and Disaffection among the Magistrates; Hatred and Heart-burning among the Common People; Contempt of the Orders and Decrees of the chiefeft Courts of Justice; Distraction among the Soldiers, being tied to several Forms of Oaths; Insurrections and Commotions among the Companies new levied, not well Disciplin'd, (as likewise among the Common People) which have extended to Blood, to the Affrightment, Fear and Trouble of all the Provinces; at which the Enemy smiles (who happily have a Hand in the Design) and their Friends lament to see it so. To cure which Malady, there is no other way than to call a National Council, where these Waters of Strife being kept in due bound, the asperous Edge of Opinion might be taken off, by grave and weighty Reason, to abate the Passion both in Church and State.

The Remonstrants (which the *Arminians* called themselves) carrying on their Resolutions with a full Sail, would by no means alter their Course, or consent to the calling of a Council; either fearing their Party in Council would prove the Weakest, or opposer the Prince of Orange.

A Reg. 16. Weakest, or knowing their Partakers in Action would be the Strongest; for most of the States and Governors of Provinces had tasted of this infected Cup. And *Barnevelt* (the Head of them) being an active Person, and having a nimble Tongue, distilling into them a Jealousie, that *Maurice Prince of Orange* (who had the Command of all their Garisons, as General of their Army) affected to make himself (by his Power) sole Lord and Monarch over them; that the Freedom which they had purchased with their Bloods, was now ready to be trampled on; he that was their Servant, aspiring to become their Master; having all Power both by Sea and Land, in his own hand; all Governments, and Offices at his own dispose, so that he wanted nothing but the Title to make him Absolute. These Sparks took Fire with many, and yet they could not well see by that Light, because *Barnevelt* drew these Pretences as a Curtain, to get as much Power in the Militia, as he had in their Councils, the better to bring his Ends about. Whereupon, to Balance the Prince of Orange's Power, new Companies are levied in some of the Provinces secretly, especially in *Utrecht*, meaning to make that the Stage to act their bloody Parts on: Which Town being much corrupted with the Leaven of bad Doctrine, they soon closed with the Corruption of as bad Manners.

The Prince of Orange goes to Utrecht.
The Prince of Orange, and some others affected to him, did cut out their Time to the length of the others Endeavours, proportioning their Prevention suitable to the others Action; so the advance of the one Party ran upon the same Parallel with the other, being ready to tread on their Heels for haste. And now the time being ripe, the Prince goes to *Utrecht*, accompanied with some of the States his Intimates, Count *Ernest of Nassau*, and some other Commanders of the Army, to Seize upon, or Disband those new raised Forces; in which he was opposed by *Leydenburgh* and other States of the Town, who incited the Governour, Sir *John Ogle*, our Countryman, to deny the Prince entrance; but he was too much a Friend to the Honour of his Name, and Nation, to falsifie his Trust. So that the Prince encountred only with those, whose Unwillingness had Power enough if they had had Hearts to oppose him. But he finding it would be an ill Precedent to the rest of the Towns to meet a Repulse here, had ordered Five hundred Foot from *Arnhem*, and the next Garisons, to meet him there, who entred the Town that Evening peaceably, and the next Morning about Four a Clock Disbanded the new levied Companies, before the Towns-Men were well awake.

The Prince had no great Reason to trust the Garrison of the City, considering the Reformed Religion was totally kept under Hatches, and the *Arminian* got upon the Deck. The Governor himself suspected, and complying to outward Appearance, and the Common Soldiers running with the Stream. But he knew (it seems) their Temper ascended to no higher Notions, than Thirty *Stivers* a Week was able to purchase. Therefore he summon'd them all over Night into the Market-place, without Beat of Drum, who, with the other Five hundred, struck such a Terror into the new levied Companies, that, at the first Word of Command, they laid down their Arms and submitted. They were in that City in all Nine hundred Men, that knew they were raised to oppose the Prince's Power, pick'd up of several Nations, that hoped to carve their For-

tunes out of Bloody Tumults, and back'd by a numerous Multitude of Citizens; yet they all shrunk in their Heads before the Face of Authority.

This giving some Stop to the Carrier of the Remonstrants in *Utrecht*, the rest of the Towns took up, though they had run long uncurbed. And now the Prince and State thought of nothing more than of composing the Disorders of the Church, by a National Council; which *Barnevelt* and his Faction opposing, they resolved to take away those Impediments that hindered the Peace and Tranquility of the Provinces. So that on the 19th of August, the prime Ring-leaders of the Sedition, *Barnevelt*, *Hoogenberts*, and *Grotius*, were seized on at the Hague, as they were entering the Senate, and committed to several Prisons. This cast a general Damp upon the Spirits of the Remonstrants, as if they had been crushed in the Head. And some few Days after, *Leydenburgh* was sent from *Utrecht* with a strong Guard. These being the Four chief Pillars whereupon this confused Building stood, they being taken away, it fell to the Ground. *Leydenburgh*, to prevent their Mercy, stabbed himself in Prison with a Knife, that opened a Passage to let out his Life. *Hoogenberts* and *Grotius* found something of Mercy by waiting for it, but they were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment in the Castle of *Lovestein*. And the latter of them (*Grotius*) after some time of Imprisonment, made an Escape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended, to the Soldiers of the Castle, to be full of *Arminian Books*, which she would send away, because they should not trouble her Husband's Head. But the Capital Offender, *Barnevelt*, was beheaded at the Hague the 14th of May following, being 1619.

His Sentence of Death was this, That for so much as he had endeavoured to disturb the Peace of the Land, and had opposed himself against the wholsom Advice of divers Princes, Lords, and excellent Persons, as well without as within the Land, and that he had injured some of their mightiest Allies by his secret Practices, (namely, by calumniating the King of Great-Britain, as though he had been the Author of these Troubles in the Low-Countries:) For that he had kindled the Fire of Dissention in the Provinces; had raised Soldiers in the Diocese of *Utrecht*; had disreputed his Excellency as much as lay in his Power; had revealed the Secrets of the Council; and had received Presents and Gifts from Foreign Princes: Finally, For that by his Machinations and Plots, new States have been erected in the State, new Governments against the Government, and new Unions and Alliances against the ancient Union, to the general Perturbation, as well of Policy, as of Religion; to the exhausting of the Treasures of the Land; to the Jealousie and Dislike, not only of the Confederates, but of the Natives of the Country, who by this Means were brought into Danger, that they were like to fall into final Ruine.

He was born in *Amersford*, descended from His Imperial Family of *Olden Barnevelt*: In his ploy-Fortune, a Private Gentleman; but by his In-ments. dustry, Travels, and Studies at Home and Abroad, he made himself capable of managing the highest Affairs, which he did almost for Forty Years together. He was Five times Extraordinary Ambassador into England and France; had been in the Field with the Princes of Orange, and the Army, as one of the States, Thirty two several Leaguers; nothing was acted without his Advice: Indeed he was the Tongue and Genius of the State. But whether Ambition (now in his Old Age) mounted him to grapple with the

A. Reg. 16. the Prince for Power; or whether that wild and
An. Christi frantick Fancy, that Men often brand their Spi-
rits with, and call it Conscience, (but is nothing
1618. but Pertinacy in Opinion) impt the Wings of
his Affections, we cannot discover, being only
the secret Companions of his own Breat, and
let them dye with him. But thus he ended, in
the Seventy first Year of his Age.

A Synod He lived to see (that which he had so much
at Dort. opposed) a National Synod held at Dort,* whither
our King sent Doctor George Carlton, Bishop of
Landaff; Doctor Joseph Hall, Dean of Worcester;
Doctor John Davenant, Professor Regius in Cam-
bridge, and Master of Queen's College; and Doctor
Samuel Ward, Regent of Sidney College in Cam-
bridge: Divines of great Reputation, sound Learn-
ing, and well-grounded Faith. Where they met
with divers Divines from Switzerland and Ger-
many, besides the Natives of the Netherlands;
who altogether, in a full Synod, quashed, as
much as in them lay, the Arminian Opinions:
And though they could not utterly extirpate the
Roots of the Heresie, yet they laid them so low,
that they never broke out there since into exu-
berant Branches; though some of the Fibrae,
the small Veins left behind, much tainted our
Nation; as shall be expressed hereafter.

A Bla- And now the Heavens declare the Glory of
zing Star. God: A mighty Blazing Comet appears in Libra,
whose bearded Beams covered the Virgin Sign.
It began on Wednesday Morning, the 18th of
November this Year, and vanished away on Wed-
nesday the 16th of December following; making,
in 28 Days Motion, its Circumgyration over most
Parts of the known World, extending its radiant
Locks (by the Observation of Astronomers) some-
times 45 Degrees in length. And as our Doctor
Bambridge observed towards the Declination of it,
about the 11th of December, it pass'd over Lon-
don in the Morning, and so hasted more North-
wards, even as far as the Orcaides.

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus Aether,

They make not their Course in vain. * These
Apparitions do always portend some horrid E-
vents here Below, and are Messengers of Mis-
chief to poor Mortals: The Divine Wisdom point-
ing to us what we should do, to prevent these
threatned Dangers, that we may have our Lives
for a Prey. It appears first in Libra, the Emblem
of Justice, and streams over the Virgin Astrea,
which (as the Poet saith) was last of all the
Virtues left the Earth,

Ultima Caelestium terras Astrea reliquit.

We must by this Admonition from Heaven, learn

to do justly; and it is for Injustice that these sad
Omens threaten us. What miserable Effects of
War, Ruine, and Devastation, in most Parts of
the known World, followed at the Heels of this
stupendious Harbinger, is obvious to all; and so
far as relates to us, may be declared (God wil-
ling) in the Progress of this History: But I hope
the Operation and Power of it is almost at an End;
for it began in Germany, took France and Spain
in the way, and pass'd over England to the Or-
caides, and so vanished; as Bainbridge relates in
the Description of it, Fol. 7.

Fulgura non semper, nec semper praelia durant.

Let's count it almost past,
For War, like Lightning, doth not always last.

The first remarkable Accident that happened
in England after this Prodigious Forerunner, The
was the Death of Queen Anne, who died of a Queen
Dropfie at Hampton-Court, and thence brought to
her Palace in the Strand, for the more triumphant
Glory of her Obsequies. The Common People,
who naturally admire their Princes, placing them
in a Region above ordinary Mortals, thought this
great Light in Heaven was sent as a Flambeau to
her Funeral; their dark Minds not discovering,
while this Blaze was burning, the Fire of War
that broke out in Bohemia, wherein many Thou-
sands perished.

She was in her great Condition a good Wo- A II
man, not tempted from that height she stood Cha
on, to embroil her Spirit much with things of the
below her (as some Busie-bodies do) only Queen,
giving her self content in her own House,
with such Recreations as might not make Time
tedious to her: And though great Persons
Actions are often pried into, and made Envy's
Mark, yet nothing could be fixed upon her
that left any great Impression, but that she
may have engraven upon her Monument a
Character of Virtue.

About this time Henry Earl of Northumberland, Northum-
who had been a Prisoner in the Tower ever berland set
since the Powder Plot (a long Recluse) was at Libe-
ty. The Cause of his Confine-
ment was upon a Sentence in Star-Chamber, for
nourishing in his House Thomas Piercy his Kinf-
man, who was one of the Complotters of the
Treason. And though nothing could be prov'd
against the Earl to endanger his Life; yet
upon the Presumption of his Knowledge of it,
he was Fined in Thirty thousand Pounds, and
Imprisoned in the Tower. He was married
to Dorothy, Eldest Daughter to Walter Earl of
Essex, by whom he had a Noble (yet survi-
ving) Issue, two Sons, and two Daughters;
Algernon now Earl of Northumberland, and

* For all this mighty Pother King James made against Arminius and his Doctrine, its remarkable that towards
the end of his Reign, and much more in his Sons, the best way to obtain Preferments in the Church was to be of
that Principle; and those that were not, were branded with the odious Name of Puritans.

† The Notice our Author takes of this Comet, as presaging, forsooth, mighty Events, is an instance, how far a
popular Error, or the prejudice of Education, may Byass even Men of good Sense and Learning, for such certainly
the Author was. This puts me in mind of an Accident that happened about this time in Scotland, which the Hi-
storians of that Country interpreted each of them to their own Sense and Purpose.

King James had prevail'd with the General Assembly of that Church which sat at Perth, to come to an Agreement
with the Church of England, in Five material Articles, which were ever since call'd, The Five Articles of Perth. The
Presbyterians exclaim'd against them, and opposed them with all their might; as the Episcopal Party stood firm for
them, as the greatest Point they had gain'd since the Reformation. When these Articles came afterwards to be Ra-
tified in Parliament, just as the King's Commissioner was Teaching the Act with the Scepter, (which is the man-
ner of giving the Royal Assent in that Kingdom) there happen'd a mighty-Clap of Thunder, attended with such an
unusual Storm of Wind and Rain, that the like had not been known in many Ages before nor since.

Their Ecclesiastical Writers of both sides, when they come to mention this Accident, are pleas'd to give it a turn
suitable to their own Genius or Interest. The Presbyterians say; And thus God from Heaven, by the Voice of Thunder,
express'd his Abhorrence of what was then done upon Earth. Those of the other side are not behind with them; for, say
they, Thus God, by the Voice of Thunder, Ratified in Heaven what was done on Earth. Its after this manner we poor
Mortals put what Construction we please upon the Phenomena's of Nature, and adapt them to our narrow Capacities
and Concerns.

A. Reg. 17. Henry, both in these Times young. *Dorothy*, the Eldest Daughter, married *Robert Viscount Lisle*, after the Death of his Father Earl of *Leicester*, by whom he had a numerous Issue, like Olive-Branches about his Table. The Younger Daughter, *Lucy*, a Lady of incomparable Beauty, (solemnized in the Poems of the most exquisite Wits of her time) married the Lord *Hayes*, (now made Viscount *Doncaster*) against her Father's Will, (who aimed at higher Extractions) during his Imprisonment; which the old Earl's stubborn Spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and *Doncaster*, whose Affection was above Money (setting only a Valuation upon his much-admired Bride) strove to make himself Meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his Father-in-Law, that he got his Release. But the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a Release from his hand, so that when he had liberty, he restrained himself; and with importunity was wrought upon, by (such as knew the Distempers of his Body, might best qualify those of his Mind) persuading him, for some Indisposition, to make a Journey to the Bath, which was one special Motive to accept of his Son-in-Law's Respects.

The variousness of Times.

The stout old Earl, when he was got loose, hearing that the great Favourite, *Buckingham*, was drawn about with a Coach and Six Horses, (which was wondred at then as a Novelty, and imputed to him as a Mastring-Pride) thought if *Buckingham* had Six, he might very well have Eight in his Coach, with which he rode through the City of *London* to the Bath, to the vulgar Talk and Admiration; and recovering his Health there, he lived long after at *Petworth* in *Sussex*, bating this over-topping Tumour, which shewed it rather an affected Fit, than a Distemper. Nor did this addition of Two Horses by *Buckingham* grow higher than a little Murmur. For in the late Queen's time there were no Coaches, and the first had but Two Horses; the rest crept in by Degrees, as Men at first venture to Sea. And every new thing the People disaffected, they stumble at, sometimes at the Action for the Person, which rises like a little Cloud, but soon vanishes. So after, when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair upon Men's Shoulders, the clamour and noise of it was so extravagant, that the People would rail on him in the Streets, loathing that Men should be brought to as servile a Condition as Horses. So irksome is every little new Impression, that breaks an old Custom, and rubs and grates against the publick Humour! But when Time had made those Chairs common, every loose Pimp, or Minion, used them; so that, that which gave at first so much Scandal, was the Means to convey those privately to such Places, where they might give much more. Just like long Hair, at one time decried as abominable, at another time approved of as beautiful. So various are the Fancies of the Times! And that strong Reason is only able to manage this Beast, that can best curb its own Appetite.

Stirs in Germany.

But now War breaks in upon us, following that blazing Forerunner; the House of *Austria* (like *Pyrrhus* and *Lyfander*, extending their Dominions no further than the Sword could reach) having long feathered their Nests with the Eagles Plumes, grew formidable to the Princes and States of *Germany*. And because they found the Popes had shrewdly plumed some of their Predecessors, till they had wrested most Parts of *Italy* from the Empire, they

were content to maintain their Grandeur by the Pope's Power; and, to ingratiate themselves the more, became great Persecutors of the Reformed Religion.

A little before this time, *Ferdinand* (Uncles Son to *Matthias* the Emperor) was Crowned King of *Bohemia*, with this Reservation, That he should not Exercise the Power of a King, as long as the old Emperor lived. This kind of crowning of Kings (one in the Life of another) was the great Chain, that (Link by Link) held the Empire, and the two Kingdoms of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia* together in the *Austrian* Family; so that the State of either Kingdom could not, or durst not, put forth their Strength to shake them asunder. The Emperor kept his Court at *Vienna*, King *Ferdinand* at *Gretz* in *Stiria*; so that the Government of *Bohemia* rested in such Counsellors as the Emperor *Matthias* left there for the Management of Publick Affairs. These Counsellors and Ministers, with the Archbishop of *Prague*, broke out about this time, not only to demolish the Protestant Churches, but by the help of the Jesuits, (their bitter Enemies) strove to undermine the Religion it self.

The Protestant States, and Nobles of the Country, summoning an Assembly, to redress their Grievances, were opposed by some of the Emperor's Ministers of State, the very day of their Meeting; which exasperated them to such a height of Passion, (being back'd by some Forces they brought with them for their Security) that they threw *Slabata* the Emperor's Chief Justice, *Smefansius* one of the Council of State, and *Fabricius* a pragmatistical Secretary, from a high Window in the Castle, down into the Court, though some of them took little hurt, and lived (as Reports go) to this time. This rash Action the *Bohemians* strive to palliate by Apologies to the Emperor; but withal strengthened themselves, making Levies both of Horse and Foot, the better to secure their own Peace, and banishing those Firebrands the Jesuits out of *Prague*, whose malicious and distemper'd Zeal first kindled the Flame. The Emperor hearing of these Mischiefs, raises an Army under the Command of Count *Bucquoy*; and the Protestant States finding the Emperor exasperated, raise two Armies, one commanded by Count *Thurne*, the other by Count *Mansfeldt*: Some Bickrings pass'd betwixt the Imperial Army and the *Bohemians*, some Towns taken on both sides; and in the heat of this stir the old Emperor dies.

Ferdinand King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and adopted Heir of old *Matthias*, meeting (after Summons) at *Frankford*, with the Three Electors of *Mentz*, *Collen*, and *Trevers*, and only with the Representatives of the other Three Electors: The Church carried it for him, and he was chosen King of the *Romans*. The States of *Bohemia* disclaimed the Election as invalid, because he could not be an Elector himself as King of *Bohemia*; for that he had never been actually in Possession of the Crown. And tho' their Dissent could not lessen *Ferdinand's* Election to the Empire, yet they protested by Oath never to acknowledge him for their King. These Eruptions made a Noise all over *Christendom*, and most knowing Men looked on this heavenly Torch, the late Comet, as fit Fuel to give Fire to such a Train.

Our King, fearing the Clap would fall heavy upon the Protestant Party, sent the Viscount *Doncaster*, Extraordinary Ambassador, to mediate a Reconciliation betwixt the Emperor and the

A. Reg. 17.
An. Christi
1619.

An. 1617.

Aug. 18.

Doncaster
Ambassador.

A. Reg. 17. the *Bohemians*. But the Asperity and Bitterness was too great to find an Allay by his sweet and candid Compliments, being fitter for the Bosoms of Lovers, than the armed Breasts of Uproars and Tumults.

Am. Christi 1619. *Ferdinand* insinuated with the Princes of Germany, especially the Duke of *Bavaria*, to corroborate his Party; the *Bohemians* made Election of our King's Son-in-Law, the Prince Elector *Palatine*, to be their King, hoping his great Alliance would strengthen theirs. Some little Pauses were in the Acceptation, (though a Liquorish Bait) the Elector *Palatine* being fearful to ingage himself to snatch a Crown out of the Fire: But the *Bohemian* States wrought the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earl of *Holoch*, and the Baron *Done*, the *Palatine's* Intimates, in their Forge (of great Promises and Preferments) to such a Temper, that by their Assistance (slighting the Danger) he reach'd at the Crown, before either he or his Friends were well adviſed of it. His Election was upon the 26th of *August*, his Entrance into *Prague* the last of *October*, and his Coronation the Fourth of *November* following. But as soon as he had accepted, and swallowed the Royal Bait, he sent the Baron *Done* to our King, to excuse the suddenness of the Acceptation, before his Counsels were well concocted; but the emergency of the Cause (as he pretends) would admit of no Deliberation. As some haſty Physicians, or cholerick Patients, to prevent a Fever, bring the Body to a Heſtick.

Our King, that looked upon his own Condition through the Optick of the People's mutable and unſtable Affection, would by no means countenance ſuch a Precedent as ſhould give them Power to diſpoſe of an eſtabliſhed Royal Dignity at their Pleaſure, and upon every change of Humour; for ſo he might ſhake his own Foundation, which made the Baron's Addreſſes crude and nauſeous to his Appetite, till Time had a little digeſted them. And then he diſpatched two Ambaſſadors into *Bohemia*. One was Sir *Richard Weſton*, who was afterwards Lord High Treafurer of *England*, and left to his Poſterity the Earldom of *Portland*, a Man of a haughty Spirit, yet knew how, by ſuppling it, to make his way to the height he arrived at: For his Religion gave place to his Policy, and mounted him till he became one of the great Grievances of the Kingdom. The other was Sir *Edward Conwey*, a Man of a groſſer Temper; bred a Soldier, being Governor of *Bril* when *England* gave over her Intereſt in the Cautionary Towns, who was after made a Viſcount, and Secretary of State, a rough impoliſhed Piece for ſuch an Employment. But the King, that wanted not his Abilities, would often make himſelf Merry with his imperfect Scrouls in writing, and hacking Expreſſions in reading; ſo that he would break into Laughter, and ſay in a facetious way, *Had ev. r Man ſuch a Secretary, that can neither Write nor Read?* Theſe two were ſuited for the Employment, happily upon deſign: *Weſton* being a kind of *Papiſt*, and *Conwey* a *Proteſtant*, the better to cloſe up the Breach between the Emperor, and the King of *Bohemia*.

1620. But *Ferdinand* being ſtartled with the ſtaring Glory of this new King, to caſt a damp upon it, and to terrifie him and his Adherents, he cauſed this Proſcription to be publiſhed againſt them.

A. Reg. 18. *Am. Christi 1620.* *The Palatine proſcribed.* WE *Ferdinand, &c.* To all Electors, Princes, &c. but eſpecially to the Subjects of *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Elector, &c. ſend Greeting. Becauſe it is not known unto you, how that *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine, &c.* hath made himſelf Head of that perfidious and rebellious Crew of our Kingdom of *Bohemia*: Wherefore we proclaim the ſaid *Frederick* Count *Palatine, &c.* Guilty of High-Treaſon, and iterate Proſcription, and of all the Penalties which by Law and Cuſtom are depending thereon. We conclude him out of Our and the Imperial Peace, and are firmly reſolved to execute the ſaid Penalties againſt the ſaid *Frederick*, which calleth himſelf Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, as againſt one publickly proſcribed, an Enemy and Adverſary to us, and to the Empire, and as one which hath ſuffered himſelf to be made a Head of our Diſobedient and Perfidious Rebels; who is a Contemner and Oppugner of our Imperial Authority, and Majeſty; who is an Infringer of Publick Peace, and Tranquillity, and of other Ordinances and Laws of the Empire. Commanding you, under pain of Life, that in no way you give any Aid, Succour, Aſſiſtance, neither in Money, Proviſion, Munition, nor any way elſe, neither openly, nor covertly, under what colour or pretext ſoever, to the ſaid *Frederick*, who calleth himſelf Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. And if one or more of you ſhould ſerve, or be in pay of the ſaid *Frederick*, his Complices or Helpers, We command him, or them, to forſake the Service of the ſaid proſcribed *Frederick*, and of his Helpers. And We Command you the Eſtates, Dependents, Alliances, Subjects and Vaſſals of the ſaid proſcribed *Frederick*, that henceforth you yield unto him no Obedience, Help, nor Aid, in Aſſiſting him any further; nor partake of his Rebellion, Diſobedience, and Crime, but utterly to forſake him in it, and to aſſiſt us with true and faithful Aid and Succour, to reduce the Diſobedient, Diſloyal, Rebellious, proſcribed *Frederick*, and his Helpers, to due Obedience, any Treaty, Confederacy, Amity and Alliance notwithstanding. And We abſolve you that are Vaſſals of the ſaid proſcribed *Frederick*, or which are in his Protection, or which are his Natural Subjects, or Strangers, from all your Oaths and Duties; promiſing to all thoſe which ſhall be Obedient unto this our Mandate, all Imperial Favour, Grace, and Security. We will likewise, that none ſhall Proteſt, Defend or Secure the ſaid baniſhed *Frederick*, and his Helpers and Aſſiſtants, in nothing that may be profitable to them. For we exclude the ſaid baniſhed *Frederick*, together with his Adherents, from all Favour, Liberties, Promiſes, Security, publick Peace, Confederacies, Alliances, Laws, Privileges, Immunities and Cuſtoms, heretofore given unto him and them, by our Anceſtors the Roman Emperors. But he that ſhall be Diſobedient unto this our Will and Command, and ſhall aſſiſt, take part, or aid in any ſort, either privately or publickly, under what colour ſoever, the ſaid *Frederick*, who calleth himſelf Count *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, We declare by theſe Preſents guilty of High Treafon, and iterate Proſcription, no leſs than himſelf. And this let every one take notice of, to keep themſelves from danger. Given in our City of *Vienna, &c.*

Vol. II.

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The

A. Reg. 18. The Duke of Saxony took the Field with an Army of Twenty thousand Men, to execute this Imperial Ban, and reduced most part of *Lusatia*. But before this, the Earls of *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt*, with a great Army, stood the Shock of the Imperial Power in divers Assaults: But when the King was established in *Bohemia*, and his Counsels managed by the Prince of *Anhalt* and the Earl of *Holoch*, then *Thurn* and *Mansfeldt* were eclipsed by the Brightness of their Power; for *Anhalt* must be General, and *Holoch* Lieutenant-General. This taking Impression in the Region of gallant Minds, drew up some ill Vapours of Discontent, which tended to a fiery Exhalation, that like ill Omens did presage an unhappy Event.

Preparations for War. While they were thus grappling in *Bohemia*, the Marquis *Spinola* was forming an Army in *Flanders*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, Confederates to the *Palatine*, (calling themselves the Princes of the Union) raised Forces for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, and their own Interest, under the Command of the Marquis of *Anspach*. But our King made no Preparations; yet he sent to his Ambassador at *Brussels*, commanding him to enquire for what purpose *Spinola's* Army was called together, the Truce continuing betwixt *Spain* and the *Low Countries*; but the Ambassador could receive little Satisfaction, the *Spanish* Subtlety having sealed up *Spinola's* Commission, which he was not to open till the Army were ready to march. But Men of ordinary Understanding might apprehend, that an Army of 26000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, with all Military Provisions, were not to lie still; and though our King had divers Arguments presented to him, that did assure him that Army was intended for the *Palatinate*, yet would not his Spirit be set on work to preserve his Childrens Patrimony: So odious was the Name of War to him! But at length, with much ado, one Regiment of Foot (to join with the Princes of the Union, and make a little Noise and Bustle) was extorted from him by Importunities. This Regiment was the gallantest for the Persons, and outward Presence of Men, that in many Ages (I think) hath appeared either at home or abroad: It consisted of 2200 compleat; the Chief Commander Sir *Horatio Vere*, (who was after Baron of *Tilbury*) a Person bred up in the School of War, and a known Master in the Art of Victory. He was accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, young and daring Spirits, whose Honour not only descended from a long Series of Noble Progenitors, but they made it their own. And out of Respect to them, as well as Love to the Service, this Regiment was almost furnished with Gentlemen, who went to make themselves capable of better Employment; the *English* for many Years having been Truants in that Art. The two Earls had 250 Men apiece in each Company; and so many flocked to *Essex* out of Love, (and he loth to put them off) that he carried 300 Men into the *Palatinate*, paying 50 of them with his own Money. The King being drawn to consent, that two Regiments more should follow for these two Noblemen, which gave the more Encouragement to this petty Enterprize.

The March of the *English* into the *Palatinate* The *English* followed *Spinola*, but at a distance; for he being nearer to the *Palatinate*, got much the start of them, tho' they went out

of *England* before he presented the Arch-Dukes with the Civilities of his Departure, which was upon the 8th of *August*. And upon the last of the same Month, by the Assistance of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and the Benefit of a Bridge of Boats a little below *Wesel*, they passed the *Rhine* under the Conduct of Prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, who, with 2000 Horse, and 400 Musketeers, taken out of *Gulick* and the adjacent Garisons, cleared the Country before them, marching through *Gulickland*, and the barren Mountains of *Collenland*, till they came near to *Coblentz*, which Town stands upon the Center of two Rivers, the *Rhine* and *Mosell*: Giving out in the March as if the Army intended to pass the *Mosell*; but the Prince (to divert the Enemies Intelligence) upon the 16th of *September* drew two Miles back from *Coblentz*, and passed the *Rhine* in Punts, a kind of Lighter, advancing forward on the other side of the River three *English* Miles that Night, to a Village called *Hembach*, where the Foot stay'd till the Horse passed the River. And this sudden Change of Resolution was one of Prince *Henry's* Masterpieces; for he knew from *Collen*, *Spinola* would have Intelligence by Couriers which way the Bent of their March tended; and they had the *Mosell* in their Eye all the way, but the *Rhine* in Intention. In the Halt before *Coblentz*, one Bullet, among others from the Town, passed between General *Vere* and the Earl of *Essex* standing together, and hit a Gentleman called *Flood* on the Elbow: The Cause of shooting from thence (as was conceived) proceeded from a Skirmish the Night before, that happened betwixt some *English* and the Country People of an adjoining Village on the *Mosell*; for Captain *Fairfax* being sent with a Squadron to them in a peaceable manner, to desire the Accommodation of Bread and Wine for Money, the Boors shot at him, and hurt some of his Men; but he stoutly advancing to them, they took their Boats, and hastened down to *Coblentz*. Some of the Boors were reported to be slain, for which *Fairfax*, upon the Prince's Complaint, was committed, to give the Country Satisfaction; but the next day released.

Before the Army passed the *Rhine*, General *Vere* sent Captain *Row* and Captain *Dexter* (with 94 sick Men, some Tents, Trunks, and other Luggage, that were cumbersome) by Water to *Bacrach*, which Town within few days after was summon'd by *Spinola*, and yielded to him, after the Example of *Openheim*, and the other Towns he had taken in the *Palatinate*: So Spiritless were the People in every Place, that he met no Resistance in any thing that he attempted. The *English* taken in *Bacrach* were used with Civility, and, with the Payment of small Ransoms, had Liberty to return home. After the Army, both Horse and Foot, had passed the *Rhine*, they had hard Marches through the pleasant Country of *Nassau*, (whose Amenity and Fruitfulness may rival the Beauties of *France*) shaping their Course towards *Frankfort*.

Spinola finding himself deluded on one side of the *Rhine*, passed the River *Main* with all his tempts to Horse, and 4000 Foot, intending to snap them on the other; but the Stream being too high, his Waggons with Ammunition took wet, and some Field-pieces miscarried, which could not be recover'd with the Loss of some of his Men; which Disasters happening, they admonished

†† The Author's Account of the War in the *Palatinate* agrees with the other Historians of that time, and may be rely'd upon on his own Score; he being along with the Earl of *Essex* in that Expedition, and staying with him all the time the Earl was beyond Seas.

A. Reg. 18. him to a Retreat; otherwise, in all probability, he had cut off those Forces before they could have joined with the Princes of the Union. The 24th of September, Prince Henry with his Horse, and General Vere with the Foot, passed the River Main, at a Ford not far from Francfort, the Foot for the most part marching up to the middle through the Stream; and that Night they stood in Arms, having two Alarms of Spinola's Approach, not hearing yet he was retired. The next day they had a long March to recover Darmstadt, one half of which Town belongs to the King of Bohemia, the other part to the Landgrave of Hessen. There Prince Henry and the Dutch Companies left the English, and returned into the Netherlands again; and 1500 German Horse, commanded by Colonel Megan, met them, by Order from the Princes of the Union. The 27th of September they came to Beinsheim, being the first entire Town in the Palatinate they arrived at; and upon the first of October passed over the Rhine by Worms, upon a Bridge of Boats; and that day were met by the Marquis of Anspach, and some others of the Princes of the Union, who stay'd to see them march by, wondering at the Gallantry of such Foot, who were with them the meanest of the People.

The English join with the Princes. After two Days rest, the Princes with part of their Army, being 4000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, joined with the English, and together marched towards Altsi, (a Town in the Palatinate that the Enemy had taken in) which they intended to surprize. But hearing by their Scouts that the Enemy had quitted the Town, as not tenable, and that Spinola with his whole Army was marching towards them, they faced about to make his way the shorter, and within three Hours their Scouts and the Enemies were in Skirmish; but the German Princes, not having their whole Army, were not forward to engage. Spinola seeing them march towards him, (being as weary as they) took the Advantage of a Hill, and forced their Horse with his Cannon to retreat; but the Princes drew their Cannon up another Hill on the right Hand of the Enemy, there being a large Bottom, and a Hill of Vineyards betwixt the two Armies, which were not visible but from thence; for the one Hill drowned the other to them in the bottom. As soon as they saw how the Enemy strove to secure himself, and that he was loth to come on, they judged their Strength not to be great, and therefore took a Resolution to set upon them. The Dutch, in Courtesy, yielded the Van-guard to the English, which before they stood upon, as a Punctilio of Honour. The English General drew out of every Division 80 Musquetiers to give the Onset, who were encouraged by that Reverend Divine Dr. Burges, (of whom mention is formerly made) who accompanied the General from England, and was an Instrument of much Good to that Regiment; tho' they needed no Encouragement at that time, being Spirits willingly prepared for such Enterprizes.

And prepare for a Charge. Standing thus ready, expecting the Command of the Marquis of Anspach to begin the Charge, and the Evening hastning with a sable Foil to excuse his Slowness, General Vere, tired with his Delays, rode up the Hill, accompanied with the Earls of Oxford and Essex, and there they saw the Enemy began to march away, their Waggon marching in two Ranks, and the Foot on the further side of them, the Waggon serving as a Bulwark for them; their Horse brought up the Rear; and the March was without Drum or Trumpet, till the last Division moved, and

A. Reg. 19. then they made the Air shake with the Noise of their Shouts, which was apprehended to be for Joy of their Escape: For the Princes afterwards had Intimation, that they were not above 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and that they had marched all Night, hoping to have found them in some Security at Altsi, that they might have beaten up their Quarters before they had been settled. But the Spaniard, like a cunning Miner, finding them in a Posture to entertain him, was loth to engage, fearing their Strength, and seeking Advantages. And if their German Heads had countermined with him, and interposed betwixt him and Openheim, (his Head Quarter, whither he was marching) being nearer to it than he, they might have either forced him to fight, or forced the Town from him. The Earl of Essex being informed of this by some that knew the Country, pressed the Marquis of Anspach to it, desiring him not to let slip an Opportunity so happily put into his Hand. He, not well pleased to be urged to a thing so contrary to his Humour, replied angrily, *There is a Fort betwixt us and the Town, and we must pass thither under the Mercy of their Cannon.* Sir Horatio Vere hearing the Marquis's Reason, said, *When shall we then fight, if we shun the Cannon?* But no Perswasion can be prevalent, where Power and Disaffection join their Force. The Dutch Horse skirmished with the Rear of the Spanish, and took 5 or 6 Horse, and some straggling Foot; that was all the Hurt done them.

Spinola and the Princes hunt one another. The next Day they marched to Quarters again, where the Soldiers found the Country Roots, Fruits and Wine, in the Must; no good Preservatives: But after they had stay'd by it 7 or 8 Days, Spinola led them a Dance for Digestion, pretending for Keisars Luther, a Town in the Borders of the Palatinate, which made the Princes advance their whole Body to attend him; but as they drew near, he retreated; so that they sported with one another, as Children at Seek and Find, tho' neither of their Armies could be much pleased with the sharp frosty Nights those desolate and naked Hills exposed them to: Upon the top of one of them, the English Commanders one Night burnt a great many of their Waggon to warm them; the Frost was so violent, and the Soldiers lay in Heaps upon the Ground close together like Sheep, cover'd as it were with a Sheet of Snow. Yet they spent the time thus, till their Stoves summon'd them to warmer Lodging. And the English Regiment was disposed into three principal Garisons: General Vere commanded in Mannheim, Sir Gerrard Herbert in Heidelberg, and Sergeant-Major Burrows in Frankindale, imprisoning themselves in Walls, while the Enemy roamed round about them, and they had only Power to preserve themselves; for the Princes of the Unions Forces were Garison'd in their several Countries. I have the more particularly describ'd this Expedition, because I was an Eyewitness of what passed; and if we had not had an Allay of Dutch Dulness, the Spaniard could not have carved to himself so great a Share in that Country, and their Opposers had not mouldred away their Forces as they did afterwards; which makes this Relation harsh and displeasing.

A sad Fate upon Germany. But there was a Divine Fate attended not only this Country, but all Germany; for the Almighty Wisdom, that is the Author of all Revolutions in the World, hath his set Times for Changes, which often tends to the imbettering of it: For all the Northern Conquests of the Goths, Huns, Vandals, Scythians, and other Barbarians

A. Reg. 18. rous Nations, were to corroborate the Southern Bodies, waisted with Ease and Luxury. And now in Germany a Flood of Books, that almost tended to an Inundation, overspread the World, and was her great Disease: Besides the Drunken Dropsy; witness their monstrous swelling Tuns and Vessel. In lieu of Books, War brings in Barbarism, which is the First-born before Plague or Famine. These do not always kill, but rectify. Full Bodies are apt to fall sick, and then they must be drawn very low oftentimes, before they come to perfect Health. These Judgments have fallen heavy upon England; we drink the Dregs of the Cup; one Sin is not to be pointed at, but all; and tho' it hath been bitter to the taste, yet he that knows the Nature of the Ingredients, may make it wholesome unto those that love him.

A sad Story of Mr. Duncomb. One thing, both pitiful and remarkable, that happen'd in the Palatinate, was almost omitted. There was a Gentleman whose Name was *Duncomb*, that was a Soldier in the Earl of Oxford's Company. This young Man left a Gentlewoman behind him in England, to whom he had vowed his Heart, and Promise of Marriage; but her Fortune not being fit for his Father's Humour, he threaten'd to disinherit him if he married her: And the better to alienate him from her, he sent him so long a Journey, hoping Time and Absence might wear out those Impressions, that the present Fancy had fix'd upon him; charging him at his Departure never to think of her more, lest with the Thoughts of her he lost him for ever. The young Man being now long absent from her, and having his Heart full with the Remembrance of her, could not contain himself; but let her know, That no Threats or Anger of Parents should ever blot her Memory out of his Thoughts, which was illustrated with many Expressions of Love and Affection. But the careless Man writing at the same time to his Father, superscrib'd his Father's Letter to his Mistress, wherein he renounces her; and his Mistress's Letter to his Father, wherein he admires her. The Father, swoln with Rage and Anger against the Son, sent him a bitter Letter back again, full of Menaces; and whether that, or Shame for the Mistake, that she should see he renounc'd her whom he profess'd to love, did overcome his Reason, is not known; but he killed himself, to the great Grief of all the English there. And by this Example, Parents, that are too rigid to their Children, may see what Murderers they are: For it was not the young Man's Hand, but the old Man's hard Heart, that killed him.

Good Success in Bohemia. The Prince of Anhalt, General to the King of Bohemia, in the beginning of the War, (like a red Morning, that is the forerunner of a foul Evening) met Victory smiling in his Face: For hearing that *Bucquoy* the Imperial General with his Army was drawing near Prague, he interposed to stop his Progress, having not above 12000 Men, a far less Number than the Imperialists. *Bucquoy* had a Wooden Stratagem, and it thriv'd accordingly: He mounted Trees upon Carriages, like Ordnance, to fright his Enemy; but they, as wise as Birds, would not leave their Prey for a whisp of Straw dress'd like a Man, but charg'd upon the Mouths of such Cannon. *Anhalt* us'd a more real Stratagem, that took Effect: He brought his Ordnance up behind his Men, invisibly, loaden with Musquet-bullet; and when they should have charged the Enemy, made them wheel off, that those bloody Engines might break their Ranks, which they performed to purpose, and forced them to retire in-

to a Wood, where, pursuing their Advantage, they scatter their main Body.

A. Reg. 18. This was a fair Spring-time, (the Battel being fought upon the 10th of March) and might have inanced the Hopes of a good Autumn: Bad Success in Bohemia. But in November following (when the Princes of the Union and *Spinola* were hunting one another among the frosty Hills in the Palatinate) the Duke of *Bavaria* coming with a great Army towards Prague, and joining *Bucquoy* and *Tillie*, with all their Forces together, like cruel Hunters, meant either to catch a Prey, or be a Prey. *Anhalt* then had not so closed with Count *Mansfeldt*, as to bring him up to him, (being puffed up with his last Victory) and some of his Soldiers being discontented for want of Pay, it abated the Edge of their Courage; yet he got with his Army betwixt the Imperialists and Prague, and stood upon the Advantage of Ground; but all would not do; a Hand went out that gave a Period to that Royalty: For the Enemy breaking through them, forced his way, and put the *Bohemians* into such Confusion, that happy was he that could escape with his Life. The Prince of *Anhalt*, and his Lieutenant-General *Holloc*, were the first that fled, and brought the News of the Defeat to the King at Prague, who (with his Queen astonished with the Danger) being in a City not very defensible, among a wavering People, and a Conquering Enemy in the Field, took Time by the Fore-top, and in this Hurly-burly the next Morning, being the 9th of November, left Prague, taking with him their most portable Things, having Load enough within them: But the Queen, the more Gallant and Royal Spirit, carried it with most Undauntedness; the King suffer'd doubly as he went, being blamed for keeping his Soldiers without Pay, having such a Mass of Money by him, which he was forced to leave behind to his Enemies; and the Imputation stuck upon him: But flying upon the Wings of common Fame, I shall not lure it into this Relation as a known Truth.

But by a sad Accident that some Years after happen'd to this unfortunate King, it was obvious that he left not all behind him; for going to visit the Bankers of *Amsterdam*, where his Treasure lay brooding, and passing in the Night over *Haerlem-Mere*, the Winds and Darknes, in a Conspiracy, made a cross Hoigh to run against the King's, and bulged it in the Sea: But before it sunk, the King and others got to the Mastering Vessel, and saved themselves; but the Prince his Son (being of a pregnant, hopeful Puberty) with too severe a Fate, was left to the broken Boat, which they durst not approach again, tho' they heard his Cries; so that he was abandoned to be tormented to Death, which was more grievous than Death it self; for the Waters being shallow, and the Hoigh sinking not far, the next Day they found him frozen to the Mast, embracing it as his last Refuge, his Body half above, half under the Water. This Story, melting with Pity, is here inserted, because the Glory of this King expires.

And since there will be occasion to mention him no more, because his Actions afterwards never mounted up one Story high, take this brief Character of him: He was a comely Personage for Body, of a good Stature, his Complexion of a dusky Melancholy; the Constitution of his Mind rather fitted for those little Besoigns of Accounts and Reckonings, than any Vigorous or Masculine Heat, to solder up the crack'd Title of a Crown: He was a handsome, well built, but slight Edifice, set on an ill Foundation,

A. Reg. 18. dation, that could not stand long. The King
An. Christi of Great Britain (that the *Bohemians* built upon)
 1620. was not of so firm a Temper, as to support a
 Fortrefs (weakly made) that must endure the
 rigorous Shock of War; which made it at the
 first or second Assault thus totter and fall.

Weston and The two *English* Ambassadors, *Weston* and *Con-*
Conway re- way, which our King sent to mediate for the *Bo-*
turn *hemians*, could make little use of their Oratory,
home. being scatter'd with the rest in the Cloud of this
 Confusion: But they brought the King and
 Queen to *Limburgh*, the first Days Journey; and
 after they were gone towards the *Netherlands*,
 the Ambassadors procured a safe Conduct from
 the Duke of *Bavaria* to return to *Prague*; but
 there they could find no Words so prevalent and
 penetrable, as the Steel of a Conquering Ene-
 my; and so they returned home, *re infecta*, no
 wiser than they went out.

The Prin- This Defeat coming to the Ears of the Princes
ces of the of the Union, quailed their Courage, made
Union them look back into their own Condition; and
submit to having not so much Faith as to depend up-
Ferdinand. on our King for Assistance, before the Spring
 they submitted themselves to the Emperor, leav-
 ing the almost-ruin'd *Palatinate* as a Prey to an
 insulting Enemy; the *English* only giving Spi-
 rits to the Vital Parts of it, conveyed by the
 Conduct of those Instruments, *Vere*, *Herbert*, and
Burrowes; Men fitter to command Armies, than
 to be confined within the Walls of Towns.

So doth As soon as *Anhalt* had done the King his Ma-
Anhalt. ster this Disservice, he retires; applies himself
 by Mediation to the Emperor, is received with
 Favour, and admitted to be one of his Gene-
 rals. No wonder that the War thriv'd no bet-
 ter, when it was only made for Worldly Inter-
 ests! It was not the Badness of the Cause alto-
 gether, but the Men, that struck the deadly
 Blow. The Protestant Rage at *Prague* was not
 justifiable in the *Star-Chamber* of Heaven, tho'
 the Popish Insolence might too much exaspe-
 rate. The Counsels must be well weighed in
 all the Courts of Justice, when War is put into
 the Scale; for he that holds it, sits above, can
 turn it which way he pleases, and picks out
 Men to manage it, suitable to his own Ends.
 If the Protestant Party had been Conquerors,
 it should not have been by the Means of a Ge-
 neral that could fight for it, and presently after
 take Arms against it. Such Luke-warm Tem-
 pers are not of a Heavenly Constitution! There-
 fore in all great Actions, respect the Men as
 well as the Cause; for God seldom doth any
 great thing for his People by wicked Instru-
 ments.

Mansfeldt *Mansfeldt* only, that was rejected and slighted
vexeth by *Anhalt*, makes good his Fidelity, by bear-
the Em- ing up against the Power of the Emperor: Not
peror still. that he was able to grapple with his whole
 Force; but being an active spritely Man, and
 having a nimble moving Army of 14 or 15000
 Men, he did harrahs the Countries, force Con-
 tribution from the Cities; and when any great-
 er Power came against him, he got from them
 into another Country, and harrowed that, to
 their perpetual Vexation: So that he was as
 Goads in their Sides, and Thorns in their Eyes.
 And thus he continued in despite of the Em-
 peror and the Duke of *Bavaria* for almost two
 Years after, till they were constrained to pur-
 chase their Peace of him at a dear Rate; to
 which *Mansfeldt* was also enforced, not finding
 Assistance nor Supplies to support him.

Essex soli- As soon as the Princes in the *Palatinate* were
cites our retir'd to their Quarters, before the great Loss
King for at *Prague* came to their Knowledge, the Earl of
more For-
ces.

Essex, with a Convoy of Horse to *Swibruken*, *A. Reg. 18.*
 passed into *Lorrain*, and through *France* posted *An. Christi*
 for *England*, to solicit the King to send those *1620.*
 Regiments promised, and other Supplies, (if
 possible) that the *English* there, and the whole
 Country, might not be exposed to Ruine. But
 when he came into *England*, he found the Court
 Air of another Temper, and not as he left it;
 for it was much more inclined to the *Spanish*
Meridian. And tho' *Gondemar*, the King of
Spain's Ambassador, at the departure of one of his
 Agents into *Spain*, facetiously bad him com-
 mend him to the *Sun*, for he had seen none here
 along while; yet we had the *Spanish* Influence
 hot among us, the King himself warmed with
 it; then what will not the Court be?

The King and his Ministers of State had se- *Obstru-*
 veral Ends, and drive different Designs. His *ed by Gon-*
 was, for the matching of his Son with some *demar.*
 great Princess, aiming at no other Glory, tho'
 he debased himself to purchase it. For pre-
 sently after he received a Denial in *France*, he
 sent to Sir *John Digby*, his Leidger Ambassador
 in *Spain*, to treat of a Marriage betwixt the
 Prince of *Wales*, and the *Infanta Maria*, Sister
 to that King, which was in 1617. No Blood
 but Blood Royal can be a propitiatory Offering
 for his Son; yet the best Sacrifice is an humble
 Spirit. No matter what Religion, what Piety;
 that is not the Question. When Kings have
 Earthly Aims, without consideration of God,
 God looks to his own Glory, without respect of
 Man. The little Foundation of Hope they
 built upon at that time, was now raised to a
 formal Building, by the cunning Practices of
Gondemar, who assured the King, It was his
 Master's real Intention the Prince should marry
 the *Infanta*. And he wished the King his Ma-
 ster had all the *Palatinate* in his Power, to pre-
 sent it as a Donative to the Prince with his fair
 Mistrefs.

The King (that now heard all was lost in
Bohemia, and saw little possibility of enjoying the
Palatinate quietly, but by the Treaty of a Mar-
 riage) was lulled asleep with *Gondemar's* windy
 Promises, which Sir *John Digby* seconded, be-
 ing lately made Vice-Chamberlain to the King,
 Baron of *Sherborn*, and a great Manager of the
 Affairs at Court. Sir *Walter Aston* being sent
 Leidger Ambassador into *Spain*, for the general
 Correspondence. And the King, anchoring his
 Hopes upon these shallow Promises, made him-
 self unable to prevent the Tempest of War that
 fell on the *Palatinate*, tying up his own Hands,
 and suffering none to quench the Fire that de-
 voured his Childrens Patrimony.

On the other side, the great Courtiers that *Spanish*
 were our King's Intimates, and had his Ears, ei- *Pensio-*
 ther through Easiness willing to please his Hu- *ners.*
 mour, and not daring to oppose it; or else, be-
 ing Papists and Pensioners to *Spain*, striving to
 promote the Catholick Cause, out of Love to
 it, or being suppld by that insinuating Minister
Gondemar (who had his Master's Purse at com-
 mand, and purchased such as he thought to be
 most useful to his Ends) were content to let the
 King go which way the Stream of his Affection
 carried him, and some of them put Hand to the
 Oar. Those that were looked on under the
 name of *Spanish*, were *Arundel*, *Worcester*, *Digby*,
Calvert, *Weston*, and some others Popishly af-
 fected; then *Buckingham*, and all the Train he
 swept along with him (except that Party which
 his Mother managed) advanced the *Spanish*
 Match out of Love to their Master. The Duke
 of *Lenox*, the Marquess *Hamilton*, both *Scotch-*
men, and old Servants, of great Credit with
 him

^{A. Reg. 18.} him, and interest in his Counsels, were not so active; no more was *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, who after *Somerset's* fall (by the late Queen's Mediation) was made Lord Chamberlain to the King; a Man that merited the highest Employment: For these finding the King's Genius tending to the *Spanish* Match, and he a known Master of his own Reason, did not oppose him with a contesting Spirit, but gave him some little hints, that he might know they were not of his Mind. And he being able to Steer his own Course, looked after no other Pilot but *Gondemar*, and those that knew the Chanel: Making *Buckingham* his Instrument and only Bosom Counsellor in those Affairs, which afterwards brought the Hatred of the People with the more Violence upon him: For they look not upon the King in any Miscarriage with an Eye of Anger (such was the *English* Modesty, if Kings had been sensible of it) but upon such intimate Ministers, as he makes active in those things which are contrary to their Affection. And though there were general Murmurs in the Breasts of the People, which found vent enough in Corners, yet the *Council-Table* and *Star-Chamber* are such Terrifiers, that (as one said) *None durst run Riot*, but keep at the Stirrop, at excellent Command, and come in at the least Rebuke or Check.

^{Papists flourish.} It was thought the Papists did much contribute to *Gondemar's* Liberality; for they began to flourish in the Kingdom, he having procured many Immunities for them; and they used all their Industry to further the Match; hoping, that if the Prince did not adhere to *Rome*, yet his Offspring might; and at present looked for little less than a Toleration.

^{Gondemar's Power.} No stubborn piece of either Sex stood in *Gondemar's* way, but he had an Engine to remove them, or screw them up to him. None that complied with him, but found the Effects of his Friendship; many Jesuits fared the better for his Intercession, he releasing Numbers, among the rest one *Bulldwin*, an Archpriest, accused to have had a Hand in the Gunpowder Treason, and had been seven Years in the Tower; a Man of a dangerous and mischievous Spirit, who was (after his Release) made Rector of the Jesuits College at *St. Omer's*. By his Artifices and Negotiations (having been time enough Ambassador in *England* to gain credit with the King) he got *Sir Robert Mansel* (the Vice-Admiral) to go into the *Mediterranean* Sea, with a Fleet of Ships to fight against the *Turks* at *Algier*, who were grown too strong and formidable for the *Spaniards*, (most of the King of *Spain's* Galleons attending the *Indian* Trade, as Convoys for his Treasures, which he wanted to supply his Armies) and he transported Ordnance, and other Warlike Provisions, to furnish the *Spanish* Armies, even while the Armies of *Spain* were battering the *English* in the *Palatinate*; so open were the King's Ears to him, so deaf to others: For *Sir Robert Norton*, one of his Secretaries (a Gentleman of known Honesty and Integrity) shewed but a little dislike to those Proceedings; and he was commanded from Court, and *Convey* was put in his Place. And *Gondemar* had as free access to the King, as any Courtier of them all (*Buckingham* excepted) and the King took delight to talk with him; for he was full of Conceits, and would speak false Latine on purpose in his merry Fits to please the King; telling the King plainly, *He spoke Latine like a Pedant, but I speak it like a Gentleman*: And he wrought himself so by subtilty into the King's good Affections,

^{A. Reg. 18.} that he did not only work his own Will, but the King's, into a Belief that the Treaties in agitation, were (though slow) Real and Effectual. So easily may wise Men be drawn to those things their Desires with Violence tend to.

^{Prevails with both Sexes.} And he cast out his Baits not only for Men; but if he found an *Atalanta*, whose Tongue went nimbler than her Feet, he would throw out his golden Balls to catch them also. And in these Times there were some Ladies, pretending to be Wits (as they called them) or had fair Nieces or Daughters, which drew great Resort to their Houses; and where Company meet, the Discourse is commonly of the Times (for every Man will vent his Passion) these Ladies he sweetned with Presents, that they might allay such as were too sower in their Expression, to stop them in the Course, if they ran on too fast, and bring them to a gentler Pace. He lived at *Ely-House* in *Holborn*, his passage to the Court was ordinarily through *Drury-Lane* (the *Covent-Garden* being then an inclose Field) and that Lane and the *Strand* were the Places where most of the Gentry lived; and the Ladies as he went, knowing his times, would not be wanting to appear in their Balconies, or Windows, to present him their Civilities, and he would watch for it; and as he was carried in his Litter, or Bottomless Chair (the easiest Seat for his *Fistula*) he would strain himself as much as an old Man could to the humblest Posture of Respect: One Day passing by the Lady *Jacob's* House in *Drury-Lane*, she exposing her self for a Salutation, he was not wanting to her; but she moved nothing but her Mouth, gaping wide open upon him. He wondered at the Lady's Incivility, but thought it might be happily a yawning Fit took her at that time; for Tryal whereof, the next Day he finds her in the same Place, and her Courtesies were again accosted with no better Expressions than an Extended Mouth. Whereupon he sent a Gentleman to her, to let her know, That the Ladies of *England* were more gracious to him, than to encounter his Respects with such Affronts. She answer'd, It was true, that he had purchased some of their Favours at a dear Rate, *And she had a Mouth to be stoppt as well as others.* *Gondemar* finding the Cause of the Emotion of her Mouth, sent her a Present, as an Antidote, which cured her of that Distemper.

^{Vanity of this Age.} These kind of Spirits were let loose to be suitable to the Times they lived in, and they wrought strange Effects; for this being a Widow, and of no good Fame, with her Subtilties intrapt in her Nets, and married a famous Lawyer, a Man of great Reputation, and a pregnant Wit; and many other young Gentlewomen (whom their Parents Debaucheries drive to Necessities) made their Beauties their Fortunes, coming to *London* to put them to Sale; and some of them had so good Markets, that they obtained great Pensions during their Lives, and afterwards were married to Men of eminent Parts and Fortunes, accounted Wise, Gallant, and Heroical Spirits. Such silly Fate often intermingles with those Parts, though never so Excellent, when the Sensitive Faculties get predominance over the Reason! And such Men as were affected to Wantonness, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a Lady's Fame, and their own (I cannot say) Innocence: For some would say, and vent it, as an Apothegm, *I would rather be thought to enjoy such a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it.* Such Pride

A. Reg. 18. Pride was taken in Sin, and so Brazen-fac'd and Impudent such Crimes were then! And though Men thought them small and trivial, yet they were of such Weight, that they pressed those down that practised them (though great in the World's Eye) to be now in little better esteem than the meanest of the People. But as *Tacitus* modestly covered the Faults of some that followed *Nero* in his Folly, and Madnefs; *Ne nominatim tradam majoribus eorum tribuendum puto*, for the Honour (he saith) of their Ancestors; so though I name the Vices, I shall spare the Persons, out of respect to their Posterity.

Buckingham rules all. The Earl of *Buckingham*, as great in Title as in Favour, was now grown a Marquis; and lying all this while in the King's Bosom, every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles. As the King bought off *Worcester*, to make him Master of the Horse; so he bought off *Nottingham*, to make him Admiral. What may not he have, that is not only Master of his Horse, and Ships, but his Heart also? His Mother is created a Countess by Patent, and her second Husband, *Sir Thomas Compton*, had no other Title but an Unworthy one, which the People (either out of their Anger, or her Misdemeanour) imposed upon him. Her eldest Son, first made *Sir John Villers*, after, Viscount *Purbeck*, married to the Daughter and Heir of the Lady *Elizabeth Hatton* by *Sir Edward Coke*; a Lady of transcending Beauty, but accused for Wantonness. *Purbeck* not well able to look down from these great Heights, got a Giddiness in his Head, which confined him to a dark Room. Her other Son first made *Sir Christopher Villers*, was after created Earl of *Anglesey*, whose Honour, mixt with a Weak Brain, could not buoy him up from sinking into that Distemper that drowns the best Wits. Her Daughter presently after also shined in the same Sphere with her; her Husband being from a private Gentleman made Earl of *Denbigh*. Happy is he can get a Kinswoman, it is the next way to a thriving Office, or some new swelling Title. The King, that never much cared for Women, had his Court swarming with the Marqueses kindred so, that little ones would dance up and down the privy Lodgings like Pharies; and it was no small Sap would maintain all those Suckers.

A Duel betwixt Compton and Bird. And now we have named *Sir Thomas Compton*, there will follow a Story of his youthful Actions, which, though done long since, will not be uncemely to crowd in here. He had the remark of a slow-spirited Man when he was young, and truly his Wife made him retain it to the last. But such as found him so in those Vigorous Days of Duelling, would trample on his Easiness; and there could not a worse Character be imprinted on any Man, than to be termed a Coward. Among the rest, one *Bird*, a roaring Captain, was the more bold and insolent against him, because he found him slow, and backward (which is a Baseness of an Overdaring Nature) and his Provocations were so great, that some of *Compton's* Friends taking notice of it, told him, It were better to die nobly once, than to live infamously ever; and wrought so upon his cold Temper, that the next Affront that this bold *Bird* put upon him, he was heartned into the Courage to send him a Challenge. *Bird*, a maffy great Fellow, confident of his own Strength (disdaining *Compton*, being less both in Stature and Courage) told the Second that brought the Challenge, in a Vapouring manner, That he would not stir a Foot to encounter *Compton*, unless he would meet him in a Sawpit, where he might be sure *Compton* could not run away from him: The Second, that look'd upon this as a *Rodomontado* Fancy, told him, That if he would appoint the Place, *Compton* should not fail to meet him. *Bird* making choice both of the Place and Weapon (which in the vain formality of Fighters was in the Election of the Challenged) he chose a Sawpit, and a single Sword; where, according to the time appointed, they met. Being both together in the Pit, with Swords drawn, and stripped ready for the Encounter, *Now*, *Compton*, (said *Bird*) *thou shalt not escape from me*; and hovering his Sword over his Head, in a disdainful manner, said, *Come, Compton, let's see what you can do now*: *Compton* attending his Business with a watchful Eye, seeing *Bird's* Sword hovering over him, ran under it, in upon him, and in a moment run him through the Body; so that his Pride fell to the Ground, and there did spraul out its last Vanity. Which should teach us, that strong Presumption is the greatest Weakness; and it's far from Wildom in the most arrogant Strength, to slight and disdain the meanest Adversary. There is yet in Bleeding Memory (even in these Times of Just Severity against this Impious Duelling) one of the same Family of the *Compton's*, in some part guilty of *Bird's* Crime; for the Provoker to such horrid Encounters seldom escapes, the *Divine Justice* permitting such violent Madnefs to tend to its own Destruction. But to return to our Story.

A. Reg. 18. *An. Christi 1620.* *Two Lord Treasurers in one Year.* *Sir Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Justice (as the Reports of those Times lively voted) laid down Twenty thousand Pounds for the Office of Lord Treasurer; and before the Year expir'd, it was conferred upon *Sir Lionel Cranfield*, who had been a Citizen of *London*, bred up in the *Custom-house*; and knowing the secret Contrivances of those Officers, was thought fittest to manage the King's Revenue: For in expensive and wanting Courts, those great Officers are most acceptable, that by their Finenesses and Projects can bring in that, which with Riot and Prodigality goes out. But the great step to his Office, was *Cranfield's* marrying one of the Marquis's Kindred, which mounted him presently after to be Earl of *Middlesex*. The Lord Chief Justice for his Money was made a Precedent, as some jested; the King finding him a Man intelligent in all the great Affairs of State, made him Lord President of the Council, Viscount *Mandevill*, and Earl of *Manchester*, and, after the Death of *Worcester*, was Lord Privy-Seal.

But though the Marquis of *Buckingham* in the appearance acted all these Removes, and Advancements, yet his Mother, the Countess, wrought them in effect; for her hand was in all Transactions, both in Church and State; and she must needs know the Disposition of all Things, when she had a feeling of every Man's Pulse; || for most Addresses were made to her first; and by her conveyed to her Son (for he looked after his Pleasure more than his Profit) which made *Gondemar* (who was well skill'd in Court Holy-Water) among other his witty

Countess of Buckingham rules her Son.

|| In one of King *James's* Original Letters in the above-mention'd Collection to the Duke of *Buckingham* there is a Passage that plainly confirms this. The King tells him, That the Treasurer had made too low a Bargain with the East-India Company for a Present to his Mother: But that he (the King) had had better luck in taking the Managemens of it out of the Treasurer's Hands, and had got of them Two thousand Pounds for her.

Pranks,

A. Reg. 18. Pranks, write merrily in his Dispatches into Spain, *An. Christi 1620.* That there was never more hope of England's Conversion to Rome than now; for there are more Prayers and Oblations offered here to the Mother, than to the Son.

Buckingham a lo- excellent Symetry, and proportion of Parts, so he affected Beauty, where he found it; but yet he looks upon the whole Race of Women as inferior Things, and uses them as if the Sex were one, best pleased with all: And if his Eye cull'd out a wanton Beauty, he had his Setters that could spread their Nets, and point a Meeting at some Ladies House, where he should come (as by Accident) and find Accesses, while all his Train attended at the Door, as if it were an Honourable Visit. The Earl of Rutland, of a Noble Family, had but one Daughter to be the Mistress of his great Fortune; and he tempts her; carries her to his Lodgings in Whitehall; keeps her there for some time, and then returns her back again to her Father. The stout old Earl sent him this threatening Message, *That he had too much of a Gentleman to suffer such an Indignity; and if he did not marry his Daughter to repair her Honour, no Greatness should protect him from his Justice.* Buckingham, that perhaps made it his Design to get the Father's good Will this way (being the greatest Match in the Kingdom) had no reason to dislike the Union, therefore he quickly salved up the Wound, before it grew to a Quarrel: And if this Marriage stopt the Current of his Sins, he had the less to answer for. This young Lady was bred a Papist by her Mother; but after her Marriage to the Marquis, she was converted by Doctor White (as was pretended) and grew a Zealous Protestant; but, like a Morning Dew, it quickly vanished: For the old Countess of Buckingham never left working by her sweet Instruments the Jesuits, till she had placed her on the first Foundation. So that the Marquis, betwixt a Mother and a Wife, began to be indifferent, no Papist, yet no Protestant; but the *Arminian Tenets* taking Root, were nourished up by him; and those that did not hold the same Opinions, were counted Puritans. These new Indifferences now grew so hot in England, that the Protestant Cause grew very cold in Germany. Which made the Spirits of most Men rise against the Spanish Faction at home, and Spain's incroaching Monarchy abroad.

The King calls a Parliament.

And though the King sped ill the last Parliament of *Somerſet's* Undertaking, and thought to lay them by for ever (as he often expressed) looking upon them as Incroachers into his Prerogative, and Diminishers of his Majesty and Glory, making Kings less, and Subjects more than they are: Yet now, finding the Peoples desires high-mounted for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would look only up towards that, and liberally open their Purſes, which he might make use of; and this Unanimity and good Agreement, betwixt him and his People, would induce his Brother of Spain to be more Active in the Treary in Hand; and so he should have Supply from the One, and Dispatch from the Other. But Parliaments that are like Physicians to the Bodies of Commonwealths, when the Humours are once stirred, they find Cause enough many times to administer sharp Medicines, where there was little appearance of Diseases. For in this Recess and Ease, Time-ser-

vers and Flatterers had cried up the Prerogative: And the King wanting Money for his vast Expences, had furnished himself by unusual Courses. For Kings excessive in Gifts, will find Followers excessive in Demands; and they that weaken themselves in giving, lose more in gathering, than they gain in the Gift: For *Prodigality in a Sovereign, ends in the Rapine and Spoil of the Subject.* To help himself therefore, and those that dreined from him, he had granted several Patents to Undertakers and Monopolizers, whereby they preyed upon the People by Suits and Exactions, milk'd the Kingdom, and kept it poor; the King taking his Ease, and giving way to Informers; the Gentry grown Debauched, and Fashion-mongers; and the Commons, soft and besotted with Quiet and Restiness, drunk in so much Disability, that it might well be said by *Gondemar*, England had a great many People, but few Men: And he would smile at their Musters; for through disuse they were grown careless of Military Discipline; ill provided of Arms; Effeminate; Officers neglecting their Charges and Duties, conniving for Gain at their Neighbours Miscarriages. Some of the Officers in the Militia, and Justices of the Peace not a few, being Church-Papists, floating upon the smooth Stream of the Times, overwhelming all others that opposed them, Stigmatizing them with the Name of *Puritans*; and that was Mark enough to hinder the Current of any Proceeding or Preferment aimed at, or hoped for, either in Church or State.

And the Jesuits ranging up and down (like *Jesuits* Spirits let loose) did not now, as formerly, creep into Corners, using close and cunning Artifices; but practised them openly, having admission to our Counsellors of State; for when Secretaries, and such as manage the intimate Counsels of Kings, are Jesuitical and Clients to the Pope, there can be no tendency of Affection to a contrary Religion or Policy. Those were only most active in the Court of England, that courted the King of Spain most, and could carry the Face of a Protestant, and the Heart of a Papist; the rest were contented to go along with the Cry: For they hunted but a cold Scent, and could pick out, and make nothing of it, that drew off, or cross'd, or hunted Counter. Which raised the Spirits of the People so high against them that were the Chief Hunters in these Times, that they brought the King himself within the Compass of their Libels and Pasquils, charging him to love his Hounds better than his People. And if this bad Blood had been heated to an itch of Innovation, it would have broke out to a very sore and incurable Malady: every Man seeing the Danger, few Men daring to prevent it. The Pulpits were the most bold Opposers; but if they touch'd any thing upon the Spanish Policy, or the intended Treaties (for the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was included in the Marriage before it was the Spaniards to give) their Mouths must be stopt by *Gondemar*, without the Lady *Jacob's* Receipt, and (it may be) confined, or imprison'd for it: So that there were no plain downright Blows to be given; but if they cunningly, and subtly, could glance at the Misdemeanors of the Times, and smooth it over Metaphorically, it would pass current, though before the King himself.

† I do not find the Dutcheſs of Buckingham own'd her self a Roman Catholick while her first Husband liv'd: But marrying afterwards the Marquis of *Aurim* in Ireland, she ever after publicly profess'd that Religion.

A. Reg. 18

An. Christi
1620.A Satyri-
cal Ser-
mon.

For about this time, one of his own Chaplains, preaching before him at Greenwich, took this Text, Mat. 4. 8. *And the Devil took Jesus to the top of a Mountain, and shewed him all the Kingdoms of the World, saying, All these will I give, &c.* He shewed what Power the Devil had in the World at that time, when he spake these Words; and from thence he came down to the Power of the Devil now. And dividing the World into Four Parts, he could not make the least of the Four to be Christian; and of those, how few went God's way? So that he concluded the Devil to be a great Monarch, having so many Kingdoms under his Command; and no doubt he had his Vice-Roys, Council of State, Treasurers, Secretaries, and many other Officers, to Manage and Order his Affairs; for there was Order in Hell it self; which after he had mustered together, he gives a Character of every particular Officer, who were fit to be the Devil's Servants; running through the Body of the Court; discovering the Correspondencies with Jesuits; secret Pensions from Foreign Princes; betraying their Masters Counsels to deserve their Rewards, working and combining to the Prejudice of God's People. And when he came to describe the Devil's Treasurers Exactions and Gripings, to get Money, he fix'd his Eye upon Cranfield, then Lord Treasurer (whose Marriage into the House of Fortune, and Title of Earl, could not keep him from being Odious to the People) and pointing at him with his Hand, said with an Emphasis, *That Man (re-iterating it) That Man, that makes himself rich, and his Master poor, he is a fit Treasurer for the Devil.* This the Author heard, and saw, whilst Cranfield sat with his Hat pulled down over his Eyes, ashamed to look up, lest he should find all Mens Eyes fix'd upon him; the King, who sat just over him, smiling at the quaint Satyr so handsomely coloured over. It seems Neile, the Bishop of Lincoln, was not by him then; for when any Man preached that had the Renown of Piety (unwilling the King should hear him) he would in the Sermon time entertain the King with a Merry Tale (that I may give it no worse Title) which the King would after laugh at, and tell those near him, he could not hear the Preacher for the old B. Bishop. We must confess, this Relation smells too rank, but it was too true, and hope the Modest Reader will excuse it (we having had divers Hammerings and Conflicts within us to leave it out) seeing it proceeds not from any rancour of Spirit against the Prelacy, but to Vindicate God's Justice to Posterity, (who never punishes without a Cause) and such-like Practices as these were doubtless put upon the Score, which afterwards gave a Period to that Hierarchy. This Man's Hand helped to close up the Countess of Essex's Virginity, when he was Coventry and Litchfield; His Heart had this kind of Vanity when he was Lincoln; and when he was Archbishop of York, his Head was so fill'd with Arminian Impiety, that in the next King's Reign he was looked upon by the Parliament to be one of the great Grievances of the Kingdom; as will follow in the Tract of this Story.

Jesuitri-
ces.

But England was not only Mann'd with Jesuits (all Power failing to oppose them) but the Women also began to practise the Trade, calling themselves *Jesuitresses*. This Order was first set a-foot in Flanders, by Mistress Ward, and Mistress Twittie, Two English Gentlewomen, who cloath'd themselves in Ignatian Habit, and were Countenanced and Supported by Father Gerard, Re-

ctor of the English College at Liège, with Father Flack and Father More. But Father Singleton, Father Benefield, and others, opposed them, and would not bless them with an *ite, prædicate*; for their Design was to preach the Gospel to their Sex in England. And in short time this Mrs. Ward (by the Pope's Indulgence) became the Mother-General of no less than Two hundred English Damfels of good Birth and Quality, whom she sent abroad to Preach; and they were to give account to her of their Apostolick Labours. This Spawn out of the Mouth of the Beast, and many other fine Jesuitical Exploits, are more particularly related by Wadsworth in his *Spanish Pilgrim* (who was Son to that Wadsworth, that went over Chaplain into Spain with our King's first Leidger Ambassador Sir Charles Cornwallis, and there perverted by the Jesuits) which young Man being bred up at St. Omer's, in the Nursery of Jesuitism, discover'd all their Machinations. Such a brood of Vipers being then nourished in the Bowels of this Kingdom.

The King, that either thought these Instruments were not so Active, or that they would not be discovered, was resolv'd upon a Parliament, for the former Reasons, which began the Twentieth of January this Year; yet not being ignorant of some Miscarriages that passed by his Allowance, he strives to palliate them; and gives the Parliament some little Touches of them by the way, that when they should find them, they might (by his Anticipation) appear the less. And being loth to have the Breach between Him and his People made wider, he thus strives to stop the Gap.

MY Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and you the Commons, *Cui multiloquio deest peccatum?* In the last Parliament I made long Discourses; especially to them of the Lower House, I did open the true Thought of my Heart. But I may say with our Saviour, *I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and you have not lamented.* Yet as no Man's Actions can be Free, so in me, God found some Spices of Vanity, and so all my Sayings turned to me again, without any Success. And now to tell the Reasons of your Calling, and this Meeting, apply it to your selves, and spend not the Time in long Speeches. Consider, That the Parliament is a Thing composed of a Head and a Body; the Monarch, and the Two Estates: It was first a Monarchy, then after a Parliament; there are no Parliaments but in Monarchical Governments; for in Venice, the Netherlands, and other Free Governments, there are none. The Head is to call the Body together; and for the Clergy, the Bishops are Chief; for Shires, their Knights; and for Towns and Cities, their Burgeses and Citizens. These are to treat of difficult Matters, and counsel their King with their best Advice, to make Laws for the Commonweal; and the Lower-House is also to Petition the King, and acquaint him with their Grievances, and not to meddle with their King's Prerogative. They are to offer Supply for his Necessity; and he to distribute, in recompence thereof, Justice and Mercy. As in all Parliaments, it is the King's Office to make good Laws (whose Fundamental Cause is the Peoples ill Manners) so at this time. That we may meet with the new Abuses, and the incroaching Craft of the Times, Particulars shall be read hereafter.

As touching Religion. Laws enough are made already; it stands in Two Points, Per-

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swallow

A. Reg. 18

An. Christi
1620.A Satyri-
cal Ser-
mon.The Par-
liament
meet the
20th Jan.The King's
Speech
to the
Parlia-
ment.

A. Reg. 18.^c swasion and Compulsion. Men may Perswade,
 ' but GOD must give the Blessing. *Jesuits,*
An. Christi *Priests, Puritans and Sectaries,* erring both on
 1620. ' the Right-hand and Left-hand, are forward to
 ' perswade unto their own Ends; and so ought
 ' you the Bishops, in your Example and Preach-
 ' ing; but Compulsion to obey, is to bind the
 ' Conscience.

‘ There is a talk of the Match with *Spain* :
 ‘ But if it should not prove a furtherance to
 ‘ Religion, I am not worthy to be your King.
 ‘ I will never proceed, but to the Glory of God,
 ‘ and Content of my Subjects.

‘ For a Supply to my Necessities. I have
‘ reigned Eighteen Years, in which time you
‘ have had Peace ; and I have received far less
‘ Supply than hath been given to any King since
‘ the Conquest. The last Queen, of Famous Memo-
‘ ry, had one Year with another above a Hun-
‘ dred thousand Pounds *per Annum* in Subsidies :
‘ And in all my time I had but Four Subsidies,
‘ and Six Fifteens. It is Ten Years since I had
‘ a Subsidy, in all which time I have been spa-
‘ ring to trouble you. I have turned my self
‘ as nearly to save Expences as I may. I have
‘ abated much in my Household Expences, in
‘ my Navies, in the Charge of my Munition :
‘ I made not choice of an old beaten Soldier for
‘ my Admiral, but rather chose a young Man,
‘ whose Honesty and Integrity I knew ; whose
‘ Care hath been to appoint under him sufficient
‘ Men to lessen my Charges, which he hath done.

Touching the Miserable Dissentions in *Chri-*
stendom. I was not the Cause thereof; for
the appeasing whereof, I sent my Lord of
Doncaster, whose Journey cost me Three thou-
sand Five hundred Pounds. My Son-in-law
sent to me for Advice, but within Three Days
after accepted of the Crown; which I did
never approve of for Three Reasons.

‘First, for Religion sake, as not holding
‘with the Jesuits disposing of Kingdoms, rather
‘learning of our Saviour to uphold, not to
‘overthrow them.

' Secondly, I was no judge between them,
' neither acquainted with the Laws of *Bohemia*.
' *Quis me iudicem fecit?*

Thirdly, I have treated a Peace, and therefore will not be a Party. Yet I left not to preserve my Childrens Patrimony ; for I had a Contribution of my Lords and Subjects, which amounted to a great Sum. I borrowed of my Brother of Denmark Seven thousand five hundred Pounds to help him, and sent as much to him as made it up Ten thousand : And Thirty thousand I sent to the Princes of the Union to hearten them. I have lost no time ; had the Princes of the Union done their Part, that Handful of Men I sent had done theirs. I intend to send by way of Perswasion, which in this Age will little avail, unless a strong Hand assist. Wherefore I purpose to provide an Army the next Summer, and desire you to consider of my Necessities, as you have done to my Predecessors. *Qui cito dat, bis dat.* I will engage my Crown, my Blood, and my Soul in that Recovery.

‘ You may be informed of me in things in
‘ course of Justice ; but I never sent to any of
‘ my Judges to give Sentence contrary to the
‘ Law. Consider the Trade, for the making
‘ thereof better ; and shew me the Reason why
‘ my *Mint*, for these Eight or Nine Years, hath
‘ not gone. I confess, I have been Liberal in
‘ my Grants ; but if I be informed, I will a-
‘ mend all hurtful Grievances : But who shall
‘ hasten after Grievances, and desire to make

' himself Popular, he hath the Spirit of Satan. *A. Reg. 18.*
 ' If I may know my Errors, I will reform them.
 ' I was in my first Parliament a Novice; and *An. Christi*
 ' in my last, there was a kind of Beasts, called *1620.*
 ' *Undertakers*, a Dozen of whom undertook to
 ' govern the last Parliament, and they led Me.
 ' I shall thank you for your good Office, and
 ' desire that the World may say well of our
 ' Agreement.

Physicians have an Aphorism, *Si caput infirmum, The Par-*
cætera membrum dolent. This Head is not a weak liament
one, but subtil enough for the Body. The comply
Parliament knew well whom they had to with the
deal with, and managed their Business in the King.
Beginning, that they were the readier to grap-
gle with him in the End. They would not stir
a Stone of that Foundation his Prerogative
rested on; but those Men that had wrought
themselves in, to supplant and undermine the
Common Liberties, they fell sore upon them.

The King was modest, and almost asham'd
to tell the Parliament, how much Money the
Viscount *Doncaster's* Journey cost ; therefore he
minces it into a small Proportion. But this we
know, when he landed at *Rotterdam*, the First
Night and Morning, before he went to the
Hague, his Expences those two Meals, in the Inn
where he lay, came to above a Thousand Gil-
ders, which is a Hundred Pounds *Sterling*.
And the Inn-keeper at the *Peacock* at *Dort*
(hoping he would make that his way into
Germany) made great Provisions for him, upon
no other Order, but a bare Fancy ; and the
Ambassador taking his way by *Utrecht*, the Inn-
keeper of *Dort* followed him ; complaining,
That he was much prejudiced by his baulking
that Town : For hearing of a great Ambassa-
dor's coming, and what he had expended at
Rotterdam, I made (saith he) Preparations suit-
able, and now they will lye on my Hands :
Which coming to *Doncaster's* Ear, he comman-
ded his Steward to give him Thirty Pounds
Sterling, and never tasted of his Cup. And we
have been assured by some of his Train, that
his very Carriages could not cost so little as
Threescore Pounds a Day ; for he had with
him a great many Noblemens Sons, and other
Personages of Quality, that the *Germans* might
admire the Glory of the *Englisb*, as well as the
French did in his last Ambassage. And he was out
so long following the Emperor, in his Progresses
from City to Camp, and from Camp to City,
a poor humble Solicitor, if not Petitioner,
that his Expence could not amount to less than
Fifty or Threescore thousand Pounds.

When he was at the Hague, had made his ^{He is} Visits, and filled the Town with the Admirable ^{feasted by} Feasts: Some intimates ^{the Prince} of his Bravery and Feasts: Some intimates ^{of Orange.} to Maurice Prince of Orange, advised him to Feast the great English Ambassador. *Yes, yes,* (saith the Prince) *bid him come.* When the Prince's Steward had notice of the Invitation (from other Hands, for the Prince gave no Order in it) he comes to the Prince and tells him, There will be great Preparations expected, for the Ambassador's ordinary Meals were Feasts; and he had a numerous and splendid Train of Nobles and Gentry that did accompany him. *Well* (saith the Prince) *fit me a Dinner such as I used to have, and let me see the Bill of Fare.* When the Steward brought the Bill, the Prince liked it well; but the Steward said, Sir, *This is but your Ordinary Diet; now you should have something Extraordinary, because this is an Extraordinary Ambassador.* The Prince thinking some Reason in the Steward's Arguments, and

A. Reg. 19. and finding but one Pig nominated in the Bill, commanded him to put down another Pig, and that was all the Additions he would make.

An. Christi 1621. Which Dish, as it is not very pleasing and acceptable to the Scots Nation for the most part, so we know not whether it were by Accident, or

His short Character. on Purpose, to displease him. But this is well known, there could be nothing more contemptible to the Morose and Severe Temper of the Prince's Spirit, than this Comportment of *Don-caster's*, which most Men interpreted Pride and Prodigality. But truly (set those Vanities of Grandure aside for the Honour, though not Profit of his Master) he was a Gentleman every way compleat. His Bounty was adorned with Courtesie, his Courtesie not affected, but resulting from a natural Civility in him. His Humbleness set him below the Envy of most, and his Bounty brought him into Esteem with many. A true Courtier for complying, and one that had Language enough to be Real as well as Formal; for he could Personate both to the height of Expression. So that he was very fit for his Employment, though it were purchased at a dear rate.

Digby goes into Germany. But to leave this Digression. Some small time after the Parliament began, the King, according to his Intentions and Expressions in his Speech to them, dispatched away the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the Emperor, where he was to press for a punctual Answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recover'd by Peace, or War.

The King's Wants. And now expecting his return, and the Emperor's Answer, the Parliament go on with their Work; receiving divers Petitions from several Persons imprison'd and ruined, by the violent Extortions of such Ministers and Informers, as were active to promote the illegal Exactions, that the King's Necessities and ill-advised Councils drive him to. For he was grown very low, not having had the Assistance of his People in Ten Years, (as he himself Notes) so that he was forced to lessen his Household, and bring his Expences down, not being willing to call a Parliament to supply him. Like *Henry the Third*, of *England*, whose Life and Reign, *Sir Robert Cotton* (that able Understander and Lover of Antiquities) wrote about this time, wherein he presents that King so fearful of calling Parliaments, that he would rather pawn his Crown Jewels, give over his House, & cum *Abbatibus*, & *Prioribus prandere*, Dine and Eat with the Monks, rather than be beholden to his People. And some thought this Piece of *Sir Robert Cotton's* a Parallel for these Times. But our King was not so much necessitated, though his Wants were the Greater, because they confined the Greatness of his Mind.

The Peoples Grievances. The main Things which the Parliament insisted on (though many others came by the by) were the Three great Patents; for Inns, Ale-houses, and Gold and Silver Thread. Upon every Inn, and Ale-house, there was a great Fine and Annual Revenue set throughout the Kingdom; and they that would not pay so much as the Patentees assess'd them at, their Goods and Persons were seized on, till they gave them Satisfaction according to their Voraginous Humours. And they found out a new *Alchimistical* way to make Gold and Silver Lace with Copper, and other Sophisticate Materials, to cozen and deceive the People; and no Man must make, or vent any but such Factors as they employed; so that they engrossed all the whole Trade of that Ages Vanity (which was enough) and gave them counterfeit Ware for their Money. And if any Man were found

A. Reg. 19. to make any other Lace than what was allowed by them, they were made to know (to their dear Experience) the Power of these Engrossers: And so poisonous were the Drugs that made up this deceitful Composition, that they rotted the Hands and Arms, and brought Lameness upon those that wrought it; some losing their Eyes, and many their Lives, by the Venom of the Vapours that came from it.

The chief Actors in this Pestilent Business, were *Sir Giles Mompesson*, and *Sir Francis Michel*: These two moved all the Under Wheels. *Mompesson* had Fortune enough in the Country to make him happy, if that Sphere could have contained him; but the Vulgar and Universal Error of Satiety, with present Enjoyments, made him too big for a Rustical Condition; and when he came at Court, he was too little for that: So that some Novelty must be taken up, to set him (if he knew his own Mind) in *Aequilibrio* to the Place he was in; no matter what it was, let it be never so Pestilent and Mischievous to others, he cared not, so he found Benefit by it. To him *Michel* is made Compartner, a poor sneaking Justice, that lived among the Brothels near *Clackenwell*, whose Clerk and he pick'd a Livelihood out of those Corners, giving Warrants for what they did; besides Anniverlary Stipends (the frequent Revenue of some Justices of those Times) for Connivency. I know how necessary and how splendid it is for Men of Publick Minds to flourish in the Execution of Justice, for weeding out, and extirpating Vicious Habits, radicated in every Corner; but this Thing was a poisonous Plant in its own Nature, and the fitter to be an Ingredient to such a Composition: Therefore he is brought to Court, Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters-Patents, whereby he took liberty to be more Ravenous upon poor People, to the grating of the Bones, and sucking out the very Marrow of their Substance.

These Oppressions were througly ripped up, *The Par-* and laid open by the House of Commons. But, *liaments* together with these Proceedings, they took Notice of the King's Wants, and thought fit something to sweeten his Temper, that they might not take from him the little Profit he had by those Patents, but they would make it up some other way; therefore they gave him two entire Subsidies, which were very acceptable to him: For those Contributions that flow from the Peoples Love, come freely like a Spring-Tide; but illegal Taxes racked from their Bowels (coming through so many Promoters and Catchpoles hands) run very low, and the King hath the least Share.

The King hearing these Patents were anatomized in the House of Commons, and willing to comply with his People, whom he found so bountiful unto him; he comes to the House of Lords to close gently with them, and excuse the Granting of those Patents; shewing some Reasons why he did them, and the Instructions he gave for the Execution of them; by which he hoped to take off that sharp Reflection that might light upon him. But the Modesty of Parliaments seldom impute any of these Mis-carriages to the Prince, but the Actors under him must bear the Burthen of it: And the time drawing near that the Lords assigned for judging the Malefactors, the King comes again to the House upon the Twenty Sixth of *March*; and thus passed his Sentence upon the Patents, before the Lords should pass theirs upon the Executioners of them.

A. Reg. 19.

My Lords,

An. Christi
1621.The
King's
Speech to
the Lords.

THE last time I came hither, my Errand was to inform you (as well as my Memory could serve me of things so long passed) of the Verity of my Proceedings, and the Caution used by me in passing those Letters Patents, which are now in question before you, to the effect that they might not be abused in the Execution: And this I did by way of Declaration. But now I am come (understanding the time of your Censure at hand) to express my readiness to put in Execution (which is the Life of the Law) those things which ye are to Sentence, (for even the Law it self is a dead Letter without Execution) for which Office God hath appointed me in these Kingdoms. And tho' I assure my self, That my former Behaviour, in all the Course of my Life, hath made me well known for a just King; yet in this special Case, I thought fit to express my own Intentions, out of my own Mouth, for Punishment of Things complain'd of: The first Proof whereof I have given, by the diligent Search I caused to be made after the Person of Sir Giles Mompesson, who tho' he were fled, yet my Proclamation pursu'd him instantly: And as I was earnest in that, so will I be to see your Sentence against him put in Execution.

Two Reasons move me to be earnest in the Execution of what ye are to Sentence at this time.

First, That Duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and tied me to the Care of Government, by that Politick Marriage betwixt me and my People: For I do assure you in the Heart of an honest Man, and by the Faith of a Christian King, (which both ye and all the World know me to be) had these Things been complain'd of to me before the Parliament, I would have done the Office of a just King, and out of Parliament have punished them, as severely, and peradventure more than ye now intend to do. But now that they are discovered to me in Parliament, I shall be as ready in this way, as I should have been in the other: For I confess, I am ashamed (these Things proving so as they are generally reported to be) that it was not my good Fortune to be the only Author of the Reformation and Punishment of them, by some ordinary Courts of Justice. Nevertheless, since these Things are now discovered by Parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could so well have discovered otherwise, in regard of that Representative Body of the Kingdom, which comes from all Parts of the Country, I will be never a-whit the slower to do my Part for the Execution. For (as many of you that are here have heard me often say, and so I will still say) so precious unto me is the publick Good, that no private Person whatsoever (were he never so dear unto me) shall be respected by me by many Degrees as the publick Good, not only of the whole Commonwealth, but even of a particular Corporation, that is a Member of it. And I hope that ye my Lords will do me that Right, to publish to my People this my Heart and Purpose.

The Second Reason is, That I intend not to derogate or infringe any of the Liberties or Privileges of this House, but rather to fortify and strengthen them: For never any King hath done so much for the Nobility of England as I have done, and will ever be ready to do. And whatsoever I shall say, and deliver unto you as my Thought, yet when I have said what I think, I will afterwards freely leave the

Judgment wholly to your House. I know you will do nothing but what the like hath been done before; and I pray you be not jealous that I will abridge you of any thing that hath been used: For whatsoever the Precedents (in Times of good Government) can warrant, I will allow: For I acknowledge this to be the Supreme Court of Justice, wherein I am ever present by Representation. And in this ye may be the better satisfied by my own Presence, coming divers times among you: Neither can I give you any greater Assurance, or better Pledge of this my Purpose, than that I have done you the Honour to set my only Son among you, and hope that ye with him shall have the Means to make this the happiest Parliament that ever was in England.

This I profess, and take Comfort in, That the House of Commons at this time have shewed greater Love, and used me with more Respect, in all their Proceedings, than ever any House of Commons have heretofore done to me, or I think to any of my Predecessors. As for this House of yours, I have always found it Respective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did, favour you, as you well deserved. And I hope it will be accounted a Happiness for you, that my Son doth now sit among you; who, when it shall please God to set him in my Place, will then remember that he was once a Member of your House, and so be bound to maintain all your Lawful Privileges, and like the better of you all the Days of his Life. But because the World at this time talks so much of Bribes, I have just Cause to fear the whole Body of this House hath bribed him to be a good Instrument for you upon all Occasions: He doth so good Offices in all his Reports to me, both for the House in general, and every one of you in particular. And the like I may say of one that sits there, Buckingham: He hath been so ready upon all Occasions to do good Offices, both for the House in general, and every Member in particular. One Proof thereof, I hope, my Lord of Arundel hath already witnessed unto you, in his Report made unto you of my Answer touching the Privileges of the Nobility, how earnestly he spake unto me of that Matter.

Now, my Lords, the time draws near of your Recess; whether Formality will leave you Time for proceeding now to Sentence against all, or any of the Persons now in question, I know not. But for my part, since both Houses have dealt so lovingly and freely with me, in giving me, as a Free Gift, two Subsidies, in a more loving manner than hath been given to any King before, and so accepted by me: And since I cannot yet retribute by a General Pardon, which hath by Form usually been reserved to the end of a Parliament; the least I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do something in present, for the Ease and Good of my People. Three Patents at this time have been complain'd of, and thought great Grievances.

1. That of the Inns and Hosteries.

2. That of Ale-houses.

3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

My Purpose is to strike them all dead; and that Time may not be lost, I will have it done presently. That concerning Ale-houses, I would have to be left to the managing of Justices of the Peace, as before. That of Gold and Silver Thread was most vilely executed, both for Wrong done to Mens Persons; as also for Abuse in the Stuff; for it was a kind of false

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A. Reg. 19. false Coin. I have already freed the Persons that were in Prison, I will now also damn the Patent; and this may seem instead of a Pardon. All these three I will have recalled by Proclamation, and wish you to advise of the fittest Form to that purpose.

An. Christi 1621. I hear also, there is another Bill among you against Informers; I desire you my Lords, that as you tender my Honour, and the Good of my People, ye will put that Bill to an end as soon as you can, and at your next Meeting to make it one of your first Works: For I have already shew'd my Dislike of that kind of People openly in the *Star-Chamber*, and it will be the greatest Ease to me, and all those that are near about me at Court, that may be: For I remember, that since the beginning of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found such Quiet and Rest, as in this time of Parliament, from Projectors and Informers, who at other times miserably vexed him at all Hours.

And now I confess, That when I looked before upon the Face of the Government, I thought (as every Man would have done) that the People were never so happy as in my time. For even as at divers times, I have looked upon many of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appeared on the outside very thick, and well-grown unto me; but when I turned into the midst of them, I found them all bitten within, and full of Plains and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear, fair and smooth without, but when ye cleave it asunder, you find it rotten at the Heart: Even so this Kingdom, the external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am sure, as learned Judges as ever it had, and I hope as honest, administering Justice within it; and for Peace, both at home and abroad, I may truly say, more settled, and longer lasting, than ever any before, together with as great Plenty as ever; so as it was to be thought, that every Man might sit in Safety under his own Vine and Fig-tree: Yet I am ashamed (and it makes my Hair stand upright) to consider, how in this time my People have been vexed, and polluted, by the vile Execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and such like, which, besides the Trouble of my People, have more exhausted their Purfes, than Subsidies would have done.

Now; my Lords, before I go hence, since God hath made me the great Judge of this Land under him, and that I must answer for the Justice of the same, I will therefore, according to my Place, remember you of some Things, tho' I would not teach you; for no Man's Knowledge can be so good, but their Memories will be the better to be refresh'd. And now, because you are coming to give Judgment, (all which moves from the King) that you may the better proceed, take into your Care two Things.

1. To do *Bonum*.
2. To do it *Bené*.

I call *Bonum*, when all is well prov'd, whereupon ye judge, for then ye build upon a sure Foundation. And by *Bené*, I understand, that ye proceed with all Formality and Legality; wherein you have fit occasion to advise with the Judges, who are to assist you with their Opinions in Cases of that Nature; and woe be to them if they advise you not well. So the Ground being good, and the Form orderly, it will prove a Course fitting this High Court of Parliament.

In Sentence, ye are to observe Two Parts:

A. Reg. 19. First, To recollect that which is worthy of Judging and Censuring: And Secondly, To proceed against these, as against such like Crimes properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you, some complained of out of Passion, and some out of just Cause of Grievance: Weigh both, but be not carried away with the Impertinent Discourses of them, that name as well innocent Men as guilty. Proceed judicially, and spare none, where ye find just Cause to punish: But let your Proceedings be according to Law, and remember that Laws have not their Eyes in their Necks, but in their Foreheads. For the Moral Reason for the Punishment of Vices in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, is, because of the Breach of Laws standing in force; for none can be punished for Breach of Laws by Predestination, before they be made.

There is yet one Particular that I am to remember you of; I hear that Sir Henry Yelverton (who is now in the Tower upon a Sentence given in the *Star-Chamber* against him for deceiving my Trust) is touched concerning a Warrant *Dormant*, which he made while he was my Attorney: I protest I never heard of this Warrant *Dormant* before, and I hold it as odious a Matter, as any is before you. And if for Respect to me ye have forbore to meddle with him, in Examination, because he is my Prisoner, I do here freely remit him unto you, and put him into your Hands.

And this is all I have to say unto you at this time, wishing you to proceed justly and nobly, according to the Orders of your House: And I pray God to bless you, and you may assure your selves of my Assistance; wishing, that what I have said this Day among you, may be entred into the Records of this House.

Thus the King strove to mitigate the Asperity The and Sharpness of the Humours contracted in the Body of the Kingdom, that they might not break out to disgrace the Physician: For he looked upon himself as an able Director, and yet he found he might be deceived: And therefore he brings the Lords into a Wood, comparatively to tell them, That they appeared to him well grown, and fair; but searching into them, he found them otherwise. But he that pretended to the Knowledge of all things, (as, give him his due, he was well known in most) could not be ignorant that the Patents he granted were against the Liberties of the People; but whether the Execution of them to that Extremity came within his Cognizance, cannot be determined: His damning of them shews his Dislike at present, condemning that which he knew would be done to his hand, if he had not done it; and this must not be known only at *Westminster*, and left upon Record to Posterity there, but he commanded his Speech to be Printed, that all his People might know how willing and forward he was to abolish any Act of his that tended to a Grievance. And tho' he did not accuse the Marquess of *Buckingham* for giving way to Informers, yet he was much troubled with them till the Parliament began; and in that numerous Crowd, those that brought Profit were doubtless admitted with the first. These Considerations upon the King's Speech buzzed up and down, and many of the Parliament-Men looked upon the Marquess as the first Mover of this great Machine; but the Wisdom of the House did not rise so high as to strike at the uppermost Branches; but they pruned those roundly they could reach. *Buckingham*, tho' he

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The King's Speech descanted on.

Buckingham Master of the Work.

A. Reg. 19. he were well grown, had not yet Sap enough to make himself swell into Exuberancy, as he did afterwards; nor was the Peoples Malice now against him so fertile, as to make every little Weed a dangerous and poysonous Plant, being subtle enough (yet) to crop off any, that might appear venomous in relation to himself, that the mischievous Operations might work upon others: For all the World knew *Mompesson* was his Creature; and that notwithstanding the King's Proclamation for his Interception, he got out of the Kingdom by his Key: For *Buckingham* ruled as a Lord Paramount, and those that complied with him, found as much Refuge as his Power could secure unto them; those that oppos'd him, as much Mischiefe as Malice could pour upon them. Sir *Henry Niverton*, the King's Attorney, had found the Effects of his Anger, by not closing with his Desires in such Patents as he required: So that all his Actions being anatomiz'd, some Miscarriages are made Criminal; he is committed to the Tower, and another put in his Place that should be more observant. The King now lays upon him a Warrant *Dormant*, which did not much startle him; for he was not long after released, and made a Judge, carrying with him this Character of Honesty, That he was willing to lay down his Preferment at the King's Feet, and be trod upon by the growing Power of *Buckingham*, rather than prosecute his Patron *Somerfet*, that had advanced him, as his Predecessor *Bacon* had spitefully done his. But whether that Dialogue betwixt *Buckingham* and *Niverton* in the Tower, mentioned in our King's Court, have any thing of Truth, cannot be asserted here, *Buckingham* being not arrived yet to the Meridian Height of his Greatness, tho' the King had afterwards Cause enough to be jealous of his Actions.

Michell censured. But now comes the old Justice, Sir *Francis Michell*, to his Censure; and the Crime he had committed arguing a base Spirit, he is fitted with as suitable a Punishment. First, he is degraded, with all the Ceremonies of Debasement; but that being most proper to his Nature, he was but eas'd of a Burthen, his Mind suffer'd not: But then his kecksy Carcass was made to ride Renvers, with his Face to the Horse-tail, (with a Paper on his Breast and Back, that pointed at the Foulness of the Cause) through the whole City, suffering under the Scorn and Contempt of Boys, and Rabble of the People, besides the squeezing of him by Fine and Confinement to Prison, that he might never be more capable of Mischiefe. The same Sentence had Sir *Giles Mompesson*; but he was so provident as not to be found to pay it in his Person, tho' he paid it in his Purse. Some others also, their Instruments, tho' not so sharply dealt with, had great Mulcts laid upon them, according to their Demerit; and so this Gangrene was healed up.

The Lord Chancellor *Bacon* questioned. Not long after, comes the great Lord Chancellor *Bacon* to a Censure, for the most simple and ridiculous Follies that ever entred into the Heart of a wise Man. He was the true Emblem of Humane Frailty, being more than a Man in some Things, and less than a Woman in others. His Crime was Bribery and Extortion, (which the King hinted at in his Speech, when he facetiously said, *He thought the Lords had bribed the Prince to speak well of them*) and these he had often condemned others for as a Judge, which now he comes to suffer for as a Delinquent: And they were proved, and aggravated against him with so many Circumstances, that they fell very foully on him, both in relation to his Re-

ception of them, and his Expending of them: *A. Reg. 19.* For that which he raked in and scrued for one way, he scattered and threw abroad another; *An. Christi 1621.* for his Servants being young, prodigal and expensive Youths, which he kept about him, his Treasure was their common Store, which they took without stint, having free Access to his most retired Privacies; and his Indulgence to them, and Familiarity with them, open'd a Gap to infamous Reports, which left an unsavoury Tincture on him; for where such Leeches are, there must be putrid Blood to fill their craving Appetites. His Gettings were, like a Prince, with a strong Hand; his Expences, like a Prodigal, with a weak Head; and 'tis a wonder a Man of his Noble and Gallant Parts, that could fly so high above Reason, should fall so far below it; unless that Spirit that acted the first, were too proud to stoop to see the Deformities of the last. And as he affected his Men, so his Wife affected hers: Seldom doth the Husband deviate one way, but the Wife goeth another. The Things came into the publick Mouth, and the Genius of the Times (where Malice is not corival) is the great Dictator of all Actions: For Innocency it self is a Crime, when Calumny sets her Mark upon it. How prudent therefore ought Men to be, that not so much as their Garments be defiled with the four Breath of the Times!

This poor Gentleman, mounted above Pity, fell down below it; his Tongue, that was the Glory of his Time for Eloquence, (that tuned so many sweet Harangues) was like a forsaken Harp, hung upon the Willows, whilst the Waters of Affliction overflowed the Banks. And now his high-flying Orations are humbled to Supplications; and thus he throws himself, and Cause, at the Feet of his Judges, before he was condemned.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Parliament in the Upper House assembled.

The humble Submission and Supplication of the Lord Chancellor.

May it please your Lordships,

I Shall humbly crave at your Hands a benign *His Supplication.* Interpretation of that which I shall now write; for Words that come from wasted Spirits and oppressed Minds are more safe, in being deposited to a Noble Construction, than being circled with any reserved Caution.

This being moved (and, as I hope, obtained of your Lordships) as a Protection to all that I shall say, I shall go on; but with a very strange Entrance, as may seem to your Lordships at first; for in the midst of a Stare, of as great Affliction as I think a mortal Man can endure, (Honour being above Life) I shall begin with the professing of Gladness in some Things.

The first is, That hereafter the Greatness of a Judge or Magistrate shall be no Sanctuary or Protection to him against Guiltiness, which is the beginning of a Golden Work.

The next; That, after this Example, it is like that Judges will fly from any thing in the likeness of Corruption, (tho' it were at a great distance) as from a Serpent; which tends to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and reducing them to their true Honour and Splendour. And in these two Points (God is my Witness) tho' it be my Fortune to be the Anvil upon which these two Effects are broken and wrought, I take no small Comfort. But

A. Reg. 19. to pass from the Motions of my Heart (where-
An. Christi of God is my Judge) to the Merits of my
 1621. Cause, whereof your Lordships are Judges,
 under God and his Lieutenant; I do under-
 stand, there hath been heretofore expected
 from me some Justification; and therefore I
 have chosen one only Justification, instead of
 all others, out of the Justification of *Job*: For
 after the clear Submission and Confession
 which I shall now make unto your Lordships,
 I hope I may say and justify with *Job*, in these
 Words, *I have not hid my Sin, as did Adam, nor*
concealed my Faults in my Bosom. This is the on-
 ly Justification which I will use.

It resteth therefore, that without Fig-leaves,
 I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge,
 That having understood the Particulars of the
 Charge, not formally from the House, but e-
 nough to inform my Conscience and Memory,
 I find Matter sufficient and full, both to move
 me to desert my Defence, and to move your
 Lordships to condemn and censure me. Nei-
 ther will I trouble your Lordships, by singling
 those Particulars, which I think might fall off.
Quid te exempla juvant spinis de pluribus Uva?
 Neither will I prompt your Lordships to ob-
 serve upon the Proofs, where they come not
 home, or the Scruple touching the Credits of
 the Witnesses. Neither will I represent to
 your Lordships, how far a Defence might in
 divers things extenuate the Offence, in respect
 of the Time, and manner of the Guilt, or the
 like Circumstances; but only leave these
 things to spring out of your own more Noble
 Thoughts, and Observations of the Evidence,
 and Examinations themselves; and charitably
 to wind about the Particulars of the Charge,
 here and there, as God shall put into your
 Minds, and so submit my self wholly to your
 Piety and Grace.

And now I have spoken to your Lordships as
 Judges, I shall say a few Words unto you as
 Peers and Prelates, humbly commending my
 Cause to your Noble Minds and Magnanimous
 Affections.

Your Lordships are not simply Judges, but
 Parliamentary Judges; you have a further Ex-
 tent of Arbitrary Power than other Courts;
 and if you be not tied by ordinary Course of
 Courts, or Precedents in Points of Strictness
 and Severity, much less in Points of Mercy
 and Mitigation. And yet if any thing which
 I shall move might be contrary to your ho-
 nourable and worthy End, (the Introducing a
 Reformation) I should not seek it; but herein
 I beseech your Lordships to give me leave to
 tell you a Story.

Titus Manlius took his Son's Life, for giving
 Battel against the Prohibition of his General.
 Not many Years after, the like Severity
 was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the Dictator, a-
 gainst *Quintus Maximus*; who being upon the
 Point to be sentenced, was, by the Intercession
 of some particular Persons of the Senate, spa-
 red. Whereupon *Livy* maketh this grave and
 gracious Observation, *Neque minus firmata est*
Disciplina Militaris, periculo Quinti Maximi,
quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlii; The Dis-
 cipline of War was no less established by the
 questioning of *Quintus Maximus*, than by the
 Punishment of *Titus Manlius*. And the same
 Reason is in the Reformation of Justice: For
 the questioning of Men in eminent Places,
 hath the same Terrour, tho' not the same Ri-
 gour with the Punishment. But my Cause
 stays not there; for my humble Desire is, That
 his Majesty would take the Seal into his Hands,

which is a great Downfall, and may serve, I
 hope, in it self for an Expiation of my Faults.
A. Reg. 19. Therefore if Mercy and Mitigation be in
 your Lordships Power, and no way cross
 your Ends, why should I not hope of your Fa-
 vour and Commiseration? Your Lordships
 will be pleased to behold your Chief Pattern,
 the King our Sovereign, a King of incompa-
 rable Clemency, and whose Heart is inscruta-
 ble for Wisdom and Goodness. And your
 Lordships will remember, there sat not these
 Hundred Years before a Prince in your House,
 and never such a Prince, whose Presence de-
 serveth to be made Memorable by Records
 and Acts, mix'd of Mercy and Justice. Your
 selves are either Nobles (and Compassion ever
 beateth in the Veins of Noble Blood) or Re-
 verend Prelates, who are the Servants of him
 that would not break the bruised Reed, nor
 quench the smoking Flax. You all sit upon
 a high Stage, and therefore cannot but be
 sensible of the Changes of Humane Condi-
 tions, and of the Fall of any from high Place.

Neither will your Lordships forget, that
 there are *Vitia Temporis*, as well as *Vitia Homi-*
nis; and the beginning of Reformation hath
 the contrary Power to the Pool of *Bethesda*; *Extortion*
 for that had Strength to cure him only that *and Bribe-*
 was first cast in, and this hath Strength to hurt *ry the Vi-*
 him only that is first cast in: And for my part, *ces of the*
 I wish it may stay there, and go no further. *Times.*

Lastly, I assure my self, your Lordships have
 a noble Feeling of me, as a Member of your
 own Body, and one that in this very Session
 had some taste of your loving Affections, which
 I hope was not a Lightning before the Death
 of them, but rather a Spark of that Grace,
 which now in the Conclusion will more ap-
 pear. And therefore my humble Suite to your
 Lordships is, That my penitent Submission
 may be my Sentence, the Loss of my Seal my
 Punishment, and that your Lordships would
 recommend me to his Majesty's Grace and
 Pardon for all that is past. *God's Holy Spirit be*
among you.

April 22.
 1621.

Your Lordships

Humble Servant,
 and Suppliant,

Fran. St. Albans, Can.

Thus was his great Spirit brought low, and
 this Humiliation might have raised him up a-
 gain, if his Offences had not been so weighty
 as to keep him down. He lost his Peerage and
 Seal, and the Scale was wavering whether he
 should carry the Title of *Viscount of St. Albans*
 to his Grave, and that was all he did; having
 only left a poor empty Being, which lasted not
 long with him, his Honour dying before him.
 And to heighten his Misery the more, many o-
 thers were crush'd to pieces by his Fall; for he
 had a vast Debt lay upon him, which they were
 forced to pay; and tho' he had a Pension al-
 low'd him by the King, he wanted to his last,
 living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*,
 where his Loneliness and desolate Condition
 wrought upon his Ingenious, and therefore then
 more melancholy Temper, that he pined away.
 And had this Unhappiness, after all his Height
 of Plenitude, to be denied Beer to quench his
 Thirst: For having a sickly Taste, he did not
 like the Beer of the House, but sent to *Sir Fulk*
Grevil, Lord *Brook*, in Neighbourhood (now
 and then) for a Bottle of his Beer, and after
 some

A. Reg. 19. some grumbling, the Butler had Order to deny him. So sordid was the one, that advanc'd himself to be call'd Sir Philip Sidney's Friend, and so Friendless was the other, after he had dejected himself from what he was.

An. Christi 1621.
His Description and Character.

He was of a middling Stature; his Countenance had indented with Age before he was old; his Presence grave and comely; of a high-flying and lively Wit, striving in some things to be rather admir'd than understood; yet so quick and easy where he would express himself, and his Memory so strong and active, that he appear'd the Master of a large and plenteous Storehouse of Knowledge, being (as it were) Nature's Midwife, stripping her Callow Brood, and cloathing them in new Attire. His Wit was quick to the last; for *Gondemar* meeting him the Lent before his Censure, and hearing of his Mis-carriages, thought to pay him with his Spanish Sarcasms and Scoffs, saying, *My Lord, I wish you a good Easter; And you my Lord,* reply'd the Chancellor, *a good Passover*: For he could neither close with his English Buffonry, nor his Spanish Treaty, (which *Gondemar* knew) tho' he was so wise as publickly to oppose neither. In fine, he was a fit Jewel to have beautified and adorned a flourishing Kingdom, if his Flaws had not disgraced the Lustre that should have set him off.

Parties in Parliament.

In this very time of Parliament, when the King carried all things with a full Sail, the Pilots of the Commonwealth had an Eye to the Dangers that lay in the way; for in both Houses the King had a strong Party, especially in the House of Lords: All the Courtiers, and most of the Bishops, steer'd by his Compas, and the Prince's Presence (who was a constant Member) did cast an Awe among many of them; yet there were some gallant Spirits that aim'd at the publick Liberty, more than their own Interest. If any thing were spoken in the House that did in the least reflect upon the Government, or touch (as the Courtiers thought) that *Noli me tangere*, the Prerogative, those that moved in it were snapt up by them, tho' many times they met with stout Encounters at their own Weapon; among which the Principal were, *Henry Earl of Oxford*, *Henry Earl of Southampton*, *Robert Earl of Essex*, *Robert Earl of Warwick*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Spencer*, and divers others, that supported the old English Honour, and would not let it fall to the Ground.

Oxford was of no Reputation in his Youth, being very debauched and riotous, and having no Means, maintain'd it by sordid and unworthy Ways; for his Father, hopeless of Heirs, in Discontent with his Wife, squandred away a Princely Estate; but when she and his great Fortune were both gone, he married a young Lady of the ancient Family of the *Trenthams*, by whom he had this young Lord, and two Daughters; she having a Fortune of her own, and Industry with it, after her Husband's Death married her Daughters into two Noble Families; the Earl of *Montgomery* married the one, and the Lord *Norris*, after Earl of *Berkshire*, married the other. And finding her Son hopeless, let him run his Swing till he grew weary of it; and thinking he could not be worse in other Countries than he had been in his own, she sent him to travel, to try if change of Air would change his Humour.

A. Reg. 19. He was not abroad in *France* and *Italy* above three Years, and the Freedoms and Extravagancies there (that are able to betray and insnare the greatest Modesties) put such a Bridle upon his Inordinateness, that look how much before he was decry'd for a mean and poor Spirit, so much had his noble and gallant Comportment there gain'd, that he came over refin'd in every Esteem; and such a Valuation was set upon his Parts and Merit, that he married the Lady *Diana Cecil*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter*, one of the most eminent Beauties and Fortunes of the Time.

† *Southampton*, tho' he were one of the King's Privy-Council, yet was he no great Courtier; *Salisbury* kept him at a bay, and pinch'd him so, by reason of his relation to old *Essex*, that he never flourish'd much in his time; nor was his Spirit (after him) so smooth shod, as to go always the Court pace; but that now and then he would make a Carrier that was not very acceptable to them; for he carried his Business closely and sily, and was rather an Adviser than an Actor.

Essex had ever an honest Heart; and tho' Nature had not given him Eloquence, he had a strong Reason that did express him better: His Countenance to those that knew him not, appear'd somewhat stern and solemn; to Intimates, affable and gentle; to the Females, obligingly courteous; and tho' unfortunate in some, yet highly respected of most, happily to vindicate the Virtue of the Sex. The King never affected him, whether from the Bent of his Natural Inclination to Effeminate Faces, or whether from that Instinct or secret Prediction that Divine Fate often imprints in the Apprehension, whereby he did foresee in him (as it were) a Hand raised up against his Posterity, may be a Notation, not a Determination: But the King never liked him, nor could he close with the Court.

Warwick, tho' he had all those excellent Endowments of Body and Fortune, that gives Splendour to a Glorious Court, yet he used it but as his Recreation; for his Spirit aimed at more publick Adventures, planting Colonies in the Western World, rather than himself in the King's Favour: His Brother Sir *Henry Rich* (about this time made Baron of *Kensington*) and he, had been in their Youths two emulous Corrivals in the publick Affections, the one's Brownness being accounted a lovely Sweetness, transcending most Men; the other's Features and pleasant Aspect equalled the most beautiful Women; the younger having all the Dimensions of a Courtier, laid all the Stock of his Fortune upon that Soil, which after some Years Patience came up with Increase; but the elder could not so stoop to Observances, and thereby became his own Supporter.

Say and *Seal* was a seriously subtle Piece, and always averse to the Court ways, something out of Pertinaciousness; his Temper and Constitution ballancing him altogether on that side, which was contrary to the Wind; so that he seldom tack'd about, or went upright, tho' he kept his Course steady in his own way a long time: Yet it appear'd afterwards, when the Harshness of the Humour was a little allay'd by the sweet Refreshments of Court Favours, that

† These Characters of the Earls of *Southampton*, *Essex* and *Warwick*, the Lord *Kensington* (afterwards Earl of *Holland*) and the Lord *Say* and *Seal*, do all of them agree in the main with those given them many Years after by the Earl of *Clarendon* in his History. *Wissen* has drawn their Pictures in Miniature, and that other Noble Historian has done them at length; which is a convincing Proof of our Author's penetrating Judgment, and of his being perfectly acquainted both with Men and Things.

those

A. Reg. 19 those stern Comportments, supposed Natural, might be mitigated, and that indomable Spirits by gentle Usage may be tamed and brought to Obedience.

An. Christi
1621.

Spencer (like the old Roman chosen Dictator from his Farm) made the Country a Virtuous Court, where his Fields and Flocks brought him more calm and happy Contentment, than the various and mutable Dispensations of a Court can contribute: And, when he was called to the Senate, was more vigilant to keep the Peoples Liberties from being a Prey to the encroaching Power of Monarchy, than his harmless and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures.

There were many other Noble Patriots concentric with these, which like Jewels should be preserved and kept in the Cabinet of every Man's Memory, being Ornaments for Posterity to put on; but their Characters would make the Line too long, and the Bracelet too big, to adorn this Story.

Spencer
and *Arundel*
quarrel.

About this time Spencer was speaking something in the House that their great Ancestors did; which displeas'd Arundel, and he cuts him off short, saying, *My Lord, when these things you speak of were doing, your Ancestors were keeping Sheep* (twitting him with his Flocks which he took Delight in): Spencer instantly reply'd, *When my Ancestors (as you say) were keeping Sheep, your Ancestors were plotting Treason.*

This hit Arundel home, and it grew to some Heat in the House; whereupon they were separated, and commanded both out of the House, and the Lords began to consider of the Offence. There was much bandying by the Court Party, to excuse the Earl of Arundel; but the Heat and Rash Part of it beginning with him, laying such a Brand upon a Peer that was nobly defended, he could not be justified, but was enjoined by the House to give the Lord Spencer such Satisfaction as they prescrib'd; which his Greatness refusing to obey, he was by the Lords sent Prisoner to the Tower, and Spencer re-admitted into the House again.

Arundel
committed.

When Arundel was well cooled in the Tower, and found that no Power would give him Liberty, but that which had restrain'd him, (rather blaming his Rashness, than excusing his Stubbornness) his great Heart humbled it self to the Lords, betwixt a Letter and a Petition, in these Words.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Higher House of Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

His Submission.

WHereas I stand committed here by your Lordships Order, for having stood upon performing some part of that which was enjoined me by your Lordships; which I did rather in respect the time was short for Advice, than out of any intent to disobey the House, for which I have suffered in this Place till now: I do therefore humbly beseech your Lordships to construe of what is past, according to this my Profession, and for the time to come to believe, that I both understand so well your Lordships Power to command, and your Nobleness and Tenderness to consider what is fit, as I do, and will wholly put my self upon your Honours, and perform what is, or shall be enjoined me. So beseeching your Lordships to construe these Lines, as pro-

ceeding from a Heart ready to obey you in what you command, I rest

A. Reg. 19.
An. Christi
1621.

Tower, June
2. 1621.

Your Lordships most
humble Servant,

Thomas Arundel.

Upon this Submission, the Lords commanded him to be sent for, and presenting himself at the Bar of the House, with the accustomed Humility that Offenders do, he thus express'd himself, *Because I have committed a Fault against this House, in not obeying all the Order that your Lordships commanded me, I do here acknowledge this my Fault, and ask your Lordships Pardon for the same, and am ready to obey all your Lordships Commands.*

Thus this great Lord (tho' he flutter'd in the Air of the Court, and mounted by that means upon the Wings of Passion) was glad to stoop when Consideration lured him to it, left by the Heat that he himself made, (melting the Waxen Plumes that he thought would have supported him) his Suffering might have been a greater Mischief to him than his Submission: So four and severe a Schoolmaster is Passion, to be both Author and Punisher of our Errors; yea, making the best Natures (often) correct themselves most.

The fourth of June this Year the Parliament had a Recess, the King being to go his Progress, wherein some Lords, and others of the Parliament, were to attend him: For it seems his Business was not yet ripe for the Parliament, and he was loth they should have too much leisure; therefore they were not to meet again till the eighth of February following; which being a long time of Vacancy, the House of Commons, before they parted, took the Miseries of the Palatinate into serious Debate; and tho' they felt the King's Pulse, and knew the Beat of his Thought, when he spake of providing an Army this Summer for the Recovery of it, and would engage his Crown Blood and Soul, for it, (finding him apt to say what he had no Will to do) yet they were so wise as not to slacken or draw back in so good a Work; that if there were a Failing, it should not be on their side, knowing how much Religion was concerned in it (for to the Appearance of Reason, the Triumphant Emperor, and Universal King, would quickly tread all under foot); therefore with one Voice (none daring to oppose) they made this Declaration.

The Parliament adjourned.

THE Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into most serious Consideration the present State of the King's Children abroad, and generally afflicted Estate of the true Professors of the same Christian Religion, professed by the Church of England in Foreign Parts; and being touch'd with a true Sense and fellow-feeling of their Distresses, as Members of the same Body, do with unanimous Consent, in the Name of themselves and the whole Body of the Kingdom, (whom they represent) declare unto his most Excellent Majesty, and to the whole World, their hearty Grief and Sorrow for the same; and do not only join with them in their humble and devout Prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true Church, and to avert the Dangers now threaten'd, but also with one Heart and Voice do solemnly protest, That if his Majesty's pious Endeavours by Treaty, to procure their Peace and Safety, shall not take that good Effect which is desir'd in Treaty, (wherefore they humbly beseech his Majesty not to suffer any longer Delay) that then, upon Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure in Parliament, they

The Commons Declaration.

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shall

A. Reg. 19. shall be ready, to the utmost of their Powers, both with their Lives and Fortunes, to assist him so, as that, by the Divine Help of Almighty God, (which is never wanting unto those, who in his Fear shall undertake the Defence of his own Cause) he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable Course shall not be effected.

The King pleased with it.

The King took this Declaration of the Commons in very good Part, and meant, when Occasion serv'd, to make good use of it: For as he found them forward enough to begin a War, so he knew his own Constitution backward enough, (the Sword being in his Hand) and did foresee an Advantage arising from a Medium betwixt the Parliament and him, if he could bring his Ends about, which he after put in practice; but it broke all to pieces; and now away he goes on his Progress.

Towards Winter the Lord Digby returns from his soliciting Journey in Germany: His first Addresses he made to the Emperor, his second to the Duke of Bavaria, and his last to the Infanta at Brussels, and all to as little purpose as if he had stay'd at home; that three-fold Cord, twisted by the Power of Spain, was not easily to be broken. Some little Twilight and Scintil of Hope was given him by the Emperor for Restitution of the Palatinate, yet not so much as would discover the Error of our easie Belief: But the Bavarian had already swallowed the Electorate, and his Voraginous Appetite gaped after the Possession of the Country, tho' the English there were Bones in his way.

Digby's Return.

Digby being arriv'd at Court, and bringing with him doubtful Answers from the Emperor, and sullen ones from the Duke of Bavaria, the King thought it good Policy to shorten the long Recess till February, and to re-assemble the Parliament the 20th of November; that meeting before their Time, it might more amaze them, and intimate some extraordinary Cause, which happily might produce some extraordinary Effect, if well manag'd. And, as incident thereunto, he gave Order to Digby, as soon as the Parliament assembled, to make Relation to the Houses of his Proceedings there; which he did in these Words:

His Relation to the Parliament.

I pleased his Majesty to command me to give you an Account of my last Foreign Negotiation with the Emperor; who (you know) being much exasperated with the Invasion of Bohemia, (to which the King never gave Encouragement in the Attempt, nor Countenance in the Prosecution) hath, upon the Advantage of his fortunate Success there, invaded into the Inheritance of his Son the Palatine: Whereupon I was directed by his Majesty's Commission to Treat, if Peace might be compassed with fair Endeavours, to which the Emperor seemed very inclinable. Albeit, slow in giving Audience, by reason that the Diet in Germany was deferr'd, and he depended upon some Answer from the Princes. But in Conclusion, I receiv'd such Satisfaction, as promis'd Restitution of the Palatinate, which only was granted by Commission to the Duke of Bavaria, until it was settled by absolute Peace, or further War. And being address'd by the Emperor with Letters to the Duke of Bavaria, wherein he wish'd his tractable Condescent to all good Terms of Peace; Upon which Occasion I urged, That I had Authority from the Count Palatine, to cause the Count Mansfield to desist from War, and likewise from the King to his Body of War under the Government of Sir Horatio Vere. The Duke of Bavaria reply'd, That he had becalmed Mansfield with great Sums of Money; and when he is quiet, my Peace is

made. To which scornful and slight Reply something I answer'd, and departed to the Infanta to Brussels, who seemed to understand by the Emperor's Letters, that he did rather prepare for War than Peace, and would give no direct Answer till she heard from the King of Spain, who, I must ingenuously confess, hath stood clear a Neutral, according to his Promise: Yet is he now so strong prepar'd for War, (having at this instant five great Armies in motion) that it will not mis-become the Wisdom of the State to fear the worst: And to conclude, such hath been the Care of the King for his own Honour, and Son's Right, that he presumes you will chearfully apply your selves to the Necessity of the Times, and this Occasion; and not only afford him Aid for his present Support, but such further Supply as may help to re-invest his Son into his Inheritance.

Which Relation of Digby's being seconded by some of the King's great Ministers of State, who had Instructions suitable to their Errand) they let the Parliament know, how justly and necessary it was, and how forward the King would be to accomplish that by War, which he could not recover by Peace; and they set it off with all the slippery Oratory they could to draw in Money; for that being the main Ingredient, if that were provided, the rest of the Simples would easily be purchased, to make up the Composition.

Thus the King's Suits and Intreaties were slighted, and disregarded abroad; and his Intentions suspected, and feared at home. Princes that do grasp Possessions with Iron Hands, will not be smoothened out of them by fair Words; the Sword, as it is the best Determiner, so it is the most honourable Treater: And tho' the King incited the Parliament by these his Ministers to contribute towards a War, yet they found his Inclination bent towards Peace, both in respect of Gondemar's Power with him, (upon whose sandy Promises he built a good Foundation of Hope) and in regard of some Letters which the King had lately written to the King of Spain, wherein great Indulgencies were promised to the Papists, whereby they saw he was too much transported with a Desire to the Match: And the King, finding Digby's Endeavours fruitless in Germany, intended to send him into Spain, Extraordinary Ambassador to that King, whom he looked upon as the great Wheel that moved the others which way he pleased: For he was resolved to clofe some way with the House of Austria, either by Marriage or Intreaty, to piece and make up the Breach the War had made. But the King had to do with cunning Gamesters, that smiled to see how earnest he was at it; for they had the Sign given out of his Hand, and saw all the Game he play'd: So faithless was the Council about him.

The English in general, except Papists, were averse to this Match, as boding some evil Event, because the Papists did prune themselves, flutter up and down, and spread their Trains so publickly. This almost universal Aversion of the People had a natural Influence upon the Representative, the Parliament; who considering that the King (by Digby and others) did inform them how formidable the King of Spain was, and did require them to apply themselves to the Necessity of the Times, and further him with Help to re-invest his Son in his Inheritance, thought there was no better Means to be used than to try effectually the King's Spirit, and stir him up to a War; for so they should know which way their Money went, at leastwise his Mind, before they tamely parted with it. And therefore (like

The King prevails not abroad, nor at home.

The People and Parliament against this Match.

A. Reg. 19. (like wise Physicians, that never prescribe letting Blood, but when it tends to the Health of the Body) First, They shew the Causes of the Distempers and Evils that were to be feared. Secondly, What Effects they were likely to produce. And Lastly, The Remedies to prevent them, in this Petition and Remonstrance.

A Remonstrance of the House of Commons.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

WE Your Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burghesses, now assembled in Parliament, who represent the Commons of Your Realm, full of hearty Sorrow to be deprived of the Comfort of Your Royal Presence, the rather for that it proceeds from the want of Your Health, wherein we all unfeignedly do suffer. In all humble manner calling to mind Your Gracious Answer to our former Petition concerning Religion, which, notwithstanding Your Majesty's Pious and Princely Intentions, hath not produced that good Effect, which the Danger of these Times doth seem to us to require. And finding how ill Your Majesty's Goodness hath been requited by Princes of different Religion, who, even in time of Treaty, have taken opportunity to advance their own Ends, tending to the Subversion of Religion, and Disadvantage of Your Affairs, and the Estate of Your Children. By reason whereof, Your ill-affected Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have taken too much Encouragement, and are dangerously increased in their Number, and in their Insolencies. We cannot but be sensible thereof; and thereof humbly represent what we conceive to be the Causes of so great and growing Mischiefs, and what be the Remedies.

1. The Vigilancy and Ambition of the Pope of Rome, and his dearest Son, the one aiming at as large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a Spiritual Supremacy.
2. The Devilish Positions, and Doctrines, whereon Popery is built, and taught, with Authority to their Followers, for advancement of their Temporal Ends.
3. The distressed and miserable Estate of the Professors of true Religion in Foreign Parts.
4. The disastrous Accidents to your Majesty's Children abroad, expressed with rejoycing, and even with contempt of their Persons.
5. The strange Confederacy of the Princes of the Popish Religion, aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs, and subverting ours, and taking the Advantages conducing to that End, upon all Occasions.
6. The great and many Armies raised and maintained at the Charge of the King of Spain, the chief of that League.
7. The expectation of the Popish Recusants of the Match with Spain, and feeding themselves with great Hopes of the Consequences thereof.
8. The interposing of Foreign Princes, and their Agents, in the behalf of Popish Recusants, for Connivance and Favour unto them.
9. Their open and usual Resort to the Houses, and, which is worse, to the Chapels of Foreign Ambassadors.
10. Their more than usual Concourse to the City, and their frequent Conventicles, and Conferences there.
11. The Education of their Children, in many several Seminaries, and Houses of their Religion, in Foreign Parts, appropriated only to the English Fugitives.
12. The Grants of their just Forfeitures intended by your Majesty as a Reward of Service to the Grantees, but, beyond your Majesty's Intention, transferred or compounded for at such mean Rates, as will amount to little less than a Toleration.
13. The licentious Printing and dispersing of Po-

pisb and Seditious Books, even in the time of Parliament.

A. Reg. 19. 14. The Swarms of Priests and Jesuits, the common Incendiaries of all Christendom, dispersed in all Parts of your Kingdom.

And from these Causes, as bitter Roots, we humbly offer to your Majesty, that we foresee, and fear, there will necessarily follow very dangerous Effects both to Church and State.

- For,
1. The Popish Religion is incompatible with Ours, in respect of their Positions.
 2. It draweth with it an unavoidable Dependency on Foreign Princes.
 3. It openeth too wide a Gap for Popularity, to any who shall draw too great a Party.
 4. It hath a restless Spirit, and will strive by these Gradations; if it once get but a Connivence, it will press for a Toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to Superiority: And will never rest till they get a Subversion of the true Religion.

The Remedies against these growing Evils, which in all humbleness we offer to your most Excellent Majesty, are these:

1. That seeing this inevitable Necessity is fallen upon your Majesty, which no Wisdom or Providence of a peaceable and pious King can avoid, your Majesty would not omit this just Occasion, speedily and effectually to take your Sword into your hand.
2. That once undertaken upon so honourable and just Grounds, your Majesty would resolve to pursue, and more publicly avow the aiding of those of our Religion in Foreign Parts, which doubtless would reunite the Princes and States of the Union, by these Disasters disheartened and disbanded.
3. That your Majesty would propose to your self to manage this War with the best Advantage, by a Diversion or otherwise, as in your deep Judgment shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a War in these Parts only, which will consume your Treasure, and discourage your People.
4. That the bent of this War, and point of your Sword, may be against that Prince (whatsoever Opinion of Potency he hath) whose Armies and Treasures have first diverted, and since maintained, the War in the Palatinate.
5. That for securing of our Peace at home, your Majesty will be pleased to review the Parts of our Petition formerly delivered unto your Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put it in execution by the care of choice Commissioners, to be thereunto especially appointed, the Laws already and hereafter to be made for preventing of Dangers by Popish Recusants, and their wonted Evasions.
6. That to frustrate their Hopes for a future Age, our most Noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own Religion.
7. That the Children of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, and of others ill affected and suspected in their Religion, now beyond the Seas, may be forthwith called home by your Means, and at the Charge of their Parents or Governours.
8. That the Children of Popish Recusants, or such whose Wives are Popish Recusants, be brought up during their Minority with Protestant Schoolmasters and Teachers, who may sow in their tender Years the Seeds of true Religion.
9. That your Majesty will be pleased speedily to revoke all former Licences for such Children and Youth to Travel beyond the Seas, and not Grant any such Licence hereafter.
10. That your Majesty's learned Council may receive Commandment from your Highness, carefully to look into former Grants of Recusants Lands, and to

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avoid

A. Reg. 19. avoid them if by Law they can; and that your Majesty will stay your Hand from passing any such Grants hereafter.

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This is the Sum and Effect of our humble Declaration, which we (no ways intending to press upon your Majesty's undoubted and Regal Prerogative) do, with the fulness of our Duty and Obedience, humbly submit to your most Princely Consideration, the Glory of God, whose Cause it is, the Zeal of our true Religion, in which we have been born, and wherein (by God's Grace) we are resolved to die, the Safety of your Majesty's Person, who is the very Life of your People, the Happiness of your Children and Posterity, the Honour and Good of the Church and State, dearer unto us than our own Lives, having kindled these Affections truly devoted to your Majesty.

And seeing, out of our Duty to your Majesty, we have already resolved to give at the end of this Session one entire Subsidy, for the present Relief of the Palatinate only, to be paid in the end of February next, which cannot well be effected, but by passing a Bill in a Parliamentary Course before Christmas; We most humbly beseech your Majesty (as our assured Hope is) that you will then also vouchsafe to give Life, by your Royal Assent, to such Bills as before that time shall be prepared for your Majesty's Honour, and the general Good of your People. And that such Bills may be also accompanied (as hath been accustomed) with your Majesty's gracious Pardon, which, proceeding from your own meer Grace, may, by your Highness's Direction, be drawn to that Latitude and Extent, as may best fort with your Majesty's Bounty and Goodness. And that not only Fellons, and criminal Offenders, may take Benefit thereof, but that your good Subjects may receive Ease thereby. And if it shall so stand with your good Pleasure, that it may extend to the Relief of the old Debts and Duties to the Crown before the first Year of your Majesty's Reign, to the discharge of Alienations without Licence, and misusing of Liveries and *Oustre le main* before the first Summons of this Parliament; and of concealed Wardships, and not suing of Liveries and *Oustre le mains*, before the Twelfth Year of your Majesty's Reign. Which gracious favour would much comfort your good Subjects, and ease them from Vexation, with little Loss or Prejudice to your own Profit.

And we by our daily and devout Prayers to the Almighty, the great King of Kings, shall contend for a Blessing upon our Endeavours, and for your Majesty's long and happy Reign over us, and for your Childrens Children after you for many and many Generations.

The King went at it. The King hearing that the House of Commons were hammering upon this Remonstrance, went to Newmarket, a cold and bleak Air, in as cold and bleak a Season, pretending his Health, but indeed to be further from the sound of that Noise (which perpetually possessed his Ears) of the Discontent of the Commons for the intended Match with Spain. And as the Business grew up, he had Intimation of it from his Creatures in the House; for it vex'd his Popish Secretary Sir George Calvert, Weston, and others, to find the House so bitter against their Profession, (though they were cunning Underminers, and put on a smooth Face there) yet they aggravated the Matter to the King with all the Acrimony they could, so far, as to reflect

upon particular Persons that were the most active Instruments in it.

And what is there in this Remonstrance (at such a time when the Protestant Religion was in Danger of being extirpated) that put on so horrid a Vizard as to affright or exasperate the King? The Emperor had prevailed in Germany, the Protestant Princes either subdued, or acquiesced, and laid down their Necks to the Yoke. The Protestants were persecuted in France, besieged and ruined by the youthful Fury of Lewis XIII. And notwithstanding our King's Solicitations by Sir Edward Herbert, since Baron of Cherbery, his Resident Ambassador there, who (after his Conflict with Luynes the youthful Constable of France, and Favourite to that King) being sent for home, the Viscount Doncaster was sent again into France, upon one of his mediating Employments, who also followed that King from Camp to City, and from City to Camp, with as little Success, this being no Journey of Bravery, for it almost cost him his Life there by a tedious Sickness.

Rochel and Montaban were besieged at one time this very Year, Rochel by the Count of Soissons and the Duke of Guise, and Montaban by the King, a great distance one from another; but Doncaster could prevail for neither, yet the French King did not do his Work. When Man hath vented all his Malice, he can go no further than the Line God hath set him. One sad Story intervenes, which had a various Countenance, mixt with Bravery and Baseness, so that it was doubtful which was most prevalent. One Hicks an Englishman undertook to carry a Letter from Rochel to Montaban, through both Armies, to let them know the good State and Condition of the Rochellers were in (maugre the Fury and Violence of their Enemies) that those of Montaban might be encouraged to hold out against the King's Assaults. Hicks makes a clear Passage through the Army before Rochel, and came to Thoulouse, where the Viscount Doncaster was, there he comforted with the English, insinuating with a young Gentleman, one Fairfax, of that noble Family in Yorkshire, who was for that Journey one of the Lord Ambassador's Train; and Hicks finding him willing (being a young and gallant Spirit) to see the King's Leagure at Montaban, they rode thither together, and, under the Notion of being of the Ambassador's Retinue, they had free Admittance to view all the Works and Avenues. Hicks, whose Eye was fixt upon his opportunity to fly into the Town, made use of Fairfax to take his Advantage with the least Suspicion, and, in the instant of time, puts Spurs to his Horse, and got into the Town through a Shower of Bullets, leaving Fairfax (astonish'd at the Attempt) to be wrack'd and tormented to Death (as he was by the French Fury) to confess what he never knew; so that Hicks's Bravery deserves a Brand of Infamy, and Fairfax's Innocency a Memorial of Pity. A noble Spirit must not dare to do a gallant Action an unworthy way.

But our King's Intentions aiming at Peace, he took, as he thought, the best way to it, which was, to Intreat for it; but that would not prevail, for the Voice of Intreaty cannot be heard for the Trumpet. In War, one Noise must expel another. The Parliament saw the Danger the Protestant Religion was in, (for in many Counsellors there is wisdom) and thought it their Duties to let the King see how inclinable they were to support the falling Condition of it with their Lives and Fortunes: But the King

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The Protestant Religion in danger.

Hicks and Fairfax.

Our King a King of Peace.

A. Reg. 19. An. Christi 1621. King would be called *Rex Pacificus* to the last; His Heart was not advanced to glorious Achievements, God will not (many times) make use of some Men to do great Things by them. The Parliament did not desire to make this a War for Religion only, though they saw it suppressed; for so all Popish Princes (which was the King's Fear) might have combined against him: But though the true End was Religion, the outward Aim was to hinder the Progress of the victorious Spanish Power, which was likeliest to do most Mischief. Many times the Divine Goodness puts an Opportunity, as a Price, into Mens Hands, which, if they fail to make use of, redounds to their Prejudice. If the King's Spirit had been raised up to a War, when the Voice of God (the Voice of the People) called him to it, happily it might have hindered the great Effusion of Blood amongst our Selves, that happened after in his Son's time: But he was not the Man, the Work was reserved for *Gustavus*, not *Jacobus*; and these Conflicts of our Kings formerly, and at this time with his People (alienating their Affections) did not only leave sad Impressions upon their Spirits, of Rancour and Malice against Monarchy, but taught his Successor the Pattern of breaking Parliaments, and contesting with his Subjects, till Ruin succeeded to him and his Posterity.

But when this Remonstrance was brought to Perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the House had time to send their Messengers with it; in which something so highly displeased him, that he instantly dispatched a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons to forbid the sending of it.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, Sir Thomas Richardson Kt. Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

The King's Letter to the Speaker.

WE have heard by divers Reports, to Our great Grief, That Our distance from the Houses of Parliament, (caused by Our Indisposition of Health) hath imbolden'd some fiery and popular Spirits of some of the Commons, to argue and debate publicly of Matters far above their Reach and Capacity, tending to Our high Dishonour, and Breach of Prerogative Royal. These are therefore to Command you, to make known in Our Name unto the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning Our Government, or deep Matters of State, and namely not to deal with our dearest Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other Our Friends or Confederates. And also, not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motion in Our ordinary Courts of Justice. And whereas We hear they have sent a Message to Sir *Edwin Sandis*, to know the Reasons of his late Restraint, you shall in Our Name resolve them, That it was not for any Misdemeanor of his in Parliament: But to put them out of doubt of any Question of that Nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in Our Name, That We think Our Self very free and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their Sitting, as after; which we mean not to spare here-

A. Reg. 19. An. Christi 1621. after upon any Occasion of any Man's insolent Behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto Us. And if they have already touched any of these Points, which We have here forbidden in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto Us, it is Our Pleasure that you shall tell them, That, except they reform it before it come to Our Hands, We will not deign the hearing nor answering of it.

Dated at Newmarket,

Decemb. 3. 1621.

This was the effect of the Letter.

When the House had duly and weightily considered the just Reasons they had to draw up this Remonstrance, in discharge of their Consciences and Duties to God, and the King, and found how fruitless their Labours were; having (as it were) cast out one Anchor in a tempestuous Season which would take no hold, they were forced to cast out another, that both together might better fasten on the King's good Affections: Therefore they framed this following Petition, and sent the Remonstrance with it, hoping yet to save the beaten Bark of the Commonwealth from Ruin in so great a time of Danger. And thus they address themselves to their great Pilot.

Most dread and gracious Sovereign,

WE Your most humble and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, assembled in the Commons House of Parliament, full of Grief and unspeakable Sorrow, through the true Sence of Your Majesty's Displeasure expressed by Your Letter lately sent to our *Speaker*, and by him related and read unto us; Yet comforted again with the Assurance of Your Grace and Goodness, and of the Sincerity of our own Intentions and Proceedings, whereon with Confidence we can rely, in all humbleness beseech Your most Excellent Majesty, that the Loyalty and Dutifulness of as faithful and loving Subjects as ever served or lived under a gracious Sovereign, may not undeservedly suffer, by the Mis-information of partial and uncertain Reports, which are ever unfaithful Intelligencers: But that Your Majesty would in the clearness of Your own Judgment, first vouchsafe to understand from our Selves, and not from others, what our humble Declaration and Petition (resolved upon by the Universal Voice of the House, and proposed with Your Gracious Favour to be presented unto Your Sacred Majesty) doth contain. Upon what Occasion we entered into Consideration of those Things which are therein contained, with what dutiful Respect to Your Majesty, and Your Service, we did consider thereof, and what was our true Intention thereby. And that when Your Majesty shall thereby truly discern our dutiful Affections, You will in Your Royal Judgment free us from those heavy Charges wherewith some of our Members are burthened, and wherein the whole House is involved. And we humbly beseech Your Majesty, that You will not hereafter give Credit to private Reports against all, or any of the Members of our House, whom the whole have not Censured, until Your Majesty have been truly informed thereof from our selves; and that in the mean time, and ever, we may stand upright in Your Majesty's Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly Consideration is or can be dearer unto us.

The Parliament's Petition.

When

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When your Majesty had reassembled us in Parliament, by your Royal Commandments, sooner than we expected, and did vouchsafe by the Mouths of Three Honourable Lords, to impart unto us the weighty Occasions moving your Majesty thereunto; and from them we did understand these Particulars.

That notwithstanding your Princely and Pious Endeavours to procure Peace, the Time is now come that *Janus Temple* must be open'd.

That the Voice of *Bellona* must be heard, and not the Voice of the *Turtle*.

That there was no hope of Peace, nor any Truce to be obtained; no, not for a few Days.

That your Majesty must either abandon your own Children, or engage your self in a War, wherein Consideration is to be had, what Foot, what Horse, what Money, would be sufficient.

That the *Lower Palatinate* was seized upon by the Army of the King of *Spain*, as Executor of the Ban there, in quality of Duke of *Burgundy*, as the *Upper Palatinate* was by the Duke of *Bavaria*.

That the King of *Spain*, at his own Charge, had now at least Five several Armies on foot.

That the Princes of the Union were Disbanded; but the Catholick League remained firm, whereby those Princes so dislever'd, were in Danger one by one to be ruined.

That the Estate of those of the Religion in Foreign Parts was miserable. And,

That out of these Considerations we are called to a War, and forthwith to advise for a Supply, for keeping the Forces in the *Palatinate* from Disbanding, and to fore-see the Means for raising and maintaining the Body of an Army for the War against the Spring. We therefore out of our Zeal to your Majesty and your Posterity, with more Alacrity and Celerity than ever was preceded in Parliament, did address our selves to the Service commended unto us. And although we cannot conceive, that the Honour and Safety of your Majesty, and your Posterity; the Patrimony of your Children, invaded and possessed by their Enemies; the Welfare of Religion, and State of your Kingdom; are Matters at any time unfit for our deepest Consideration in time of Parliament. And though before this time we are in some of these Points silent; yet being now invited thereunto, and led on by so just an Occasion, we thought it our Duties to provide for the present Supply thereof, and not only to turn our Eyes on a War abroad, but to take care for the securing of our Peace at home, which the dangerous Increase, and Insolency of Popish Recusants, apparently, visibly, and sensibly did lead us unto. The Consideration whereof did necessarily draw us truly to represent unto your Majesty, what we conceive to be the Causes; what we feared would be Effects; and what we hoped might be the Remedies of these growing Evils. Among which, as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon some Things which seem to touch upon the King of *Spain*, as they have relation to Popish Recusants at home, to the Wars by him maintained in the *Palatinate* against your Majesty's Children, and to his several Armies now on foot; yet, as we conceived, without touch of Dishonour to that King, or any other Prince your Majesty's Confederate.

An humble
Parliament.

In the Discourse whereof we did not assume to our Selves any Power to determine of any Part thereof; nor intend to Inroach or In-

trude upon the Sacred Bounds of your Royal Authority, to whom, and to whom only, we

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acknowledge it doth belong to resolve of Peace and War, and of the Marriage of the most Noble Prince your Son. But as your most loyal and humble Subjects and Servants, representing the whole Commons of your Kingdom (who have a large Interest in the happy and prosperous Estate of your Majesty, and your Royal Posterity, and of the flourishing Estate of our Church and Commonwealth) did resolve, out of our Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to demonstrate these Things to your Majesty, which we were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to your Knowledge; and being done, to lay the same down at your Majesty's Feet, without expectation of any other Answer of your Majesty, touching these higher Points, than what at your good Pleasure, and in your own Time should be held fit.

This being the Effect of that we had formerly resolved upon, and these the Occasions and Reasons inducing the same, our humble Suit to your Majesty, and Confidence is, That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive at the Hands of these our Messengers our former humble Declaration and Petition; and to vouchsafe to read, and favourably to interpret the same. And that to so much thereof, as containeth our humble Petition concerning Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, the Passage of Bills, and granting your Royal Pardon, you will vouchsafe an Answer unto us.

And whereas your Majesty, by the general Words of your Letter, seemeth to restrain us from intermeddling with Matters of Government, or Particulars which have their Motion in the Courts of Justice; the generality of which Words in the largeness of their Extent thereof, (as we hope beyond your Majesty's Intention) might involve those Things, which are the proper Subjects of Parliamentary Occasions and Discourse.

And whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the ancient Liberty of Parliament for Freedom of Speech, Jurisdiction, and just Censure of the House, and other Proceedings there, (wherein we trust in God we shall never transgress the Bounds of Loyal and Dutiful Subjects) a Liberty which we assure our selves so wise and so just a King will not infringe; the same being our Ancient and Undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from our Ancestors, without which we cannot freely Debate, nor clearly discern of Things in question before us, nor truly inform your Majesty; in which we have been confirmed by your Majesty's most gracious former Speeches and Messages: We are therefore now again inforced in all Humbleness to pray your Majesty to allow the same, and thereby to take away the Doubts and Scruples your Majesty's late Letter to your Speaker hath brought upon us.

So shall we, your loyal and loving Subjects, And ever acknowledge your Majesty's Justice, Grace and Goodness, and be ready to perform that Service to your Majesty, which in the true affection of our Hearts we profess, and pour out our daily and devout Prayers to the Almighty for your Majesty's long Life, happy and religious Reign, and prosperous Estate, and for your Royal Posterity after you for ever.

The

A. Reg. 19. The Parliament thought it strange that the King in a Recess should call them together before the appointed Time of Meeting; pretending Emergent Occasions, and (by his Ministers of State) perswade and incite to a War, and when (in Obedience to this Command) they shall proceed in their Advice, only to prevent the Dangers abroad, and establish Security at home, they shall be accounted Presumptuous and Insolent. But by this they discover, (and which the King plainly expresses in his Answer) that he required none of their Advice, he wanted only their Money; if they had furnish'd him with that, instead of Counsel, it would have been a golden Remonstrance. They are to be his Bank, his Merchants, he needs no other Directions; let them find Money, he knows how to dispose of it. This was the great Fault, which this Petition strives to mitigate, accompanied with the Remonstrance it self, and the Petition against Recusancy, for both which it was an Intercessor; but it could not with all its Humility procure Acceptance for its Companions, though sent by Twelve select Members of the House, and the leading Man Sir Richard Weston (who was really the King's) chosen by the Commons to make their Petitions the more acceptable. And the House finding it a great Discouragement to them to proceed in any Business, when there was so great a Distance betwixt the King and them, (the King thinking their Actions an Intrenchment upon his Prerogative, and they thinking the King's Expressions an Infringement of their Liberties) they resolved to give over all Business, till they had an Answer of their Petitions; for they thought they had as good do nothing, as have that they do undone again. Which the King hearing of, was vexed at the Heart, and entertained their Messengers very roughly; and some say, he called for Twelve Chairs for them, saying, Here are Twelve Kings come to me. But after he had consider'd their Desires in their last Petition (rejecting the others) he returns them this Answer to all.

The King's Answer.

WE must here begin in the same Fashion that we would have done, if your first Petition had come to our Hands before we had made a stay thereof, which is to repeat the first Words of the late Queen, of Famous Memory, used by her in Answer to an insolent Proposition, made by a *Polonian* Ambassador unto her; that is, *Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus*. For we had great Reason to expect, that the first Message from your House should have been a Message of Thanksgiving for our continued Gracious Behaviour towards our People since your last Recess: Not only by our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were contained Six or Seven and thirty Articles, all of several Points of Grace to the People; but also by the Labour we took, for the Satisfaction of both Houses, in those Three Articles recommended unto us in both their Names by the Right Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and likewise for the good Government of *Ireland* we are now in hand with at your request. But not only have we heard no News of all this, but contrary, great Complaints of the Danger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly implying our ill Government in this Point. And we leave you to judge, whether it be your Duties, that are the Representative Body of our People, so to distaste them with our Government; whereas, by the contrary, it

A. Reg. 19. is your Duty, with all your Endeavours, to kindle more and more a Dutiful and Thankful Love in the Peoples Hearts towards us for our Just and Gracious Government.

Now whereas in the very Beginning of this your Apology, you tax us in fair Terms of trusting uncertain Reports, and partial Informations concerning your Proceedings: We wish you to remember that we are an Old and Experienc'd King, needing no such Lessons, being in our Conscience freest of any King alive from hearing or trusting idle Reports, which so many of your House as are nearest us can bear witness unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to some Tribunitial Orators among you. And for proof in this Particular; We have made your own Messengers confer your other Petitions sent by you with the Copy thereof, which was sent us before, between which there is no difference at all, but that since our receiving the first Copy you added a Conclusion unto it, which could not come to our Hands, till it was done by you, and your Messengers sent, which was all at one time. And if we had had no Copy of it before-hand, we must have received your first Petition to our great Dishonour, before we had known what it contain'd, which would have enforced us to have returned you a far worse Answer than now we do. For then your Messengers had returned with Nothing, but that we have judged your Petition unlawful and unworthy of an Answer: For as to your Conclusion thereof, it is nothing but *Protestatio contraria facto*, for in the Body of your Petition you usurp upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with Things far above your reach, and then in the Conclusion you protest the contrary; as if a Robber would take a Man's Purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. For first, you presume to give us your Advice concerning the Match of our dearest Son with some Protestant, we cannot say Princess, for we know none of these fit for him, and dissuade us from his Match with *Spain*, urging us to a present War with that King, and yet in the Conclusion, forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our most Undoubted and Regal Prerogative; as if the Petitioning of us in Matters that your selves confess ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited to this Course by the Speeches of Three Honourable Lords; yet by so much as your selves repeat of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded, but that we were resolved by War to regain the *Palatinate*, if otherwise we could not attain unto it. And you were invited to advise forthwith upon a Supply for keeping the Forces in the *Palatinate* from Disbanding, and to foresee the Means for the raising and maintaining of the Body of an Army for that War against the Spring. Now what Inference can be made upon this? That therefore we must presently denounce War against the King of *Spain*, break our dearest Son's Match, and Match him to one of our Religion, Let the World judge! The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a Merchant that we had great need to borrow Money from him for raising an Army; that thereupon it should follow, that we were bound to follow his Advice in the Directions of the War, and all Things depending thereupon. But yet not contenting your selves with this

Excuse

A. Reg. 19. Excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold
An. Christi 1621. Water, you come after to a direct Contradi-
 ction to the Conclusion of your former Peti-
 tion, saying, That the Honour and Safety of
 us and our Posterity, and the Patrimony of
 our Children invaded, and possessed by their
 Enemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State
 of our Kingdom, are Matters at any time
 not unfit for your deepest Considerations
 in Parliament. To this Generality, we An-
 swer with the Logicians, *That where all*
things are contained, nothing is omitted. So
 as this Plenipotency of yours invests you in
 all Power upon Earth, lacking nothing but
 the Pope's, to have the Keys also both of
 Heaven and Purgatory. And to this vast Ge-
 nerality of yours, we can give no other An-
 swer; for it will trouble all the best Lawyers
 in the House, to make a good Commentary
 upon it: For so did the Puritan Ministers in
 Scotland bring all kind of Causes within the
 the compass of their Jurisdiction, saying,
 That it was the Churches Office to judge of
 Slander, and there could no kind of Crime
 or Fault be committed, but there was a slan-
 der in it, either against God, the King,
 or their Neighbour; and by this means they
 hooked into themselves the Cognizance of
 all Causes. Or like Bellarmine's distinction of
 the Pope's Power over Kings, *in ordine ad*
Spiritualia, whereby he gives them all Tem-
 poral Jurisdiction over them.

But to give you a direct Answer to the
 Matter of War, for which you are so earnest;
 We confess, we rather expected you should
 have given us Thanks for the so long main-
 taining a settled Peace in all our Dominions,
 when as all our Neighbours about are in
 miserable Combustion of War. But *Dulce*
Bellum inexpertis: And we indeed find by Ex-
 perience, that a Number of our Subjects are
 so pamper'd with Peace, as they are desirous
 of Change, though they know not what.

It is true, that we have ever profess'd (and
 in that Mind with God's Grace we will live
 and die) that we will labour by all Means
 possible, either by Treaty, or by Force, to
 restore our Children to their ancient Digi-
 nity and Inheritance; and whatsoever Chri-
 stian Princes, or Potentates, will set them-
 selves against it, we will not spare any Law-
 ful Means to bring our so Just and Honoura-
 ble Purpose to a good End. Neither shall the
 Match of our Son, or any other Worldly Re-
 spect, be preferred to this our Resolution:
 For by our Credit, and Intervention with the
 King of Spain, and the Arch-Dutchess, and
 her Husband now with God, we preserved
 the Lower Palatinate one whole Year, from
 any further Conquering in it; which in any
 Eight Days space in that time, might have
 easily been swallow'd up by Spinola's Army,
 without any Resistance: And in no better
 Case was it now at our Ambassador the Lord
 Digby's coming through Heidleburgh, if he had
 not extraordinarily succoured it.

But because we conceive, that ye couple
 this War of the Palatinate with the Cause of
 Religion, we must a little unfold your Eyes
 herein. The Beginning of this Miserable
 War, which hath set all Christendom on fire,
 was not for Religion, but only caused by our
 Son-in-Law's hasty and rash Resolution;
 following Evil Counsel, to take to himself
 the Crown of Bohemia: And that this is true,
 himself wrote Letters unto us at that time,
 desiring us to give Assurance both to the French

King and State of Venice, that his accep-
 ting of the Crown of Bohemia had no refe-
 rence to the Cause of Religion, but only by
 reason of his right of Election (as he called
 it.) And we would be sorry that that Asperfi-
 on should come upon our Religion, as to make
 it a good Pretext for Dethroning of Kings,
 and Usurping their Crowns. And we would
 be loth that our People here should be taught
 that Doctrine: No, let us not so far wrong
 the Jesuits, as to rob them of their sweet Po-
 sitions, and Practice in that Point. And upon
 the other Part, we assure our self so far of
 your Charitable Thoughts of us, that we would
 never have Constantly denied our Son-in-Law
 both the Title and Assistance in that Point,
 if we had been well perswaded of the Justice
 of his Quarrel. But to conclude, this Unjust
 Usurpation of the Crowns of Bohemia and
 Hungaria from the Emperor, hath given the
 Pope, and all that Party, too fair a Ground,
 and open'd them too wide a Gate, for cur-
 bing and oppressing of many Thousands of
 our Religion in divers Parts of Christendom.

And whereas you excuse your touching up-
 on the King of Spain, upon occasion of the
 Incidents by you repeated in that Place, and
 yet affirm, that it is without any touch to his
 Honour; we cannot wonder enough that ye
 are so forgetful, both of your Words and Writs:
 For in your former Petition ye plainly affirm,
 that he affects the Temporal Monarchy of the
 whole Earth, than which there can be no
 more Malice uttered against any great King,
 to make all other Princes and Potentates both
 Envy and Hate him. But if ye list, it may
 be easily tried, whether that Speech touched
 him in Honour or not: If we shall ask him
 the Question, whether he means to assume to
 himself that Title or no? For every King
 can best judge of his own Honour. We omit
 the Particular Ejaculations of some Foul-
 mouth'd Orators in your House, against the
 Honour of his Crown and State.

And touching your Excuse of not determi-
 ning any thing concerning the Match of our
 dearest Son, but only to tell your Opinions, and
 lay it down at our Feet: First, We desire to
 know how you could have presumed to de-
 termine in that Point, without committing
 of High-Treason. And next, You cannot
 deny, but your talking of his Match after
 that manner, was a direct breach of our Com-
 mandment and Declaration out of our own
 Mouth, at the first sitting down of this Parlia-
 ment; where we plainly professed, that we
 were in Treaty of his Match with Spain, and
 wished you to have that Confidence in our
 Religion and Wisdom, that we would so
 manage it, as our Religion should receive no
 Prejudice by it. And the same we now
 repeat unto you, professing that we are so far
 engaged in that Match, as we cannot in Ho-
 nour go back, except the King of Spain per-
 form not such Things as we expect at his
 Hands: And therefore we are sorry that ye
 should shew to have so great Distrust in us,
 or to conceive that we should be cold in our
 Religion; otherwise we cannot imagine how
 our former publick Declaration should not
 have stopp'd your Mouths in this Point.

And as to your Request, That we would
 now receive your former Petition, we won-
 der what could make you presume, that we
 would not receive it; whereas in our former
 Letter, we plainly declar'd the Contrary un-
 to you; and therefore have justly rejected
 that

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that Suit of yours. For what have you left unattempted in the highest Points of Sovereignty in that Petition of yours, except the striking of Coin? For it contains the Violation of Leagues, the particular way how to govern a War, and the Marriage of our dearest Son, both Negative with Spain, nay with any other Popish Princes. And also Affirmatively, as to the Matching with one of our Religion; which we confess is a Strain beyond any Providence or Wisdom God hath given us, as Things now stand.

These are unfit Things to be handled in Parliament, except your King should require it of you; for who can have Wisdom to judge of Things of that Nature? but such as are daily acquainted with the Particulars of Treaties, and of the variable or fixed Connexion of Affairs of State, together with the Knowledge of the secret Ways, Ends, and Intentions of Princes in their several Negotiations; otherwise, a small mistaking in Matters of this Nature may produce more Effects than can be imagined. And therefore, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. And besides, the intermeddling in Parliament with Matters of Peace or War, and Marriage of our dearest Son, would be such a Diminution to us, and to our Crown, in Foreign Countries, as would make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either in Matters of Peace or Marriage, except they might be assured by the Assent of Parliament. And so it proved long ago with a King of France; who, upon a Trick, procuring his States to dissent from some Treaty, which before he had made, was after refused treating with any other Princes, to his great Reproach, unless he would first procure the Assent of his Estates to their Proposition. And will you cast your Eyes upon the late Times, you shall find that the late Queen, of Famous Memory, was humbly petitioned by a Parliament to be pleased to marry: But her Answer was, That she liked their Petition well, because it was simple, not limiting her to Place or Person, as not befitting her Liking to their Fancies; and if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it a high Presumption in them. Judge then what we may do in such a Case? having made our publick Declaration already (as we said before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.

Now to the Points in your Petition, whereof you desire an Answer, as properly belonging to the Parliament. The first and the greatest Point is that of Religion, concerning which at this time we can give you no other Answer than in the general; which is, That you may rest secure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for the Propagation of our Religion, and Repressing of Popery. But the Manner and Form you must remit to our Care and Providence, who can best consider of Times and Seasons; not by undertaking a publick War of Religion through all the World at once; which, how hard and dangerous a Task it may prove, you may judge. But this puts us in Mind how all the World complain'd the last Year of Plenty of Corn, and God hath sent us a cooling Card this Year for that Heat. And so we pray God, that this Desire among you of kindling Wars (shewing your Weariness of Peace and Plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the Miseries of both. But, as we already said, our Care of Religion must be such, as on the one part we must not, by the hot Persecution of our Recusants at home, irritate Foreign Princes of con-

False Play
justly re-
warded.

Wars
good to
prevent
Wars.

trary Religion, and teach them the way to plague the Protestants in their Dominions, with whom we daily intercede, and at this time principally for Ease to them of our Profession, that live under them. Yet upon the other Part, we never mean to spare from due and severe Punishment any Papist that will grow insolent, for living under our so mild Government. And you may also be assured, We will leave no Care untaken, as well for the good Education of the Youth at home, especially the Children of Papists, as also for preserving at all times hereafter the Youth that are or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous Places, and so poison'd in Popish Seminaries. And as in this Point, namely, concerning the good Education of Popish Youth at home, we have already given some good Proofs, both in this Kingdom and in Ireland; so will we be well pleased to pass any good Laws that shall be made, either now, or any time hereafter, to this purpose.

And as to your Request of making this a Session, and granting a general Pardon, it shall be in your Defaults, if we make not this a Session before Christmas.

But for the Pardon, ye crave such Particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, lest otherwise we give you back the double or treble of that we are to receive by your entire Subsidy, without Fifteens. But the ordinary Course we hold fittest to be used still in this Case, is, That we should of our Free Grace send you down a Pardon from the Higher House, containing such Points as we shall think fittest, wherein we hope ye shall receive good Satisfaction.

But we cannot omit to shew you how strange we think it, that ye should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some Words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament. Truly, a Scholar would be ashamed so to misplace and misjudge any Sentences in another Man's Book. For whereas in the end of our former Letter we discharge you to meddle with Matters of Government and Mysteries of State; namely, Matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Son's Match with Spain; by which particular Denominations we interpret, and restrain our former Words: And then after, we forbid you to meddle with such Things as have their ordinary Course in Courts of Justice; yet couple together those two distinct Sentences, and plainly leave out these Words, *Of Mysteries of State*; so as ye err, *à bene divisisti ad male conjecisti*. For of the former part, concerning Mysteries of State, we plainly restrained our Meaning to the Particulars that were after mentioned. And in the latter, we confess we meant it by Sir Edward Coke's foolish Business. And therefore it had well become him, especially being our Servant, and one of our Council, to have complained unto us; which he never did, though he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had Access refus'd unto him.

And altho' we cannot allow of the Stile, calling it, *Your ancient and undoubted Right and Inheritance*, but could rather have wished that ye had said, *That your Privileges were derived from the Grace and Permission of our Ancestors and us* (for most of them grow from Precedents, which shews rather a Toleration than Inheritance); yet we are pleased to give you our Royal Assurance, That as long as you shall contain your selves within the Limits of your Vol. II. C c c c c c Duty,

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A. Reg. 19. Duty, we will be as careful to maintain and
An. Christi preserve your lawful Liberties and Privileges,
 1621. as ever any of our Predecessors were; nay,
 as to preserve our own Royal Prerogative: So
 as your House shall only have need to beware
 to trench upon the Prerogative of the Crown;
 which would enforce us, or any just King,
 to retrench them of their Privileges, that
 would pare his Prerogative and Flowers of the
 Crown. But of this, we hope there shall be
 never Cause given. This was the Effect of
 the King's Answer, which was dated at New-
 market the 11th of December, 1621.

The King
 and Peo-
 ple Com-
 petitors.

Thus the King acted his part; and tho' his Answer might be the Result of his Thoughts, yet it was some transcendent Cause that put it into Words; for his Nature was apt enough to fear the Sound of its own Impressions. But now his Spirit was mounted, either the Breach of the Treaty with *Spain*, or the Breach (as he thought) upon his Prerogative, gave Wing to raise his Anger higher than his Fear. Princes that never knew how to obey, ride their Passions with a loose Rein, and are easiest carried by that Impulsion. The Prince and the People are here Competitors, both jealous of Encroachments, both striving to prevent them. Liberty is a Power that gives a Well-being and Life to the People. Power is a Liberty that Princes take to be the very Life of their Being. Kings are like the Sea, and the People like the Land, the Industry of the one striving with the Piles, and Banks of good Laws and Precedents, to bound the often Spring-Tides, and over-flowing of the other. In *Scotland* the Land was high, Rocky, and inaccessible for his Waves, tho' never so boisterous: Here he finds a smooth Shore, and the People as tame in their Obedience, as they were in their Sufferings, which makes him the bolder with them.

Discour-
 ses upon
 the King's
 Answer.

But the Parliament (weighing the King's Answer by the Ballance of Reason, not Passion) found that there was little for them to do. For how is this a mix'd Government, when Kings do what they please? They call their People to a Parliament, where the three Estates are said to be the mix'd Government; but what is their Errand? To get Money. If they touch upon Mis carriage in Government, it disparages him to his People (for now the inside of his Copes are well grown again). If upon Religion, he knows well enough how to order that, if the Treaty with *Spain* goes on. And for the Affairs of State, he seems to imply, as if there were some hidden and secret Art in those Mysteries of King-craft, that the Parliament's Apprehension cannot reach. For, who can have Wisdom (saith he) to judge of Things of that Nature, but those that are traded in them? Every Man in his Profession! So the Priests by their old Oracles did strive to keep the World in Ignorance, as the *Romish* Factors do now. Whereas the true way of Treaties is with Christian, not *Machiavelian* Policy. This we require, this Answer we expect, you shall have this Retribution from us. If you go about to cozen and cheat us by Delays, and spin out Time for Ends, such Syrens must not be listen'd after. Every State must stand upon the Foundation of its own Reason and Power, and not build Castles of Paper-Hopes upon deceitful Promises, unless there be such redundant Causes of Dependency upon them, as it is impossible to subsist without them. It was observed by *Comines*, that in all Treaties betwixt the *English* and the *French*, the *English* ever had the worst;

but in all Wars and Conflicts, the *English* had the better; intimating, that Subtilty may deceive, but plain down-right Honesty is best, and will prevail. Falseness is fit for such Spirits as Pope *Alexander*, or his Nephew *Cæsar Borgia*. *Scipio*, tho' a Heathen, in his Pactions with *Spain* and *Carthage*, scorn'd it; and the old *Roman* Senate were so Gallant, as to rebuke *Lucius Marcius*, their Ambassador and General, because, in the managing of his Wars and Treaties with *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, he went about by Subtilties to circumvent him. And now an Ambassador (as one saith) lies abroad, *Reipublicæ Causa*, for the Good of his Country, which tends rather to the Hurt of it.

But now they find that the King would only make Merchandize of the Commonwealth; yet Merchants look for their Money again with Advantage, and therefore their Counsel in disposing it may be well spared. But the Parliament, if they raise Money from the People, (which is never to be repaid) there is good Reason they should know, not only to what purpose it is levied, but how prudently and fitly laid out; otherwise, as the King tells them in the Comparison of the Robber, (tho' in relation to his Prerogative) if they should be summon'd to levy Money of the People without Consideration of what it is for, or how it shall be dispos'd for the Good of the Kingdom, they may very well say and protest, That they meant not to take it from them so; that is, not to rob them of it. But the King's Necessities must come under the Common Emergencies, which he would not have known; and what will one Subsidy without Fifteens do? The Protestants want in the *Palatinate*, so doth he in *England*: But he had lately a great Assistance from his People; never King of *England* found greater Love, (as he saith of himself) yet he wants still, and would have Supply for it under the Notion of a War. They must consider what Money is fit, what Foot, what Horse, is necessary; but they must not know for what. All that they can imagine, is, that the King wants Money for his Favourite *Buckingham*, and his Kindred, to furnish them against *Christmas*, for Feasting, Gaming, and Bravery, the three main Pillars of the Times, Licentiousness raised up to a stupendious and excessive Height, or to send out his Ambassadors, or help his indigent and expensive Courtiers, and then the Wars are ended; for Want is a great War. But if the Good of the Kingdom, the Establishment of Religion, the Happiness of the King and his Posterity, be not fit Themes for them to discourse of, why are they called?

The late Queen, (whose Memory will be for ever Famous) by the King's own relation, liked the Parliaments Petition well, when they humbly besought her to marry, because they did not prescribe her Place and Person, but left that to her Election; if they had done otherwise, she would have thought it Presumption in them. The King thinks it Presumption in the Parliament, humbly to beseech him (for the Good of Religion) to permit his Son to marry with a Protestant Princess; if they had fix'd upon Place or Person, he would have thought it High Treason. So many Degrees high was the King's Spirit mounted above a Woman's to humble Subjects, and so many Degrees lower than hers was his Spirit to daring Enemies.

Some of these Things were publickly discourf of among them in the House, and other- some mutter'd and talk'd of in private (for full Breasts will find vent); but the main Business that

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The Par-
 liament
 the King's
 Mer-
 chants.

A. Reg. 19. that the Commons insisted on, was the King's Encroachment upon their Liberties, debarring them Freedom of Speech in Parliament, which was a natural, reasonable, and uncontroll'd Immunity, as long as they kept themselves within the Limits of their Duty, which the House was to be the sole Judge of. And who can tax any particular Member with Miscarriages that way, that the House hath not censured hitherto? for now the Heat is but new broke in among them, and this Liberty of Speech stuck most with them; for if any Man should speak any thing to displease the King, (tho' it tended never so much to the Good of the Kingdom) it might be termed insolent Behaviour, and be liable to Punishment after Parliament, (if not then) as the King threatens in his Letter; which carried such a Terror and over-awing with it, that they resolved to give over all Business, lest they should offend: Which the King hearing of, writes again to his Secretary Calvert, and the Speaker, to take off the Edge of those sharp Expressions he used in his Letters, thinking to cool the Heat among them.

The higher House offended. But before this Heat was in the House of Commons, the Lords began to consider how cheap they were made by the multitude of Irish, and Scotch Earls and Viscounts, the King had accumulated, not the Natives of those Kingdoms, but private English Gentlemen, who had procured and assumed those Titles, to perch above the English Baronry, to their great Regret and Dishonour. And after some Debate, and canvassing in it, they resolved, That tho' they could not debar the King from making such Swarms of Nobles with Outlandish Titles, yet they would let him know what Prejudice it was to them, and if it produced no other good Effect, the King might at least see they took Offence, and were not well pleas'd with it; which made them present him with this Petition, thus Subsign'd.

The Humble Petition of the Nobility of England.

The Petition. **T**hat whereas Your Majesty, at the Importunity of some natural Subjects of this Realm of England, hath been pleased to confer upon them Honours, Titles, and Dignities, peculiar to other Your Majesty's Dominions, by which all the Nobility of this Realm, either in themselves, their Children, or both, find they are prejudiced. Our humble Desire is, That, with your gracious Allowance, we may challenge and preserve our Birth-rights; and that we may take no more notice of these Titulars to our Prejudice, than the Law of this Land doth; but that we may be excused, if, in civil Courtesy, we give them not the Respect or Place as to Noblemen Strangers, seeing that these being our Countrymen, born and Inheritanced under our Laws, their Families and Abode among us have yet procured their Translation into Foreign Names, only to our Injury.

But in this Address to Your Sacred Majesty, it is far from us to meddle with, much less to limit, or interpret the Power of your Sovereignty, knowing that Your Majesty (being the Root whence all Honour receives Sap, under what Title soever) may collate what you please, upon whom, when, and how you please: Wherefore, in all Humbleness, we present this to your Gracious View, confident of Your Majesty's equal Favour herein.

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| 1. Oxford. | 4. Lincoln. | 7. Warwick. |
| 2. Huntington. | 5. Dorset. | 8. Abergavennie. |
| 3. Essex. | 6. Salisbury. | 9. Daerres. |

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| 10. Darcie. | 18. Scroop. | 26. Dudley. | <i>A. Reg. 19.</i> |
| 11. Stafford. | 19. Cromwell. | 27. Hunsdon. | <i>An. Christi</i> |
| 12. Willoughbie. | 20. Sturton. | 28. Denny. | 1621. |
| 13. Sheffield. | 21. Howard. | 29. Spencer. | |
| 14. Windsor. | 22. St. John. | 30. Haughton. | |
| 15. Gray. | 23. Paget. | 31. Stanhope. | |
| 16. Wentworth. | 24. Russell. | 32. Say. | |
| 17. Mordant. | 25. Gerrard. | 33. Noell. | |

Thus we see the Errors of Princes are sometimes put into the Scale, and they bring with them so much Trouble and Vexation, that they often weigh down their Glory and Happiness; for no Man can feel the Load and Burthen of it, but he that wears a Crown. The King was conscious to himself that he had done these Noblemen Injury, especially the Barons, to advance their Inferiors above them, for a little Profit either to himself or his Courtiers. And if he had not heard of this Petition before, such a Troop of Attendance together might have startled him; but being prepar'd for it, he mustered up his Spirits, thinking it too great an Abasement for Majesty to stoop at their Summons, being so publick an Action; or to lessen or recall what he had done. Yet he was troubled, not knowing what Quarrels the Strife for Place and Precedency might produce; or what ill Blood the Discontent of so many of the Nobility at one time might ingender: Therefore he sent for them all, or the most eminent and leading Men of them, some Days after, and expostulated the Business with them, one by one, in private, knowing he could deal best with them so, beginning with some of them roughly; yet still he closed with them at last, his Anger being (as it were) raised to make them humble, and reconcile themselves to him, that he might the better reconcile himself to them. And to the Earl of Essex he vented this Expression, *I fear thee not Essex, if thou wert as well belov'd as thy Father, and hadst Forty thousand Men at thy Heels.* Which Words he utter'd, as if he had chid himself that they made an escape from him. And tho' this Petition did not derogate from the Dignity of those Creations past, yet the King willingly restrain'd himself for the time to come.

But the House of Commons found the King's Letters to entangle the Way, rather than make a free Passage to their Liberties; for that which was their Birth-right, would now come to be derived from his Ancestors. And for all the King's Finenesses, they thought Religion very unsecure: For as long as the Bent of his Affections tended to the Spanish Match, there must needs be a wide Gap open as an Inlet to Popery; and if it may be made Treason for his Parliament to advise him from it, they saw but a very small Door left open to Liberty. But whatsoever befel them, they resolved to leave to Posterity some Prints and Footsteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges, left them by their great Ancestors, that tho' they could not preserve them entire, those that succeed them might at least find some Relicks and Ruines of what they had; which made them make this Protestation, Recorded in their Journal Book, 19 Dec. 1621.

THE Commons now Assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges of Parliament, among others here mentioned, do make this Protestation following, That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the ancient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the

A. Reg. 19. Subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the Maintenance and making of Laws, and Redress of Mischief and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and Matter of Counsel, and Debate in Parliament. And that in the handling and proceeding of these Businesses, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have, Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to Conclusion, the same. And that the Commons in Parliament have likewise Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters, in such Order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest. And that every Member of the said House hath like Freedom, from all Impeachment, Imprisonment, and Molestation, (other than by Censure of the House it self) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Business. And that if any of the said Members be complain'd of, and question'd for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shew'd to the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give Credence to any private Information.

The King's Trouble increases.

The King was again alarm'd by this Protestation, and he that naturally lov'd Peace, both at home and abroad, found a loud War in his own Breast, which indeed was in effect rais'd by himself; for no Wisdom could resolve the Intricacies of his Resolutions but his own; for he would have a War with the Emperor in Contemplation, and a Treaty with the King of Spain in Action, both at one time, who were (as it were) one Person; and because the Parliament, like wise Mathematicians, would use the Practical Part as well as the Theory, he was enraged against them, and his Prerogative slept in as a Stickler, and broke out, like an Exhalation, in Thundring and Terror, to the Astonishment and Fear of his People, which made them shrowd themselves from those Storms, by creeping under the Shelter of their Native Liberties. And now the King flies from his hot and intemperate Region, to some cool Considerations. If he should yield by Silence or Conivence to this Protestation, it would remain as an impregnable Bulwark for the People to Posterity. And what is this terrible Thing? their just Liberties. If he should oppose it with Rigour, it might produce such an intestine Division at home, as with all Industry he strove to prevent abroad. Break the Treaty with Spain he would not, his Heart was too much set upon it, for he could find no Protestant Princess good enough; the high and elated Extraction of Kings will raise the People up to a kind of Adoration (as the old Heathens did the Race of their Gods and Heroes.) Whereas true Honesty and Piety finds out such Matches, as may as well bring Glory to God as to Man; not Worldly Blessings only, but Heavenly also. Lose the Love of the People he was loth; for he thought his peaceable Reign gained upon them, and that no King had ever deserved better of a People than he. But Peace is a kind of Soft Rayment, or Masking-Dress, not always to be worn: Standing Lakes beget Corruption. The Pool of Bethesda had no Virtue till it was stirred. War is necessary as Physick for unsound Bodies. *Iustum id Bellum quibus necessarium.*

The Parliament is dissolved.

When the King had weighed every particular Scruple, by the Ballance of his own Reason, and Council about him, he took a Resolution to dissolve the Parliament; which he did, by Proclamation, the 6th of January, being

15 Days after the Protestation was made: So much Time he measured out by the Scale of Consideration, before he would pull down such a Structure of Love, as never was built by the People for any of his Predecessors; which he implies in his Proclamation, laying there all the Blame upon the House of Commons, and not on them in general, but on some ill-temper'd Spirits, (as he call'd them) that sowed Tares among the Corn, and frustrated the Hopes of a plentiful Harvest: Striving by these Imputations to take away the Odium that such a Dissolution might produce.

The Parliament (and consequently the Union between the King and People) being thus dissolved, every Man's Tongue is let loose to run Riot. And tho' the King loved Hunting above all other Exercises, and had many good Hunters about him; yet all those, and the Strength of a Proclamation, (put out to forbid talking of State Affairs) could not restrain them from mouthing out, That Great Britain was become less than little England; that they had lost Strength by changing Sexes; and that he was no King, but a Fidler's Son; otherwise he would not suffer such Disorders at home, and so much Dishonour abroad. So dangerous it is for Princes, by a flegmatick Remissness, to slacken the Ligaments of the Peoples Tongues; for such an overflux of bad Humour may bring their Obedience to a Paralytick! And the Story of *David Ricinus*, written by the King's own Tutor, *Buchanan*, had died in every English Opinion, if it had not had a new Impression by these Miscarriages.

And they say further, Why should he assume to himself the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, that suffers the Protestants of Germany and France to be extirpated. That he might almost have purchased such a Country as the *Palatinate*, with the Money spent on Ambassages; and that his promising the French Protestants Assistance, (by their Agents that interceded for them) made them the more resolute, and confident to their Ruine: So that they might well call England the *Land of Promise*. And all that he got by his Lip-labour Assistance from the French King, was, That his Ambassador Sir *Edward Herbert* was snapp'd up by *Luynes*, the young Constable and Favourite there; with, *What hath your Master to do with us and our Business?* Whereas the English Fleet's the Glory of the World, (if employ'd) would have taught the French Pride to know, that a Looker on fees more than the Gamester; and he that strikes with Passion, will many times thank them that take him off by Friendly Admonition. Such Discourses as these flew up and down from Lip to Lip, that it was almost Treason to hear, much more to speak.

The Earl of Oxford was betray'd, and accus'd by one *White*, a Papist, (who was vulgarly call'd after in Derision by the Name of *Oxford-White*) to have spoken some Words to the Dishonour of the King, and Disparagement of his Government, and was committed to the Tower. The Earl of Southampton was also committed to the Dean of Westminster. Oxford lay by it a great while, and being an active Man, the King sent him at last to Sea, to be one of Buckingham's Vice-Admirals for the English Coast, while Sir *Robert Mansell* guarded the Coasts of Spain from being infested with the Turks of Algier and Sally. Sir *Edward Coke*, that was looked upon as one of the great Incendiaries in the House of Commons, is put from the Council Table with Disgrace: The King saying, He was the fittest Instrument for a Tyrant that ever was in England.

A. Reg. 19. An. Christi 1621.

A Proclamation against Talking.

Sets Peoples Tongues a-work.

Oxford and Southampton committed.

Sir Edward Coke in Disgrace.

A. Reg. 19. And yet in the House he call'd the King's Prerogative, a great Over-grown Monster. And how can these agree; unless because the King would not take his Counsel, he hanged himself on the other side. But whether the King had Cause to say the one, I know not; but he (it seems) found Cause enough to say the other.

An. Christi 1621. Some punished, some preferred. Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Perrot, Men of great Repute and Knowledge, active in the House, were sent into Ireland, and joined with others in Commission, to enquire into Misdemeanours committed there, but (it was thought) as a Punishment for what they had committed here; for they were long detained from their own Occasions, under the Colour of an honourable Employment; and Sir Peter Hammon of Kent, and others, were sent into the Palatinate. This kind of Punishment beginning now to be in Fashion; and not long after this, Sir John Savile, the Knight of Yorkshire, that carried all the Country at a Beck, and a powerful Man in the House, is taken off by the King, made Comptroller of his Household, a Privy-Councillor, and not long after a Baron: So the King found out two ways of silencing those that were able to do him Mischief. Active Spirits, that come too near him, must either come nearer to him, or be sent further from him, which he doubts not will take off the Edge, and bate the Sharpness of the Humour another time. And these Preferments and Punishments were also practised by his Successor, with this Experiment in both, That the most popular Men, as soon as they wore the Court Livery, lost the Love of the People; but those that suffered for them, were the more beloved and admired by them: The Commons of England having more than an ordinary Genius to support and strengthen the Pillars of their Liberties.

The King dishonoured abroad. And as these Troubles bred Disturbance at home, so they begot Discredit abroad; for now (by this Breach) they undervalued the King's Power as much as they did before his Spirit; yea, even in the King of Spain's own Towns, (whilst this beloved Treaty was in heat) they in their Comedies presented Messengers bringing News in haste, That the Palatinate was like to have a very formidable Army shortly on foot: For the King of Denmark would furnish him with a Hundred thousand Pickel'd-Herrings, the Hollanders with a Hundred thousand Butter-Boxes, and England with a Hundred thousand Ambassadors. And they picture the King in one place with a Scabbard without a Sword: In another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, tho' divers stand pulling at it. At Brussels they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and never a Penny in them nor in his Purse, turned upside down. In Antwerp they pictured the Queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish Mantler, with her Hair hanging about her Ears, and her Child at her Back, with the King her Father carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of these Pictures had several Motto's, expressing their Malice. Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and in him the whole Nation.

And now the Treaty goes on amain. The Lord Digby is sent into Spain Extraordinary Ambassador. To relate the manner of whole Entertainment, after his Arrival there, it may not be impertinent; for by it may be discovered the Course-grain of Spanish Civility, and how much our Ambassador went against the Hair then, tho' happily the Way may be smother now.

A. Reg. 19. He landed at St. Andree in Biscay, a poor Maritime Town, where the People for the most part go all barefoot; and there his Lordship had the Patience to stay a Fortnight, expecting the Court Civilities, which were then upon Remove from Madrid to Lerma, (being part of the way to St. Andree) without any Intention to meet his Lordship. When his Expectations were tired with attending their Formalities, he sent his Secretary, Simon Digby, to Madrid, to be a Solicitor to the Duke of Lerma, (who then bore the Sway) that he might have his first Audience at Lerma. And after some waiting time, (tho' he had our King's Agent, Mr. Cottington, for his Assistant) he was returned with a Spanish Shrug, That the King would by no means admit of his Desire, because he knew the Ambassador came about Business, and he went to Lerma only for Pleasure. This was a Rub in his Lordship's way; and being impatient till it were removed, he sent again to Court a second Petition, which was to be presented with all the Power Cottington could make; and his Importunity got the upper Hand of the Spanish Resolution, (tho' much against their Minds) that he might come to Lerma; for which his Lordship was so elevated in his Spirits, that he pleased himself in an endeavouring way to express, That the King of Spain would not have done this Favour to any Ambassador, but the King of England's; nor to any that our King should have sent, but himself. And it may be partly true, for none (it is hoped) would have begg'd it so shamefully as he did; for there was no Business to be expected; that must be turned into Feasting and Jollity; and if he had not hunted after the King of Spain for the Favour, they would have let Don Juan (as they call'd him) dance Attendance at Madrid till all their Sports at Lerma had been finished: For all his Train (many of them Knights, and Gentlemen of good Quality) murmured to see him so slighted by the Spaniard; that being known to be a whole Month in the Country, he had not the least Message or Civility from the Court; which extraordinary Mischance would have put any but an Extraordinary Ambassador out of Countenance. But his Lordship made *Bonne mine*, and pleased himself with the great Favours he should receive at Lerma, and so came forward to Burgos, which is within 20 English Miles of Lerma. And tho' the Court had been a Fortnight at Lerma, yet there was no more News of his Reception at Burgos, than if he had been still at St. Andree.

And now his Lordship fearing they would wholly neglect him, thought it his best course to send Cottington (who met him at Burgos) to Lerma, to learn what their Pleasure was to do with him; who returning, brought word, that the next Day he should have advice what Order would be taken. And accordingly, one of the Duke of Lerma's Secretaries sent a poor Fellow with a Letter, that the next Day (being Sunday) there should be two Coaches sent, to bring his Lordship on Tuesday following to Villa Manza (a Village a Mile short of Lerma) where his Lodgings should be ready, and the King's Harbingers attending to prepare all Things with Diligence. This gave new Life to his Lordship's Spirits; the Coaches came according to the time, and to Villa Manza they went, every Man furnished in his best Accoutrements, hoping to see the Court that Night: But they only found a pitiful, poor, ragged Village; where, enquiring for the Lord Ambassador's House, the honest Country People told them, surely they were mistaken; they knew

A. Reg. 19. knew of no House, nor Harbinger, nor what they meant; being as much amazed at the strange Questions of the *English*, as they had cause to be at their strange Entertainment.

An. Christi 1621. The *English* roamed up and down the Town, and could discover no House fit for the Ambassador to go into; so that he was forced to sit in the Coach, and sent *Walsingham Greisley* in all haste to *Lerma*, to know how he should be disposed of: *Greisley* returned, and told the Ambassador, They were all so busie in seeing a Play, that he could not come to speak with any Man that understood any thing relating to his Lordship: Which so distracted him, that he began to doubt whether *Villa Manza* were the Place; and it begot a new Scrutiny; but the Scruple was quickly removed, by finding *Villa Manza* in the Letter in very legible Characters. And now he could no longer dissemble like an Ambassador; but supplying with Impatience what he wanted in Authority, commanded the Coachmen in a very hasty manner to drive back to *Burgos*, which they very punctually refused; whereupon his Lordship leap'd out of the Coach, and in a great Choler mounted on Horseback, crying to his Company, Away. The Coachmen seeing him resolute, and fearing to lose their Reward, told his Lordship, They would venture a Chiding to do him Service; which dismounted him again, and he entred the Coach; but before the Wheels turned about, his Mind changed, and by some little whispering Advice of *Cottington's*, he now determined to tarry there all Night: So that after sitting still four Hours in a Coach, he made a worse Choice, entring into a poor Cottage, where bare Walls, and want of such fitting Furniture as helps Nature's Weariness, might tell his Lordship, that the Commons of *England* stand on a better Foundation than wooden Shoes. Yet the Owner of this House welcomed his Lordship with as much Gravity, as if it had been a well provided Castle; so that there was little Pleasure to be taken, to hear one so over-furnish'd with Words that had such empty Rooms.

But now News was brought, that a Harbinger was come, who said, there was a House, and all things provided; so that his Lordship composed his Countenance as well as he could upon such a sudden Warning, and commanded the Harbinger to be brought to him; who excusing himself for not coming time enough to attend his Lordship, said, He was glad to see his Lordship had lighted upon the right House. My Lord, something dashed with the ill Accommodation, asked him, How he knew it to be the right House? He answered, That himself and one of his Fellows had been there the Day before to bespeak it. The Master of the House being questioned about it (having formerly deny'd it) made good his first Assertion, denying there was any Body at his House: Which put his Lordship into such a Fit of Anger, that he threatned to throw the Harbinger out of the Window for Lying. The Man, affrighted, quickly got down the Stairs, leaving his Lordship to his shifts, and He and his Train that Night were but slenderly provided for.

The next Morning *Cottington* went to Court betimes, where he spake with the Duke of *Lerma*, representing to him the Disorder that had been at *Villa Manza*, whereat the Duke seemed highly offended with the Officers; and as he

A. Reg. 19. was in his Heat, in comes the Harbinger, who being question'd for this Miscarriage, told the Duke (before *Cottington's* Face) That the Ambassador expected Two or Three Grandees should be sent to receive him, which failing in, he grew so Cholerick, that when he came to do his Service, he threatned to throw him out at the Window. The Duke, perhaps glad of the Occasion, gave (by way of Diversion) good Ear to the Fellows words; and putting on the severest Countenance, told *Cottington*, He did not think that so great a Counsellor, as *Don Juan*, would have so miscarried with Passion, as to menace and affront the King's Officer in that manner: So that *Cottington's* Business was quite perverted; for whereas he came to complain of the Wrongs his Lordship had received, he was now driven to excuse the Error he had committed. So that the Duke of *Lerma* left him in his old House a Day or Two, to consider well of it, and then the Conde de *Salazar*, one of the King's Major Domo's, was sent to accompany him to the Court. These were the Glories of the *Spanish* Entertainments, the Honour they gave the *English*, and the Groundwork of that Union betwixt the Nations, whereon they built up some great Formalities, which (like Royal Shadows) vanished in the End, and came to nothing.

As the Lord *Digby* is sent into *Spain* to smooth the way over the *Pyrene*, so *Gage* is sent to *Rome* to make the *Alpes* accessible; for the Dispensation must be had from thence for the Marriage. That Man of Sin, is the *Primum mobile*; he turns about all inferior Orbs at his Pleasure; usurping a Terrene Deity, and holds it by the Chains of Conscience, even now when the Light of Learning and Knowledge, with a Marvellous Influence, shines over the Christian World. At home, the Prisons are set open; Priests and Jesuits walk about at noon day to deceive; and *Gondemar* vaunts of Four thousand Recusants that his Intercession had released, either to make his Service the more acceptable to his Master, or to let him see how willing our King is to do any thing to advance that Match that they never intend. Who is not so nice, but that he can stay for a Dispensation from *Rome*; to expedite which, he writes to some of the active Cardinals there, and receives Answers from them, by *Gage* his Agent, full of alluring Hopes. And, that he might give some more publick Testimony of his Indulgence, he commands *Dr. Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, to pass Writs under the Great Seal, to require the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge all such Papists as were imprisoned for Recusancy. Whereupon the Lord Keeper issued out these Writs; and, to let the Judges see how well he was pleased with this Command, he corroborates their Authority with this Letter, signed with his own Hand.

Car. B. & d. Car. Lorus. After my hearty Commendations to you. His Majesty having resolved (out of deep Reasons of State, and in Expectation of like Correspondence from Foreign Princes to the Professors of our Religion) to grant some Grace and Commiſſion to the Imprison'd Papists of this Kingdom, hath commanded me to pass some Writs under the Broad Seal to that Purpose: Requiring the Judges of every Circuit to enlarge the said Prisoners, according to the Tenor and Effect of the same. I am to give you to understand (from his

|| In the above-mentioned Collection of Original Letters that passed between King James and the Duke of Buckingham, I find one *Greisley* often nam'd, as the Bearer of several of these Letters from *Madrid* and back again.

Majesty)

A. Reg. 19. Majesty) how his Majesty's Royal Pleasure is, that upon Receipt of these Writts, you shall make no niceness, or difficulty, to extend that his Princely Favour to all such Papists as you shall find Prisoners in the Gaols of your Circuits, for any Church Recusancy whatsoever, or refusing the Oath of Supremacy, or dispersing Popish Books, or bearing, saying of Mass, or any other point of Recusancy, which doth touch or concern Religion only, and not Matters of State. And so I bid you farewell.

Westminster Coll.
2 Aug. 1622.

Your loving Friend,
JO. LINCOLN.

His Pref-
erment,
Character
and part
of his
Story.

This Bishop succeeded the Lord Verulam, not as Chancellor, but Keeper of the Great Seal, he having been by Buckingham's means made Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Lincoln, upon Neil's remove to Durham; and for a long time had very gracious Acceptance with the Countess of Buckingham, who was a great Means to smooth his Passage to all these Places; and the Marques's her Son was the rather induced to it, because he was his Creature, and could mould him (as he thought) to serve his own Turn; though when he had sifted and tried him, he found some Pharisaical Leaven in him; and afterwards in the next King's Reign threw him by. For though, he were composed of many Grains of good Learning, yet the Height of his Spirit (I will not say Pride) made him odious, even to those that raised him; happily, because they could not attain to those Ends by him, that they required of him: For great and good Officers ought to be just to their own Principles, and not deviate from them for any Worldly Respects.

But being of a comely and stately Presence, and that animated with a great Mind, made him appear very proud to the Vulgar Eye; but that very Temper raised him to aim at great Things, which he effected; for the old ruinous Body of the Abbey-Church at Westminster was new clothed by him; The fair and beautiful Library of St. John's in Cambridge, was a Pile of his Erection; and a very compleat Chapel built by him at Lincoln-College in Oxford, meerly for the Name of Lincoln, having no Interest in, nor Relation to that University. These were Arguments of a great Mind, how far from Ostentation in this frail Body of Flesh, cannot be determined, because the Benefit of publick Actions smooths every Stone that makes up the Building.

* But that which heightened him most in the Opinion of those that knew him best, was his bountiful Mind to Men in Want, being a great Patron to support, where there was Merit that wanted Supply. Among the rest, Monsieur de Molin, a very famous Minister of France, (in the Persecution there) driven into England for Refuge. The Bishop hearing of him, spoke to Doctor Hacket, his Chaplain, to make him a Visit from him. And because (saith he) I think the Man may be in want, in a strange Country, carry him some Money, not naming the Sum, because he would sound the Depth of his Chaplain's Mind. Doctor Hacket finding the Bishop nominate no Proportion, told him, He could not give him less than Twenty Pounds. I did

dentur upon the Sum (saith the Bishop) to try you. *A. Reg. 19.* Is Twenty Pound a fit Gift for me to give a Man of his Parts and Deserts? Take a Hundred Pounds and present it from me, and tell him he shall not want, and I will come shortly and visit him my self. Which he after performed, and made good his Promise, in supplying him during his abode in England.

But these great Actions were not publicly visible; those were more apparent that were looked on with an Envious, rather than an Emulous Eye. For the close and intimate Correspondence, that was betwixt this Bishop and the old Countess, set many scurrilous Tongues and Pens a-work, though he was (as I have been assured) *Eunuchus ab Utero*; which shews, that nothing can prevent Malice, but such an Innocence as it cannot lay hold on. For it hath ever been accounted a Crime, not to endeavour to prevent the Voice of Calumny.

His Breach with Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Disgraces put upon him by the Court, will not fall in here; nor his closing again, and struggling when he saw the Axe laid to the Root of Episcopacy. But by this Man's Actions (as in a Mirror) may be seen, that a great Estate which (besides his Bounty) his Places procured him, is a liquorish Temptation to make a Man, *Proteus*-like, vary from one Shape to another, and to shape no direct Course, but to go still as the Wind blows.

Not long before this, that Reverend Prelate Archbishop George Archbishop of Canterbury, a Man of a shop-
Holy and Unblamable Life (meddling with *ba kills a*
edged Tools that he used not to handle in his *Keeper.*
Study) by a sad Accident killed a Keeper with a forked Arrow as he was shooting at a Deer. This was a great Perplexity to the good Man, and a heavy Knell to his Aged Spirit, which he petitioned the King might ring a Requiem to his retired Thoughts at Guildford, his Place of Birth, where he had built a very Munificent Alms-house for poor People, and where he went to bring his Spirit under, to make it more blessed than the Glories of the World can contribute to it. There were very many willing to have him retire to his Rest, that gaped after his Dignity more than Desert; and though Doctor Laud was but newly initiated into his Bishoprick of St. David's (by other Hands, because those of the Archbishop were tainted with Blood, as he saith himself) yet his Enmity was not small against him, for being a Means to let the King know, he was reputed a Papist in Oxford, and a dangerous turbulent Spirit: But the King granted out a Commission to enquire, Whether casual Homicide did make the Archbishop irregular? And in the Disquisition of it, he found many Friends that restor'd him from his Alms-house to his Palace. But this he did, and would have done in either Condition. The Widow of the Man that fell by him, was raised by him; and she and her Children (as may be said) built a commodious Being upon his Grave.

The King's Mercy and Indulgence extending towards the Papists, taught many Men to come as near Popery as they could stretch, finding it the next way to Preferment; so that Arminius's Tenets flew up and down from Pulpit to

* The Character our Author gives of the Lord-Keeper Williams, agrees with what hath been publish'd many Years after, both in the History of himself, and of Archbishop Laud; and we have an Argument, how well our Author was acquainted with the most minute Passages of that time, in what he tells us of the Lord-Keeper's Discourse with his Chaplain Hacket about Monsieur du Moulin, and of his being *Eunuchus ab Utero*. Neither of which was ever taken notice of by any Writer but himself, till Hacket's Life of Williams, publish'd near Forty Years after our Author's Death, made mention of both.

A. Reg. 19. Pulpit; that, indeed, Preaching was nothing but Declamation, little tending to Edification (such Orthodox Ministers, as strove to refute these Erronious Opinions, being looked on as Puritans and Antimonarchical) which continual rubbing one against another begot so much Heat, as might have turned into a Flame not easie to be quenched. And the King had daily information how the Pulpits rung against the Spanish Match. So that to settle these Extravagancies, he directs his Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury in this manner for Regulating of the Ministry.

The
King's
Letter
for regu-
lating the
Ministry

MOST Reverend Father in God, Right Trusty and entirely Beloved Councillor, We greet you well. Forasmuch as the Abuses and Extravagancies of Preachers in the Pulpit have been in all Times repressed in this Realm, by some Act of Council or State, with the Advice and Resolution of grave and learned Prelates; insomuch, that the very licensing of Preachers had beginning, by an Order of Star-Chamber, the Eighth Day of July, in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, our Noble Predecessor: And whereas at this present, divers young Students, by reading of late Writers and ungrounded Divines, do broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous Doctrines, to the scandal of the Church, and disquiet of the State and present Government. We, upon humble Representations unto Us of these Inconveniences by your self, and sundry other grave and reverend Prelates of this Church; as also of Our Princely Care and Zeal for the Extirpation of Schism and Dissention growing from these Seeds, and for the settling of a Religious and Peaceable Government both in Church and Common-wealth; do, by these Our special Letters, straitly charge and command you, to use all possible Care and Diligence, that these Imitations and Cautions, herewith sent unto you concerning Preachers, be duly and strictly, from henceforth put in practice, and observed, by the several Bishops within your Jurisdiction. And to this end, Our Pleasure is, that you send them forthwith Copies of these Directions, to be by them speedily sent, and Communicated, unto every Parson, Vicar, Curate, Lecturer and Minister, in every Cathedral or Parish Church, within their Diocese: And that you earnestly require them, to employ their utmost Endeavours in the Performance of this so important a Business, letting them know, that We have a special Eye unto their Proceedings, and expect a strict Account thereof, both from you, and every of them: And these Our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in that behalf. Given under Our Signet at Our Castle of Windsor the Fourth of August, in the Twentieth Year of Our Reign.

Directions concerning Preachers, sent with the Letter.

1. That no Preacher under the Degree of a Bishop or Dean of a Cathedral or Collegiate Church, (and they upon the King's days, and set Festivals) do take Occasion (by the Expounding of any Text of Scripture whatsoever) to fall into any set Discourse or Common Place, otherwise than by opening the Coherence and Division of the Text, which shall not be comprehended and Warranted in Essence, Substance, Effect, or Natural Inference, within some one of the Articles of Religion, set forth in 1562, or in some of the Homilies set forth by Authority of the Church of England, not only for a help for the Non-preaching, but withal

for a Pattern and Boundary (as it were) for the Preaching Ministers. And for their further Instructions for the performance hereof, that they forthwith read over and peruse diligently the said Book of Articles, and the Two Books of Homilies.

2. That no Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Lecturer, shall Preach any Sermon or Collation hereafter, upon Sundays and Holidays in the Afternoon, in any Cathedral or Parish Church throughout the Kingdom, but upon some part of the Catechism, or some Text taken out of the Creed, Ten Commandments, or the Lord's Prayer (Funeral Sermons only excepted) and that those Preachers be most encouraged, and approved of, who spend the Afternoons Exercise in the Examination of Children in their Catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable Custom of Teaching in the Church of England.

3. That no Preacher, of what Title soever, under the Degree of a Bishop or Dean at the least, do from henceforth presume to Preach in any Popular Auditory the deep Points of Predestination, Election, Reprobation, or of the Universality, Efficacy, Resistibility, or Irresistibility of God's Grace, but leave those Themes rather to be handled by the Learned Men, and that moderately and modestly, by way of Use and Application, rather than by way of Positive Doctrines, being fitter for the Schools then for simple Auditories.

4. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, from henceforth shall presume in any Auditory within this Kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of Positive Doctrine, in any Lecture or Sermon, the Power, Prerogative and Jurisdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or otherwise meddle with Matters of State, and the Differences between Princes and the People, then as they are instructed and Precedented in the Homilies of Obedience, and the rest of the Homilies and Articles of Religion, set forth (as before is mentioned) by publick Authority, but rather confine themselves wholly to those Two Heads of Faith and Good Life, which are all the Subject of the ancient Sermons and Homilies.

5. That no Preacher, of what Title or Denomination soever, shall presume causelessly, or (without Invitation from the Text) fall into bitter Invectives, and undecent railing Speeches against the Persons of either Papists or Puritans, but modestly and gravely, when they are occasioned thereunto, by the Text of Scripture, free both the Doctrine and the Discipline of the Church of England from the Aspersions of either Adversary, especially when the Auditory is suspected to be tainted with the one or the other Infection.

Lastly, That the Archbishops and Bishops of the Kingdom (whom his Majesty hath good Cause to blame for this former Remissness) be more wary and choice in their Licensing of Preachers, and revoke all Grants made to any Chancellor, Official, or Commissary, to pass Licences in this kind. And that all the Lecturers throughout the Kingdom of England (a new Body severed from the ancient Clergy, as being neither Parsons, Vicars, nor Curates) be Licensed henceforward in the Court of Faculties, but only from a Recommendation of the Party from the Bishop of the Diocese, under his Hand and Seal, with a Fiat from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, a Confirmation under the Great Seal of England. And that

A. Reg. 20. that such as do transgress any one of these Directions, be suspended by the Bishop of the Diocese, or, in his Default, by the Archbishop of the Province, *ab Officio & Beneficio*, for a Year and a Day, until his Majesty, by the Advice of the next Convocation, shall prescribe some further Punishment.

Observations upon the Directions.

The Directions the Archbishop recommended to his several Diocesans, that they might be put in Execution with Caution. And then may be observed, that the King's Affections tended to the peaceable Comportment of his People, that both Papist and Puritan might have a quiet Being; which preponderation of his puts them in *Equilibrio*; nay, the Papist was in the prime Scale. But this new thing called a Lecturer, he could by no means endure, unless he pass'd through all the Briers of his several Courts to the Broad Seal, which was a kind of pungent Ordeal Tryal, to which he must put his *Teste me ipso*, and then it was Orthodox; so that though Lecturers were not absolutely forbidden, yet the Charge and Trouble to come to it, made the way inaccessible. Preachers by an Order of *Star-Chamber* in Heaven were first Licensed, with an *Ite, prædicate*, before Henry VIIIth's time; and certainly they have a Great Seal from thence for what they do: Therefore it behoves them to take heed what they say, lest that Spirit they receive Directions from bind them not up.

Papists the Fomenters.

But this Animosity of the King's against Puritans, was thought to be fomented by the Papists, whose Agent Bishop *Laud* was suspected to be, though in Religion he had a Motley Form by himself, and would never (as a Priest told me plainly in *Flanders*) bring his Neck under the Obedience of the *Roman* Yoak, tho' he might stickle for the Grandure of the Clergy. And now he began to be *Buckingham's* Confessor, (as he expresseth in his own Notes) and wore the Court Livery, tho' the King had a sufficient Character of him, and was pleased with Asseveration to protest his incentive Spirit should be kept under, that the Flame should not break out by any Preferment from him. But that was now forgotten, and he crept so into Favour, that he was thought to be the Bellows that blew these Fires. For the Papists used all the Artifices they could to make a Breach between the King and his People, that they might enter at the same for their own Ends: Which, to accomplish, they slyly close with the Chief Ministers of State, to put the King upon all his Projects and Monopolies displeasing to the People, that they might the more Alienate their Affections from him: Sowing their Seeds of Division also betwixt Puritan and Protestant; so that (like the second Commandment) they quite exclude the Protestant; for all those were Puritans with this High-grown Arminian-Popish Party, that held in Judgment the Doctrine of the Reformed Churches, or in Practice live according to the Doctrine publicly taught in the Church of *England*. And they attribute the Name of Protestant,

1. To such Papists, as, either out of Policy or by Popish Indulgence, hold outward Communion with the Church of *England*.
2. To such Protestants, as were either tainted with, or inclinable to their Opinions.
3. To indifferent Men, who imbrace always that Religion that shall be commanded by Authority. Or,
4. To such Neutrals as care for no Religion, but such as stands with their own liking; so

that they allow the Church of *England* the Refuse both of their Religion, and ours.

Then they strive to make a Division of *Regians* and *Republicans*: The *Regians* are the great Dependents upon the Crown, both in Church and State, who swell up the Prerogative, preaching and distilling into the King the Almightyness of his Power. That all that the People hath is the King's, and that it is by his Mercy they have a bare empty Being. And this hoisting up of the King, they knew, would stir up the *Republicans* to oppose him in his Designs, by which they pinch (as the King thinks) his Prerogative; feeding a Strife betwixt Law and Prerogative, whereby they escape the Dint of both, and hope the Fire they kindle will break out at last to consume their Adversaries. That these Things were acted and fomented by Papists, was very probable, for they were great Sticklers about the Court and Council-Table. But it was too apparent that some of the Clergy (to make their way the smoother to their wished End) began so to adore the King, that he could not be named, but more Reverence was done to it than to the Name of God; And the Judges in their itinerant Circuits (the more to enslave the People to Obedience) being to speak of the King, would give him such Sacred and Oraculous Titles, as if their Advancement to higher Places must necessarily be laid upon the Foundation of the Peoples Debasement.

On the other side: The well-affected to Religion (that knew no other Inclination than the Dictates of their own Reason, Experiences of former Times, and the constant Practices of the Romanists for propagating their own Designs) did, by their Writings and Discourses, strive to warm the King's cold Temper, and put fresh Spirits into his chilled Veins; shewing the Tyranny of the incroaching Monarchy of the House of *Austria*, (who was *Rome's* great Factor) and how just and secure the opposing of such a growing Power will be; That no Sword is so sharp, nor Arms so strong, as those that are cemented with true Religion. The security of Conscience, grounded upon the Word of Truth, being not only a Bulwark to defend, but the best Engine to oppose Idolatry and Ambition. Thus stood the Kingdom divided in it self.

But as the King strove (after this Rupture betwixt him and the Parliament) to settle Things at home, and keep his People in Obedience, so he was as active abroad to keep up his own Reputation: For he made a full account to save up all these Miscarriages by the intended Match with *Spain*; that his People might see he could discern further into the intrinsecal Matters of State than they, and so make the Error theirs. Therefore he plied it by his Ambassadors and Agents, and all Indulgences to Recusants were admitted to sweeten their Addresses. The Lord *Vaux*, a Papist, had freedom to transport Four thousand English, to reinforce the King of *Spain's* Armies, both against our King's Confederates of *Holland*, (under whose Protection his banished Children had Refuge) and against their Country it self the *Palatinate*, which the King so much endeavoured to preserve.

The Articles of Marriage had taken up much time in Debate, between the Commissioners of the two Kings, before they could be brought to any Form, and the principal Articles (that long a concerned Religion) had many various Shapes put upon them, till they were dress'd to their

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D d d d d

Minds:

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A. Reg. 20. Minds: And when they were fitted and fashioned by them, the Pope strip'd them naked, and put upon them what Garment they pleased: He hath his *Index Expurgatorius* in every thing. And, to dead our King's hopes, the Pope urges, *Quod Ecclesiastici nullis legibus subjaceant, nisi suorum superiorum Ecclesiasticorum*; That the Ecclesiastics should be subject to no Laws, but what they brought along with them; which gave Liberty to do what they pleased, and to be punished for their ill Doing how they pleased. That the Children of the Infanta might be brought up in the Popish Religion, *Usque ad Annos nobiles*, till it be well rooted in them: And that she might have a publick Church in the City for all Comers, besides her Chapel in the Court, which extended to little less than an open Toleration. Some other Rubs the Pope threw in the way, which the King stumbled at, not being in the Articles treated on betwixt him and the King of Spain, which he insists on to that King, disclaims any Treaty with the Pope, tho' his Agent Gage made daily Addresses to him by Cardinal Bandino, with whom our King held † Correspondence. And he requires the Lord Digby in Spain to press that King to a final Resolution, that he might provide some other Match for his Son, if this should not succeed: For (saith he) *We have in a manner already done that which is desired, as all the Roman Catholics have found; which if the Pope had known, it is to be presumed, he would not so much have insisted upon these Points.* And the sending and relending betwixt Spain and Rome, and Rome and Spain, spends Time, and may serve for a Colour to draw the Treaty in infinitum. But yet willing he was to have some Anchor-hold for his Hopes: For in the same Letter he saith, *Nevertheless, if you find it a thing impossible for them to resolve without a Reply to Rome, and that they do earnestly desire it, we are contented that you shall yield them two Months time after your Audience, and longer we cannot expect.*

Our
King's
Resolu-
tion.

Sent to
Digby in
Spain.

Right Trusty, &c. Your Dispatch of the 9th of August gave us so much Contentment, and so great Hopes of Satisfaction, in all those Businesses, which you have there to Treat with that King, as we could not expect any further Difficulties: Notwithstanding by that which hath come to our Hands immediately after, as well by George Gage from Rome, as by our Ambassador Sir Richard Weston at Brussels, and our Ministers in the Palatinate; We find that neither the Dispensation is granted for the Match, nor the Treaty of Cessation so near a Conclusion, as we conceived it would have been, now that the Auxiliaries and all other Obstacles are removed. But on the contrary side, that new Delays and Excuses are invented, our Garisons in the Palatinate in the mean time blocked up, Heidelberg itself actually besieged: Which Proceeding, tho' our Ambassador hath expostulated with the In-

fanta and the Commissioners, as injurious to us, and ill befitting their Professions hitherto, yet is there not that Readiness shewed, to give us such Contentment therein as we might justly expect, but Answers still protracted and put off for Advantage, whilst our Forces there remain in great Distress, and the Town and Castle of Heidelberg likely in a few Days to be lost; for it cannot hold out long, as we are informed. This Dealing seems the more strange unto us, for that the late Dispatch of the King of Spain was (before the News of the Siege, and that our Ambassador had propounded any concerning it) come unto the Infanta. But because you shall be particularly informed of the whole Carriage of the Business, we have given Order, that Copies shall be sent you of all the Dispatch, and then you shall see how these Proceedings agree with the Hopes and Promises which are given us from thence.

Hereupon therefore our Pleasure is, That you shall immediately, and with as much speed as you may, crave Audience of that King, and represent unto him the Merit which we may justly challenge unto our self, for our sincere Proceedings with the Emperor, and him, in all the Course of this Business, notwithstanding the many Invitations and Temptations which we have had, to engage our self on our Son-in-Law's Part. That we have had, both from the Emperor and him, Hopes given us, from time to time, of extraordinary Respect, howsoever our Son-in-Law had deserved, which we have attended, and expected even to the very last, with much Patience, and in despatch (as it were) of all the Opposition that hath been made to shake our Resolution in that behalf. If now when all Impediments are removed, and that the Way is so prepared, as that the Emperor may give an End unto the War, and make some present Demonstration of his Respects towards us, in leaving us the Honour of holding those poor Places, which yet remain quietly and peaceably, until the general Accommodation, the same shall nevertheless be violently taken from us, what can we look for when the whole shall be in his Hands and Possession? who amusing us with a Treaty of Cessation, and protracting it industriously, (as we have Reason to believe) doth in the mean time seize himself of the whole Country; which being done, our Ambassador shall return with Scorn, and we remain with Dishonour.

I shall not need to furnish you with Arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly Dealing more plainly unto them; your own Reason and Observation will find enough out of the Dispatches, whereof Copies are sent unto you; as namely, The withdrawing of the Spanish Forces, and leaving the Business wholly in the Hands of the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria; The Stile of the Infanta, in answering our Ambassador with Recriminations, which was not her manner heretofore; The slight and frivolous Answer given by the Marquis of Bedmar unto our Ambassador, when he acquainted him with the Siege of Heidelberg; The quarrellous Occasion taken by the Emperor for calling the Diet at Ratibon, contrary to his own Promise, which, in his Dispatch to us, he confesseth to have broken,

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Spanish
Juggling.

Austrian
Juggling.

† There is oftener than once mention made of the King's and Buckingham's Correspondence with the Cardinals Ludovico and Barberini, in the Collection of Original Letters above-mentioned. In one of them, Buckingham sends to the King a Letter, he had wrote to Cardinal Ludovico, for his Majesty's Amendments.

A. Reg. 10. as you will see by the Copy. All which, and
An. Christi many more, which your own Judgment (in
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 to you, do minister unto us Cause sufficient of
 Jealousy on the Emperor's Part, as you shall
 plainly tell that King; altho' we will not do
 him that Wrong as to mistrust, that he gives
 the least Consent to it. In this Confidence,
 with much Earnestness, we shall still sollicit
 him, That, for the Affection he bears us, and
 the Desire which we suppose he hath, that
 there may continue for ever a perfect Amity
 betwixt us and the whole House of *Austria*, he
 will not cease to do all good Offices herein;
 letting him know directly, That in these Terms
 we cannot stand with the Emperor; but that
 if *Heidelberg* be won, or the Siege continue,
 or the Cessation be long unnecessarily delay'd,
 we must recall our Ambassador from *Brussels*,
 and treat no more, as we have already given
 Order; hoping, that whatsoever Unkindness
 we shall conceive against the Emperor upon
 these Occasions, it shall not be interpreted to
 reflect in any sort upon the entire Affection
 that is at this present, and as we hope shall al-
 ways continue, betwixt us and the Crown of
Spain. And therefore, as we have heretofore
 sundry times promised, in Testimony of the
 Sincerity of our Proceedings, and of our
 great Desire to preserve the Amity inviolable
 between us and the whole House of *Austria*,
 That in case our Son-in-Law would not be go-
 verned by us, that then we would not only
 forsake him, but take part, and join our For-
 ces with the Emperor against him; so you
 may fairly represent unto that King, That in
 like manner we have Reason to expect
 the same Measure from him, that (upon
 the Emperor's Averseness to a Cessation and
 Accommodation) he will likewise actually
 assist us, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*,
 and Electoral Dignity, unto our Son-in-Law,
 as it hath been oftentimes intimated from
Spain.

To conclude, we shall not need to say any
 more unto you touching this Point, but to let
 you see, That our Meaning is, to carry all
 Things fair with that King, and not to give
 him any Cause of Distrust or Jealousy, if you
 perceive that they intend to go really and
 roundly on with the Match: Wherein never-
 theless we must tell you, that we have no
 great Cause to be well pleased with the Dili-
 gences used on that part, when we observe,
 that after so long an Expectance of the
 Dispensation, upon which the whole Business
 (as they will have it) depends, there is no-
 thing yet returned but Queries and Objections.
 Yet because we will not give over our Pa-
 tience a while longer, until we understand
 more certainly what the Effect thereof is like
 to be, wherein we require you to be very wa-
 rry, and watchful, considering how our Ho-
 nour is therein engaged; we have thought fit
 to let you know, how far we are pleased to
 enlarge our self, concerning those Points de-
 manded by the Pope, and set down by way of
 Postil unto the Articles agreed upon betwixt
Spain and us, as you shall see by the Power
 which *Gage* brought us from *Rome*, whereof
 we have sent you a Copy, and our Resolutions
 thereupon signed with our own Hand, for your
 Warrant and Instruction. And further than
 that since we cannot go, without much Pre-
 judice, Inconvenience, and Dishonour to our
 self and our Son, we hope and expect the
 King of *Spain* will bring it instantly to an

Issue, without further Delay, which you are
 to press with all Diligence and Earnestness,
 that you may presently know their final Reso-
 lution, and what we may expect thereupon.
 But if any Respite of Time be earnestly de-
 manded, and that you perceive it not possible
 for them to resolve until an Answer come from
Rome, we then think it fit that you give them
 two Months time after your Audience, that
 we may understand that King's final Resolution
 before *Christmas* next at the furthest.

Wansted, 9 Sept. 1622.

This Letter doth not only discover the Shuf- The King
 fling and Fox-like Contrivances of the House abused
 of *Austria* to Work and Earth themselves in the
Palatinate, but also the Scorns and Reproaches
 put upon our King, and (if I may so call them)
 his Terriers, who (with little Bayings only)
 let them work till they had got into their Fast-
 nesses and strong Holds, and then they may bay
 at leisure, and blame their lazy Belief. But
 notwithstanding our King threatens in his Let-
 ter, if *Heidelberg* be lost, and the Cessation de-
 lay'd, he will Treat no more; yet the Desire of
 the Match was so radicated in his Heart, that
 neither the Loss of *Heidelberg*, or *Manheim* that
 succeeded it, nor the Blocking up of *Franken-*
dale, (the last strong Hold of his Son-in-Law's
 Inheritance) could mortify his Hopes: But as
 the Emperor besieged those Towns with his Ar-
 mies, so he beset the King of *Spain* with his
 Treaties. And the Lord *Digby*, tho' quicken'd
 by this Letter, did not lay open the cunning Digby
 Carriage of these Contrivers, (which tended to
 root out the Reformed Religion in *Germany*)
 nor press home these Particulars, as he was en-
 joined; but only let the King of *Spain* know,
 That his late Father, by the Advice of his Ecclesia-
 sticks in *Spain*, had consented to the Articles of Mar-
 riage, in Matters of Religion, five Months since; yet
 there were Demurs upon those Points, notwithstanding
 that the King of Great Britain complied in all things,
 then demanded particularly, what he would do in Fa-
 vour of the Catholics; But now, after two Years
 time, the Pope, of his own accord, (without
 any Intimation to *Spain*) had sent directly for
England, propounding to the King his Master,
 not only many Alterations in the Capitulations,
 (before a Dispensation could be granted) but
 intruded something new, which the King would
 by no means yield unto: Wherefore, to expedite
 the Business, (the King having neglected
 all other Treaties of Marriage for his Son these
 six Years past, only in respect of this Treaty)
 he is commanded to declare plainly to the King
 of *Spain*, how far the King his Master may
 condescend in Matters of Religion; and if that
 will give Content, to proceed to a Conclusion
 of the Marriage, without more Delays (seeing
 he hath yielded to much more than was capitula-
 ted in the late King of *Spain's* time); if this
 will not satisfy, that then, without Loss of
 more Time, the King his Master may dispose of
 his Son, and the King of *Spain* of the *Infanta*,
 as they please.

These Things were ruminated on by the slow-
 pac'd Spanish Gravity, and fair and plausible An-
 swers presented, that, like Fruits of Dissimula-
 tion, gave but small Nourishment to Hope, yet
 it kept it alive, (tho' in a drooping Condition)
 and it was only sustain'd till they could bring
 their Ends about. Which our King now sus-
 pecting, (as he had good Cause) from the con-
 stant Intelligences given him, of the Diminu-
 tion of his own Forces in the *Palatinate*, and
 the growing Strength of the Enemy, he dis-
 patches

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patches this second Letter to the Baron Digby, to let the King of Spain know how sensible he was of being abused, and how loth he was to see it.

Second
Letter to
Digby.

Right Trusty, &c. There is none better knoweth than your self, how we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these unfortunate Troubles of the Empire, (notwithstanding all Opposition to the contrary) to merit well of our good Brother the King of Spain, and the whole House of Austria, by a long and lingering Patience, grounded still upon his Friendship and Promises, that Care should be had of our Honour, and of our Childrens Patrimony and Inheritance. We have acquainted you also from time to time, since the beginning of the Treaty at Brussels, how crossly all Things have there proceeded, notwithstanding all the fair Professions made unto us, both by the King of Spain and the Infanta, and all his Ministers, and the Letters written by him unto the Emperor, and them effectually, (at least as they endeavoured to make us believe); but what Fruits have we of all these? Whilst we are Treating, the Town and Castle of Heidelberg are taken by Force, our Garison put to the Sword, Mannheim besieged, and all the Hostility used that is in the Power of an Enemy, as you may see by the Relation which we have commanded our Secretary to send you. Our Pleasure therefore is, That you immediately, as soon as you can get Audience, let that King understand, how sensible we are of these Proceedings of the Emperor towards us; and withal are not a little troubled to see, that the Infanta (having an absolute Commission to conclude a Cessation and Suspension of Arms) should now at last, when all Objections were answer'd, and the former (solely) pretended Obstacles removed, not only delay the Conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her Command upon the Emperor's Generals, to abstain from the Siege of our Garisons during the Treaty, upon a Pretext of want of Authority: So as for avoiding of further Dishonour, we have been forced to recall both our Ambassadors, as well the Chancellor of our Exchequer, (who is already returned to our Presence) as also the Lord Chichester, whom we intended to have sent unto the Emperor to the Diet at Ratisbon. Seeing therefore that, meerly out of our extraordinary Respect to the King of Spain, and the firm Confidence we ever put in the Hopes and Promises which he did give us, (desiring nothing more than for his Cause principally to avoid all Occasions that might put us in ill Understanding with any of the House of Austria) we have hitherto proceeded with a steadfast Patience, trusting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other Means, which probably might have secured the remainder of our Childrens Inheritance, (these Garisons which we maintained in the Palatinate being rather for Honour sake, to keep a Footing until the general Accommodation, than that we did rely so much upon their Strength, as upon his Friendship) and by this Confidence and Security of ours, are now exposed to Dishonour and Reproach. You shall tell that King, That seeing all those Endeavours and good Offices which he hath used towards the Emperor in this Business, on the behalf of our Son-in-Law, (upon Confidence whereof that Security of ours depended, which he continually by his Letters and Ministers here laboured to be-

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get and confirm in us) have not sorted to any other Issue, than to a plain Abuse, both of his Trust and ours, whereby we are both of us highly injured in our Honour, tho' in a different Degree; we hope and desire that, out of a true Sense of this Wrong offered unto us, he will, as our dear and loving Brother, faithfully promise, and undertake upon his Honour, (confirming the same also under his Hand and Seal) either that the Town and Castle of Heidelberg shall, within Threescore and ten Days after your Audience, and Demand made, be rendred into our Hands, with all Things therein belonging, to our Son-in-Law, or our Daughter, (as near as may be in the State they were when they were taken) and the like for Mannheim and Frankendale, if both or either of them shall be taken by the Enemy while these Things are in Treaty: As also that there shall be within the said Term of Seventy Days a Cessation and Suspension of Arms in the Palatinate for the future, upon the several Articles and Conditions last propounded by our Ambassador Sir Richard Weston; and that the general Treaty shall be set afoot again, upon such Honourable Terms and Conditions as we propounded unto the Emperor in a Letter written unto him in November last, and with which the King of Spain then (as we understood) seemed satisfied. Or else, in case all these Particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperor, as is here propounded, but be refused or delayed beyond the time afore-mentioned; that then the King of Spain do join his Forces with ours for the Recovery of our Childrens Honours and Patrimony, which upon this Trust hath been thus lost. Or if so be his Forces at this present be otherwise so employed, as that they cannot give us that Assistance which we here desire, and (as we think) have deserved, yet that at the least he will permit us a free and friendly Passage through his Territories and Dominions, for such Forces as we shall send and employ in Germany for his Service. Of all which distinctly, if you receive not from the King of Spain (within ten Days at the furthest after your Audience) a direct Assurance under his Hand and Seal, without Delay, or putting us off to further Treaties and Conferences; that is to say, of such Restitution, Cessation of Arms, and proceeding to a General Treaty, as is before-mentioned; or else of Assistance, and joining his Forces with ours against the Emperor; or, at the least, Permission of Passage for our Forces through his the said King's Dominions; that then you take your Leave, and return to our Presence, without further stay; otherwise to proceed in the Negotiation for the Marriage of our Son, according to the Instructions we have given you.

This Letter was dated the 3d of October: And presently after it was sent away, the King recollected himself, and thought it good Policy to make some Advantage of this Breach with Spain, (if there were one) by letting his People see, he would no longer wait the Spanish Delays; (which they were impatient enough of) therefore his Ambassadors (to hinder the Knowledge of it at home) must conceal the Breach abroad, stay still in the Spanish Court, as if the Business were in full Motion, and ripe for Projection: And he must break it to pieces here himself, to make it the more acceptable; either to get the more Love or Money from the People, or for what other Intention is unknown. But the very

Gonde-
mar's Ma-
ster-piece.

A. Reg. 20. very next Day he sends this further Direction by
Endimion Porter.

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Third
Letter to
Digby.

Right Trusty, &c. We have given you certain Instructions, signed with our Hand, to direct you how to express unto the King of Spain the Feeling we have of the Dishonour put upon us by the Emperor, through our Trust and Confidence in that King's Promises, wherein you have Order to come away without further Delay, in case you receive not Satisfaction to your Demands, in such sort as we have commanded you to propound them. Nevertheless, we are to put you in remembrance of that which we have heretofore told you; in case a Rupture happen between the King of Spain and us, that we would be glad to manage it at our best Advantage. And therefore however you do not find the Satisfaction which we in those Instructions crave from the King of Spain, and have Reason to expect, yet would we not have you instantly come away upon it, but advertise us first, letting us know privately (if you find such Cause) that there is no Good to be done, nor no Satisfaction, as you judge, intended us, (tho' publicly and outwardly you give out the contrary) that we may make use thereof with our People in Parliament, as we shall hold best for our Service. And this see you do, notwithstanding any thing in your other Instructions to the contrary. Dated Octob. 4. 1622.

Our
King's
Patience.

The King, in the first of these two Letters, gives Thirty Days more to the King of Spain to repent of his bad Dealing with him than was given to the great City, and yet he repented not. And this positive Command, (limiting but Ten Days after Audience for a Resolution in these Points) one would have thought should have produced an absolute Breach, or a perfect Conclusion. But the Spaniard continues in his old Pace still, and would not be spurr'd up, and Digby (now made Earl of Bristol for his good Services) whistles after him his old Note still, assuring our King, That the King of Spain (tho' slow) was real in his Intentions. And if our King had not had a great good Stomach to the Match, he would never have digested this Dealing from a Brother and a Servant; the Pope also at the same time giving him a Bit to chew on, interpreting the Articles where the Children of Marriage were to be brought up, *Usque ad Annos nobiles*, to be Fourteen Years old, which our King would not consent to, in respect of the Scandal it might produce: For he knew Impressions in Youth, settled by Custom, are not easy to remove, especially where they make Dints upon the Conscience; therefore he pressed the King of Spain, that the Children might not suck in their Mothers Instructions so long time, being less for his Honour: And they, with much Importunity, brought it down from Fourteen to Ten, and there they stuck. Our King expressed himself willing to have them brought up, *sub regimine matris*, for Seven Years, and that Time should be limited in the public Capitulations; but if more time were insisted on by the Pope, he would oblige himself privately by a Letter to the King of Spain, that they shall be under their Mother's Regiment for Two Years longer. And seeing there is but One Year more that is betwixt them, the King, in another Letter to the Earl of Bristol, tells him, That if they would not be contented with Nine, he would not stick to give them another Year.

Dated
Newmar-
ket, Nov.
24. 1622.

The Pala-
tinate lost.

While they were thus Wire-drawing, Time

spun out, *Manheim*, the chief Strength and Fortrefs in the *Palatinate*, was taken by *Tilly*, the Emperor's General, whereof *Sir Horatio Vere* was Commander, surrendered upon honourable Conditions, having neither Strength of Men, or Means to resist an Enemy. *Heidelberg* before it (as the King expressed) was taken by Assault, *Sir Gerard Herbert*, the Commander of the Castle, slain, after he had repulsed the Enemy from the Assault, breaking Six Pikes upon them with his own Hand. And now *Tilly*, (Winter coming on) greedy to finish his Work, sits down before *Frankendale*, whereof Major *Burroughes* had the Command, a Man of as much Valour and Experience, as Time the Director, and Spirit the Actor, could make a Man capable of. But all this, and the Strength of the Town to boot, could not have protected them, (their Wants being stronger than their Enemy) if *Tilly* had not been drowned up in his Trenches, which forced his Remove.

And tho' our King said in his last Answer to the Parliament's Petition, That the Enemy would have swallow'd up his Forces in the *Palatinate* in Eight Days, if my Lord *Digby* had not succour'd it; yet the weakest of the Three Places, which is *Heidelberg*, was not taken in a Moment: For *Tilly* in *June* last set down before it, and was constrain'd to raise his Siege, being not strong enough; and coming again with a greater Power in the end of *July* following, he was there above Two Months before he took so much as any of their Outworks. And *Manheim* and *Frankendale* are Two such strong Holds, that, if they had been well furnished with Men and Provisions, they might have stood out against *Tilly*; nay, the Great Turk, as well, if not better than *Vienna* the Imperial City.

As soon as the King had Notice of the taking of *Manheim*, he gives *Bristol* Intimation of it, satisfied and was very well satisfied of the King of Spain's good Intentions for the Relief of it, though Order sent to the *Infanta* arrived not there till the Town was surrendered: Which was the old Spanish Plot of *Philip* the Second to get *Portugal* into his Hand; wherein he cheated the Pope himself, delaying his Solicitations, by his Legate Cardinal *Riaro*, (for *Don Antonio*, Bastard of *Portugal*) with specious and pleasing Entertainments, till he had gotten the Castle of *St. Julian*, the greatest Strength of the Kingdom, (then besieged by him) into his Power. And yet our King looked upon this Apparition as real, and thanked the King of Spain for the Good he never intended.

And now the Articles of Marriage, that had been long hatching, flew up and down from Hand to Hand: The French Historians mention them; so doth Mr. *Pryn* in his *Hidden Works of Darkness*, as they were found among the Lord *Cottington's* Papers. These came to me from the Nest, and I have kept them till this time; and comparing them with other Copies, there is scarce a Feather amiss. Nor should they have pestered this Paper, but to shew what great Pains was taken to little purpose; what huge Pretences shoulder'd in to make way for the Spanish Designs, which at last dwindled to nothing.

The Articles are these:

1. That the Marriage be made by Dispensation of the Pope; but that to be procured by the Endeavour of the King of Spain.
2. That the Marriage be once Celebrated in Spain, and Ratified in England, in Form following: In the

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An. Christi
1622.

The Pala-
tinate a
strong
Country.

Our King
of Spain's
good In-
tentions.

of Mar-
riage.

Apr-

A. Reg. 20. Morning, after the most Gracious Infanta hath ended her Devotions in the Chapel, She and the most excellent Prince Charles shall meet in the King's Chapel, or in some other Room of the Palace, where it shall seem most expedient; and there shall be read all the Promotions, by Virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated in Spain. And as well the most Excellent Prince, as the most Excellent Infanta, shall ratify the said Marriage celebrated in Spain, with all Solemnity necessary to such an Act; so as no Ceremony, or other Thing intervene, which shall be contrary to the Roman-Catholick Apostolick-Religion.

3. That the gracious Infanta shall take with her such Servants, and Family, as are conveniently for her Service; which Family, and all Persons to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the Catholick King, so as he nominate no Servant which is Vassal to the King of Great Britain, without his Will and Consent.

4. That as well the most gracious Lady Infanta, as all her Servants and Family, shall have free Use and publick Exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion, in manner and form, as is beneath Capitulated.

The Pope extended this Article, Habit, etiam Ecclesiam publicam Londini, &c.
5. That she shall have an Oratory and decent Chapel in her Palace, where, at the pleasure of the most gracious Infanta, Masses may be celebrated; which Oratory or Chapel shall be adorned with such Decency, as shall seem convenient for the most gracious Infanta; with a publick Church in London, &c.

6. That the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants of the most Gracious Infanta, and their Servants, Children, and Descendants, and all their Families, of what sort soever, serving her Highness, may be freely Catholicks.

7. That the most gracious Infanta, her Servants and Family, may be freely Catholicks in form following.

8. That the most gracious Infanta may have in her Palace her Oratory, and Chapel so spacious, that her said Servants and Family may enter and stay therein. In which there shall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the Infanta may have a passage into the said Chapel, where she, and others, as abovesaid, may be present at Divine Offices.

Holy Roman Church.
9. That the Chapel, Church, and Oratory, may be beautify'd with decent Ornaments, of Altar, and other things necessary for Divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the Custom of the Holy Roman Church; and that it shall be lawful for the said Servants, and others, to go to the said Chapel and Church at all Hours, as to them shall seem expedient.

10. That the Care and Custody of the said Chapel and Church, shall be committed to such as the Lady Infanta shall appoint, to whom it shall be lawful to appoint Keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any undecent thing.

11. That to the Administration of the Sacraments, and to serve in Chapel and Church abovesaid, there shall be so many Priests and Assistants, as to the Infanta shall seem fit; and the Election of them shall belong to the Lady Infanta, and the Catholick King her Brother. Provided, that they be none of the Vassals of the King of Great Britain; and if they be, his Will and Consent is to be first obtained.

12. That there be one Superiour Minister or Bishop, with necessary Authority upon all Occasions which shall happen, belonging to Religion; and for want of a Bishop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and Jurisdiction.

13. That this Bishop or Superiour Minister may Correct, Amend, or Chastise all Roman Catholicks who shall offend, and shall exercise upon them all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical; and moreover also, the Lady Infanta shall have power to put them out of her

Service, whensoever it shall seem expedient to her. *A. Reg. 20.*

An. Christi 1622.
14. That it may be lawful for the Lady Infanta and her Servants, to procure from Rome Dispensations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces, as shall seem fit to their Religion and Consciences; and to get and make use of any Catholick Books whatsoever.

15. That the Servants of the Family of the Lady Infanta, who shall come into England, shall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, provided that there be no Clause therein, which shall be contrary to their Consciences, and the Roman Catholick Religion; and if they happen to be Vassals to the King of Great Britain, they shall take the same Oath that the Spaniard doth.

16. That the Laws which are or shall be in England against Religion, shall not take hold of the said Servants. And only the foresaid Superior Ecclesiastical Catholick may proceed against Ecclesiastical Persons, as hath been accustomed by Catholicks. And if any Secular Judge shall apprehend any Ecclesiastical Person for any Offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the foresaid Superior Ecclesiastical, who shall proceed against him according to the Canon Law.

17. That the Laws made against Catholicks in England, or in any other Kingdom of the King of Great Britain, shall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and, though they be Catholicks, they shall not lose the Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of Great Britain.

18. That the Nurses which shall give suck to the Children of the Lady Infanta (whether they be of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other Nation whatsoever) shall be chosen by the Lady Infanta, as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her Family, and enjoy the Privileges thereof.

19. That the Bishop, Ecclesiastical Persons, and Religious, of the Family of the Lady Infanta, shall wear the Vestment and Habit of his Dignity, Profession and Religion, after the Custom of Rome.

20. For security that the said Matrimony be not Dissolved for any Cause whatsoever; The King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are equally to pass the Word and Honour of a King: And moreover, that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the Catholick King for further Confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

21. That the Sons and Daughters, which shall be born of this Marriage, shall be brought up in the company of the most Excellent Infanta, at least until the Age of Ten Years, and shall freely enjoy the Right of Succession to the Kingdoms, as abovesaid.

22. That whensoever any Place of either Manservant or Maid-servant, which the Lady Infanta shall bring with her (nominated by the Catholick King her Brother) shall happen to be void, whether by Death, or by other Cause or Accident, all the said Servants of her Family are to be supplied by the Catholick King, as abovesaid.

23. For Security that whatsoever is Capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of Great Britain and Prince Charles are to be bound by Oath, and all the King's Council shall confirm the said Treaty under their Hands. Moreover, the said King and Prince are to give their Faiths in the Word of a King, to endeavour, if possible, that whatsoever is Capitulated, may be established by Parliament.

24. That conformable to this Treaty, all these Things proposed are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an Apostolical Benediction, and a Dispensation necessary to effect the Marriage.

But though our King and Prince subscribed these Articles (as they were sent to them by the Earl of Bristol) in this manner; *Hos supra memoratos*

A. Reg. 20. moratos Articulos omnes ac singulos approbamus, & quicquid in eis ex nostra parte, seu nostro nomine conventum est, ratum atque gratum habemus, approving and expressing them to be very acceptable unto them. And after they had wrought the King to Sign these large Immunities to the Papists, viz. Quod Regnorum suorum Romano-Catholici persecutionem nullam patientur, molestiarve officientur, Religionis sue causa, vel ob exercitium illorum ejusdem Sacramentorum, modo eis utantur absque scandalo (quod intelligi debet inter privatos parietes) nec juramentis, aut sub alio pretestu qualicunque ordinem Religionis spectante vexabuntur: That the Roman Catholicks should not be interrupted in the Exercise of their Religion, doing it privately without Scandal, nor be vex'd with any Oaths in order to the same. What rested but a Closing of both Parties? Yet all would not do; for the Spaniard never intended the Match at all, as is evident by a Letter of the King of Spain's, written to his Favourite the Conde of Olivares, dated the Fifth of November, 1622. found among the Lord Cottington's Papers.

The King of Spain's Letter to Olivares. **T**HE King my Father declared at his Death, That his intent never was to marry my Sister, the Infanta Donna Maria, with the Prince of Wales, which your Uncle Don Baltazer understood, and so treated this Match, ever with intention to delay it, notwithstanding it is now so far advanced, that (considering all the Aversness of the Infanta to it) it is time to seek some means to divert the Treaty, which I would have you find out; and I will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all other things, procure the Satisfaction of the King of Great Britain (who hath deserved much) and it shall Content me, so it be not in the Match.

Thus was our King's Plain-Heartedness deluded, his Honour blemished, his Love among his Subjects diminished, the Time for a positive Answer for the Dispensation from Rome long expired and prolonged; his Childrens Patrimony destroyed, and he left so unsatisfy'd, that the Prince himself, and the Marquess of Buckingham, must go into Spain to unfold this Riddle; where they found it as full of *Enigmas* as at first. He that went to tie a Knot there, found it so intangled, that he took some time there to clear it; and when it was clear, he thought it best, *Scindere nodum*, to cut that at last, which he could not unloose at first.

Bergen besieged by Spinola. The Marquis Spinola having long since left the Palatinate to the Imperial Generals, with a great Army, consisting of above Thirty thousand Men, the last Summer sits down before *Berghen-op-Zorn*, a Town of very great Strength and Importance, upon the Borders of *Brabant*, and incloses himself with two strong Lines of Circumvallation, notwithstanding all the Power the Town could oppose from within, or Prince Maurice General of the States Army without. And though he were well intrenched for his own Security, yet the Works of the Town were so Impregnable, that he could find no way to gain it, but by starving them; and that could not be done, but by commanding the River; and those Batteries that he planted, to hinder the Access of Shipping with Relief into the Town, were within reach of their Cannon; so that he found there was little good to be done, tending to the Reducing of it. This struck the Marquis to the Heart, that he should bury his Honour, as he had done a great part of his Army, in those bloody Trenches; and therefore he gave scope to his Resolution, to make use of his Time, for he converted his In-

tentions of Starving, to Assaulting, and his Assaults were the more Furious, because he found they would not last long; and old *Morgan*, that Gallant Colonel, with his *English* Brigade, gave them their Hands full; the *Scots* did Gallant Service in the Town, and their Colonel *Hinderson* was slain; but many of the Enemy fell on every side; for it is a great Disadvantage for living Bodies to fight against dead Walls, being so high, and unassailable. A General that goes to besiege a City should have his Access to it (in his Apprehension) as plain as a Mathematician hath a Demonstration (except it be upon some emergent Cause) otherwise there is an Error in his Account; and there cannot be Two, for the Honour dies in the first, which touched the Marquis near, being his great Trouble, and made him and his Enterprize both droop.

But while he lay there digging Graves, Count *Mansfeldt's* ranging Army that he brought out of *Bohemia*, and those Forces that remained of *Christian Duke of Brunswick's* after he was beaten by *Tilly* and *Cordova*, meeting in the *Palatinate*, and finding themselves able to do little good there (the Country being ruined, and wanting Provisions to supply them) resolved to bring their Army into the *Low-Countries*, being invited thereunto by the Prince of Orange and the States, to counterpoise the formidable Armies that the King of Spain had then in Motion; for though *Spinola's* Hands were ty'd to the Trenches, yet *Corduba* with one Army on one side, and Count *Henry van de Berg* with another Army on the other side, were dreadful to the *Netherlands*. The *Mansfeldters* were not above Twelve thousand strong, Horse and Foot; the Horse were only arm'd with Pistols, the Foot with Muskets; scarce a Pike, or Corslet among them (for *Brunswick's* Men upon their Defeat for the most part had thrown away their Arms) Money and Provisions they had very little (their Store being now spent) but what they could get by the Sword, or purchase from the Towns and Cities (by Terror) as they passed; Order there was little among them, for Want makes Men Brutish and Ravenous; and there was no way for them but to cut themselves out a Passage into a plentiful Country. On their way, divers of *Mansfeldt's* Horse mutiny'd for Money, and came swarming about his House where he was quartered, threatening Violence, and were ready to break open his Doors. *Mansfeldt* having a Spirit full of Magnanimity (and finding Courage best able to quail such Attempts) would not stay so long as to have his Doors broke open, but opened them himself (attended only by those of his Family) with a Case of Pistols in his Hands, and presented himself before them, and his very Presence daunted them; for he did with sweet and affable Language let them know, his own Wants were as great as theirs; and thus when they wanted other Provisions, he fed them with Hopes. But many of these Brunts he had born formerly. Soldiers are like Gamesters, they get a deal of Money at one time, and have none at all another; and when Want pinches, it rages; his House hath been often beset by Mutineers, that threatned to tare him in pieces; and he hath opened his Doors, thrown himself (as it were) among them, and demanded stoutly, *What they would have?* and having a Case of Pistols always by him, those near him that called for Money were fure to have those Pistols discharged in their Guts: And then he would

A. Reg. 20. would ask them again, *Who would have Money?* and they would all sink away, and not a Man dare to open his Mouth; so high and overpowering a Spirit he had! and that only kept him from the Rage of Mutiny, for he knew his own Integrity, that when he had Money he distributed it freely, and the more ingenuous part of them knew what Money he had, which was brought in great Sums from such Towns and Cities as redeemed themselves from the Plunder of his Soldiers; so that it was not his Hoarding and Covetousness, but real Want made them suffer, and that imboldned his Spirit: For a General that would be safe, when his Soldiers are in want, should not take Refreshment so much as with the tip of his Rod, unless they may be Partakers in it.

The Battel of Fleury. But with many Necessities, in their March through Lorrain and Lutzenburgh, they came to Fleury, within Eight Miles of Namur, where Corduba with a Spanish Army strove to hinder their Passage; The Conflict was great betwixt them, and many Slain on both sides, and both triumphed in the Victory. For Corduba kept the Field, and Mansfeldt kept his way. But Mansfeldt's Victory was the compleatest, because he attained to his End, which was, to break through Corduba; But Corduba did not attain to his End, which was, to hinder Mansfeldt. Yet the Spanish Bravery was highly exalted with Bonfires, and Rejoycings both at Madrid and Brussels. The Duke of Brunswick lost his Bridle Arm in that Service, and many Gentlemen, both English and Scots, out of Love to the Queen of Bohemia, behaved themselves gallantly, and let the Spaniard know, it was more than an ordinary Shock they encountred with. Among whom, Sir Charles Rich, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, was a principal Person, whose voluntary Spirit, not Necessity, made Danger his Companion where Honour attended it. Sir James Heyes, Knevet, Humes, Heiborn, and other Commanders, striving for Corrivallship in Bravery.

Spinola raises his Siege. Spinola hearing that Mansfeldt was broken through Corduba's Army and come into Brabant, made the Court Splendour of Corduba's Conquest appear but *Ignes fatui*, which also something extinguish'd the Glory of his own Fame. For he thought it good Policy (seeing he should be necessitated to leave the Siege of Berghen) to do it at that time, when there might be cause to think it occasioned by that Accident more than his Default. And therefore as soon as the Prince of Orange and Mansfeldt had joined Forces, though Corduba came to him and reinforced his Army, yet Winter drawing on, and his Army almost wasted, he trussed up his Baggage in haste, set his Camp a-fire and departed, leaving to his hungry Enemies good Store of Wine, and other Provisions, in his burning Quarters. And thus stood the Ballance this Year betwixt the King of Spain and the Netherlands.

Buckingham's Medicine to Cure the King's Melancholy. But our King receiving so many Delays and Dissatisfactions from Spain and Rome, they begot him so much Trouble and Vexation, that crowding into his Thoughts, press'd upon his Natural Temper some Fits of Melancholy, which those about him with facetious Mirth, would strive to mitigate; And having exhausted their Inventions, or not making use of such as were more pregnant, the Marquis and his Mother (instead of Mirth) fell upon Prophaneness, thinking with that to please him, and perhaps they were only mistaken in the unseasonableness of the time, being not then

A. Reg. 20. suitable to the Humour. For they caused Mrs. Aspernham, a young Gentlewoman of the Kindred, to dress a Pig like a Child, and the old Countess, like a Midwife, brought it in to the King in a rich Mantle. Turpin that married one of the Kindred (whose Name was renowned for a Bishop in the Romances of the Emperor Charlemain) was dress'd like a Bishop in his Sattin Gown, Lawn Sleeves, and other Pontifical Ornaments, who (with the *Common Prayer Book*) began the Words of Baptism, one attending with a silver-Basin of Water for the Service; the King hearing the Ceremonies of Baptism read, and the squeaking Noise of that Brute he most abhorred, turned himself to see what Pageant it was; and finding Turpin's Face, which he well knew, dress'd like a Bishop; and the Marquis, whose Face he most of all loved, stand as a Godfather; he cried out, *Away for shame, what Blasphemy is this?* And turning aside with a Frown, he gave them Cause to think, that such ungodly Mirth would rather increase than cure his Melancholy.

Another time, at Theobalds, the King wanted some Papers that had Relation to the Spanish Treaty, so hot in Motion, which raised him highly into the Passion of Anger that he should not know what he had done with them, being things so Material, and of such Concernment: And calling his Memory to a strict Account, at last he discharged it upon John Gib, a Scotchman, who was of his Bedchamber, and had been an old Servant to him. Gib is called for in haste, and the King asks him for the Papers he gave him; Gib collecting himself, answer'd the King, he received no Papers from him. The King broke into extream Rage, (as he would often when the Humour of Choler began to boil in him) protesting he had them, and reviling him exceedingly for denying them; Gib threw himself at the King's Feet, protesting his Innocency, that he never received any, and desired his Life might make Satisfaction for his Fault, if he were guilty. This could not calm the King's Spirit, tossed in this Tempest of Passion; and overcharged with it, as he passed by Gib (kneeling) threw some of it upon him, giving him a Kick with his Foot. Which Kick infected Gib, and turned his Humility into Anger; for, rising instantly, he said, Sir, *I have served you from my Youth, and you never found me unfaithful; I have not deserved this from you, nor can I live longer with you with this Disgrace; Fare ye well, Sir, I will never see your Face more:* And away he goes from the King's Presence, took Horse, and rode towards London. Those about the King put on a sad Countenance to see him displeased, and every Man was inquisitive to know the Cause: Some said, the King and Gib were fallen out; but about what? some Papers of the Spanish Treaty, the King had given him, cannot be found. Endimion Porter hearing it, said, The King gave me those Papers, went presently and brought them to the King, who being becalmed, and finding his Error, called instantly for Gib; Answer was made, he was gone to London: The King hearing it, commanded with all Expedition to send Post after him to bring him back, protesting never to Eat, Drink, or Sleep till he saw Gib's Face. The Messenger overtook him before he got to London; and Gib hearing the Papers were found, and that the King sent for him with so much Earnestness, returned to the Court. And as he came into the King's Chamber, the King kneeled down upon his Knees before Gib, intreating his Pardon

His Sanguine.

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don, with a sober and grave Aspect, protesting he would never rise till *Gib* had forgiven him; and though *Gib*'s modesty declined it with some humble Excuses, yet it would not satisfy the King, till he heard the Words of Absolution pronounced. So Ingenuous was he in this Piece of Passion! which had its sudden Variation from a stern and furious Anger, to a soft and melting Affection, which made *Gib* no Loser by the Bargain.

His Flegmatick Humour.
Thus the King's Melancholy, Cholerick, and Sanguine Constitution appeared. But of all the Humours, Flegm was now the most predominant, which made him so tamely swallow those raw Fruits of *Spain*, that all his Exercise could not well digest.

A Diet at Ratisbone,
Jan. 7.
In *January* this Year, the Diet which the Emperor had summoned (contrary to his Promise, as our King intimates) met at *Ratisbone*, where the Electors and divers other Princes of *Germany* assembled, either in their own Persons, or by their Deputies. The Imperial Design was to take off the Edge of the Prince's Dissatisfaction, for his harsh Proceedings against the Prince *Palatine*; wherein he makes him the Ground-work and Cause of all the Wars and Miseries that have happen'd in the Empire. And thinking no Man (as he said) would take the boldness to mediate the Restitution of the proscribed *Palatine* into the Electoral College, he could do no less than dispose of the Electorate, now (*pleno jure*) devolved unto him, as Emperor, which he had bestowed on the Duke of *Bavaria* for spending his Treasure, and hazarding his Blood in his Service, against his own Nephew, the expelled *Palatine*. Wherefore he requests the illustrious Presence of Electors and Princes, to give their Opinions, how the Peace of the Empire may be established to prevent all Commotions for the future.

The Opinion of the Protestant Princes.
The Princes took this Proposition of the Emperor into Debate, and the Protestant Princes desired *Cæsar* to consider the Importance of the Business. 'That though his Imperial Majesty, in his own Judgment, may have had Cause enough to publish the Ban against the Prince *Palatine*; yet they are of Opinion, that in his particular Cause, which so nearly concerned the disposing of an Electorate of the Empire, and so principal a Person of the Electoral College, (the sudden doing whereof might occasion long and tedious Wars, dangerous to the *Roman* Empire) that *Cæsar* should not of himself have proceeded so rigorously, nor without the Advice and Consent of all the rest of the Electors, according as it was agreed upon in the Capitulation Royal, which is holden for a Fundamental Law of the Empire. Which Course of *Cæsar*'s, even for the manner of proceeding in it, was distastful by divers, because the Prince *Palatine* had never been legally summoned, but uncited and unheard without all knowledge of his Cause, and contrary to all ordinary Course had been Condemned, and against all Equity oppressed by the Publication of that Imperial Ban. We purpose not to call the Power Imperial into question, yet we cannot but remember your Majesty of that Promise made in your Capitulation unto the Electors; and humbly we admonish *Cæsar* to stand unto his own Word, and not to intermit the Performance of it. And as for the disposing of the Electorate, we desire nothing more, than that we could gratify *Cæsar* with our Suffrages; but perceiving so many and so great Difficulties in it, we cannot but admonish your

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Majesty of the Danger of it. This being the Opinion of our Electors, that seeing your Majesty hath graciously called the Diet for restoring Peace in the Empire, that it were altogether necessary first to remove the Obstacles of Peace. And seeing that all the Stirs began in *Bohemia*, *Cæsar* should do well to labour first for the quieting of that Kingdom, and command a Stay to be made of the severe Reformation, and frequent Executions there; that so the Hearts of your Subjects, being overcome with Grace and Mercy, might be sweetly joined to you, and all Fear and Distrust utterly taken away: Without which, we see no hope, either how your Majesty can Sit sure upon your Imperial Throne, or how the Electors and Princes can be freed of their Fears; being evident, that the *Bohemians*, and others, made desperate by the Extremity of their Sufferings, will take any Occasion to begin new Troubles, and to involve the Empire with new Dangers. All the *Lutheran* States of the Empire likewise, which follow the *Augustan* Confession, have their Eyes upon this *Bohemian* Reformation, which though it were given out to be for private Justice, yet it is so link'd with the publick Cause, that unless it be speedily ended, and the two Churches at *Prague* (granted by *Rodolphus* II. not in favour of some private Men alone, but of *Christian* Elector of *Saxony*, and which had continued free until of late) were again opened, and the free Exercise of Religion generally permitted, we see no sure Peace likely to be in the Empire, but utter Ruine rather, and final Desolation, may every day be feared. Seeing it was apparently known, that it was not those that professed the Reformed Religion, who begun these Troubles; but the Noblemen and great Officers, whose Designs the other were compelled to obey.

And for the Prince *Palatine*, seeing he is already sufficiently punished, it were far more commendable in your Majesty, that now at last, upon his Submission, you would be pleased to restore him to his Lands and Dignities, otherwise there is no likelihood of restoring Peace to the Empire. And in the transferring of the Electorate, this main thing were fit to be considered; Whether the Prince *Palatine*, excluded in his own Person, doth debar his Children, who (by the Providence of their Ancestors) had, before this Act of their Father, *jus adquisitum*, an Hereditary Right unto the Electorate; or the Brother of the Prince *Palatine*, who hath no way offended your Majesty, nor, by reason of his Minority, could not; Or others of the Kindred of the Prince *Palatine*, should be, or ought to be, in this Case neglected? If they be, it will be hardly taken of other Electors and Princes, and occasion various Distrusts betwixt the Head and the Members. For the Princes allied unto the Prince *Palatine*, who have been quiet hitherto, (upon Confidence of *Cæsar*'s Clemency) now perceiving all hope of that Dignity unto their Family taken away, must needs have Recourse unto Arms, and endeavour the Recovery of it by force. And if *Cæsar* should die, this Controversie being not compounded, it may well be feared, many Inconveniences will fall out contrary to *Cæsar*'s Desire. For though upon the Advantage of his Victories he hath had the Law in his own hand, if the Wheel should turn, that Side which is lowest will get up again.

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The Opinion of the Popish Princes. To these things, the Catholick Princes said, That Caesar had shewn Causes enough which he had to deprive the Palatine, and the Palatinate being devolved to him, he might dispose of it, without having regard to the Palatine Line, according to his own Pleasure. That his Majesty could not well hold any Terms of Amity with him, though he were restored; and this Impunity would give occasion unto others to offend. As for the matter of Punishment, there would be little difference between the Emperor and the Palatine, seeing that his Majesty's Lands and Dominions are no less wasted than the others, and yet there is great difference in the Cause; for this fell out to Caesar without his Demerit, and the Palatine did the other, having no necessity to it. That he had refused Mercy, in not acknowledging his Fault, nor seeking for Favour. And it is an unequal Request for Caesar to accept of any Reconciliation, whilst his General Mansfeldt is yet in the Field, and prosecutes his Cause by force of Arms. The safety of the Empire consisting in the filling up of the Electoral College, Caesar hath done very well in a speedy resolving on it, and other Emperors in the like Causes have done the same before.

The Reply of the Protestant Princes. To which, the other Party answered, That for the Security of the Imperial Dignity, and Safety of the Empire, there is no question, but that it consisted in the Concord of the Electoral College, with the Emperor. And the Prince Palatine hath (as you say) done amiss, yet if Caesar shall still use Rigour, the Princes of the Lower Saxony are of Opinion, there can be no Peace established in the Empire, the good of which being most worthy to be preferred, Caesar should do wisely to suffer himself to be intreated, and change Rigour into Clemency, making the Empire by that means glad with a desired Peace, otherwise new Flames were likely to break out in those Places which yet are preserved from burning. That Caesar had now, by the Aid of the Electors and Princes, recovered his lost Provinces, and wanting nothing but quiet Possession of them, which, this desired Reconciliation was the best Means to effect. The hand of War may be lifted up, but who knows where the Stroke will fall? And Victory is so long uncertain, as the adverse Party hath power to reinforce his Arms. And for the renewing of the War, there is yet a fair Presence left, for that in bestowing the Electorate, the Prince Palatine's Sons and Brother have been neglected, and with these Principles are the Minds of many of the Princes of the Empire already possessed. The King of Great Britain besides could not but take it ill, that he should now see all his Endeavours take no good effect, but his only Daughter and her

A. Reg. 20. Children left in Exile. And as for the manner of this Reconciliation, there might be a particular Treaty and Consultation, wherein Caesar's Prerogative Imperial being reserved, all Parties might receive Satisfaction, and the Empire once again flourish in Peace. If these Remedies be not applied, it will produce ill Blood, yea Heart-burnings and Distrusts, in the Electoral College it self.

The Emperor's Reply. These several Answers, delivered to the Emperor the 20th of January, he replied unto, thanking them for their Consultations. And though some (saith he) have wisely heretofore resolved us, that our Proceedings in Prescribing the Palatine was both legal and necessary; yet now we perceive some of you are of Opinion, that, according to our Capitulation Royal, we ought not to have proceeded so far, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Electors. But as we have no ways gone beyond this our Capitulation, but even, before we set out the Ban, punctually considered all that was necessary to be taken notice of; so did we also desire nothing more than that a Diet might be convoked, for the due treating and advising upon this Business: Which Meeting being impeded by the Prosecution of the War by the Palatine, we could do no less, to take down his Courage, than publish the Ban against him: Which Course of ours, seeing it was never intended to be prosecuted to the prejudice of the Electoral College, or against our own Capitulation, we hope that the Electors will not take it otherwise; being that we promise withal so to moderate it, that no Detriment or Prejudice shall result thereby unto the Dignity Electoral.

As for the Translation of the Electorate, and your Advice for Restoring of the Palatinate, there is (I perceive) some difference in your Opinions. One Part wisely, and in favour of us, affirming the great Reason we have to do it: But for the other Party, which adviseth his Restoring, we purpose not so far to Consent unto it, as to the restoring of him to the Electoral Dignity, seeing that in the disposing of it other where, we are resolved that we shall do no more than we have just reason to do; nor will we defer the filling up of the Electoral College, because the dispatching of it doth so much concern the Common Good. But for the Restitution of the Person of the Palatine, you shall see how much our Mind is inclined towards Clemency, and how far we will declare our self to gratifie the King of Great Britain, the King of Denmark, the Elector of Saxony, and other Electors and Princes, interceding for him.

And as concerning our forbidding the Exercise of the Lutheran Religion in the City of Prague; we do not see how it any way concerns this Diet to enquire of, our Letter having signified the Causes that moved us to begin it unto the Elector of Saxony; nor can we think that what we have done there, any of the Neighbour States or Territories need be suspicious of, seeing that we have sworn oftner than once, in the Word of an Emperour, that we will most Religiously observe the Peace, both of Religion and Civil Government, throughout the Empire. And thus much we could not but advertise this Illustrious Presence of Electors and Princes, and you the Ambassadors of those that are absent.

The Protestant Electors, and Princes, still persisted in their Resolution, That the Emperour could not translate the Electorate legally; the Words of the Capitulation being clearly these: In all difficult Businesses, no Process ought to be made, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Electors; and that, without ordinary Process, no Proscription should go out against any one of the States of the Empire, before the Cause were heard. This is the fundamental Law of the Empire, which required no more but to be constantly observed, nor is to be drawn into further Dispute, or Deliberation.

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Deliberation. And it stood the Electors upon, to be open eyed, to see to the Observation of it, being it concerned the Three Secular Electors especially, whose Dignity did by an Hereditary Right descend unto their Posterity, to keep it safe and entire, which they hoped that *Cæsar* would not contradict.

Result of all.
But the Emperor would not be persuaded from his own Resolution; yet in Conclusion, to gratifie the Princes, he was contented to confer the Electorate with a Proviso, that the Investiture of the Duke of *Bavaria* should not be prejudicial to the Children of the *Palatine*; and so the Diet ended.

Feb. 23.
The Duke of *Saxony* was one of the first that executed the Imperial Ban against the Prince *Palatine*, assisting the Emperor with a great Army, to level the Power of his fellow Elector when he mounted to be a King, and came so near him as *Prague*; but when he was brought thus low, he would willingly have raised him up again, and then the Hand that had done him so much Mischief, was not permitted to do him any Good. But by the Carriage of the Business (though the Emperor gave fair words) it did after appear, the *Austrian* Policy aimed at the Extirpation of Religion, as well as at the Exclusion of the *Palatine* and his Children; for he never meant them Title, nor Territory, unless he could settle both upon a Popish Foundation: And to that end there was a private Treaty broached in *England*, and carried on by some of our King's Ministers of State; That the young Prince *Palatine* should be bred up in the Emperor's Court, under pretence of marrying his Daughter, but in effect to be trained up in the Popish Religion: And our Prince *Charles* at the same time must fetch his Wife in *Spain*; where they hoped the Influence of that Air, their visible Piety, and their invisible Plots, would sweetly insinuate their Popish Principles into him. So impiously cunning they are to make others as miserable as themselves.

The Prince's Journey into Spain.
The ending of the Diet in *Germany*, and our Prince's Journey into *Spain*, were much about a time. He went with the Marquess of *Buckingham* privately from Court the 17th of *February* to *New-Hall* in *Essex*, the Marquess's House, (purchased of that unthrif, *Robert Earl of Sussex*) and from thence the next day by *Gravesend*, the straight way to *Dover*, attended only by *Sir Richard Graham*, Master of the Marquess's Horse; where they were to meet *Sir Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the Prince's Secretary, and *Endimion Porter*, who was then taken from the Marquess's Bed-Chamber to wait upon the Prince. *Cottington* was, at first, Clerk to *Sir Charles Cornwallis's* Secretary, when *Cornwallis* was Ambassador in *Spain*; and being left there an Agent, in the Intervals of Ambassadors, was by that means trained up in the *Spanish* Affairs: *Porter* was bred up in *Spain* when he was a Boy, and had the Language, but found no other Fortune there, then brought him over to be *Mr. Edward Viller's* Man in *Fleetstreet*, which was before either the Marquess or his Master were acceptable at *Whitehall*. And *Graham* at first was an Underling of low Degree in the Marquess's Stable. It is not hereby in-

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tended to vilifie the Persons, being Men (in this World's Lottery) as capable of Advancement as others; but to shew in how poor a Bark the King ventured the rich Freight his Son, having only the Marquess to steer his Course.

The Prince and *Buckingham* had false Beards By *Dover*, for Disguises to cover their smooth Faces, and the Names of *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, which they pass'd with, leaving behind them Impressions in every Place (with their Bounty and Presence) that they were not the Persons they presented; but they were not so rudely dealt with as to be questioned till they came to *Dover*, and there the Mayor in a Supercilious Officiousness (which may deserve the Title of a careful Magistrate) examined them so far, (being jealous they were Gentlemen going over to Fight) that the Marquess (though Admiral) was glad to veil his Beard to him in private, and tell him he was going to visit the Fleet; so they had liberty to take Ship, and landed at *Bulloign* the same day, making swift Motion by Post Horses (which Celerity leaves the least Impression) till they came to *Paris*; *Paris*. There the Prince spent one day to view the City and Court, shadowing himself the most he could under a bushy Peruke, which none in former times but Bald People used, but now generally intruded into a Fashion; and the Prince's was so big, that it was Hair enough for his whole Face. The Marquess's fair Face was shadowed with the same Pencil, and they both together saw the Queen-Mother at Dinner, the King in the Gallery after Dinner, and towards the evening they had a full view of the Queen *Infanta*, and the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with most of the Beauties of the Court, at the Practice of a Masking Dance, being admitted by the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, in Humanity to Strangers, when many of the *French* were put by. * There the Prince saw those Eyes that after inflamed his Heart, which increased so much, that it was thought to be the Cause of setting Three Kingdoms a-fire: But whether any spark of it did then appear, is uncertain; if it did, it was closely raked up, till the *Spanish* Fire went out; the Heat whereof made him neglect no time till he came to *Madrid*.

At *Bordeaux*, the Duke d'Espernon, Governor *Bordeaux*, there, out of a noble freedom to Strangers, offered them the Civilities of his House, which they declined with all bashful Respects; and *Sir Francis Cottington*, who always looked like a Merchant, and had the least Mien of a Gentleman, (fittest for such an Employment) let him know, they were Gentlemen that desired to improve themselves, and had not Breeding suitable to his Grandure; which took off the edge of his Invitation, whose subtle Eye by Converse might have pried through those fictitious Out-sides, to discover more than did appear.

They passed with some Difficulties also at *Bayonne*, where the Count de Gramont was Governor, (being the utmost part of *France*, and the Key that opens the Way into *Spain*) he being a pregnant Man read more than ordinary in them; but where Peace is the School-

* In one of the Original Letters of the Prince and *Buckingham* to the King, in the Collection abovementioned, the Prince tells him he had been at this Ball, and says, *Of all that Court there was none to be compar'd for Beauty to the young Queen, which made him more earnest to see her Sister, his long desired Mistress.* So that it does not appear (at least by that Letter) he had any particular regard to the Princess *Henrietta Maria* at that time, as the Author supposes.

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At Madrid Upon Saturday the 6th of March, they arrived at *Madrid*. The Prince and Marquess came thither one Day before *Cottingham* and the others, to make the less Noise in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Bristol's* House in the Evening, and the Marquess brought in the *Port-mantua*; but his Master stay'd without with the Guide, till he had prepar'd a Way for Privacy. The Earl of *Bristol* was astonish'd at the Sight; but after he had collected himself, his Diligence attended his Duty, and the Prince wanted nothing but Counsel how to order himself, which they took time (till the next Day towards the Evening) to deliberate on. All that Morning the Town was filled with Rumours of the Arrival of some great Prince; and tho' the King of *Spain* had Intimation by his Letters, yet he kept all private till the Prince express'd himself, which was done that Evening: For *Buckingham* and *Bristol* went to the Court, and had private Audience of the King, who sent his Grand Favourite *Olivares* back with them to congratulate the Prince's coming, who let the Prince know, how happy the King his Master was in the Enjoyment of him there, and what Addition of Grandure his Presence would contribute to the Court of *Spain*; and that the Obligation was so great, that he deserved to have the *Infanta* thrown into his Arms. All this while kneeling, kissing his Hands, and embracing his Thigh! the huge and swelling Expressions of *Spanish* Humility. And from him he went to the Marquess of *Buckingham*, telling him, That now the Prince of *England* was in *Spain*, his Master and he would divide the World betwixt them, with other Rodomontado Fancies. And after he was gone, about Ten of the Clock that Night, the King of *Spain* came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having Intimation of his coming, (such secret Hints among Princes being suitable Invitements) he met him in the Way, and there they spent some time in those sweet, yet formal, Caresses and Embraces, that are Incidents to the Interviews of great Princes, tho' their Hearts and Tongues do seldom accord.

A. Reg. 20. *Gondemar*, in Confort, was not without his Strain of Compliment: For he told the Prince upon a Visit next Day, That he had strange News to tell him; which was, That an *Englishman* was Sworn a Privy-Councillor to the King of *Spain*; meaning himself, who he said was an *Englishman* in his Heart, and had lately receiv'd that Honour.

Rides in State to the Court The next Day the King and Prince had some Interviews in their Coaches passing to the *Parada* to take the Air, where also he had a Glimpse of his fair Mistress; but the Formality of the Prince's Entertainment was deferred till his Lodgings were made ready in the Court, which was the Sunday following, being that Day invited to Dinner to St. *Hierome's* Monastery, where the King commanded divers of his Great Officers to attend upon the Prince, which they did bare Headed, and they say it was according to the old Custom of *Castile*; but King *Philip* when he was in *England* found that Respect, and retain'd it ever after in *Spain*. The Prince would have prevented their Ceremony to him; but they are stubborn, and pertinacious in their very Humility. After Dinner the King came in Person, with his Favourite *Olivares*, and divers others of the Nobility, in Coaches, with Intention on Horseback (for the more State) to conduct the Prince through the Town to the Court, having Horses and all Accoutrements fit for such a Royal Train. And thus mounted they rode in great Glory through the Streets, (being adorned with rich Tapisstry and rare Pictures) as their Kings do to their Coronation. The *Spanish* Civility plac'd the Prince on the Right Hand of the King, under a rich Cloth of State, supported by many Persons of Quality; *Olivares* and *Buckingham* went next the Canopy, and after them the rest of their Grandees in their several Degrees, most Glorious every where to behold, the choice Beauties of the Town and Court presenting themselves to see, and to be seen. At the Court-Gate they dismounted, and then a new friendly Strife began who should enter first; and because that should breed no Difference, they went both together. The Queen and the *Infanta*, from a Window in the Court, saw them come riding in Triumphant Equipage; and when they alighted, the *Infanta* retired, and the Queen went to her Chamber, expecting a Visit; and when the King and Prince entred her Chamber, she rose to meet them, making an Obeisance to the Prince suitable to her Greatness and his; and he bowing to the Ground almost in Obedience to her, were both as great Patterns of Civility and Courtesy to the rest of their Train. And after some Compliments, they sat down in Three Royal Seats prepared for them, the Queen in the Middle, the Prince on her Right Hand, and the King on her Left. And in this Stately Posture they discours'd away some half an Hour's time, and then they parted. The Queen brought the Prince to the utmost extent of her Chamber, and the King to a Chamber prepar'd for him, (with many Rooms of State, sumptuously adorned) where he left him to his own Attendance, and some great *Spanish* Condes, as Principal Officers of his Household, *Gondemar* ever being one about him. Two Days after the Prince was invited to run at the Ring, where his fair Mistress was a

* * That the King was in great Perplexity lest the Prince might be discovered and arrested in *France*, appears by a Letter in the foresaid Collection, sent by *Griffy* the next Day after he left *Dever*; in which he encloses one to the *French* King, which he desires the Prince to deliver in case he be discover'd. But if otherways, he desires him, whenever he arrives in the *Spanish* Territories, to write back to that King a Letter of Excuse, for not waiting on him in his Passage thro' his Country.

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Spectator, and, to the Glory of his Fortune, and the great Contentment both of himself and the Lookers on, he took the Ring the very first Course. So seasonable are these little empty Joys, when they are suitable to our Minds and Wishes.

His Royal Entertainment.
All that the Spanish Court could do, was heighten'd into Gallantry and Civilities to the Prince; yet he saw not his fair Mistress but at an undiscerning Distance, and in transitu, as she came from Church. But after all these Splendid and Glorious outside Ceremonies of Entertainment were grown a little old, the Prince began to mind the Business he came about, and desired a more intimate Access to his beloved Infanta, which Olivares promised from Day to Day to accomplish, but still delay'd; and at length, when unperform'd Promises were heighten'd into Shame, he plainly confess'd, That it was agreed by the King and his Council, that he might not see her as a Lover till the Dispensation came, for it would give Scandal to admit him before; yet not to starve him quite in his Desires, (but to keep him short, that he should not surfeit) he had now and then Access to her as a Prince, in a publick way, the King of Spain being always present, and the Earl of Bristol Interpreter; so that nothing could be spoken but those little superficial Compliments, that served as Baits rather to nibble on, than satisfy. But these small Repasts kept up the Appetite.

The English Nobility flock into Spain.
And now the Glories of the English Court left the Northern Sun declining to the West, and came to see the Sun rising in Spain. The Marquess of Buckingham's new Title of Duke came to him also, (that he might be in the highest Rank among the Spanish Grandees) to beard the proudest of them; which afterwards he did. And the Viscount Doncaster (lately made Earl of Carlisle) came in all his Glories; of which Two, it was observed by knowing Men, That Buckingham came into Spain of the Spanish Faction, and returned into England of the French Faction: Carlisle came into Spain of the French Faction, and returned into England of the Spanish: Thus varying the Scene by Fits, and acting their Parts as the present Fancy moved them. The Lord Kensington, Captain of the Guard to our King, came also to see the Prince; so did the Earl of Denbigh, Edward, Son and Heir to the now Earl of Manchester; the Viscount Mandevill, the Viscount Rochford, and divers others of the Nobility: And the Prince was so circled with a splendid Retinue of his own People, that it might be said, There was an English Court in the King of Spain's Palace.

The Spanish strive to pervert the Prince.
But, together with these specious Entertainments, there were underworking Hopes to have the Prince turn Papist; for (in convenient Discourses) Olivares and others would press him (with all the Arguments the Court had instructed them in) to a Conversion; intimating, how smooth a Path it would make to the Infanta's Affections; for when he, that was to be Lord of her Heart, and the best Friend she had, would be an Enemy to her Religion, it could not but be a great Obstacle to her Love. And when the Danger of it was proposed to them, as likely to bring a Rebellion in the Nation, if their Prince should be perverted; they promised to assist him with an Army against such Rebellious People. But if he would not admit of a present and sudden Alteration publickly, yet that he would be so indulgent, when the Infanta came into England, as to listen to her in Matters of Religion; which the Prince promised to do.

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Nay, his own familiar Friend Bristol (as it was Articled against him afterwards by Buckingham) did strive with a gentle Hand to allure him that way, as bringing with it an Addition to the Grandure of the Kings of England, That none of them could ever do great Things that were not of that Religion.

Thus was the Prince beset, and Time ran away in Discourses; the Dispensation being purposely delay'd; for some at that time in the Spanish Court said it was come, and sent back again to Rome, (being too forward and active) that it might have more Weight put upon it, and then it would not make so much halt; for now it came too soon to dispatch their Work: For they Subtly consider'd, that Time and continual Dropping might leave those Impressions upon the Prince's Spirit, that Dispatches cannot effect. Therefore they made new Queries, and clapp'd new Remora's upon the Articles, that being tangled in Disputations betwixt England and Spain, and in Controversies of Religion betwixt the Prince and some of their cunning Sophisters, (which they set a-work) that before the Way could be well cleared on both sides, their Design (which was the Prince's Perversion) might mature and ripen. For the Earl of Bristol confessed afterwards, That it was a general receiv'd Opinion in the Spanish Court, that the Prince came thither with Intention to be a Roman Catholick: And Gondemar pressed Bristol not to hinder so pious a Work, assuring him, they had the Duke of Buckingham's Assistance therein.

And it was evident enough their Hopes were so doth great, by the Pope's Letter to the Bishop of the Pope. Conchen, Inquisitor-General in Spain; wherein he excites him not to slip the Opportunity Providence had put into his Hand, of extending his Piety to the outermost Nations. The Prince of England being now in the Court of Spain, that glorious Temple (as it were) that hath been a Bulwark to the Pontifical Authority, and an Academy for Propagation of Religion, he desires he may not stay there in vain; but that some of the Impressions of the Piety of so many Catholick Kings as have lived there may be imprinted on him, that he may be won with all Sweetness, as many of his Noble Ancestors have been, who have submitted their Crown'd Heads and Imperial Power to the Roman Obedience. And to this Glorious Victory, and Eternal Triumph of Celestial Beatitudes, the Treasures of Kings, and Legions of Soldiers, cannot contribute; but the Weapons of Light, that must come from Heaven, whose Splendour enlightening the Prince's Eyes, shall dazle his Errors, and establish his Mind in Meekness. And he charges the Bishop and all his Fraternity to use the best Strength and Industry they can to this purpose. So that the Prince was continually laid at, by the insinuating Orations of cunning Jesuits; the feigned and couzening Miracles of reclused Holiness; the splendid and specious Solemnities of their formal Processions; the rare and admirable Pictures of their reputed Saints; besides many other painted Devices and subtle Artifices brooded among them.

And the Pope used all the Rhetorick of his Cabalistical Consistory and Holy Chair to charm him to his Obedience, as may be seen by this Letter, which he writ to him himself.

Most Noble Prince, Health and Light of By his
Divine Grace. Forasmuch as Great Bri- Letter.
tain hath always been fruitful in Virtues, and
Men

A. Reg. 20. Men of Merit, having filled the one and the
An Christi other World with the Glory of her Renown,
 1622. she doth also very often attract the Thoughts
 of the Holy Apostolical Chair to the Consideration of her Praises. And indeed the Church was but then in her Infancy, when the King of Kings did choose her for his Inheritance, and so affectionately, that it is thought the Roman Eagles prevailed not so much as the Banner of the Cross. Besides, that many of her Kings, instructed in the Knowledge of the true Salvation, have preferred the Cross before the Royal Scepter, and the Discipline of Religion before Covetousness, leaving Examples of Piety to other Nations, and to the Ages yet to come; so as having merited the principal and chief Places of Blessedness in Heaven, they have obtained on Earth the Triumphant Ornaments of true Holiness. And altho' now the State of the English Church be alter'd, yet we see the Court of Great Britain adorn'd and furnish'd with Moral Virtues, which might serve to support the Charity that we bear unto her, and be an Ornament to the Name of Christianity; if withal she could have for her Defence and Protection the Orthodox and Catholick Truth. Wherefore, by how much the Glory of your most Noble Father, and the Apprehension of your Royal Disposition, delights us, with so much more Zeal we desire that the Gates of the Heavenly Kingdom might be open'd unto you, and that you might purchase to your self the Love of the Universal Church. Moreover, it being certain that Gregory the Great, of most blessed Memory, hath introduced to the English People, and taught their Kings the Law of the Gospel, and the Respect to Apostolical Authority; we as inferior to him in Holiness and Virtue, but equal in Name and Degree of Dignity, it is very reasonable that we, following his blessed Steps, should endeavour the Salvation of those Provinces, especially at this time, when your happy Design (most Noble Prince) elevates us to the Hope of an extraordinary Advantage. And as you have taken a Journey into Spain to the Catholick King, with Desire to Ally your self to the House of Austria; so we do commend your Design, and indeed do testify openly in this present Business, That you are he that takes principal Care of our Prelacy. For seeing that you desire to take in Marriage the Daughter of Spain, we may easily from thence conjecture, that the ancient Seeds of Christian Piety, which have so happily flourish'd in the Hearts of the Kings of Great Britain, may (God prospering them) revive again in your Soul. And indeed it is not to be believed, that he that loves such an Alliance, should hate the Catholick Religion, and delight to oppress the Holy Chair. To that purpose we have commanded to make continually most humble Prayers to the Father of Lights, That he would be pleased to put you as a fair Flower of Christendom, and the only Hope of Great Britain, in Possession of that most Noble Heritage that your Ancestors have purchased for you, to defend the Authority of the Sovereign High Priest, and to fight against the Monsters of Heresy. Remember the Days of old, enquire of your Fathers, and they will tell you the Way that leads to Heaven, and what Way Temporal Princes have taken to gain an Eternal Kingdom. Behold the Gates of Heaven opened, the most Holy Kings of England (who came from England to Rome accompanied with An-

A. Reg. 20. gels) did come to Honour and do Homage to
An Christi the Lord of Lords, and to the Prince of the
 1622. Apostles, in the Apostolical Chair; their Actions and Examples, being as so many Voices of God, speaking and exhorting you to follow the Course of the Lives of those, to whose Empire you shall one Day attain.

Is it possible that you can suffer Hereticks should hold them for impious, and condemn those whom the Faith of the Church testifies to Reign in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and have Command and Authority over all Principalities and Empires of the Earth? Behold how they tender you the Hand of this truly happy Inheritance, to conduct you safe and sound to the Court of the Catholick King; and now desire to bring you back again into the Bosom of the Roman Church; beseeching, with unspeakable Sighs and Groans, the God of all Mercy for your Salvation, and do stretch out to you the Arms of the Apostolical Charity, to embrace you with all Christian Affection; even you, that are her desired Son, in shewing you the happy Hope of the Kingdom of Heaven. And indeed you cannot give a greater Consolation to all the People of the Christian World, than to put the Prince of the Apostles in possession of your most Noble Island, whose Authority hath been held so long in the Kingdom of Britain for the Defence of Kingdoms, and for a Divine Oracle; the which will easily arrive, and without Difficulty, if you open your Heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the Happiness of that Kingdom. It is from this our great Charity that we cherish the Praises of the Royal Name; and that which makes us desire that you and your Royal Father might be stiled with the Name of Deliverers and Restorers of the Ancient and Paternal Religion of Great Britain. This is it we hope for, trusting in the Goodness of God, in whose Hands are the Hearts of Kings, and who causeth the People of the Earth to receive Healing; to whom we will always labour with all our Power to render you gracious and favourable. In the interim take notice by these Letters the Care of our Charity, which is none other than to procure your Happiness; and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the reading of them stir but the least Spark of Catholick Faith in the Heart of so great a Prince, whom we wish to be filled with long continuance of Joy, and flourishing in the Glory of all Virtues. Given at Rome, in the Palace of St. Peter, the 20th of April, 1623. in the Third Year of our Popedom.

This Letter of the Pope's expresses not only the sleek and smooth Ways that Soul-Merchant Pope's takes to purchase his Profelytes, but the End he Cunning proposes to himself; which is, to bring them under the Roman Obedience; otherwise, whatsoever they do or profess is Heresy. And to build up the Towers of this great Babel, the Name of the most high God is brought down among them, and used as a Master-Builder. Every Profession lays that Name as a Foundation, tho' the Superstructure be but Straw and Stubble of Hypocrisy, which a Whirlwind shall scatter; and the Time is coming that her Lovers shall be destroy'd, and fiery-cloven Tongues shall confound their Language. The Prince was not slack in answering this Letter, which happily he might think would quicken the Pope to dispatch the Dispensation, when he should find so little Cause for Delays, by his closing so nearly

A. Reg. 21. nearly with him : Which whether out of Policy, or real Intention, cannot be asserted ; but the Letter was thus :

An. Christi
1623.
The
Prince's
Answer.

MOST Holy Father, I received the Dispatch from your Holiness with great Content, and with that Respect which the Piety and Care where-with your Holiness writes doth require. It was an unspeakable Pleasure to me to read the generous Exploits of the Kings my Predecessors, to whose Memory Posterity hath not given those Praises and Elogies of Honour that were due to them. I do believe that your Holiness hath set their Example before my Eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my Actions ; for in Truth they have often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair: And the Courage with which they have assaulted the Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, hath not been less than the Care and Thought which I have ; to the end that the Peace and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Christendom, might be bound with a Bond of true Concord: For like as the Common Enemy of Peace watcheth always to put Hatred and Dissention between Christian Princes, so I believe that the Glory of God requires that we should endeavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it a greater Honour to be descended from so Great Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their Piety: In which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and Will of our Thrice Honoured Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his Catholick Majesty, to give a happy Concurrence to so laudable a Design: For it grieves him extremely to see the great Evil that grows from the Division of Christian Princes, which the Wisdom of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the Marriage, which you pleased to design, between the Infanta of Spain and my self, to be necessary to procure so great a Good: For 'tis very certain, that I shall never be so extremely affectionate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that hath the same Apprehension of the true Religion with my self. Therefore I entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partisan of any Faction against the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion: But on the contrary, I have sought all Occasions to take away the Suspicion that might rest upon me ; and that I will employ my self for the time to come to have but one Religion and one Faith, seeing

that we all believe in One Jesus Christ: Having resolved in my self to share nothing that I may have in the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommodities, even to the hazarding of my Estate and Life, for a Thing so pleasing unto God. It rests only, that I thank your Holiness for the Permission which you have been pleased to afford me, and that I may pray God to give you a blessed Health here, and his Glory, after so much Travel which your Holiness takes within his Church. †††

Signed,

CHARLES STUART.

It may well be a Quere, Whether this Profession of the Prince, in suffering all Discommodities, even to the hazarding of Estate and Life, did not rest upon him at his Death? as may be said hereafter: But there is a long Race for him to run before he come to that End. It seems he had either a good Will to write this Letter, or a bad Council to indite it, or both conjoined, that were as careful to please the Pope, as they were hopeful it would never come to see the Light, till the Flame of it would be too visible. For if the Prince intended really (when he had Power) to introduce Popery into England, this Letter in a bloody Colour too apparently would have been discovered ; and if his Intentions were formal, and only to close with the Pope for his present Accommodation, How black would every Character of this Letter look to the Roman Rubrick, and what a Tincture of Scandal would it leave upon the true Religion? for *Fallere fallentem* may be a fit Motto for a bad Man, not a good Christian ; so that whatsoever his Intentions were, the Act was evil: And I could suspect it is a forged Letter, but that it hath been asserted by so many Authors both at home and abroad.

The Pope finding by this Letter, and some other private Intimations, the Prince's good Affections to the Roman See, thought it high time to dally no longer, but to draw him altogether with the Cords of Love ; therefore he dispatches the Dispensation to his Nuntio at Madrid, six Months after the Prince's Arrival

A fatal
Letter.

The Dis-
penfation
comes to
Madrid.

††† I shall not venture to say any thing for or against the Truth of this Letter to the Pope, it being generally agreed upon, that there was one in Answer to another of the Pope's.

But it's but doing Justice to the Memory of this Prince to take Notice, that in all that Collection of Original Letters I have so often quoted, there is no mention made of any Letters from the Prince to the Pope, nor of the Pope to him, though at the same time the most minute Accidents that happened to the Prince at Madrid are there set down.

It's likewise observable, that in all that Collection, and in all the other Letters I have seen of King Charles, when Prince of Wales, he constantly subscrib'd Charles P. and never Charles Stuart.

It's true, there is in that Collection a Letter of Buckingham's before the Prince went to Spain, wherein, as I said elsewhere, he desires the King's Amendments to one of his to Cardinal Ludovicio, but not a Word of any to the Pope.

It's likewise true, that in a Letter in that Collection, dated at Madrid, March 10. 1623. the Prince and Buckingham, after having told the King all the Remora's they met with in their Business, and how difficult it would be to get the Pope's Dispensation ; they add this Expression, *If the Pope will not grant the Dispensation, then we desire to know how far we may engage you in the Acknowledgement of the Pope's Spiritual Power: For we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope Chief Head under Christ, that the Match will be made without him.* But what Answer King James made to this Letter, does not appear in that Collection.

It must also be own'd, That the Truth of the Concessions mentioned by our Author to have been made by King James to the Court of Rome, in order to facilitate the Spanish Match, were never call'd in question by any other Author of Repute. And in a Letter contain'd in the aforesaid Collection, King James acquaints the Prince and Buckingham, then at Madrid, with his sending over Two Chaplains, *Mow* and *Wren*, with Ornaments for the Prince's Chapel, whom he had fully instructed how to demean themselves there ; That so (says he) *their Behaviour and Service may be decent and agreeable to the Primitive Church, and yet as near the Roman Form as can lawfully be done: For it has ever been my Way* (continues he) *to go with the Church of Rome Usque ad aras*; meaning, as I suppose, as far as the Mass, or Sacrifice of the Altar exclusive.

There must certainly have been Transactions on foot at that time that were not fit to be made publick, nor even to be communicated to the Council. This is clear from another Letter in that Collection of King James's, wherein he desires the Prince and Buckingham to continue to write to him always in one and the same Letter; assuring them, *He would be very wary not to acquaint his Council with what Secrets they should write.* But (says he) *I have been troubled with Hamilton* (meaning the Marquess) *who being present by chance when I received your first and second Packets from Madrid, would needs peer over my Shoulder (for that is his Word) when I was reading them, offering to help me to read any hard Word: And in good Faith* (continues he) *he is in this Business, as in all things else, as unstable and uncertain as the Moon.*

there,

A. Reg. 21. there, with a little Bob at the Tail of it, yet to amuse them; which was, That the King of Great Britain and the Prince should give Caution to perform what was stipulated between them and the King of Spain, especially in those Articles which were in Favour of the Roman Catholicks in England, and other his Majesty's Dominions; requiring at least some Sovereign Catholick Prince should engage for them by Oath. This made some little Demur; for being sent into England, the King answered, That he could give no other Caution but his own and the Prince's Royal Words and Oaths, confirmed by his Council of State, and exemplified under the Great Seal of England: But this would not satisfy: Therefore the King of Spain undertook it; and it was thought a Spanish Device, That, by undertaking such an Engagement, he might not only the more endear himself to the King of Great Britain, and to the Prince his Brother, but have a more colourable Pretext to make War against England, if the Roman Catholicks there had not full Satisfaction and Freedom according to the Articles: And the King of Spain, knowing or assuring himself that no Catholick Prince would take such an Oath, offered himself to satisfy the Pope. And a Committee of Ecclesiasticks in Spain were appointed to debate the Case in relation to the King's Conscience, Whether he might take such an Oath for them? and they (being doubtless, resolved on it before) concluded affirmatively: And that if the King of Great Britain and Prince should fail in the Performance of these Capitulations, the King of Spain might save his Oath, by vindicating the Breach thereof upon them with his Sword. And now this Monster-difficulty being overcome by the Spanish Bravery, the very same time, Articles, that our King and Prince had signed, (as are before related) were sent into England for our King and his Privy Council to swear to; and there was not a Rub left for either Party to stumble at.

But whilst these things were in motion in Spain, they were much regretted and badly repented in England; the Spirit almost of the whole Nation being averse to this Union, which made many vent their Passion by their Pens, as well as their Tongues. Amongst the rest, the Archbishop of Canterbury, knowing that a Toleration was to be admitted, (though he stood tottering in the King's Favour, and had the Badge of a Puritan clapt upon him) thought it better to discharge his Conscience, though he hazarded all, rather than be silent in such a Cause, where the Glory of God, and the Good of the Kingdom, were so highly concerned. Therefore he writes this Letter to the King.

May it please Your Majesty,

The
Arch-
bishop's
Letter to
the King
against
Tolera-
tion.

I Have been too long silent, and am afraid by my Silence I have neglected the Duty of the Place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and Your Majesty to place me in. And now I humbly crave Leave I may discharge my Conscience towards God, and my Duty to Your Majesty; and therefore I beseech Your Majesty give me Leave freely to deliver my self, and then let Your Majesty do with me what You please. Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion: I beseech you, Sir, take into your Consideration what the Act is, next what the Consequence may be. By your Act You labour to set up that most Damnable and Heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Whore of Babylon. How hateful will it be to God, and grievous unto your good Subjects, the true Professors of the Gospel, that your Majesty, who hath often disputed

A. Reg. 21. and learnedly written against those wicked Heresies, should now shew your self a Patron of those Doctrines, which your Pen hath told the World, and your Conscience tells your self, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable? Add hereunto what You have done in sending the Prince into Spain, without the Consent of your Council, the Privy and Approbation of your People. And though, Sir, You have a large Interest in the Prince, as the Son of your Flesh, yet hath the People a greater, as the Son of the Kingdom, upon whom (next after Your Majesty) their Eyes are fixed, and Welfare depends: And so tenderly is his going apprehended, as, believe it, Sir, however his Return may be safe, yet the Drawers of him to that Action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned and unpunished. Besides, this Toleration which you endeavour to set up by Proclamation, cannot be done without a Parliament, unless your Majesty would let your Subjects see, That You will take unto your self a Liberty to throw down the Laws of the Land at your Pleasure. What dreadful Consequence these things may draw after them, I beseech Your Majesty to consider. And, above all, lest by this Toleration, and Discontinuance of the true Profession of the Gospel, whereby God hath blessed us, and under which this Kingdom hath for many Years flourished, Your Majesty do not draw upon the Kingdom in general, and your self in particular, God's heavy Wrath and Indignation. Thus, in Discharge of my Duty towards God, to Your Majesty, and the Place of my Calling, I have taken humble Boldness to deliver my Conscience. And now, Sir, do with me what You please.

Thus did our Solomon in his latter time (though he had fought with the Beasts at Ephesus, as one faith of him) incline a little too much to the Beast; yet he made his Tale so good to the Archbishop of Canterbury, (what Reservations soever he had) that he wrought upon the good old Man (afterwards) in the Conclusion of the Work, to set his Hand as a Witness to the Articles. And his Desires were so heightened to the Heats of Spain, (which boild him to such a Distemper) that he would listen to nothing, and almost yield to any thing, rather than not to enjoy his own Humour. Divers of his intimate Council, affecting Popery, were not slack to urge him to a Toleration, and many Arguments were used inciting to it; as, That Catholicks were the King's best and most peaceable Subjects, the Puritans being the only Sticklers and the greatest Disturbers of the Royal Peace, trenching too boldly upon the Prerogative, and striving to lessen the Kingly Power: But if the King had Occasion to make use of the Catholicks, he should find them more faithful to him than those that are ever contesting with him. And why should not Catholicks with as much Safety be permitted in England, as the Protestants are in France? That their Religion was full of Love and Charity, (where they could enjoy it with Freedom;) and where Charity lays the Foundation, the upper Building must needs be Spiritual. But these Arguments were answer'd, and many Reasons alledged against them, proving the Nature of the Protestant Religion to be compatible with the Nature of the Politick Laws of any State, of what Religion soever; because it teacheth, That the Government of any State, whether Monarchical or Aristocratical, is Supream within it self, and not Subordinate to any Power without; so that the Knot of Allegiance thereunto is so firmly tied, that no humane Power can unloose or dissolve it. Whereas, on the contrary, the Roman Religion, acknowledging

Argu-
ments for
and
against a
Tolera-
tion.

A. Reg. 21. *An. Christi 1623.* knowledge a Supremacy in another, above that Power which swayeth the State, whereof they are Members, must consequently hold, that one Stroke of that Supreme Power is able to unfinew and cut in sunder all the Bonds which tie them to the Subordinate and Dependent Authority; and therefore can ill Accord with the Allegiance which Subjects owe to a Prince of their own Religion, which makes Papists intolerable in a Protestant Common-wealth. For what Faith can a Prince or People expect from them, whose Tenet is, *That no Faith is to be held with Hereticks?* That the Protestants in France had merited better there than the Papists had done in England; the one, by their Loyalties to their Lawful King, having ransomed that Kingdom with their Bloods, in the Pangs of her desperate Agonies, from the Yoak of an Usurper within, and the Tyranny of a Foreign Scepter without; the other seeking to write their Disloyalties in the Heart-blood of the Princes and best Subjects of this Kingdom. That the Number and Quality of the Professors of these different Religions in either Kingdom is to be observed: For in France the Number of the Protestants were so great, that a Toleration did not make them, but found them, a considerable Party, so strong, as they could not have been suppressed without endangering the Kingdom: But a Toleration in England would not find, but form, the Papists to be a considerable Party, (witness their Encrease by this late Connivency;) a thing which ought mainly to be avoided: For the Distraction of a State into several powerful Parties is always weakening, and often proveth the utter Ruin thereof.

The Match concluded in England.

The Preamble to the Articles.

These things were laid open to the King, but all were waved by the King of Spain's Offering. His Engagement to the Pope, by Oath, That he and the Prince his Son should observe and keep the Articles stipulated betwixt them, did exceedingly affect him: And the Articles now coming to close up all, they were engrossed, with a long Preamble; declaring to all the World the much desired Union betwixt him and the King of Spain, by the Marriage of his Son to the Infanta Maria, Sister to the King: To which end he had sent his Son into Spain, to treat and conclude the Match; together with George Duke of Buckingham, John Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Aston and Sir Francis Cottington Barons, Commissioners on his Part for the said Treaty; and on the behalf of the King of Spain, John de Mendoza and Luna, Marquis of Montes Claros, Didacus Sarmiento de Acuna Earl of Gondemar, and John de Cirica Secretary to the Secret Council: Which Commissioners for both Parts, qualified by a Dispensation from his Holiness, after long and deliberate Dispute in so serious a Matter, *Communi consensu atque iudicio in aliquot capitulationes & condiciones, ad rem terminandam & absolvendam accommodatas, quæ sic se habent, convenerunt;* by one Consent and Judgment, had determined and concluded the same.

Then followed the before-recited Articles, after which this long Postscript attesting them.

The Postscript to the Articles.

THE Treaty aforesaid, and all and singular the Capitulations in the same contained and specified, are acceptable to Us; and from Our certain Knowledge, for as much as doth concern Us, Our Heirs and Successors, We do approve, allow, confirm and ratify, all and every of them: And We do promise by these Presents, bona fide, in the Word of a King, (laying aside all Exception and Contradiction) inviolably,

A. Reg. 21. *An. Christi 1623.* firmly, well and faithfully, to keep, observe and fulfil the same, and to cause them with Effect to be kept, observed and fulfilled: And, laying Our Hand upon the Holy Evangelists, We do confirm the same by Oath; in the Presence of the Illustrious and Noble-Men, John de Mendoza and Carolus à Colonna, Ambassadors of his Majesty the Catholick King, resident in Our Court; notwithstanding all Opinions, Sentences and Laws, to the contrary. In Faith and Witness that these Articles, and all and singular the Premises, were subscribed with Our own Hand, We have caused Our Great Seal to be put to them, in the Presence of the most Reverend Father in Christ, George Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England; the most Reverend Father in Christ, John Bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the Great Seal of England; and Our beloved Cousins, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lord High Treasurer of England; Henry Viscount Mandevill, President of Our Council; Edward Earl of Worcester, Keeper of Our Privy Seal; Lodowick Duke of Richmond and Lenox, High Steward of Our Household; James Marquess Hamilton; James Earl of Carlisle; Thomas Earl of Kelly; Oliver Viscount Grandison, and the Reverend Father in Christ, Lancelot Bishop of Winchester, Dean of Our Royal Chapel; and Our Beloved and Faithful, George Baron Carew of Clapton, Master of Our Great Ordnance of England; Arthur Baron Chichester of Belfast, High Treasurer of Our Kingdom of Ireland; Sir Thomas Edmonds Kt. Treasurer of Our Royal Household; Sir John Sucklin Kt. Comptroller of Our Household; Sir George Calvert Kt. One of Our Principal Secretaries; Sir Edward Conwey Kt. another of Our Principal Secretaries; Sir Richard Weston Kt. Chancellor and Sub-Treasurer of Our Exchequer; and Sir Julius Cæsar Kt. Master of Our Rolls; all of them of Our Privy Council. Dated at Our Palace at Westminster the Twentieth Day of July, in the One and twentieth Year of Our Reign.

This Train of Witnesses are set down, to shew who were then of our King's Council; though some of them set their Hands to it much against their Wills, and swore with as little Zeal to observe and keep (as much as in them lay) all the aforesaid Articles; such Power have Kings over Mens Reasons and Consciences.

There was some little Contest betwixt our King and the King of Spain's Ambassadors, about some particular Ceremonies observed in swearing of these Articles; for our King having written and spoken against the Pope's Holiness, would not admit him to be so stiled in his Oath: But the Ambassadors refused to proceed further, unless that Title were consented unto; so that our King, (affecting ever to be accounted a Peace-maker) though he were Defender of the Faith, was forced to lay by his Shield, (admitting him to be holy who was most unholy;) and so the Strife ended. Some other little things were stood upon by the Ambassadors; but the King's Patience surmounted all their Demands. And in the Close of the Business, he invited the Ambassadors to a Royal Feast at Whitehall; where, after Dinner, retiring into the Council-Chamber, the King took another private Oath, to observe certain Articles in Favour of Roman Catholics, for a free Exercise of their Religion in all his Dominions; wherein he protested to do what in him lay, that the Parliament should confirm the same. And thus was the great Business accomplished; which gave our King so much Content, that (being transported with an Assurance of the Match) he was heard to say, *Now all the Devils in Hell cannot hinder it;* so secure was he of it in his

Private Articles sworn to

A. Reg. 21. own Opinion: But one that heard him, said to others standing by, *That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were now all gone into Spain to make up the Match.*

An. Christi 1623.
Jesuites swarm.

This Forwardness of the Union with Spain, and Indulgence to Papists, made Jesuites and Priests swarm in every Corner, setting up their subtle Traps to catch wavering Spirits: And they could not hear of a Man of Estate that was sick, (for Persons of Quality were only aimed at) but they would tamper with his weak Conscience, and perswade him to the Charity of their Religion, whereby his Soul (that was tainted with Earthly Corruptions, and must needs be purged by Fire before it can come to God) should escape the Pains of Purgatory; or if it went thither, their Prayers could redeem them thence; with such Stuff as this deceiving many poor Souls. But their most specious juggling Argument (which did catch many ignorant Persons) was the Visibleness of their Church in all Ages, (as they pretended) and their great Question, Where the Protestant Church was before Luther? Among the rest, one *Edward Buggs* Esq; living in London, aged Seventy Years, and an old professed Protestant, was seduced by them in his Sickness; and after his Recovery, being troubled in Mind, at his Request and Desire there was a Publick Conference and Dispute appointed at Sir *Humphrey Lind's* House; *Lind* being a Friend to *Buggs*, and a Gentleman of great Knowledge and Integrity, who was able to grapple with the Jesuites himself; yet he modestly desired Doctor *White* and Doctor *Featly*, Protestants, to encounter with Father *Fisher* and Father *Sweet*, Jesuites: Where *Featly* laid their juggling Tricks at their Doors; protesting to acknowledge himself overcome by them, if they could prove out of any good Author, (let them brag what they would of the Visibleness of their Church in all Ages) that in City, Parish, or Hamlet, within Five hundred Years next after Christ, there was any visible Assembly of Christians to be named, maintaining or defending either the Council of *Trent* in general, or these Points of Popery in special.

Dispute publicly.

1. 'That there is a Treasury of Saints Merits, and superabundant Satisfaction, at the Pope's disposing.
2. 'That the Laity are not commanded by Christ's Institution to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds.
3. 'That the Publick Service of God in the Church, ought, or may be celebrated in an unknown Tongue.
4. 'That Private Masses (wherein the Priest saith, *Edite & bibite ex hoc omnes*, and yet eateth and drinketh himself only) are according to Christ's Institution.
5. 'That the Pope's Pardons are requisite or useful, to release Souls out of Purgatory.
6. 'That the Effect of the Sacrament dependeth upon the Intention of the Minister.

Here Mr. *Sweet* interrupted him, saying, These were Scholastical Points, not Fundamental.

To which Doctor *White* replied, *Those things which are defined in your Council of Trent, are to you Matters Fundamental: And whatsoever Article denied makes a Man an Heretick, is Fundamental.*

But the Denial of any of these, make a Man an Heretick.

Ergo, Every one of these Articles is Fundamental.

To which Argument, nothing being answer'd, Doctor *Featly* proceeded.

7. 'That Extream Unction is a Sacrament properly so called. *A. Reg. 21.*

8. 'That we may worship God by an Image. *An. Christi 1623.*

9. 'That the Sacred Host ought to be elevated, or carried in solemn Procession.

10. 'That Infidels, and impious Persons, yea Rats and Mice, may eat the Body of Christ.

11. 'That all Ecclesiastical Power dependeth on the Pope.

12. 'That he cannot err in Matters of Faith.

13. 'That he hath Power to canonize Saints, to dispose of Kings and Kingdoms at his Pleasure, &c.

But the Jesuites not being able to prove, that any of these things were in practice in the Primitive Times of Christianity, (but that they were fob'd in by several Popes and Councils, in latter Times, to serve their own Turns) waved the Argument, and insisted upon other Particulars, not material to the Point; striving to confound one thing with another, (as their manner is) that they might complicate, and wrap up in Obscurity, all that was spoken: Which Mr. *Buggs* perceiving, rested fully satisfied and confirmed in the Truth.

But thus the Jesuites ranged up and down seeking whom they might devour; and their Insolency being greater, and more notorious at this time than at others, the Mischief that fell to them in this Height of their Pride and Greatness, is very remarkable: For at a Sermon in *Black-Friars*, where Father *Drurie*, a Jesuite, vented his pestilent Doctrine to an Auditory of near Three hundred People, the Floor of the Chamber (being an upper Room) fell down, and killed the Preacher, and almost (if not) a full Hundred of his Auditory outright, maiming and bruising most of the rest; many of them lying a long time under the Rubbish, crying for Help, and with much Difficulty recovered their broken Limbs. Thus many times we might immediately see the Hand of God, (who is the Lord of Life and Death) though through wilful Stupidity (because we must judge modestly) we look upon these Accidents by mediate and second Causes; thinking an old House can destroy so many Lives, without the Permission of that supreme Authority that orders all things both in Heaven and in Earth.

The Duke of *Brunswick* this Spring, (being *Brunswick* healed of his Wounds received in the last Battle raises an Army with *Mansfeldt*, and having gotten an Artificial Arm to manage his Horse, which he could do with a great deal of Dexterity) what by his own Interest and Power, and the Assistance of his Friends, (being but a younger Brother, and having nothing but the Bishoprick of *Haverstat* for his Portion) he raised a great Army in the lower Parts of *Germany*, about *Brunswick* and *Munster*, consisting of about Sixteen thousand Foot, and Five thousand Horse, every way compleatly armed, and accomplished with a gallant Train of Artillery; the Horses, Wagons, and Carriages, in such trim and suitable Equipage, as shewed, by their Suitableness in Furniture, they had not been patched up, nor hastily hurried together. His Design (being invited thereto) was to join with the Prince of *Orange*, to be revenged of the *Spaniards* for the Loss of his Arm the last Year: But the chief Motive (as he always pretended) was his Respects to the Queen of *Bohemia*, who in those Days (whether out of Pity for her suffering so much, or out of Fear that Religion would yet suffer much more) carried a great Stream of Affection towards her.

The

A. Reg. 21. The Commanders in chief of this Army under the Duke of *Brunswick*, were, Duke *William* of *Wimar*, Marshal-General of the Field; Count *Stirum*, General of the Horse; Count *Isenburg*, General of the Ordnance; and *Kniphuisen*, Sergeant-Major-General; Men acquainted with War, and Danger. But whether the Divine Fate had laid a mouldring Hand upon this gallant Army, or whether the Enemy with a full Hand had charmed some of these great Officers (as by the Carriage of the Business may be suspected) to be of his Party, was not discovered; but the Ruine of it was as strange for the Manner, as unknown for the Means: For after *Brunswick* had taken a Resolution at *Kettington* in *Brunswickland*, to join with the Prince of *Orange*, he declined all Occasions of encountering with *Tillie* the Imperial General, who was with an Army at a good distance, attending *Brunswick's* Motion, not knowing (as may be conjectured) whether he would bend his Course into the *Palatinate*, or into the *Low-Countries*; so that upon *Brunswick's* March he left him in his Rear. And lest *Tillie* should follow him too close, and interrupt him in his March, he divided his Army into Three Brigades: The Van-guard was commanded by Duke *William*, in which was Three Regiments; his own, Colonel *Mayer's*, and Colonel *Freuck's*. *Kniphuisen*, the Sergeant-Major-General, had the ordering of the Batail; the Colonels under him were *Guerstken*, and *Spar*. And the Count *de la Tour* brought up the Rear, with Duke *Bernard* of *Wimar's* Regiment, the *Rhinegrafs*, and Colonel *Spees*; with Direction, that these Three Bodies should keep equal Distance, and observe this Order:

Their Order in Marching. That having in their March the Enemy at their Backs, if the Rear-guard made a Halt, the Batail should do the same, and consequently the Van-guard, (according to the best Discipline) attending with firm Foot the Cause of the Halt, that they may be ready to put themselves in order for Service, if Occasion were presented. The Army thus coming to pass any Passage, while the Van-guard did advance, the Batail and Rear-guard should make a stand, with the Front towards the Enemy. The Van-guard being pass'd, should face the Passage, and stay for the Batail; which being pass'd also, should do the same for the Rear-guard, that they might be ready upon the approach of an Enemy to assist one another. With this Order and Direction they began to march into *Westfalia*; *Brunswick* trusting to *Stirum*, *Kniphuisen*, and *Freuck*; who being Natives of the Country, gave him Assurance of the Safe-Conduct of his Army by Ways short and commodious. And he commanded, especially the General of the Horse, to send out Parties of Horse every way, that he might have Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions; who gave him Assurance, that the Enemy's Army was not within Thirty *English* Miles; when by other hands, at the same time, he had certain notice, that the Enemy was within Three *English* Miles with his whole Power. This Miscalriage made *Brunswick* hast away to *Newburgh*, the next Town; where resting a little, he took a Resolution to march all Night, to recover Time and Ground again, that *Stirum's* Negligence had made him lazily lose: And to that end he commanded *Kniphuisen*, and Count *Isenburg*, to make the Baggage march at Eleven a Clock at Night, the Cannon at Midnight, and the Army two Hours after: But *Brunswick* getting up at Three a Clock in the Morning, hoping to find his Commands obeyed, and the Army in a good Forwardness of advance, found

nothing done, and these great Officers in their Beds. This Disobedience of his Officers troubled *Brunswick* much; but he was contrained to Diligence, as well as Patience; and halting them away, they pretended Forwardness, but made it Eight of the Clock in the Morning before the Rear-guard stirred out of their Quarters.

From *Newburgh* to *Statloo-Bridge* (a Place of The General Security) was but Fourteen *English* Miles, and there were in that way Seven Passages or Straits, where a few Men might oppose an Army. The Baggage, Cannon, and Munition, (except Six Pieces with Munition that marched with the Rear-guard) had pass'd them all; and the Foot, Three of them, without disturbance: But Count *Stirum* with the Horse loitered still behind at *Newburgh*, which caused *Brunswick* to make the whole Army face about and stay for the Horse; sending a strict Command to *Stirum*, with all Speed to come up and join with the Foot, and not to skirmish with the Enemy at any rate. But he stayed so long, that the Enemy began to charge him in the Rear, before he advanced to the Third Passage; so that he sent to *Brunswick* for Five hundred Musketeers, to amuse the Enemy, till he had passed the Third Passage with his Horse. The Duke sent these Musketeers according to *Stirum's* Desire; and advancing his Army forward, he passed the Fourth Passage, and there made the Rear of his Foot face about, the better to favour and receive his Horse: Which having done, he speeds back towards *Stirum*, to see how the Business went with him; and encountering *Kniphuisen*, he asked him what the Enemy had done? who answered, *Nothing; all is well*. But *Brunswick* going forward, found the contrary; for the Enemy had made a great Slaughter, laying almost a Thousand Horse upon the Ground.

This perplexed *Brunswick* exceedingly, so that with some Passion he sent a Command to *Stirum* to advance his Horse towards the Body of the Army, who had stayed Three Hours for them at the Fourth Passage, whither the Duke returned to secure the same; planting Two Pieces of Demi-cannon at the Mouth of the Passage, and leaving Two thousand Musketeers to guard it, for the assistance of the Horse, if the Enemy should come to charge them at the Entrance; and so he marched forward with the rest of the Army. But *Stirum* drew the Horse into a Body under the side of a Wood, which was in the middle of a spacious Plain, betwixt the Two Passages; and that brought the Enemy to a stand: For they suspected the whole Army stood in Battalia behind that Wood, and therefore did not advance; which shewed they watched only for Advantages. And *Stirum* seeing the Enemy at a stand, drew his Horse towards the Fourth Passage; which the Enemy observing, made all the hast after that could be, to pelt them in the Rear: But the Horse passed the Fourth Passage before the Enemy came up.

Then *Brunswick* drew off his Cannon, and So doth marched away to the Fifth Passage, leaving the *Kniphuisen* (who undertook it voluntarily) with the Sergeant-Major-General. Two thousand Musketeers, to make good that Passage, which was of that Advantage, that half the Men might have done it; and Two Regiments of Horse were left to give assistance to the Foot, to bring them off when they should retire, and join with the Army. But the Van-guard of *Brunswick's* Army had scarce entered the Fifth Passage, but he discovered some Musketeers running towards a Wood that was on this side, and not far from the Fourth Passage; and riding

A Reg. 21. riding back to see whether all stood firm, he met *Kniphuisen*, and ask'd him, If the Passage was made good? Who answer'd, *Take you no Care, trust me.* But presently discovering some of the Officers that had command of the Musketeers running towards the Army, he took a more lively Apprehension that the Passage was lost; and meeting *Kniphuisen*, with some Heat, told him, He had betray'd him: But *Kniphuisen* excus'd himself, that he could not keep it against an Army, and complain'd, that the Horse had abandon'd him. But, said he, the next Passage is of as great Importance as the last, and I will undertake to keep that, upon Forfeiture of my Head, to redeem my Credit again; and to that end he desired an entire Regiment of Foot, which the Duke granted him; but assur'd him, he should answer it if any Ill succeeded by his Default.

Whilst the Army was passing the Fifth Passage, the Duke sent to know, whether the Horse placed according to his Direction in the Rear made good their Station; and he had Intimation, that the Horse were retired close to a Wood, and by that means discovered the Foot to the Enemy. And the Army was no sooner pass'd the Fifth Passage, but *Kniphuisen* quitted it to the Enemy, without so much as a Musket shot from them. And the more, to weaken his Force, (before he quitted the Passage) he comes to the Duke, and tells him, (but it was not true) That the Enemy with 30 Cornets of Horse struck towards the Left Hand, to cut a way to the Bagage, to possess that; And *Brunswick* looking about, perceived in a little Wood not far off a Body of Horse, which proved to be the Prince of *Ouldenburgh*, who was Colonel of a Regiment of 1000 Horse, whom he sent to resist the Enemy, if they should attempt upon the Bagage. And advancing his Army to the Sixth Passage, he pass'd that also before the Enemy came to it: But here was *Brunswick's* Error in trusting *Kniphuisen* the third time, which was only, as he said, to redeem his former Faults; for he gave the keeping of this Sixth Passage to him also, which he delivered to the Enemy at their first Approach, as he did the others; and drawing the Rear-guard out of the way on the Right Hand, (contrary to *Brunswick's* Commands) and the General of the Ordinance striking out on the Left Hand with his Body and Cannon, and *Strum* sheltering himself in the Woods with his Horse, the Enemy advanced freely, (seeing them thus scattered) and charged on all sides with his whole Power. But little Resistance being made, (the General Officers leaving the Field) every one shifted for himself: Some escap'd over *Statloo* Bridge, many were drown'd in the River, the Slaughter and Ruine was great, so was the Confusion and Fear. Sir *Charles Rich* being with *Brunswick* in this disorderly Business, escap'd a great Danger, for in their flight his Horse fell into a Bog, where *Brunswick* and the rest left him sticking; but being a spritely Horse, (that his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* had given him) with much Labour he plung'd himself out, and saved both himself and his Rider.

Brunswick's Army defeated.

The Relicks of this broken Army that escap'd, the Author saw at *Eltem on the Hill* in *Cleveland*, and this Relation was made by the Duke of *Brunswick* to *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* for his own Vindication. And from a *French* Copy that the Duke gave to the Earl of *Essex*, he translated it then into *English*, that some of our Nation there might partake of the true Knowledge of his Misfortunes. And the Duke cited

his Chief Officers to appear before Prince *Maurice*, where he laid this Accusation to their Charge; but either the Duke had no Power over them, (being in a strange Country) or no Proof against them for this strange Miscarriage, (being accounted among them, *La Fortune de la Guerre*, but Chance of War) for they all escap'd without Punishment.

And some Years after, *Kniphuisen* was thought fit in the Duke of *Buckingham's* Voyage to the Isle of *Ree* to be a Field-Officer in the *English* Army, which almost (if not altogether) thriv'd as ill: So uncertain is the true State of intricate Transactions! for that which is obvious and visible, may be believ'd an Error; but secret Mischiefs are left to his Discovery, who only knows the Heart.

France about this time had her Wounds bound up, and stanch'd the Bloody Issue, by the Pacification of *Montpelier*; but it broke out again at *Rochel*, where some *English* Ships did the King of *France* Service, press'd thereto by the Duke of *Guise*, Admiral of *France*; and tho' it carried a bad Savour then, that they should fight against the Protestants, being forced thereto, yet it was not so enormous and dangerous to them, as when the Duke of *Buckingham* afterwards did force the *Vanguard*, a prime Ship of our King's, and Six other gallant Ships, out of the *English* Hands, and put them into *French* Fingering, that they might do the Mischief with them: Which Act was laid upon the Duke's Account, among other heinous Crimes by him committed; and he had dearly pay'd for it, if the Prince, his Fellow-Traveller, (in the First Year of whose Reign it was done) had not acquitted him.

But in their intimate and secret Counsels in *France* it was debated, Whether it were not better to pull such a Goad of Hereticks (as they call'd the Protestants) out of the Side of the Kingdom, that stuck there, to their continual Vexation and Trouble, rather than have their Pain perpetually renew'd, being impossible to heal the Sore but by such an Extirpation: So much Rancour and inveterate Malice sprung up in the Popish Party against them of the Religion, that the Animosity of it extended to little less than another Massacre. And tho' our King (who may be said to love them) gave them no Countenance, (whatsoever his Promises were) otherwise than by intreating for them, (being a tickle and tender Point (as he thought) to partake with Subjects against their Prince) yet God sent them Deliverance (such are the Dispensations of his Providence) by one that hated their Religion, as much, if not more, than the *French*.

For the King of *Spain* (doubling his Ambition) possess'd himself about this time of some Parts of the *Valtolin*, thinking to bound *France* towards *Italy*, (the *Alpes* being not so high as his Thoughts) as the *Pyrenes* had bounded it towards *Spain*: And the *French* Activity being loth to be coop'd up, thought it better to endure a little Inconvenience at home, than so much Prejudice abroad; and therefore, to oppose him, they clos'd with the Protestants. And what was it brought them in Obedience? The re-edifying of their ruin'd Temples, the restoring and maintaining their banish'd Ministers, and Security in their Religion and Consciences: So that it was not their Rebellion that was Cause of the War, but the War made against their Religion caus'd it to be call'd a Rebellion. Thus, when all other Means fail'd, their worst Enemies (tho' much against their Wills) proved to be their best Friends.

But

A Reg. 21. But to return to the *Spanish Treaty* all this while in Agitation. As soon as the Articles our King had sealed and sworn to observe were come into *Spain*, and the Prince had ratified and confirmed them, and had sworn to another Article there, wherein he ties up his own Hands, and gave leave to Satan and all his Accomplices to buffet him, (which was, To permit at all times that any should freely propose to him the Arguments of the Catholick Religion, without giving any Impediment; and that he would never directly nor indirectly permit any to speak to the *Infanta* against the same) the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Spain* (as it were) shook Hands to the Agreement. Preparations were made in *England* to entertain the *Infanta*, a new Church built up at *St. James's*, the Prince's House; the Foundation-stone (with much Ceremony) laid by *Don Carlos a Colonna*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, for the publick Exercise of her Religion: Her very Shadows are courted in every Corner; Painters being set a-work to take the Height and Dimenſions of this new Star, that was to rise in the North, before it appear'd. Such as hoped to flourish by her Influence, grew up to Exuberancy: What would they do then when they found the Effects of it? Why, be drowned in their own Redundancy: For the moderate Spirit did foresee what bad Omens this Apparition did threaten. On the other side, in *Spain* the Substance is as much courted, as the Shadow is here, with the Title of *Princess of England*; her Maiden Restraints are taken off, and she may come abroad to publick Meetings, where now their Eyes may prattle loving Stories; tho' the great Courtier *Olivares* gave it no better Title than, *The Prince watches the Infanta as a Cat doth a Mouse*; too gross an Expression for a Master of those Ceremonies. And, in fine, there was such an Union betwixt the Two Crowns, that it might well be said, *Philip and Jacob* made one Holiday.

The Palatine Affairs waded. But this closing betwixt *England* and *Spain*, made the Breach the wider in the House of the *Palatine*; the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the *Electorate* to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children being waved in the Treaty, and a great Sum of Money proposed as a Dowry, which was also lessend after the first Proposition, and some part of it promised to be sent with her in Jewels, (which as one said might be Counterfeit as the rest of their Actions) yet our King accepted of all; so eager was he, and greedy of the Match, that no Obstacle could stand in his way which he did not remove. But there was some under-hand Promise, That the *Infanta*, among the Court-Compliments, should work that Feat, in presenting the Restorative of that Dignity and Country for a Breakfast, to ingratiate her self with the Prince her Husband, and as a Pawn of her good Will and Affection to the *English Nation*: And these Promises, with the *Spanish Stamp*, were taken in *England* for current Payment; so that all Things tended to a Conclusion.

New Resolutions on both sides.

But Time in *Spain* came too swift upon them,

A Reg. 21. they were willing the *Infanta* should Winter there; but knew not well how to delay the Prince longer. And as they were in this Plunge, ruminating upon, and striving to find out some new Remora to help them, Pope *Gregory XV.* (that had granted the Dispensation) dies; and then their Subtilties flew upon that Accident to make the Dispensation invalid; yet with a Reserve to keep up our Prince's Spirit, that it should be no hinderance to the Match; for the new Pope would instantly do it; if not, it should be dispatched by the Dean of the Cardinals: And the King of *Spain* assured the Prince, That if he would stay till *Christmas*, the Marriage should be really celebrated then. These Delays coming one on the Neck of another, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having taken some Disgust in *Spain*, presented all Things to our King in the worst Habit he could put upon them; for there had been some Jars betwixt him and *Olivares*. Two great Favourites, tho' of different Kingdoms, could not well squat in one Form. *Olivares* hunted *Buckingham* so close, that he had almost caught him in his own Burrow; but, instead of his Game, he encounter'd some Vermin, (which Darknes could not distinguish) who bit him shrewdly; and whether it were by this Common-Hunt I know not; but I am sure it was by the Common-Cry, that he was so displeas'd with the *Spanish* for it, that he afterwards much inclined to the *French*. I acknowledge, the Gravity and Dignity of History should not appear in such Metaphorical Habilliments; but that we now live in an Age where Truth is forced to shroud her self in such Attire, lest she should have imprinted on her Face a Mark of Malice against Greatness; which if it be not ballanced with Goodness and Piety, is but an empty and frothy Title.

But it was said, this Tetrical Humour made *Buckingham* dislike all the *Spanish* Proceedings; and just in the Nick, when it was on him, † the Queen of *Bohemia*, by a private Message, gave him some Intimation, that she and her Children were to be thought on, inviting him to be a Witness to the Christening of one of them, which came fit to his Acceptation, not so much out of Affection to the one Party, as in Opposition to the other. And what disrelish'd with him, gave an ill Savour to our King, who having Cause enough to dislike the *Spanish* Delays, and finding the Hearts of the People bent against the Match, and some near him, as the Duke of *Lenox*, made Duke of *Richmond* when *Buckingham* had his Title, that the *Scots* might still precede the *English*; and the Marquess *Hamilton* made Earl of *Cambridge*, to intitle him a Peer the last Parliament, a Man of a gallant and stately Presence, one whom the King much listen'd to, and others having as little Affection to it; the Hopes of a Daughter of *France*, left to give Life yet to a Royal Race, did bate something of our King's keen Edge: So that he wrote to *Buckingham*, That he could not expect after so long a stay in *Spain*, and so little done, that they had any cordial Intention to perfect the

A Reg. 21.
An Christi.
1623.

|| That Noble Historian the Earl of *Clarendon* has in his History sufficiently ridiculed this Story. Yet our Author can hardly be blam'd for giving Credit to it, considering it was not only a common Report at that time, but the *Spanish* Historians took Pains to publish it, out of Prejudice to the Duke of *Buckingham*, after the Match was broke off.

† There are Two Letters of the Queen of *Bohemia* to the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Collection above-mentioned, writ with an unaffected moving Eloquence. In one, she expresses her intire Confidence in his Friendship, notwithstanding all Reports to the contrary. In the other, she implores his good Offices with her Father, and solemnly protests, That what Count *Dona* or any others had said to him, of her Husband's Diffidence in him, was false; and intreats him to believe no such thing of either her Husband or her. So low was this Excellent Princess brought, that she was obliged to make Court to her own Father's Favourite, in Terms infinitely below the Greatness of her Mind, or of her Birth.

Treaty;

A. Reg. 21. Treaty; and therefore conjur'd him to bring his Son back with all speed: But if his Son's Youthful Follies should tie him to a long Expectation, he chargeth him by his Allegiance to come away, and leave him there.

This Letter the Duke shew'd to the Prince, and it wrought so upon him, that he took a sudden Resolution to go home.

The Duke and Olivares quarrel.] The Grandees of Spain having Notice thereof, were much troubled; for their Design was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping thereby to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that there might have been a Co-union between them, that she being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there till she were deliver'd, that so the Child might be bred up and naturalized a Spaniard, both in Affection and Religion; which this sudden Resolution hindering, it somewhat startled them. Olivares told Buckingham, That he had promised the Prince should admit of Communion with some Jesuits of theirs in Matters of Religion.

And the Duke answer'd, There had been some already with him; but the Prince (he said) was so well settled in Religion, that he was not to be further alter'd. Olivares reply'd, *You gave me some Assurance and Hope of the Prince's turning Catholick.* The Duke told him, It was false. The Conde in a great Rage broke from him, with so much Impatience, that he was scarce able to contain himself, went to the Prince, and told him how unworthily Buckingham had serv'd him: And after his Complaints to him, he found out the Baron Kensington, whom he looked on with an Eye of good Respect, his Civilities and Carriage obliging every where, venting his Passion to him; telling him, That Buckingham had given him the Lye, and that there was nothing a Man of Honour could be more sensible of: That it bred a great Distraction in him, betwixt his Affection to his Master's Honour and his own: For if any Evil did rebound to Buckingham by his Hand, (being a Person so near the Prince, who had honoured the Court of Spain with his Presence, and run through great and dangerous Hazards, out of Affection to his Master's Sister, upon whose Actions now all the Christian World are gazing) it would reflect upon the Honour of his Master; and when his own Honour comes in competition with his Master's, the least must give way to the greatest; therefore he desired the Lord of Kensington to tell the Duke, That he had so much of a Gentleman, as to be sensible of the Injury, and so much Power and Courage as to revenge himself; but rather than his Master's Honour should suffer, he would be the Sufferer. The Duke sent the Conde Word again by the said Lord, That he laid a Thing to his Charge that would not admit of a less sharp Answer; for when his Honour comes in competition with the Conde's, he had rather that should suffer than his own. His Passion was quick, but not durable; hot, but not revengful: And he held so high an Esteem of the Conde, that he was more willing to venture upon his Sword than his Malice.

Buckingham goes to the Ships.] This Business being waved by the Conde's Discretion, and they seeing the Prince's Intention bent homeward, made Preparation of Carriages to the Sea side. The Duke of Buckingham's Departure was sudden, giving them no time to prepare for him, pretending a great Charge to look after the Port of *St. Andero* in *Biscay*, where the Royal Navy of England, under the Command of his Father-in-Law the Earl of Rutland, attended his Directions, that

all Things might be accommodated for his young Master; not caring a Fig for the Ceremony of a Spanish Farewel, which happily he might fear, and therefore strive to avoid, and which their Gravities, as they do all other Things, draw out at full length. But because they should not think he ran away, he gave them a short Signal of his Departure, and left the Prince to manage his own Business. And that the Prince's Change of Soil and Air, the great Volatile of Fancy, might produce no Change in his Affection, the King of Spain and he both took solemn Oaths to accomplish the Marriage, and to make the Espousals Ten Days after the Dispensation from the new Pope should arrive. And a Procurator was sealed by the Prince to the King of Spain and Don Carlos his Brother, and left in the Earl of Bristol's Hand to perfect the Work.

Among the Specious Ceremonies indented betwixt these two great Princes, the Richness of the Gifts and Presents that pass'd among them were highly remarkable. The King of Spain presented the Prince and all his Noble Train, and the Prince filled the Court of Spain, as it were, with Jewels; no Person of Quality or Merit, but his Name was recorded in the Inventory of the Prince's Bounty, as if England had disfigure'd and made bare her own Neck to adorn the Breasts of Spain; the Prince presenting his Mistress with such a Necklace of Pearl, that all Spain could not parallel: Pearls that had been long pluck'd from their Watry Beds, and had left few Fellows there: For the Eastern and Western Divers throughout the Catholick Empire could never yet find the like. But these upon the Breach were return'd again; tho' it be now indifferent whether the French or the Spanish have them. The Duke of Buckingham was not close Handed in distributing his Jewels to the Beauties of Spain; tho' his Farewel was private, his Bounty was publick, more suitable to his Master's Honour than his own; which the Lord Treasurer *Middlesex* found, and repin'd at.

The Prince took Leave of the Queen of Spain and the *Infanta*, prepar'd for it in their greatest Magnificence, attended with all their Train of Grandees and Ladies. The Queen spoke her own *Adieu* in French, which the Prince return'd in the same Language. But the Earl of Bristol was the Medium betwixt the Prince and his Mistress, who, if he may be believ'd, set her Heart to make her self grateful; and therefore this Parting could not be acceptable to her; one of her Arguments being, *If the Prince loved me, he would stay for me*: But now the Time of Parting approaching, those Arguments were laid aside, and the superficial Ornaments of publick Interview, like a Cloud, interposed it self betwixt them; so that what was darkly lodged in their Thoughts, could only find Light by the Eyes. Their Tongues (the common Orator) could tell what was fit to say, when there were so many by to hear; and if the Eyes had learn'd the Language of the Heart, they quickly forgot it, because they never met again to practise it.

The King of Spain brought our Prince to the *Escorial*, (which was part of his Way to the Sea side) a House of that Superbous and Elegant Structure, that I cannot pass by it without vailing to it, and spending some time in the Survey of it. The Spaniards proudly boast it to be the Eighth Wonder of the World: It was built by Philip II. upon a Spiritual Foundation, which heighten'd into Superstition, produces the most stupendious Effects. Philip at the Siege of *St. Quin-*

A. Reg. 21. An Christi 1623.

Gifts and Presents on both sides.

The Prince leaves Madrid.

Comes to the *Escorial*.

A. Reg. 21. St. Quintin was perswaded by his Officers experienced in War, that if ever he would take the Town, he must batter down a Monastery of Friars (Dedicated to St. Lawrence) that stood in his way; which he was with much Difficulty wrought to; but that Act (tho' it effected the Work) dinted such an Impression upon his Conscience, that he vowed to make the Martyr a full and ample Reparation. Some say, it was for the Battel he gained against the French near St. Quintin, when they came to relieve it upon that Saint's Day; but whether either or both (for they were both accomplish'd) he built this mighty Fabrick in Form of a Gridiron, (the Emblem and Instrument of his Martyrdom) the Handle whereof is the King's Palace, of a vast Capacity, and the Square of the Gridiron is divided into Twelve spacious Quadrangles; in which are Arched Cloysters, one above, the other below; all Dedicated to Religious Orders, endowed with a Revenue enough to make the best Piety proud, every Friar in the Monastery having his Man and his Mule; so that they live there more like Princes than Priests. And in the middle of the Square stands a magnificent Cathedral Church, under the High Altar whereof there is a Vault, or rather stately Chapel, of most excellent polished Marble, built round like an old Roman Pantheon, (which, because it resembled Heaven, the Romans placed there the Images of their Gods) and this the Founder made the Burial-place for the Kings of Spain; establishing this Order, (which is precisely observed) That no Queen shall be buried there that is not Mother to a Prince; nor none of the King's Children but the First-born Son. And round about this Round, in the Marble Wall, plac'd in Stately Order, are many excellently contriv'd Arches, of wrought and burnish'd Marble, and in every Arch a beautiful and curious Coffin (either of Black Marble or Jet) of whole Stone, covered with the same, which are to put the embalmed Bodies in. So that lying there, they seem as if they were enthroned, the Beauty of the Place is so resplendent about them: The Richness of the Silver Lamps, and Candlesticks blazing with Tapers, adds to the shining Brightness of the Marble, and gives a glorious Lustre. To speak of the Riches of their Golden Crosses and Chalice, the Wonders of their Giant-like Statues, and the Pleasure of their Grotto's, Gardens, Walks, Fountains, and Aqueducts, would take up more Time than is fit to allow them here. In fine, it is so transcendently full of Admiration, that it is to be feared, they that enjoy the Pleasures thereof, (saving their Merits) will look for no other Heaven: For certainly Purgatory (tho' it be the Pope's Kitchen-Garden) hath no such Walks in it, no more had old *Elizium*; and therefore this cannot be the Way to Heaven, unless it be through *Mahomet's Paradise*.

The Prince feasted there.

Here the Prince being feasted, sealed the Proxy, and swore to perform the Marriage as aforesaid: And the Day of Departure being come, there was a Stag lodg'd in the way, whose Chace gave the King and Prince some Recreation. The Prince was attended by the Lord Kensington, and the Earl of Bristol, who was the Prince's Interpreter; the King of Spain (by Intention) only with Olivares, and the Marquis d'Avila: Olivares was Grand Master of the Horse to the King of Spain, and nearest Attendant to his Person; but to shew the Spanish Civility, he always waited on the Prince, and the Marquis d'Avila, his Brother-in-Law, attended on the King of Spain. After the Ceremonies of

the Stag's Death were performed, the King and Prince, with their Train, declining into a little Wood adjoining, found a Table spread with Variety of Meats, and excellent Wines, provided for them, which entertain'd them, as well with Wonder how it came there, as with Refreshment, after the Serenity of the Air and their Exercise had quicken'd their Appetites; concluding merrily, as if the Stag had been in the Plot, and had yielded himself to Death purposely there, because the Prince's necessary Accommodations were so near. After the Repast, the parting Minute approaching, to perfect all, they gave Leave to the Exercise of Compliments: The King expressing extraordinary Respects to the Prince, setting a high Valuation upon his Merit, telling him, *Nothing in the World could more oblige him, than the Confidence he had of him, to put himself into his Hands, being unusual with Princes: But he that valued his Honour above all Earthly Things, was the more endeared to him, in that he gave him, by this Access, an Opportunity to express it; and protested, That he earnestly desired a nearer Conjunction of Brotherly Affection with him, for the more intire Unity betwixt them.* The Prince repaying his Noble Expressions with the like Civilities, lets him know, how *Sensible he was of those high Favours he had found during his Abode in his Court and Presence; which had set such an Estimation upon his Worth, that he knew not how to value it; but he would leave a Mediatix, that should make good his Defects, if he would do him the Honour, and make him so happy, as to preserve him in the good Opinion of her, his most fair, his most dear Mistress.* And so embracing each other, they parted.

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The King's and Prince's Compliments parting.

This kind Farewel was upon the 12th of September, the King leaving the Prince to be attended to the Sea side, by a numerous Train of Spanish Courtiers, whereof the Principal were, Cardinal Zapata, the Marquis Aytona, the Earl of Gondemar, the Earl of Monterie, the Earl of Baraias, who was Steward of the King's Household, but now the Manager of the Prince's Domestical Affairs. These Grandees and others had at St. Andero a fair Opportunity to see some of the Navy Royal of England, and were feasted aboard the Prince's Ship: But at their Return towards the Shore, the Prince being with them in the Barge, a Tempest overtook them with that Fury, that they could neither fetch the Land, nor make to the Ships again, and Night and Darkeness joining with the Storm, the Rowers fainting with Labour, because they thought themselves at the end of their Work, their Horror and Fear almost heighten'd to Despair: In this Calamity, yielding themselves to the Mercy of the Seas, they spy'd a Light from a Ship, near which the Wind had driven them, that gave new Life to Hope; and plucking up their Spirits to fetch that Ship, with the Danger of being broken to pieces by the Ship's Side, at last they got aboard. This cooled the Heat of their Ceremonies so much, that when the Tempest was over, they parted: And the Prince arrived safely at Portsmouth upon the 5th of October following, and the next Day at London, where the Peoples Joy, elevated above Bonfire-Expressions, might teach misguided Princes, that LOVE is the firmest Foundation of Security and Happiness.

The Prince is in Danger by a Tempest.

When the Prince and Buckingham met at St. Andero, the Spanish Entertainments did not take them off from minding their Business: The Duke had time in his Recess to mature his Conceptions; And whether his Adverseness to the Spanish in Affection wrought upon the Prince,

A Demur upon the Espousals.

A Reg 21. Prince, or whether the Prince's Affection, that was wrought upon in the *Spanish* Court, lost the Vigour and Virtue, by losing the Object, or whether the united Operations of both, cannot be determined; but one *Clark*, a Creature of the Duke's, was posted back to *Madrid* to the Earl of *Bristol*, to command him not to deliver the Procuration for the Espousals (which the Prince had sealed and sworn to perform) till he had further Order from *England*; pretending that the *Infanta* might after the Espousals betake her self to a Cloyster, and defraud him of a Wife. *Bristol* was much troubled at this Restriction, that a publick Act of such Eminency, betwixt two such great Princes, highly obliging, should be smothered up by a private Command from one of the Parties that had not Power to do it, having, in true Justice, ty'd up his own Hands, and when the Dishonour of it would so much reflect upon the other Party; and therefore he resolved, (notwithstanding the Prince's Command) if the Dispensation came, to make the Espousals within Ten Days, according to the Agreement: And he would bear himself up, from the Authority he had under the Great Seal of *England*, to perfect this Work, if he had not within the limited time a Command from our King to the contrary.

The Duke being jealous of *Bristol*, from some particular Discontents and ill Resentments betwixt them; and the Prince, fearing he would be too forward in the Espousals, as soon as they ended in *England*, posted towards the King (who was then at *Roylton*) where they gave him a fair and plausible Narration of their Proceedings, laying the Load upon the *Spanish* Delays, and *Bristol's* Miscarriages. Which the King, as a Father to his Son, and as a Friend to his Favourite, indulged to, taking their Account without Examination as a good and just Payment. And his good Brother of *Spain* must now be daltied with by *Talion* Law; not falling off in a direct Line, but obliquely, that the King might thereby measure out to himself a way to his own Ends. And these two great Opposites to *Spain*, the Prince and Duke, must prepare it, by closing with those of the Council about the King, and others of the Nobility, whose Judgment, not Prejudice, made them averse to the *Spanish* Superciliousness, cementing their Power with that Strength, that a Parliament must be call'd, and the People consulted with: That they discovering to the King the fraudulent Proceedings of the *Spaniard*, the King's Integrity and Justice in breaking the Treaty might the more appear to the People, and by that means they should be mounted upon the Wings of the Peoples Affections, as Enemies to that which was so contrary to them. The News of a Parliament to break the *Spanish* Match was quickly carried about, and, according to their Thoughts, it took much with the People, and gained them much Respect and Honour. But the first thing they did, was to procure an absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, to suspend the Delivery of the Proxy till *Christmas*, tho' the Dispensation came, which they effected, and sent away with all speed: In which Letter, *Bristol* had Instructions to demand the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and Electoral Dignity, which were both waved and neglected in the Conclusion of the Treaty; but now are set a-foot again, to let the King of *Spain* see the Edge of their Eagerness was taken off. For (saith the Letter) *It would be a great Disproportion for me to receive one Daughter with Joy and Contentment, and leave another in Tears and Sighs.*

But *Bristol's* Power of deferring the Espousals till *Christmas* was to be reserved to himself, and not made publick till the Dispensation should come to discover it. And there was a Clause in the Procuration left by the Prince, That the Power of that should be in force but till *Christmas*, and then to expire; so that the Execution of it was to be respited till it were altogether invalid: And the *Spaniard*, for his greater Affront, must make all Provision ready for accomplishing so glorious a Work, that all the Eyes of the Christian World looked upon either with Dislike or Affection: The King of *Spain* (to be his own free Trumpet) sending into *England* with the Prince *Don Mendoza de Alcocerana*, to our King, to congratulate the Prince's happy Voyage into *Spain*, and his safe Return into *England*; and from thence he had Instructions to go into *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Italy*, to make known to all Princes and Potentates, Allies to the King of *Spain*, how near the Treaty of Marriage (betwixt the Prince of *England* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*) was to be consummated. And the *Polonian* Ambassador at *Madrid*, that solicited to have the *Infanta* for the Prince of *Poland*, when he saw such Preparations for the Match with *England*, fainted in his Hopes, and returned home. For as soon as the Dispensation came from the new Pope, (which was in the beginning of *December*) Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain* for Joy, and the great Ordinance every where thunder'd out the Noise of it. The 9th of the Month was prefix'd for the Marriage-day, a Tarras being erected betwixt the Court and the next Church, almost a quarter of a Mile in length, covered with Tapistry, for the more Magnificence, and all Things appointed in the highest State for so great a Solemnity. Presents were providing in the Court of *Spain* for our King and Prince; the *Infanta's* Family (to take into *England*) was settled and established; She had used her best Skill among the Sweets of *Spain*, as one of the Principal of them, to cloath her Lord and Husband with some Suits of perfum'd Amber-Leather, some embroidered with Pearl, and some with Gold: She had practis'd long the *English* Tongue, to make it natural, by the help of her two Jesuite Tutors, *Wadsworth* and *Boniface*, and began to draw the Letters which she intended to have written the Day of her Espousals to the Prince her Husband, and the King her Father-in-Law; her Journey into *England* being resolved on about the beginning of *March*.

In this State and Perfection were the Affairs of *Spain*, when our King's Commands, like a Cloud, overshadow'd the Brightness of them: For *Bristol* had now Order to declare positively to the King of *Spain*, That without the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity, the Treaty should proceed no further. Four Messengers, viz. Mr. *Killigrew*, *Gresly*, *Wood* and *Davies*, followed each other at the Heels, which raised such a Dust of Discontentment among the People at *Madrid*, that, as some report, they wished they had broken their Necks by the Way: So highly were the Commonalty of *Spain* affected with the Match! And if they felt the Influence of this cloudy Message, what did the Lady *Infanta* and the King do? The one to lose her Lover, the other to lose his Honour: She whose Heart was affected, and he who found himself affronted. But his Answer to *Bristol* was, *The Palatinate was none of his to give, and the Electorate was in the Power of another; but if the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria would not yield to Reason, he would Arm himself on our King's*

Part

A. Reg. 21. Part against them. But this would not satisfy, fair Promises having now lost their Virtue; and the King of Spain discerning a Breach towards, by this various Motion, sent to the Earl of Bristol to demand no more Audience of him, to deliver no more Letters to the Infanta, and gave Command that none should call her hereafter Princess of England. This was the end of Seven years Treaty. Wherein the King of England, a King of Peace, in spite of all the Spanish Armadoes, got the Victory, and Spain for many Years did not receive so great an overthrow. Yet they were paid in their own Coin: For at the first, and in the highest Progress of the Treaty, when our King was so eager for the Match, in all likelihood they never intended it; But the Prince's Presence gaining much with both Sexes, his Journey into Spain being esteemed among them so glorious an Action, and the hopes they had now by this Marriage to propagate the Catholick Cause; finding the Prince, as they thought, something inclined that way, better digested their first Intentions, and brought it to the State from whence it declined.

Thoughts of a Match with France. The Duke of Buckingham, by the Insinuation of a long Converse, having brought the Prince up to his own Humour, taught him to look back to the Beauty he had seen in France, which was nearer to him, that he might remember the Spanish no more, now esloigned from him. But the Treaty with Spain must be first dissolved, to give a Tincture of Honour to a proceeding with the other, and nothing but a Parliament shall do that, which they had fore-determined. For a Parliament taking away the Cause, which was a Treaty of Peace, were best able to make good the Effect, which would be a War that must follow it. Therefore a Parliament was summoned to meet the 12th of February, but a sad Accident intervened, which made it to be deferred for some few days.

A Parliament summoned. That Morning the Parliament was to begin, the King missed the Duke of Richmond's Attendance, who being a constant Observer of him at all times, the King, as it were, wanted one of his Limbs to support the Grandure of Majesty, at the first solemn Meeting of a Parliament; and calling for him with Earnestness, a Messenger was dispatched to his Lodgings in haste, where the King's Commands, and the Messenger's Importunity, made the Dutchess his Wife, somewhat unwillingly, go to the Duke's Bed-side to awake him, who drawing the Curtain found him dead in his Bed. The suddenness of the Affright struck her with so much Consternation, that she was scarce sensible of the Horror of it; and it was carried with that Violence to the King, that he would not adorn himself that day to ride in his Glories to the Parliament, but put it off to the Nineteenth of February following, dedicating some part of that time to the Memory of his dead Servant, who might serve as a Fore-runner to the King, and an Emblem to all his People; That in the dark Caverns of Man's Body, Death often lurks, which no humane Prudence, or Providence, is able to discover: For the Dutchess, to some of her Intimates, confessed afterwards, That she found the Effects of his full Veins that night that he was found dead the next morning.

The Dutchess of Richmond's Legend. This Lady was one of the greatest both for Birth and Beauty in her time; but at first she went a Step backwards, as it were, to fetch a Carreer, to make her mount the higher. She was Daughter to Thomas Viscount Bindon, Se-

A. Reg. 21. As. Christi 1623. cond Son to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and her Mother was Eldett Daughter to Edward Duke of Buckingham, both which Dukes, striving to become Kings, lost their Heads. Her Extraction was high, fit for her great Mind, yet she descended so low as to marry one Prannell, a Vintner's Son in London, having a good Estate, who dying, left her Childless, a young and beautiful Widow; upon whom Sir George Rodney, a Gentleman in the West, (suitable to her for Person and Fortune) fixing his Love, had good hopes from her to reap the Fruits of it; but Edward Earl of Hertford being intangled with her fair Eyes, and she having a tang of her Grandfather's Ambition, left Rodney, and married the Earl; Rodney having drunk in too much Affection, and not being able with his Reason to digest it, summoned up his scattered Spirits to a most desperate Attempt; and coming to Amesbury in Wiltshire, (where the Earl and his Lady were then Resident) to act it, he retired to an Inn in the Town, shut himself up in a Chamber, and wrote a large Paper of well-composed Verses to the Countess in his own Blood, (strange kind of composedness) wherein he bewails and laments his own Unhappiness; and when he had sent them to her, as a sad Catastrophe to all his Miseries, he ran himself upon his Sword, and so ended that Life which he thought Death to enjoy; leaving the Countess to a strict Remembrance of her Inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad Spectacle of Frailty. But she easily passed this over, and so wrought upon the good Nature of the Earl her Husband, that he settled above Five thousand Pounds a Year Jointure upon her for Life. In his time she was often courted by the Duke of Lenox, who presented many a fair Offering to her, as an humble Suppliant; sometimes in a blue Coat with a Basket-hilt Sword, making his Addresses in such odd Disguises; yet she carried a fair Fame during the Earl's time. After his decease, Lenox and Richmond, with the great Title of Dutchess, gave period to her Honour, which could not arrive at her Mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent Heights in Speculation: For finding the King a Widower, she vowed, after so great a Prince as Richmond, never to be blown with the Kisses, nor eat at a Table of a Subject; and this Vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the Bravery of her Spirit: But this Bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her Aim; and, to make good her Resolution, she speciously observed her Vow to the last.

When she was Countess of Hertford, and found Admirers about her, she would often Discourse of her two Grandfathers, the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, recounting the time since one of her Grandfathers did this, the other did that: But if the Earl her Husband came in Presence, she would quickly desist; for when he found her in those Exaltations, to take her down, he would say, *Frank, Frank, How long is it since thou wert Married to Prannell?* which would damp the Wings of her Spirit, and make her look after her Feet, as well as gawdy Plumes.

One little Vanity of this great Dutchess (with your Patience) may yet croud in this Story: She was a Woman greedy of Fame, and loved to keep great State with little Cost: For being much visited by all the Great ones, Of her she had her formality of Officers, and Gentle-men, that gave Attendance, and this Advantage, that none ever Eat with her; yet all the

A. Reg. 21. Tables in the Hall were spread, as if there had been Meat, and Men to furnish them; but before Eating-time (the House being voided) the Linen returned into their Folds again, and all her People gazed on some few Dishes. Yet whether her Actions came into Fame's fingering, her Gifts were suitable to the Greatness of her Mind: For the Queen of Bohemia (to the Christening of whose Child she was a Witness) had some taste of them. And being blown up by Admiration for this Bounty, either by her own Design to magnify her Merit, or by others in Mockery to magnify her Vanity, huge Inventories of Massy Plate went up and down, from Hand to Hand, that she had given that Queen, and most believ'd it; yet they were but Paper Presents; those Inventories had a *non est inventus* at the Hague; they saw the Shell, the Inventory, but never found the Kernel, the Plate. Such difference there is betwixt solid Worth, and Airy-Paper Greatness. And it is hoped these slight Intermixtures will be no great Transgression, because long serious Things do dull the Fancy.

The King having digested his sudden Loss of the Duke of Richmond, and fitted himself to make his Mind known to his People in Parliament, he went to the House the 19th, as is said, and opened himself to them to this Effect.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

TO testify to the World how far my Mind hath been from eschewing to assemble a Parliament, and how willing I have been upon all Occasions to have the Advice of my People, I have at this present called you, to approve unto you the earnest Desire I have ever had, and still have, to deserve the Love of my People, by improving your Trust, and communicating unto you a Matter of as great Consequence as ever King imparted to his People, to have their Advice and Counsel in.

I shall say unto you as Christ said to the Church, I am your Husband, and you are my Spouse. And as it is the Part of a good Husband to procure and maintain the Love of his Wife, which he usually doth by often visiting her, and upon extraordinary Occasions communicating the Secrets of his Affairs unto her, and by all gentle and affable Ways to gain her Love; so in the Administration of Government, I desire to carry my self towards my People. There are two Ways by which a King may shew his Love to his People: One is, by a constant Administration of Justice, according to the Laws established; the other is, by communicating himself to his People, in their Representative, the Parliament. For the first, I know there's no particular Man of you that hath not enjoyed the Blessing and Benefit of it; which I will say nothing of, because you have been all Witnesses of it; for who hath not found the Fruits of it? If he considers the Peace which my Kingdom enjoys, in the midst of the Miseries our Neighbours are afflicted with. And tho' I cannot say my Government hath been without Error; yet this I can truly say, and will avouch it before God, and his Angels, That never King governed with a more pure Sincerity, and uncorrupt Heart, than I have done, far from all Intention and Meaning of the least Error or Imperfection in my Reign.

I have assembled you at this time to perform the other part, which is duly to impart unto you a Secret, and a Matter of as great Importance as can be to my Estate, and the Estate of my Children; I crave your best and safest Advice, and Counsel, as the Writ wherewith you are assembled imports, That the King would advise with you in Matters concerning his Estate and Dignity: And as I have ever endeavoured by this, and the like Ways, to procure and

cherish the Love of my People towards me, so do I hope, and fully believe, that never any King was more beloved of his People, (whom you my Lords and Gentlemen do here represent) so I would have you truly represent their Loves also to me, that in you, as in a true Glass, I may perfectly behold it, and not as a false Glass presents it, not at all, or otherwise than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful Counsel in this Matter, which is that of which you have often heard, the Match of my Son: Wherein, as you may know, I have spent much Time, with great Cost, in long Treaty, desiring always therein (and not without Reason, hoping to have effected my Desires) the Advancement of my Estate and Children, and the general Peace of all Christendom: Wherein I have always constantly laboured, depending too much upon fair Hopes and Promises. But at the earnest Instance of my Son, I was contented (altho' it was of an extraordinary Nature) to send him to prosecute his Desires in Spain; and for his more Safety, I sent Buckingham (in whom I ever reposed the most Trust of my Person) with him with this Command, To be continually present with him, and never leave him, till he returned safe again unto me; which he performed, tho' not with such Effect as I expected, yet not altogether without Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wisdom, that, *Qui versatur in Universalibus, &c.* is easily deceiv'd, and it generally brings nothing to good Issue; for before any Matter can be fully finished, it must be brought to Particulars. I thought before their going, the Affairs had been produced to a narrow Point (relying upon their general Propositions); but when they came to the Matter, it prov'd so Raw, as if it had been never treated of, the Generals giving them easy way to evade, and affording them Means to avoid the effecting of any thing.

The Particulars that passed in the Treaty, I mean not now to discover unto you, the Time being too short, I refer that to Charles and Buckingham, and the Secretaries, who shall relate unto you all the Particulars. And after that, *Super totam materiam*, I desire your best Assistance and Advice; what is best and fittest for me to do, for the Good of the Commonwealth, the Advancement of Religion, and the Good of my Son, and my Children of the Palatine. And of our Estate, I know you cannot but be sensible, considering your Welfare consists in ours; for you shall be sure to have your Share in what Misery shall befall us: Therefore I need to urge no further Arguments unto you for your choicest and surest Counsel. And I assure you, in the Faith of a Christian King, That it is Res integra presented unto you; and that I stand not bound, nor any ways engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be best advised.

To plant is not sufficient, unless, like good Gardiners, you pluck up the Weeds that will choke your Labours; and the greatest Weeds among you are Jealousies; root them out: For my Actions, I dare avow them before God; but Jealousies are of a strange depth. I am the Husband, and you the Wife, and it is subject to the Wife to be jealous of her Husband. Let this be far from you! It hath been talked of my Remissness in Maintenance of Religion, and Suspicion of a Toleration; but as God shall judge me, I never thought, nor meant, or ever in Word expressed, any thing that savoured it. It is true, that, at Times best known to my self, I did not so fully put those Laws in Execution, but did wink and connive at some Things which might have hinder'd more weighty Affairs: But I never in all my Treaties agreed to any thing to the Overthrow or Disagreeing of those Laws; but in all, I had a chief Regard to the Preservation of that Truth, which I have ever professed. And in that Respect, as I have a charitable Conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me also, in which I did not transgress: For it is a good Horseman's Part not always to use the Spur, nor keep straight the Reins; but sometimes

A. Reg. 21. to use the Spur, and sometimes to suffer the Rein more remiss: So it is the Part of a wise King (and my Age and Experience have informed me) sometimes to quicken the Laws with strict Execution, and at other times upon just Occasion to be more remiss.

And I would also remove from your Thoughts all Jealousies, that I might or ever did question or infringe any of your lawful Liberties or Privileges: But I protest before God, I ever intended you should enjoy the Fulness of all those, that from ancient Times give good Warrant and Testimony; of which, if need be, I will enlarge and amplify. Therefore I would have you (as I have in this place heretofore told you, as St. Paul did Timothy) avoid Genealogies and curious Questions, and Quirks and Jerks of Law, and idle Innovations; and if you minister me no just Occasion, I never yet was, nor ever will be, curious or captious to quarrel with you. But I desire you to avoid all Doubts and Hindrances, and to compose your selves speedily and quietly to this weighty Affair. Carry your selves modestly, and my Prayers shall be to God for you, and my Love shall be always with you, that a happy Conclusion may attend this Parliament. God is my Judge, I speak it as a Christian King, never any wayfaring Man, in the burning, dry and sandy Desarts, more thirsted for Water to quench his thirst, than I thirst and long for the happy Success of this Parliament, that the good Issue of this may expiate and acquit the fruitless Issue of the former. And I pray God your Counsels may advance Religion, the Publick Weal, and the Good of me and my Children.

The Bishop of Lincoln's short Harangue.

When the King had thus ended, the Lord Keeper Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Speaker to the House of Peers, (who uses always to make the King's Mind further known if there be Cause) told the Parliament, That after the Eloquent Speech of his Majesty, he would not say any thing; for as one of the Spartan Kings being ask'd, Whether he would not willingly hear a Man that counterfeited the Voice of the Nightingale to the Life? made Answer, He had heard the Nightingale. So for him to repeat or rehearse what the King had said, was (according to the Latine Proverb) to enamel a Golden Ring with Studs of Iron. He doubted not but that the King's Speech had, like *Æschines's* Orations, left in their Minds a Sting; and as an Historian said of *Nerva*, that having adopted *Trajan*, he was immediately taken away, *Ne post divinum & immortale factum, aliquid mortale faceret*: So he would not dare after his Majesty's *Divinum & immortale dictum, mortale aliquid addere*.

This is not inserted to shew the Pregnancy and Genius of the Man, but the Temper of the Times; wherein Men made themselves less than Men, by making Kings little less than Gods. In this the Spanish Bravery is to be admir'd, and the French do not much come short of them, who do not idolize their Kings with Sacred Sovereign, Immortal, and Oraculous Expressions; but in their humblest Petitions give him the Title *Sir*, tell him their Business, and demand Justice of him. But where these Adulations were admitted, tho' it doth not strike suddenly with some incurable Disease, yet the same Hand can make them consume, and in the end waft away to nothing.

But the Parliament, tho' they knew there was an Intention of a Toleration of Popery upon the close of the Spanish Match, sealed up (as it were) their Lips, and would not see the Light that discovered it self through this Cloud that the King cast before it, (tho' some of the Commons had much ado to hold, which he takes no-

tice of at the next Interview, and thanks them for it) but they went on directly to his Business, making it their own, forgetting all former Mit-carriages. And upon the 24th of this Month the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied with the Prince as his Remembrancer, made a long Relation of all the Transactions in Spain to both Houses, with all the Advantage he could, to make good his own Actions, some of the Particulars whereof are already related. And he took the first Discovery of the Intention of the King of Spain not to deal fairly with our King (touching the Restitution of the Palatinate) from the Arch-Dutchess juggling in the Treaty at Brussels, which was managed by Sir Richard Weston, our King's Ambassador there, who urged for a Cessation of Arms in the Palatinate, (the Arch-Dutchess pretending Power to draw off the Spanish Forces, if our King would first draw off his) it came to an Agreement; but in the close (after some Delays) she confessed she had no Power to admit of a Cessation, till she had more particular Warrant for it out of Spain.

That these Shufflings made our King send Porter into Spain for a more resolute Answer, in relation to the Match, and the Palatinate, and assigned him but Ten Days to stay there; in which time Bristol fed him with Hopes, which he found very empty ones: Whereupon Porter went boldly to Olivares, who (in an open-hearted way) told him plainly, That Spain meant neither the Match, nor Restitution of the Palatinate.

Bristol seeing Porter would return with this Answer, perswaded him to speak with Olivares again, who coming to Olivares, found him much incensed for relating the private Intimation he gave him to Bristol, the Publick Minister, and deny'd to speak with Porter any more.

Bristol still puffs up our King with an Assurance both of the Match, and Restitution of the Palatinate; but they proceeding slowly, the Prince desir'd that he might go himself into Spain, which Buckingham first broke to the King, who with Reasons laid down for it was drawn to it.

When the Prince came there, the Match at first was absolutely denied, unless he would be converted, which Bristol perswaded the Prince unto, at least in shew, to expedite his Business.

Then the Spanish Ministers urged for a Toleration of Religion in England, which they hoped (as some of them expressed) would cause a Rebellion; and they offered the Prince an Army to assist him for the Suppression of the same.

But the Prince finding the Spanish did but dally with him, left a Proxy with Bristol to conclude the Match, when the Dispensation came, which the Prince forbid him to deliver. Bristol nevertheless proceeds; and if Gresham had not brought a Revocation of the Proxy from the King over Night, Bristol had made the Espousals the next Day. And always at the end of every Point, he would look upon the Prince for his Approbation and Allowance, who still, as the Duke went on, confirmed the same. And so Buckingham concluded, That if the drawing of us out of Darkness into Light did deserve Thanks, we all ow'd it to the Prince, who by the Hazard of his Person, and by his great Care and Industry, had done this for us.

The Parliament, that looked upon the Duke with a four Eye, for tempting the Prince to so highly dangerous a Journey, when they found what

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A. Reg. 22. excellent Effects it had produced, forgot the old Murmurs buzzed against him, and with elevated Voices could scarce be contained from acknowledging him *The Preserver of the Nation.* This his Discovery is cry'd up every where, and who but the Duke is become the Darling of the Multitude? So dear then was the Prince unto the People, that they tendred his Safety as their own! and so easily might he have retain'd this Love, if by grasping after Shadows he had not lost the Substance: For those People are the soonest deceived that love most to admire.

Little de-
served.

The Parliament were but Men, and could at present see no more than the Duke was pleased to shew them through the flattering Glass of this Relation. But when *Bristol* came over, and (as afterwards he) did discover, that the Duke carry'd the Prince purposely into *Spain* to be the better instructed in Popery: That he gave hope to the *Spanish* Ministers of State of the Prince's Conversion, which made them propound far worse Conditions for Religion than had been formerly agreed on: That he professed himself a Papist there, going to Mass, kneeling to and adoring their Sacraments; which the Pope being informed of, sent the Duke a Bull, to persuade and encourage him to pervert the King and Prince, with other pernicious Crimes laid to his Charge in the next King's Reign, (as may appear in due time) none can blame the People for mutable Affections: For when Falshood is so impudent as to hoodwink such an Assembly, with the Veil that Truth her self is wont to put on, who can at an instant discover it?

But it was a hard Condition for the banished *Palatine* to have such Mediators as *Buckingham*, *Bristol* and *Weston*, to make Intercession for him, the Temper of whose Spirits was well known, and which way their Affections tended. But now the Load is all laid upon *Bristol*, tho' he were at the distance of not being sensible of it, yet it was so heavy, that most Men thought he would never come to have it taken off.

The Par-
liament
advise the
King to
break the
Treaties
with
Spain.

But all things were passed over by the Parliament that reflected upon Particulars, having in their Eye the general Good of the Kingdom, which they strove to manage with Advantage. And the Treaty of the Marriage with *Spain* being put into their Hands, they crush'd the Brood in the Nest, advising the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War with that King: Which they did not do suddenly, as if they had been eager upon a War, but with good Advice, and deliberate Consideration, as the most immediate Means for the Establishment of Religion, and settled Peace; protesting to assist the King, for the regaining of the *Palatinate*, with their Lives and Fortunes. Upon which Declaration and Resolution, the King determined to send instantly Post into *Spain* to his Ambassadors, to signify to that King, That the Parliament advised him to break off the Treaties, and to recover the *Palatinate* by War; and the Post had his Dispatch to that purpose, when the King repented him of what he had done, and (like the Husband now jealous of his Wife) writes to Secretary *Conway* this Letter, to impede and delay the Business.

The
King's
Letter to
Secretary
Conway.

I Doubt not but you have heard what a stinging Petition against the Papists the Lower House have sent to the Higher House this Day, that they may jointly present it to me: You know my firm Resolution not to make this a War of Religion. And seeing I would be loth to be Conny-catch by my People, I pray you stay the Post that is going into *Spain*, till I meet with my Son, who will be here to morrow Morning. Do is

upon Pretext of some more Letters ye are to send by him; and if he should be gone, hasten after him to stay him, upon some such Pretext, and let none living know of this, as ye love me: And before Two in the Afternoon to morrow you shall without fail hear from me. Farewel.

April 3. 1624.

By this Letter it appears, that the King thought the Petition against Recusants of such high Consequence, that if he should not give the Parliament a good Answer, it might make a Rupture with them; and therefore he will see further in the Nature of this Petition, before he will break with the King of *Spain*; and know more of the Prince his Son's Mind, happily whether he would yet accept of his old Mistress, or expect a new one: Or whether the King feared that the Parliament would not make good their Promises, to stand with their Lives and Fortunes in the Gap when this great Breach was made, and so couzen him, may be mystical Conjectures from mystical Expressions, grounded upon the Words of a King: Or whether any or all of these (like the King's Heart inscrutable) are meant in the Letter, is not here determined. But the King hastens to the House, and finding no such terrible Things in the Petition, (the Lords being not so quick in the Resolution of it, as the King was in the Apprehension of it) he stirs not those Waters, but sounds the Depth of the Parliaments Intentions, by propounding his Doubts, and requiring a Solution to them, in order to a War, with Prudence and Caution.

My Lords and Gentlemen all,

I Have Cause first to thank God with my Heart, and all the Faculties of my Mind, that my Speech which I delivered in Parliament hath taken so good Effect among you, as that, with an unanime Consent, you have freely and speedily given me your Advice in this great Business, for which I also thank you all as heartily as I can. I also give my particular Thanks to the Gentlemen of the Lower House, for that I hear, when some among them would have cast Jealousies and Doubts between me and my People, you presently quelled those Motions, which might have hindered the happy Agreement I hope to find in this Parliament. You give me your Advice to break off the Treaties, as well concerning the Match, as the *Palatinate*. And now give me Leave, as an old King, to propound my Doubts, and hereafter give me your Answer.

First, it is true, that I who have been all the Days of my Life a peaceable King, and have had the Honour in my Titles and Impress to be stiled *Rex pacificus*, should without Necessity embroil my self in a War; which is so far from my Nature, and from the Honour I have had both at home and abroad, in endeavouring to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, (of which too much hath been shed) and so much against my Heart, that unless it be upon such a Necessity, that I may call it (as some merrily say it of Women) *Malum Necessarium*, I shall be loth to enter into it. And I must likewise acquaint you, that I have had no small Hopes given me of obtaining better Conditions for Restitution of the *Palatinate*, and that even since the setting down of this Parliament. But be not jealous, nor think me such a King, that would, under Pretext of asking your Advice, put a Scorn upon you, by disdain or rejecting it. For you remem-

The
King's se-
cond
Speech to
both
Houses.

A. Reg. 22. ber, that in my first Speech unto you, for Proof
An. Christi of my Love to my People, I craved your Ad-
1624. vice in this great and weighty Affair. But in
a Matter of this Weight, I must consider how
this Course may agree with my Conscience
and Honour; and next, according to the Pa-
rable uttered by our Saviour, (after I was re-
solved of the Necessity and Justness of the
Cause) to consider how I shall be enabled to
raise Forces for this Purpose.

As concerning the Case of my Children: I
am now old, and would be glad, as *Moses* saw
the Land of Promise from a high Mountain,
(though he had not Leave to set his Foot in it)
so would it be a great Comfort to me, that
God would so long prolong my Days, as, if I
might not see the || Restitution, yet at least to
be assured that it would be; that then I might
with old *Simeon* say, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum*
Domine! Otherwise it would be a great Grief
unto me, and I should die with a heavy and
discomforted Heart. I have often said, and
particularly in the last Parliament, (and I shall
be ever of the Mind) that as I am not ambi-
tious of other Mens Goods or Lands, so I de-
sire not to enjoy a Furrow of Land in *England*,
Scotland, and *Ireland*, without Restitution of the
Palatinate; and in this Mind I will live and
die.

But let me acquaint you a little with the
Difficulties of this Case: He is an unhappy
Man who shall advise a King to War; and it
is an unchristian thing to seek that by Blood,
which may be had by Peace. Besides, I think
your Intentions are not to engage me in a War,
but withal you will consider how many things
there are requisite thereunto. I omit to speak
of my own Necessities, they are too well
known: Sure I am, I have had the least Help
in Parliament of any King that reigned over
you these many Years: I have let you know
that my Disabilities are encreased, by the
Charge of my Son's Journey into *Spain*, (which
I was at for his Honour, and the Honour of
the Nation) by sending Ambassadors, by Main-
tenance of my Children, and by assisting of
the *Palatinate*. I have incurred a great Debt
to the King of *Denmark*, which I am not able
to pay. The *Low-Countries* (who in regard
of their nearness are fittest to help for the Re-
covery of the *Palatinate*) are at so low an
ebb, that if I assist them not, they will be scarce
able to subsist. The Princes of *Germany*, that
should do me any good, are all poor, and
weak, and disheartned, and do expect Assis-
tance from hence. For *Ireland*, I leave it to
you, if that be not a Back-door fit to be secu-
red. For the Navy, I thank God it is now in
a better Case than ever it was, yet more must
be done; and before it can be prepared as it
ought to be, it will require a new Charge, as
well for the own Strength, as for securing of
the Coasts. My Children (I vow to God)
* eat no Bread but by my means; I must main-
tain them, and not see them want. My Cu-
stoms are the best part of my Revenues, and
in effect the Substance of all I have to live on:
All which are Farmed out upon Condition,
That if there be War, those Bargains are to
be annulled. Subsidies ask a great Time to
bring in; and if you assist me that way, I must

take them up before-hand upon Credit, which
will eat up a great part of them.

This being my Case, to enter into a War
without sufficient Means to support it, were
to shew my Teeth, and do no more. In the
mean time, I heartily thank you for your Advice,
and will seriously think upon it; as I pray you to
consider of these other Points. My Treasurer,
to whose Office it appertains, shall more at
large inform you of those Things that con-
cern my Estate.

Thus freely do I open my Heart to you;
and having your Hearts, I cannot want your
Helps; for it is the Heart that opens the Purse,
not the Purse the Heart. I will deal frankly
with you, shew me the Means how I may do
what you would have me; and if I take a Re-
solution upon your Advice to enter into a War,
then your own Deputies shall have the dispo-
sing of the Money; I will not meddle with it,
but you shall appoint your own Treasurers.

I say not this with purpose to invite you to
open your Purses, and then to slight you so
much as not to follow your Counsel, nor en-
gage you before I be engaged myself. Give
me what you will for my own Means; for I
protest none of the Money which you shall
give for these Uses, shall be issued but for
those ends. If upon your Offer I shall find
the Means to make a War honourable and
safe, (and that I resolve to embrace your Ad-
vice) then I promise you on the Word of a
King, That although War and Peace be the
peculiar Prerogative of Kings, yet as I have
advised with you in the Treaties, on which
War may ensue, so I will not Treat, nor ac-
cept of Peace, without first acquainting you
with it, and hearing your Advice, and there-
in go the proper way of Parliament, in con-
ferring and consulting with you: And hap-
pily, Conditions of Peace will be the better,
when we are prepared for War, according to
the Proverb, *That Weapons breed Peace.*

Your kind Carriage gives me much Con-
tentment; and that comforts me which my
Lord of *Canterbury* said, That there was not a
contrary Voice among you all, like the Se-
venty Interpreters, who were led by the Breath
of God.

I am so desirous to forget all Rents in for-
mer Parliaments, that it shall not be my de-
fault, if I be not in love with Parliaments,
and call them often, and desire to end my
Life in that intercourse between Me and my
People, for making of good Laws, reforming
Abuses, and maintaining the good Govern-
ment of the Commonwealth: Therefore go
on cheerfully, and advise of these Points, and
my Resolution shall be then declared.

None can blame the King for being too cau-
telous or wary in such an Eruption as this, so
contrary to his Nature (as he saith himself) a
War was a new World to him, fearing to lay
out by it more than he should receive. And
in this, he was like the Man, that when his
Master gave great Charge to go and gather up
his Rents in the Country, and to take a pair of
Pistols with him, to bring home his Money
with the more Security: After the Master had
appointed him to pay so much in one Place,

A. Reg. 22.

An. Christi

1624.

|| Neither he nor his Son saw the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, it falling out in the Year 1648, when the Monarchy of *England* was under a fatal Eclipse, and its King's Head within Two Months of being laid on the Block.

* King *James* was mistaken in this: For his Daughter the Queen of *Bohemia*, and her Children, might have starv'd for him, if the *States of Holland* and some Foreign Princes had not help'd to support them.

A. Reg. 22. and so much in another, that the Man saw he should not receive so much as he should disburse, *An. Christi 1624.* Bid his Master take his Pistols again, he should not use them. So the King fearing that when the War was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it, *Thanked the Parliament for their Advice, and he would consider better of it.* And they feeling the King's Pulse by his Expressions, resolved now not to let him flag, but to keep up the temper of his Spirit, that a little thing would make decline again: And therefore they seriously settled to their Business, and answered his Expectation fully, which they presented unto him shortly after, in these Words, to his great Satisfaction.

Their Declaration.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most Humble and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do first render to your Sacred Majesty our most dutiful Thanks, for that, to our unspeakable Comfort, you have vouchsafed to express your self so well satisfied with our late Declaration made unto your Majesty, of our General Resolution, in pursuit of our Humble Advice, to assist your Majesty in a Parliamentary-way with our Persons and Abilities. And whereas your Majesty, in your Great Wisdom and Judgment, foreseeing that it will make a deeper Impression, both in the Enemies of that Cause, and in your Friends and Allies, if they shall not only hear of the cheerful Offers, but also see the real Performance of your Subjects towards so great a Work; Your Majesty was pleased to descend to a particular Proposition for the advancing of this great Business. We therefore in all humbleness most ready and willing to give your Majesty and the whole World an ample Testimony of our sincere and dutiful Intentions herein, upon mature Advice and Deliberation, as well of the Weight and Importance of this great Affair, as of the present Estate of this your Kingdom, (the Weal and Safety whereof, is in our Judgment apparently threatned, if your Majesty's Resolution for the Dissolving of the Treaties, now in question, be longer deferred, and that Provision for Defence of your Realm, and Aid of your Friends and Allies, be not seasonably made) have with a cheerful Consent of all the Commons, (no one dissenting) and with a full and cheerful Consent of the Lords, Resolved, That upon your Majesty's Publick Declaration for the Dissolution and utter Discharge of both the said Treaties of Marriage, and the Palatinate, in pursuit of our Advice therein, and towards the Support of that War which is likely to ensue: And more particularly for those Four Points proposed by your Majesty; namely, for the Defence of this your Realm; the Securing of Ireland; the Assistance of your Neighbours, the States of the United Provinces, and other your Majesty's Friends and Allies; and for the setting forth of your Royal Navy; we will grant for the present the greatest Aid which ever was given in Parliament. That is to say, Three intire Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, to

be all paid within the Compass of one whole Year after your Majesty shall be pleased to make the said Declaration; the Money to be paid into the Hands, and expended by the Direction, of such Committees or Commissioners, as hereafter shall be agreed upon at this present Session of Parliament. And we most humbly beseech your Majesty to accept of these First Fruits of our hearty Oblation, dedicated to that Work which we infinitely desire may prosper, and be advanced. And for the future to rest confidently assured, That we, your Loyal and Loving Subjects, will never fail in a Parliamentary-way to assist your Majesty in so Royal a Design, wherein your own Honour, and the Honour of your most Noble Son, the Prince, the Ancient Renown of this Nation, the Welfare and very Subsistence of your Noble and Only Daughter and her Consort, and their Posterity, the Safety of your own Kingdom and People, and the Prosperity of your Neighbours and Allies, are so deeply engaged.

The Parliament by this Declaration came up so close to the King, that he could make no Evasion, but rested contented now in his latter time (when the *Almonds* (as it were) begun to Blossom upon his Head) to plunge himself into a War, which brought him again to the Parliament, to thank them for their Readiness to assist him; telling them, That he is willing to follow their Advice in the Annulling and Breach of these Two Treaties. They have given enough to begin a War, but when the end will be, (he said) God knows. Yet he will engage for himself and his Son, his Successor, That no means shall be left unused for Recovery of the *Palatinate*. And for all his old Age (if it might do any good) he would go in Person to further the Business. But as he is contented to have the Parliament Committees to dispose of the Moneys by their Directions, so the Design must not be acted by publick Councils: For whether he shall send Two Thousand or Ten Thousand; whether by Sea or Land, East or West, by Diversion or Invasion, upon the *Bavarian* or Emperor, that must be left to the King. And this he did that there might be no Jealousies, but to smoothe every Rub betwixt them.

And to put it in Execution, a Council of War is chosen out of the old and long discontinued Militia of *Ireland*, and some others of the Nobility; and upon Result of their Counsels, (after some Debate) it was concluded to send Six thousand Men for the present into the *Low-Countries*, to joyn with the States Forces against the King of *Spain's* mighty Armies, under the Command of Marquis *Spinola*, that threatned the next Summer to over-run the *Netherlands*, that weakning the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, they might have the more free Access into *Germany*.

†† The Dissolution of the Treaties with *Spain*, and the Preparation for War resounding in every Ear, gave such an Alarm to the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Marquis of *Inoiosa*, that whether out of Truth and Knowledge (as he pretended) or Malice only, cannot be determined: But he sent

†† The Story of this Affair Bishop *Hacket* has given us at large from the Lord-Keeper *Williams's* Notes in the History of his Life, which was thus:

The *Spanish* Ambassador *Inoiosa* had found a way to instil into King *James* a Jealousie of *Buckingham*, wherein the Prince himself wanted nor his Share. The Things objected against him were chiefly these: 1st, That the King was so besieg'd by the Creatures of the Prince and Duke, that he could not be acquainted with the Affairs of Court, or Parliament; and was as much a Prisoner as King *John* of France in England, or Francis the First at Madrid; and could not be spoke with, but before those that watch'd him. 2dly, That there was a strong Machination in hand, that had turn'd the Prince, a most Obedient

Son

A. Reg. 22. Son before, to the quite contrary. 3dly, That there was a form'd Design to restrain him from the Exercise of the Government in all his Three Kingdoms. 4thly, That the Duke had brought the King into Contempt with the Parliament and the Court, as a foolish and unactive Prince, and addrest to an inglorious Peace while his Daughter and her Children were in the Hands of their Enemies. *An. Christ 1624.* 5thly, That the Duke had divulg'd the King's Secrets.

A Memorial, containing these and a great many other Articles against Buckingham, was secretly put into the King's Hands by an Instrument of Iniofa's, and was more than enough to distract a Mind less timorous in it self than his.

Bishop Hacker tells us, That the King, gnawn with this Perplexity, prepar'd to go to Windsor, to shift Ground for the better Ease of his Mind; and that, taking the Prince with him, he found a slight Errand to leave Buckingham behind him just as the Duke was putting his Foot in the Boot of the Coach. This Disappointment drew Tears from Buckingham, and an humble Prayer to the King, That His Majesty would let him know what could be laid to his Charge to offend so Gracious a Master, and wou'd by his Saviour to purge it, or confess it. All he could get from the King in Answer was, That he was the unhappiest Creature alive, to be forsaken by them that were dearest to him: Which was utter'd and rec'd with Tears in his own Eyes, as well as the Prince's and the Duke's.

This coming to the Lord Keeper Williams's Ears, He made hast (says Hacker) to Wallingford-house, and had much ado to be admitted to the Duke in his sad Retirement, whom he found lying on a Couch in that unmoveable Posture, that he would neither sit up nor speak, tho' invited twice or thrice with Courteous Questions. At length the Duke open'd his Case to the Keeper, who advis'd him to make hast after the King to Windsor before Night, and never to stir from the King's Person Night nor Day: For (said he) the Danger is, that some may thrust themselves in, to push on His Majesty to break utterly with the Parliament; and upon that, their next Hopes will be, to see the Duke sent to the Tower; and God knows what might next happen.

The Duke follow'd the Keeper's Advice, while the other in the mean time found out the Occasion of all this Stir from the Spanish Ambassador's Secretary, through the means of a Mistress he kept; which ended in a full Reconciliation between the King and Buckingham. Thus far Hacker.

The Truth is, King James had been so long lull'd asleep by the Allurements of the Court of Spain, that it was no easie Matter for the Parliament, or Buckingham himself, the greatest of Favourites that ever was, to awaken him. But still, it seems, the Spanish Match (tho' publickly broke off) kept some Root in his Mind.

There are Two Original Letters of Buckingham to King James in the above-mention'd Collection, which, tho' without Date, appear to me to be writ about this Time. As they sufficiently discover King James's Unsteadiness in these Matters, so they express more, in my Opinion, of the Duke of Buckingham's Honesty and Fidelity to his Master and the Publick, than all that has been said in his Vindication or Praise either then or since. One of them is endor'd upon the Back with the Prince's Hand; and the other, if I mistake not, by Archbishop Laud's, having compar'd it with other Writings of that Prelate. They run thus:

Dear Dad and Gossip,

Having more Business than it was fit to speak to you within a Letter, I was once resolv'd to have waited on you my self: But presently came to me the News of the Spanish Ambassador's going to you, which hath diverted my Resolution at this Time; because I will not encr. ofe that in you, which I have always found too much; and that I will not let the Ambassador think you are distrust'd, tho' this gives enough and too much to your People. I have, to ease your Labour, writ some Things to (the Word here is either Aram, or Arun, I know not which) by whom I likewise expect an Answer: Only I will trouble your self with this, That I beseech you to send me your plain and resolute Answer, Whether if your People resolve to give you a Royal Assistance, to the Sum of Six Subsidies and Fifteens, with a Promise, in Case of Necessity, to assist you afterwards with their Lives and Fortunes, whether then you will not accept it, and their Counsel to break the Match, with the other Treaties? And whether or no, to bring them to this, I may not assure some of them under hand, (because it's fear'd, when your Turns are serv'd, you will not call them together again, to reform Abuses and Grievances, and the making of Laws for the good Government of the Country) That you will be so far from that, that you will rather win them; desiring nothing more than their Love and Happiness, wherein your own is included? Sir, I beseech you think seriously of this, and resolve once constantly to run one way: For as long as you waver between the Spaniard and your own Subjects, to make your Advantage of both, you are sure to do it with neither. I should for my own Contentment, tho' I am sure I do you some Service here, and would be able, if you would do openly and heartily with me, do you more, wait on you oftner; but that you go in Two Ways, and my self only in One. It occasions so much Disputes, that till you be once resolv'd, I think it of more Comfort and Ease to you, and Safer for me, that I bide away: For to be of your Opinion, would be Flattery; and not to speak humbly my own, would be Treachery. Therefore I will at this Time, with all the Industry of my Mind, serve you here; and pray for the good Success of that, and the Lengthening your Days, with all the Affections of his Soul that will live and die in Love of you.

Your Majesty's most humble Slave and Dog,
STEINT.

The other Letter runs thus Verbatim:

Dear Dad and Gossip,

Notwithstanding this uncharitable Interpretation I find made of a Thankful, Loyal Heart, in calling my Words Cruel and Ca-tonick, in Obedience to your Commands, I will tell the House of Parliament, That you, having been in the Fields this After-noon, have taken such a fierce Rheum and Cough, as not knowing how you will be this Night, you are not able to appoint them a Day of Hearing: But I will forbear to tell them, That, notwithstanding your Cold, you were able to speak with the King of Spain's Instruments, tho' not with your own Subjects. All I can say, You must look to your own Safety, and those that depend of yours: I pray God you may at last attain it, otherways I shall take little Comfort in Wife or Child; tho' now I am suspected to look more to the Rising Sun than my Maker and Father. Sir, Hitherto I have ty'd my self to a punctual Answer of yours. If I shall give my self leave to speak my own Thoughts, they are so many, that tho' the Quality of them should not grieve you, coming from one you wilfully and unjustly reject; yet the Number of them are so many, that I should not give over till I have troubled you: Therefore I shall only tie my self to that which shall be my last and speedy Refuge, to pray the Almighty to encrease your Joys, and appease the Sorrows of your Heart.

This Letter is blotted in several Places, and ends thus abruptly: And it is to be regretted that we have not the King's Answers to them, if any there were.

sent to the King, to let him know, that the Duke of Buckingham had some dangerous Machination a-foot that tended to his Destruction, and the best he could expect would be a Confinement to a Country-house in some Park during his Life; the Prince being now in full Abilities, and ripe in Government. This Concussion was strong enough to shake an old Building that was of a fearful and tottering Temper; (especially if he considered how his Mother was put by her Government, to say nothing of Prince Henry) but the Violence of it did not work, because the Operation was somewhat mitigated by the Duke's Protestation of his Innocency: For the King, at the next Interview, saying to him, Ab! Steiny, Steiny, (which was the familiar Name he al-

ways used to him) wilt thou kill me? The Duke, struck into an Astonishment with the Expression, after some little Pause collected himself, and with many Asseverations strove to justify his Integrity; which the good King was willing enough to believe: And Buckingham finding, by some Discourse, that Padre Macestria the Spanish Jesuite had been with the King, he had then a large Theme for his Vindication, turning all upon the Spanish Jesuitical Malice, which proceeded from the Ruines of their quashed Hopes. And the King knowing Iniofa and all that Party very bitter against Buckingham; and though he did not directly accuse the Prince to be in the Conspiracy with Buckingham, yet he reflected upon him; for such an Attempt could never have been

A. Reg. 22. been effected without his Privy: Therefore out of the Bowels of good Nature he did unbelieve it; and after Examinations of some Persons the Duke's Intimates, and their constant Denial upon Oath, (which they had no good Cause to confess) the King was content (being loth to think such an Enterprize could be foster'd so near his own Bosom) to have the Brat strangled in the Womb: And he presently sent into *Spain*, to desire Justice of that King against the Ambassador's false Accusation, which he said wounded his Son's Honour through *Buckingham's* Side; which Sir *Walter Aston* represented to the King of *Spain*, (for *Bristol* was coming over to justify his Actions to the Parliament.) But the Duke of *Buckingham's* Reputation there procured no other Satisfaction than some little Check of Formality: For when *Iniofa* was recalled home, he was not lessen'd in Esteem. Thus was this Information waved; though there might be some Cause to suspect, that the great Intimacy and Dearness betwixt the Prince and Duke (like the Conjunction of two dreadful Planets) could not but portend the Production of some very dangerous Effect to the Old King.

Bristol sent to the Tower. But the Duke's Reputation, tho' it failed in *Spain*, held footing in *England*; for *Bristol* no sooner appeared, but he is clapt up in the *Tower*. Their Juggling Practices (whereof they were both guilty enough) must not yet come to Light to disturb the Proceedings in Parliament, *Bristol* had too much of the King's Commission for what he did, (though he might overshoot himself in what he said) which was not now to be discovered. Yet the Rigour of that Imprisonment would have sounded too loud, if he had not had a suddain Release; who finding the Duke high mounted yet in Power, and himself in no Degree to grapple with him, was content with Submission to gain his Liberty, and retire himself to a Country-privacy.

The Lords being now at Leisure, began to consider of that Stinging Petition (as the King called it) against Papists, how necessary it was to joyn with the Commons, to supplicate the King to take down the Pride of their high-flying Hopes, that had been long upon the Wing, watching for their Prey, and now they are made to stoop without it. And after some Conferences betwixt both Houses about it, the Petition was reduced to these Two Propositions, and presented to the King as Two Petitions.

The Parliaments Petition against Recusants.

WE your Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, do in all Humbleness offer unto your Sacred Majesty these Two Petitions following:

1. 'That for the more Safety of your Realms, and better keeping your Subjects in Obedience, and other Important Reasons of State, your Majesty would be pleased (by some such Course as you shall think fit) to give present Order, That all the Laws be put in due Execution, which have been made, and to stand in force, against Jesuites, Seminary-Priests, and others, having taken Orders by Authority derived from the See of *Rome*, and generally against all Popish Recusants. And as for Disarming, that it may be according to the Laws, and according to former Acts and Directions of State in that Case. And yet that it may appear to all the World, the Favour and Clemency your Majesty useth towards all your Subjects of what Condition soever: And to the intent the Jesuites and Priests, now in

A. Reg. 22. the Realm, may not pretend to be surprized; that a speedy and certain Day may be prefixed by your Majesty's Proclamation, before which Day they shall depart out of this Kingdom, and all other your Highness's Dominions; and neither they nor any other to return or come hither again upon Peril of the severest Penalties of the Laws now in force against them. And that all your Majesty's Subjects may thereby also be admonished, not to receive, entertain, or conceal any of them upon the Penalties and Forfeitures, which by the Laws may be imposed on them.

2. 'Seeing We are thus happily delivered from that Danger which those Treaties now dissolved, and that Use which your ill-affected Subjects made thereof, would certainly have drawn upon us, and yet cannot but foresee, and fear, lest the like may hereafter happen, which would inevitably bring much Peril upon your Majesty's Kingdom: We are most humble Suters unto your Gracious Majesty, to secure the Hearts of your good Subjects by the Engagement of your Royal Word unto them, That upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty (or other Request in that behalf from any Foreign Prince or State whatsoever) you will take away or slacken the Execution of your Laws against Jesuites, Priests, and Popish Recusants.

'To which our humble Petitions (proceeding from our most Loyal and Dutiful Affections towards your Majesty, our Care of our Country's Good, and our own confident Persuasion, that these will much Advance the Glory of Almighty God, the everlasting Honour of your Majesty, the Safety of your Kingdoms, and the Encouragement of all your good Subjects) we do most humbly beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe a Gracious Answer.

The King was prepared for the Petition, having given his own Resolution the Check at present, that whatsoever he might do hereafter, yet now he would comply; and therefore he sends for both Houses to *Whitehall*, to sweeten them with a gentle Answer to this Petition, that might take off those Sour Aspersions that this Milcarriage in Government might happily cast upon him. And we will not say, but his Intentions might rove towards the end, though he gave too much Liberty (through a Natural easiness in himself) to those that he trusted with Management of great Affairs, by evil Means to pervert that end, which made him guilty of their Actions: For where true Piety is not the Director, Carelessness, as often as Willfulness, carries Men out of the way. But he had this Principle, and made often use of it, (like ill Tenants when they let things run to ruin) to daub all over again when forced to it, and find no other Remedy. This was the effect of what he said in his own Excuse.

My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses,

I Cannot but commend your Zeal in offering this Petition to me; yet, on the other side, I cannot but hold my Self unfortunate, that I should be thought to need a Spur to do that which my Conscience and Duty binds me unto. What Religion I am of, my Books do declare, my Profession and Behaviour doth shew, and I hope in God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I shall never deserve it. And for my part, I wish it may be written in Marble, and remain

to

A. Reg. 22.
An. Christi
1624.

The King's Answers to the Parliaments Petitions, April 23.

A Reg. 22. to Posterity as a Mark upon me when I shall
An. Christi. swerve from my Religion: For he that doth
1624. dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with
Men.

My Lords, for my part, I protest before
God, *That my Heart hath bled* when I have
heard of the increase of Popery. God is my
Judge, it hath been such a great Grief to me,
that it hath been as Thorns in my Eyes, and
Pricks in my Sides, and so for ever I have
been, and shall be, from turning another way.
And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be
my Confessors, that one way or other it hath
been my Desire to hinder the Growth of Po-
pery, and I could not be an honest Man if I
should have done otherwise: And this I may
say further, That if I be not a Martyr, I am
sure I am a Confessor; and in some Sense I may
be called a Martyr, as in the Scripture, *Isaac*
was persecuted by *Ismael*, by mocking Words,
for never King suffered more ill Tongues than
I have done, and, I am sure, for no Cause; yet
I have been far from Persecution, for I have
ever thought that no way increased any Reli-
gion more than Persecution, according to that
Saying, *Sanguis Martyrum est Semen Ecclesiae.*

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your Pe-
tition, I will not only grant the Substance of
what you craved, but add somewhat more of
my own. For the Two Treaties being already
annulled, (as I have declared them to be)
it necessarily follows of it self, that which you
desire; and therefore it needs no more, but
that I do declare by Proclamation, (which I
am ready to do) That all Jesuits and Priests
do depart by a Day; but it cannot be, as you
desire by our Proclamation, to be out of all my
Dominions; for a Proclamation here extends
but to this Kingdom.

This I will do, and more; I will Command
all my Judges, when they go their Circuits,
to keep the same Courses for putting all the
Laws in Execution against Recusants, as they
were wont to do before these Treaties; for
the Laws are still in force, and were never dis-
pensed with by me. God is my Judge, they
were never so intended by me. But, as I told
in the beginning of the Parliament, you must
give me leave as a good Horse-man, sometimes
to use the Reins, and not always to use the
Spurs. So now there needs nothing but my
Declaration for the disarming of them, that is
already done by the Laws, and shall be done
as you desired. And more, I will take Order
for the shameful Disorder of the Resorting of
my Subjects to all Foreign Ambassadors; of
this, I will advise with my Council how it may
be best reformed. It is true, that the Houses
of Ambassadors are Privileged Places; and
though they cannot take them out of their
Houses, yet the Lord Mayor and Mr. Recor-
der of London may take some of them as they
come from thence, and make them Examples.
Another Point I will add, concerning the Edu-
cation of their Children, of which I have had
a particular Care, as the Lord of Canterbury
and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords
of my Council, can bear me Witness, with
whom I have advised about this Business: For,
in good Faith, it is a shame their Children
should be bred here as if they were at Rome.
So I do grant not only your Desire, but more:
I am sorry I was not the first mover of it to

you; but had you not done it, I should have
done it my self.

Now for the Second Part of your Petition;
You have there given me the best Advice in
the World; for it is against the Rule of Wil-
dom, that a King should suffer any of his Sub-
jects to transgress the Laws by the Intercession
of other Princes; and therefore assure your
selves, that (by the Grace of God) I will be
careful that no such || Conditions be foisted in
upon any other Treaty whatsoever: For it is
fit my Subjects should stand or fall to their own
Laws.

If the King had seriously and really consider-
ed the Minute of this Petition, the very last
Clause, wherein the Glory of God, and the
Safety of his Kingdoms, so much consisted, as
the Parliament wisely express and foresee, and,
which the King saith, is the best Advice in the
World, and which he promised so faithfully to
observe in the next Treaty of Marriage for his
Son, it might perhaps have kept the Crown up-
on the Head of his Posterity. But when Princes
break with the People in those Promises that
concern the Honour of God, God will let their
People break with them to their Ruin and Dis-
honour. And this Maxim holds in all Powers,
whether Kingdoms or Common-wealths: As
they are established by Justice; so the Justice of
Religion, which tends most to the Glory of God,
is principally to be observed.

The King grants them more than they desire,
but not so much as they hope for; they have
many good Words thick sown, but they pro-
duce little good Fruit: Yet the Parliament fol-
lowed the Chace close, and bolted out divers
of the Nobility and Gentry of Eminency, Po-
pishly affected, that had Earth'd themselves in
Places of High Trust and Power in the King-
dom, as if they meant to undermine the Nati-
on: *Viz.*

Francis Earl of Rutland, the Duke of Bucking-
ham's Wives Father; Sir Thomas Compton, that
was married to the Duke's Mother; and the
Countess her self, who was the Cynosure they
all steered by; the Earl of Castle-Haven; the
Lord Herbert, after Earl of Worcester; the Lord
Viscount Colchester, after Earl of Rivers; the
Lord Peter; the Lord Morley; the Lord Windsor;
the Lord Eure; the Lord Wotton; the Lord Tein-
ham; the Lord Scroop, who was Lord President
of the North (and, which they omitted, the Earl
of Northampton, Lord President of Wales, who
married his Children to Papists, and permitted
them to be bred up in Popery); Sir William
Courtney, Sir Thomas Brudnell, Sir Thomas Somer-
set, Sir Gilbert Ireland, Sir Francis Stonners, Sir An-
thony Brown, Sir Francis Howard, Sir William
Powell, Sir Francis Lacon, Sir Lewis Lewknier,
Sir William Arberie, Sir John Gage, Sir John
Shelly, Sir Henry Carvel, Sir Thomas Wiseman,
Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir John Filpot, Sir Thomas
Russell, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir William Wrey,
Sir John Convey, Sir Charles Jones, Sir Ralph
Connyers, Sir Thomas Lamplough, Sir Thomas Sa-
vage, Sir William Moseley, Sir Hugh Beston, Sir
Thomas Riddall, Sir Marmaduke Wivell, Sir John
Townsend, Sir William Norris, Sir Philip Knevit,
Sir John Tasborough, Sir William Selbie, Sir Rich-
ard Titchborn, Sir John Hall, Sir George Perkin,
Sir Thomas Penrodduck, Sir Nicholas Sanders, K^t.
besides divers Esquires Popishly addicted, either

|| King James, in the Treaty of Marriage between the Prince and the Daughter of France, the end of this very
Year agreed to the very same Conditions which he in this Speech promises never to grant in any other Treaty what-
soever.

A. Reg. 22. in their own Persons, or by means of their Wives, too tedious to be expressed here. And these were dispersed and seated in every County, who were not only in Office and Commission, but had Countenance from Court, by which they grew up and flourished, so that their Exuberancy hindered the Growth of any Goodness or Piety their Malice pleased to drop upon.

Herba miosa. These Men being now touched, began to shrink in their Branches, like the new-found Indian Plants, but they quickly put out again; for though this Disturbance or Movement came upon them by the Dissolution of one Treaty, yet they presently got heart, and spread again by the other which was in Agitation.

A Treaty of Marriage with France. For our King, after the Breach with Spain, loth to be refused in France, (where the Younger Daughter to Henry the Great was reserved to be the Fatal Mother of a Disherited Royal Issue) durst not venture upon an Overt Treaty, but sends over the Lord Kensington, newly made Earl of Holland, who was to sound the King and Grandees of France, whether the Match were feasible before he would begin to Treat publicly. He remained a Month in France, and moved not a Word, though they apprehended his Address was to that end. While the Prince was in Spain, they looked upon the Count Soisson as a fit Match for the Princess Henrietta Maria; but our Prince's Gallantry (as they esteemed it there) and his spritely Carriage in so dangerous and hazardous a Journey, both by Sea and Land, took such Impressions in the Frisk of the French Humour, and raised him to such a height of Bravery among them, that they were impetuously Violent in desiring the Match: Insomuch, as upon the very first Overture, the King of France told the Earl of Holland, That he had rather have the Prince of England to his Brother, than any Man in the World. And when the Treaty was begun, the Spanish Factors began to play their Parts with the Pope, so that he sent to the King of France to get some Immunities in the Articles now in Treaty for the Catholics in England, and that there might be publick Exercise of the Popish Religion for the Princess. This the Earl of Holland opposing, the King of France told him, That if he would go on with the Treaty, he would

A. Reg. 22. be tied no further to the Pope's Rules than did consist with Reason: For he did acknowledge the next Diocesan Bishop to him, in his Dominions, to have as much Power as he. So that the Treaty went on with a petty Admittance of the Catholick Religion, and Romish Ministers about the Princess, to a private, and almost obscure Condition; so eager was the King of France for the Match.

An. Christi 1624. But the Jesuitical Party, both here and there, were incessantly Laborious for a greater Liberty; and the King's Chief Agent in the Treaty, Monsieur de Vieuxvill, having pulled on him the Odium of the People, (through some Miscarriages) being committed Prisoner by the King, to protect him from their Rage, the Cardinal Richelieu entering then into his Infancy of Favour, being preferred by the Queen-Mother to be a Manager of the Treaty, whose Intimate he was, and more Stubborn for promoting the Catholick Cause, yet all this could give no stop to the Career, but that the Match would be made up, upon very easy Terms.

But when the King of France understood, by his Ministers and Agents in England, how eager our King was for the Match; (for he desired it above all earthly Blessings, as one near him said of him) for besides the Reproach he thought would fall upon him by another Breach, he should lose the Glory of a Conjunction with Kings (which he highly wound up his Opinion to) to Sublime, and, as it were, Deify his Posterity in the Esteem of the People, so that he would almost submit to any thing, rather than the Match should not go forward: Which the King of France finding, he bated his Humour of Earnestness for it, and descended by the same Steps and Degrees that he found his Brother King advanced to it, and got several great Immunities for the Papists by it; notwithstanding all our King's fair Promises to the Parliament, as may be seen by those Articles seal'd and sworn to by our King, some few Months before his Death.

* But a little before this, (when the Hopes of the Match with France began to bud) the Earl of Carlisle was sent over to mature and ripen the Proceedings with the Earl of Holland, to bring the Treaty to some Perfection; yet with private Instructions, That if they could find by

* The Archbishop of Embrun's Secret Ambassy to England happen'd about this time, which it's no Wonder our Author knew nothing of, it not being made publick till within these few Years at the end of Monsieur d'Agents Memoirs.

The Archbishop was a Man of Cunning and Intrigue, a Monk, and sent over by the Courts of Rome and France. He was therefore the properest Tool they could Employ, and his Errand was not only to obtain good Terms for the Roman Catholics in England upon the Account of this Match with France, but likewise to sound King James about his Thoughts of the Romish Religion; for they had always entertained an Opinion that he was inclined that way. It seems the Duke of Buckingham was acquainted before hand with his Coming; for he sent as far as Canterbury to meet him, and Conduct him to London. He was immediately upon his Arrival admitted to Buckingham, and by him brought to the King, into whose intire Confidence he so far wrought himself at his first Audience, that immediately thereupon all the Prisons in England were set open to the Priests and Missionaries, notwithstanding King James, the Session of Parliament before, had solemnly promised to put the Laws in Execution against them.

The Archbishop had gained such an Ascendant over the King, that, as we are told in his printed Narrative, King James taking him one Day by the Hand, us'd to him this Expression, *You are the Man (said he) sent me from God, to whom I may freely open my Mind:* And then told him, He had always a good Opinion of the Church of Rome, and for it had suffered great Misfortunes ever since his Birth.

Thereupon he open'd to the Archbishop a Project he had long in his Thoughts, of Uniting all Protestants to the Pope: And was willing, in order to bring it about, to concert Measures with the French King, that there might be a Meeting at Dover or Bologne of Able Divines of both Sides; adding, That the Archbishop himself was the fittest Man in the World to negotiate such an Affair with the Roman Catholics abroad, while he was using his Credit and Interest with the Protestants to bring them to a Compliance. Withal, King James told him, He had ever a great Love and Esteem for the present Pope since the time, when Cardinal, he had wrote a Copy of Verses upon the Death of his Mother, which shew'd him to be a Man of Sense and good Nature.

In fine, the Archbishop was so perfectly well satisfied with King James, and his Errand to England, that he wrote to the French King to assure him, That by the frequent Conversation he had with him, he question'd not his Inclinations to restore the Catholick Religion in England. Insomuch, that he tells us, That when the News came to France of King James's Death; the French King said to him with the greatest Concern, Now all our Hopes of England are lost.

Thus far the Archbishop of Embrun; and what Credit may be given to his Narrative, let the Reader judge, when at the same time he considers the whole Thread of King James's Actions.

their

A. Reg. 22. their *Spanish* Correspondencies (as the Earl of *Carlisle* was a little *Hispanioliz'd*) that the Match there had any Probability of taking effect with the new Propositions, that then they should proceed no further in the *French* Treaty: So earnest was the King for the one, so violent for the other; the Sophisticate Drugs of the *Spanish* Restitution of the *Palatinate* having not yet lost their Operation. Thus the Ambition of Princes (that devolve all their Happiness upon glorious Extractions) doth choak and smother those Considerations that Religion (like a clear Light) discovers to be but gross and cloudy Policy, which vanishes often, and comes to nothing.

The Lord Treasurer questioned in Parliament.

The Duke of *Buckingham* swol'n with Grandure (having two great Props to support him) doubted not to Crush any thing that stood in his way, so that he fell very heavily upon his Cousin the Earl of *Middlesex*, Lord-Treasurer; for he remember'd how he repined at the Moneys that were spent in *Spain*, and his Comportment to him since his coming over (*Middlesex* being naturally of a Sullen and Proud Humour) was not such as (he thought) did become his Creature: Therefore he resolv'd to bring him down from that Height he had plac'd him in; and quickly found the Means to do it: For great Officers that dig deep in Worldly Treasures, have many Underminers under them; and those that are not just to themselves or others, must make use of such as will not be so just to them; so that a Flaw may easily be found, whereby a great Breach may be made. And as *Middlesex* had not Innocency to Justify himself, so he wanted Humility whereby others might Justify him, which made him fall unpitied. The Prince (that was *Buckingham's* Right Hand) took Part against him in the House of Lords, where he was Question'd; which the King hearing of, writes to the Prince from *New-Market*, (whither he often retired to be free and at ease from comber and noise of Business) That he should not take Part with any Faction in Parliament against the Earl of *Middlesex*, but to reserve himself, so that both Sides might seek him; for if he bandied to take away his Servants, the time would come that others would do as much for him. This wise Advice speaks *Buckingham*, a little declining from the Meridian of the King's Favour, or the King from his; for if the King did know that *Buckingham* was his chief Persecutor, it could not but relish ill with the Duke to have the King plead for him: If the King did not know, there was not then that Intimacy betwixt them that used to be. But the Treasurer's Actions being thoroughly canvased (though he had not had such great Enemies) he was found guilty of such Misdemeanours, as were not fit for a Man of Honour to commit; so that the Parliament thought to Degradate him, but that they looked on as an ill Precedent. But though they took not away his Titles of Honour in Relation to his Posterity (who had not offended) yet they made him utterly incapable of Sitting in the House of Lords as a Peer: And for his Fine, it was so great, that the Duke (by Report) got *Chelsey-House* out of him for his Part of it.

Harman's Story.

There was an odd Accident happen'd in *Northamptonshire* while this Treasurer was in his Greatness. One *Harman*, a Rich Man, (that knew not well how to make use of his Riches) having some bad Tenants, and being informed that one of them, which owed him Money, had furnished himself to go to a Fair, to buy some Provisions for his Accommodation; *Harman*

A. Reg. 22. walks (as by Accident) to meet him in the way to the Market: When he saw his Tenant, he ask'd him for his Rent; the Man (that was willing otherwise to dispose of his Money) denied he had any: Yes, I know thou hast Money, said *Harman*, (calling him by his Name) I prithee let me have my Rent; and with much importunity the Man pulled out his Money, and gave all, or the most Part of it, to his Landlord. This coming to some Pragmatical Knowledge, the poor Man was advis'd to Indict his Landlord for Robbing him, and taking his Money from him, on the Highway; which he did, and *Harman*, for his fordid and base Carriage, being ill beloved in the Country, was found guilty, but repriev'd by the Judges; and *Harman* hearing the Lord-Treasurer had a Secretary of his Name, he applied himself to him, promising to give him all his Estate (having no Children) if his Lord would bring him out of the Danger he was in; which the Lord-Treasurer by his Power with the King did effect, and *Harman* his Man within a short time after (by the other's Death) enjoyed an ample Estate.

The King being a good Master, did by his Bounty much indear his Servants unto him, and seldom denied any Man a Reasonable Suit: This Treasurer by his Greatness also procur'd the King, by Patent (after the Example of the Countess of *Buckingham*) to create *Elizabeth*, the Widow of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, Viscountess of *Maidstone*, a Lady of great Fortune; and having a Mind suitable to it, she laid the Foundation of a Noble Family; Intailing not only this Title, but, in the next King's Reign, the Earldom of *Winchelsea* upon her now flourishing Posterity. But it is thought this Treasurer got well by laying the Ground-work to this great Structure; for *Copt-Hall* (a Noble Seat in *Essex*) came to his hand from this Lady at a small value; which is the principal House he left to his Family.

This Spring gave Birth to Four brave Regiments of Foot, (a new Apparition in the English Horizon) Fifteen hundred in a Regiment, which were raised and transported into *Holland* under Four gallant Colonels; the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*. These Four Regiments being well Armed, and Exercised in *Holland*, were ready to march into the Field with *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, General of the States Army; who having an Opposite, the Marquis *Spinola*, as subtle, and more daring than himself, they both lay at the Catch, and their Wariness prevented many a Mischief. *Maurice* finding *Spinola* with the *Spanish* Army hankering about *Breda*, either thinking himself not ready enough to Encounter him, or not strong enough to Grapple with him, permitted him to work himself within Two strong Lines of Circumvallation, fortified with several Forts and Redoubts, notwithstanding that *Breda* was his Darling Town, and the Honour of his Excellency. And while *Spinola* was thus working, he diverted his Army into *Cleveland* to take in *Cleve-Castle*, a Poor and inconsiderable Place, which was surrendred to him as soon as he presented his Cannon before it; and when he had done that, and *Spinola* had finished his Works, he brought his Army to a little Village called *Mede*, which was close by *Spinola's* Quarters, and there intrench'd himself by his side: But the Enemy attended their Work, and would not busie themselves to look after him, being strongly fortified, and the

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H h h h h 2

Way

A. Reg. 22. Way open for their Convoys to bring Provisions out of *Flanders*, which went always very strong; and Prince *Maurice* would not go so far out of his way from his Victual Ships to interrupt them, lest he should want Provisions for his own Army. But his great Design of lodging so near the Enemy was to amuse them, that they should bend their Eyes and Thoughts upon him there, and neglect that the more which he aimed at; for he had the Surprising of the strong Castle at *Antwerp* in his Fancy, which (he was informed) at that time had but small Force in it; and he was so assured to prevail, that he would have none but the *Dutch* to have the Honour of it. But they attempted the Business so blunderingly, that they were discover'd, and lost their Labour; and so with some few little Bickerings of small Parties of Horse, betwixt the Two intrenched Armies, the whole Summer was shuffled away; and Winter approaching, the Prince seeing little good to be done there, drew his Army to *Rosendale* and *Sprang*, Villages adjacent, where they attended Opportunities of doing the Enemy Mischief. But the Glory of Prince *Maurice* began to decay; the loss of this Town (which he now gave as gone) came so near his Heart, that he went sick from the Army to the *Hague*, and never returned to it again.

Cruelty
at Amboi-
na.

While these Things were in Motion, Truth, that comes often with a Leaden Foot, brought News out of the *East-Indies*, that the Year 1622. gave Birth to a Mischief of so horrid a Countenance (for a Private one) that no Time or Age could Parallel. The *Dutch* (while the *English*, their great Supporters, were fighting for them at their own Doors) grasping at all the Treasures and Spices of the *Eastern* World, had not only wormed out the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* from many Islands and Colonies there, but (with unbounded Covetousness and Ambition) strove to hinder their Neighbours and best Friends, the *English*, from that free Commerce with the Natives they ever enjoy'd; so that many Bickerings hapned among them, till the Controversie was taken up by publick Treaty and Stipulation, agreed on betwixt our King and the States of the *Netherlands*, in the Year One thousand six hundred and nineteen. And according to this Agreement, the *English* being as they thought secure, planted their Factories among them, where, after they had reaped the Fruit of their great Danger and Hazard, for some two Years, with much grumbling and repining, the *Dutch* began to practice their utter Extirpation: Not by a Massacre, for that had been a Merciful Mischief, but by Torture (to make their Cruelty Justice) in so horrid and savage a Manner, as if they had sucked their Rage from *Indian* Tigers.

The *English* ac-
cused of
Treason.

Amboina was the bloody Stage where they acted this black Tragedy; and Fire and Water were their Engines, which are ever cruel Masters when they get Power: For pretending the chief Agent, Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* Factory, had an Intention, by the Assistance of some few poor *Japoneses*, to possess themselves of the Castle, and expel the *Dutch* out of the Island; they seiz'd upon them, and set their bloody Engines a-work, having no other Accusers but them. The Racks extending their Sinews, drew them out at Length; and the Waters which they subtilly forced into their Mouths, by their own respiration and breathing, swelled all their Bodies to a huge Proportion, making their very Eyes ready to bolt out of their Heads; and such

whose sturdy Innocence would not be compell'd to accuse themselves, they burned the Soles of their Feet with Candles, till the Moisture which dropt from them extinguished the Flame, and with those burning Instruments made such holes in their Sides, that they might see their Entrails, yet would not see their Innocence: So Exquisite were they in their Devilish Cruelty, as will be ghastly to express; what was it then to suffer! Thus having tired the poor Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confess'd whatsoever their cruel Tormentors would have them say. The *Dutch* having in this Furnace wrought them to accuse themselves, with their pestilent Formality, got their Confessions under their Hands, and so concluded their Barbarism, with cutting off some of their Heads.

There were not Twenty *Englishmen*, nor above Thirty *Japoneses*, in their whole Island, with whom they were said to Machinate this Conspiracy, and the Castle had in it Two hundred *Dutch* Soldiers, and Eight Ships riding before it well Mann'd, whereof Two of them were above Twelve hundred Tuns a-piece: Besides, the *Dutch* had Two other Castles in the same Island; and what Probability could there be (if the Plot were as plain as their Malicious Tongues could make it) that so weak a Force should attempt upon so many, having Men enough in the Ships and Castles to have devoured the Attempters? And if they had effected their Work, what would the End have been but Ruine to their Estates, and everlasting Infamy to their Memories? knowing the *Dutch* were by the last Agreements to have that Castle, confirmed by the King, who hated Treason in any Man with his very Soul. Whereas the Men were of well-known, upright Conversation, loathing such Baseness, and every Man of them, with Christian Impressions, sealed the last Gasps of his Life with a Protestation of his Innocency.

Ten of the *English* lost their Lives, whereof Captain *Towerson* was one; the rest, with Rack'd, Burnt, and Macerated Bodies, were sent out of the Island to other *English* Plantations, and so the whole Factory was destroyed: The *Dutch* seizing into their Hands greedily (which they only Gaped after) the whole Trade, which they have ever since enjoyed. And to put a fairer Gloss upon this mad Mischief, Nine *Japoneses*, and One *Portugal*, that they would needs have to be Complotters with the *English*, were rack'd (poor Men) to the same Confession, and then Executed; there being more Horror in the Examination of the Fault, than in the Punishment of it.

This Cruelty had made an incurable Wound betwixt the two Nations (the Noise of it giving Animosity enough) but that it was new Skin'd over, the bloody Garment taken off by *Dutch* Apologies, and presented at Court with a Face of Justice: For nothing must come thither but in such Attire, as the great Ones about the King will please to put upon it; who might be wrought to any temper by that Forge that could frame such flagitious Actions: For they that had Barbarism enough to perpetrate the One, had Baseness enough to practice the Other. But leaving their Consciences besmear'd with this Gore, which they cannot wipe off, but may stick to them yet; we proceed to the Story.

All this while Count *Mansfeldt* wanted Employment; and having prepared his way both in *France* and *England* for gathering an Army, he Ship'd himself in *Zeeland*, in the *Speedwell*

A. Reg. 22.
An. Christi
1624.

The im-
probability
of the
Attempt
by the
English.

1619.

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A. Reg. 22. (a Ship of our King's, commanded by Sir John Chidley) that was sent expressly for his Transport, which, in going out, run upon the Sands, and was, with the Violence of foul Weather, split in pieces: Mansfeldt, and some of his Followers, with difficulty escaping in her long Boat, got aboard a Pink that brought him into England; the Captain and the rest of the Company attending the Ship's Fate, were swallowed up in the Sea.

Mansfeldt goes into England.

While Mansfeldt remained in England, after some few Nights he was Lodg'd at St. James's, the Prince's House; Served and Attended in great State by some of the King's Officers, and Feasted with divers of the Nobility with much Magnificence: In which time a Press went through the Kingdom, for raising Twelve thousand Foot, which, with some Cavalry that Mansfeldt expected in Germany and France, would make up the Body of a considerable Army. Mansfeldt's Design was to go into Germany, thro' France, and he had fair Promises from thence, not only of Admission to pass through the Country, but Assistance from it. These 12000 were digested into Six Regiments. The Colonels were, the Earl of Lincoln; the Lord Doncaster, eldest Son to the Earl of Carlisle; the Lord Cromwell; Sir Charles Rich; Sir John Burrows, late Governor of Frankendale, and Colonel Grey a Scotchman, that had been an old German Commander, one that affected Buff in the time of Peace, and wore it in the Face of the Court; which the King seeing him in, and a Case of Pistols at his Girdle (which he never well liked of) he told him merrily, *He was now so Fortified, that if he were but well Victualled, he would be impregnable.* Two Troops of Horse were also raised for this Service; the Earl of Lincoln had the Command of the one, and one Gunter, an ordinary Horse-Rider, was thought the fittest Man to command the other; as if none could command Horse, but such as could make them curvet in a Riding-House. And the Ignorance of these Times shews, that unpractical Reason cannot put forth it self to the Height, being bound up for want of Exercise; for we set a Valuation and Esteem upon German and French Horse, when (like them) we knew not our own Strength, for there are not in the World a more gallant Cavalry, both for the Activity of the Riders and Ability of the Horses, than may be formed in England, as Experience hath lately demonstrated.

The Design ruin'd.

These being already in Kent for Transport about the Beginning of February, and Shipping provided, the French began to falter in their Promises, (notwithstanding our intimate Correspondence by the Treaty of Marriage agreed on) pleading many Inconveniencies in the passing of an Army through the Country; and the more, because our Men were so unruly in Kent (where some of them were tried by Marshal Law) what would they be then in a strange Country? These being but Demurs, not Denials, the whole Army is Shipp'd, and put over to Calais, to wait the French Leisure; but the Charge of Shipping (being above 100 Sail that attended that Service) required more Speed than their faint and sickly Promises did expedite; for the French dallying with them, and delaying them, happily upon Design (the Queen of France being then more affected to the Spanish, and a less Enemy to her Blood and Kindred, than they have found her since) after a long stay, Mansfeldt was forced to leave the Hopes of his French Horse, and sail with his Army into Zealand. There the Soldiers lay at the Ramkins a long

time in their Ships, not suffered to land: For the States, not dreaming of such a Body of Men, could not determine suddenly what to do with them; besides, the Inland Waters being frozen, Provisions would grow short for their own Army, much more for them. After some stay in Zealand, they sailed up to Guertenberg in Brabant, which Town being not well provided with Victuals, they were not suffered to land; but continuing on Shipboard, the Ships, stuffed and pestred with Men, wanting Meat and all manner of Necessaries, such a Stench and Pestilence grew among them, that they were thrown into the Sea by multitudes; so that many Hundreds (if I may not say Thousands) beaten upon Shores, had their Bowels eaten out with Dogs and Swine, to the Horror of the Beholders. Those Bodies that drove up near those Towns where the English were, had great Pits made for them, wherein (being thrown by heaps) they were covered with Earth; but upon those Shores where they were neglected, (as they were in many parts of Holland) a great Contagion followed: And of Mansfeldt's Twelve thousand Men, scarce the Moiety landed.

This Winter Quarter, at Rosendale, was also fatal to the Earl of Southampton, and the Lord Wriotsley his Son. Being both Sick there together of burning Feavers, the Violence of which Distemper wrought most vigorously upon the heat of Youth, overcoming the Son first, and the drooping Father having overcome the Fever, departed from Rosendale with an Intention to bring his Son's Body into England, but at Berghen-op-zome he died of a Lethargy in the View and Presence of the Relator, and were both in one small Bark brought to Southampton.

The Death of the Earl of Southampton and his Son.

And now our King found, by dear Experience, that the Favours he had done the King of Spain (in Protecting his Subjects and Seas from being infested and ruined by Turkish Pirates, furnishing his Arsenals, and giving way to the Lord Vaux, and Sir Edward Parham, to transport so many English into Flanders) tended much to his Prejudice. For his Subjects in a strange Country, by this Means, fought one against another, which was a kind of an uncivil War; nor was it their voluntary Intention, for the English, that were shipped for Flanders, were tempted over by Popish Allurements, not knowing but that they were to go into Holland, which made them run away as they got Opportunity. But our King did not live to see how his Forces in the Low-Countries dwindled to nothing. And the Result of all is, That though he were a wise Prince, yet Blessings did neither attend his Counsels, nor Actions: So that it is not Humane Wisdom, but Divine Directions, that orders and disposes all Things to a good End.

The Marquess Hamilton died before our King, The suspected to be poisoned; the Symptoms being very presumptuous, his Head and Body swelling to an excessive Greatness, the Body being all over full of great Blisters, with variety of Colours; the Hair of his Head, Eye-brows, and Beard, came off being touch'd, and brought the Skin with them; and there was a great Clamour of it about the Court, so that Doctors were sent to view the Body; but the Matter was huddled up, and little spoken of it, only Doctor Eglisham, a Scotchman, was something bitter against the Duke, as if he had been the Author of it. The Marquess's Son had a little before married the Earl of Denbigh's Daughter, who was the Duke of Buckingham's Niece, and yet this Tie could not oblige a Friendship betwixt them, because the Marquess was averse to

The Death of the Marquess of Hamilton.

A. Reg. 23. to the Marriage. This Distance, and other Dis-
An. Christi contents, occasioned some tumorous Discourses,
 1625. which reflected much upon the Duke, but they
 never broke out in this King's Time, being
 bound up close (as it was thought) more by the
 Duke's Power than his Innocency.

The And not long after him, whether our King's
Death of Care for his Grand-Children, or the Hazard
the King. and Danger of his own Person at home (being
 ever full of Fears) or his Engagement in a War
 abroad, (being contrary to his very Nature) or
 whether his full Feeding and continual Use of
 Sweet Wines, (which he abundantly affected)
 set the gross Humours a work, or what other
 Accident caused his Distemper, is uncertain; but
 he fell Sick of a *Tertian* Ague, which is not dan-
 gerous in the Spring, (if we believe the Pro-
 verb) and had some few Fits of it: After which
 he fell into a Fever, which was too violent for
 him. A little before his Death he called for
 the Prince his Son, who rising out of his Bed
 something before Day, and presenting himself
 before him, the King roused up his Spirits, and
 raised himself up as if he meant to speak to him;
 but Nature being Exhausted, he had no Strength
 to express his Intentions, but soon expired, be-
 ing upon *Sunday* Morning, the 27th of *March*,
 1625. at *Theobalds*, in the Nine and fiftieth Year
 of his Age, and Two and twentieth Year com-
 plete of his Reign. And was Buried at *West-*
minster with great Solemnity the 7th of *May* fol-
 lowing.

The Not long after our King's Death, (as if the
Death of Time and Season, as well as the Disease, were
Maurice Epidemical to Princes) old *Maurice* the Prince
Prince of of *Orange* died; and his Brother Prince *Henry*
Orange, (being made General of the States Army) put
 April 23. his Fortune into an unhappy Ballance, which
 1625. lost much of the Weight. For either valuing his
 Soldiers Lives less than his Brother, or the Loss
 of so brave a Town as *Breda* more, or thinking to
 spring up with more Glory (*Phoenix*-like) from
 the Ashes of his Brothers Funerals (being recruit-
 ed with the Relicks of *Mansfeldt's* Army) he set
 upon one of *Spinola's* strong Works at *Terbeiden*,
 either to relieve the Town, or beat the Enemy
 out of his Trenches; but he failed in both, and
 lost many gallant Men (especially *English*) in
 the Enterprize. The Earl of *Oxford* having the
 Leading of the Van, (being a Man corpulent
 and heavy) got such a sweltring Heat in the
 Service, that though he came off without Hurt
 from the Enemy, yet he brought Death along
 with him; for he fell Sick presently after, went
 to the *Hague*, and there died. The other two
 Gallant Colonels, *Essex* and *Willoughby*, survived
 to Command two *English* Armies in a Civil-War;
Essex being General for the Parliament, and
Willoughby for the King, in *Kintow-field* in *War-*
wickshire, where *Essex* remained Victor, the King
 being there in Person, and leaving him the Ho-
 nour of the Field, his General *Willoughby*, then

Earl of *Lindsey*, being Slain in the Battel. But
 there will be a long Tract of Time and Discourse
 before these Armies encounter, being the first
 Cloud of that fiery Exhalation, which broke out
 in the next King's Reign, and could not be
 quenched without the Blood of many thousands
 of the Nation.

But the different Carriage of these two Sons
 of *Mars*, the two Brothers, *Maurice* and *Henry*,
 is very observable: Which shall be left to the
 Judgment of the Great Masters in the Art of
 War, whether Error were the greater (so apt is
 the Under World to spy out great Mens Errors)
Maurice that had a powerful Army of the States,
 and was reinforced with Six thousand *English*,
 gallant and resolute Men, that would have
 hugg'd a daring Enterprize, yet durst not en-
 counter *Spinola*, when he lay open to his As-
 fault, but let him work himself into his Fastness,
 and rather bear the Burthen in his own Breast,
 than disturb him. Or *Henry*, when *Spinola's*
 Works were in full Strength, confirmed by Time
 and settled Order, the opposite to the confused
 End he aimed at, to throw so brave a part of his
 Army upon eminent Destruction? Or is there
 not a Time and Period prefixt to earthly Things,
 and the All-Disposing Power to that end, doth
 either infatuate or establish Counsels? This
 Town and old Prince *Maurice*, as may be said,
 were lost together.

But our King, that was very much Impatient
 in his Health, was Patient in his Sickness and
 Death. Whether he had received any thing that
 extorted his Aguish Fits into a Fever, which
 might the sooner stupify the Spirits, and hasten
 his End, cannot be asserted; but the Countess
 of *Buckingham* (who traffick'd much with *Moun-*
tebarks, and whose Fame had no great Savour)
 had been tampering with him, in the Absence
 of the Doctors, and had given him a Medicine
 to drink, and laid a Plaister to his Side, which
 the King much complained of, and they did
 rather exasperate his Distemper than allay it:
 And these Things were admitted by the insinua-
 ting Persuasions of the Duke her Son, who told
 the King, They were approved Medicines, and
 would do him much good. And though the
 Duke after strove to purge himself for this Ap-
 plication, as having received both Medicine and
 Plaister from *Dr. Remington* at *Dunmow* in *Essex*,
 who had often cured Agues and such Distem-
 pers with the same; yet they were Arguments
 of a complicated kind, not easy to unfold; con-
 sidering that whatsoever he received from the
 Doctor in the Country, he might apply to the
 King what he pleased in the Court; besides the
 Act it self (though it had been the best Medi-
 cine in the World) was a Daring not justifiable;
 * and some of the King's Physicians mutter'd
 against it, others made a great Noise, and were
 forced to fly for it; and though the still Voice
 was quickly silenced by the Duke's Power, yet
 the

* *Dr. Eglisham*, one of the King's Physicians, was oblig'd to flee beyond Seas for some Expressions he had mutter'd about the manner of his Majesty's Death, and liv'd at *Brussels* many Years after. It was there he publish'd a Book, to prove King *James* was poyson'd; giving a particular Account of all the Circumstances of his Sickness, and laying his Death upon the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Mother. I have read the Book some Fifteen Years ago in the Hands of *Don Pedro Ronkiler*, the Spanish Ambassador, who told me it had been translated into *High-Dutch*, about the time *Gustavus Adolphus* was entering into Germany for recovering of the *Palatinate*; and that by a Secret Order of the Court of *Brussels*, to throw Dust upon the Royal Family of *England*. Among other Remarkable Passages I remember in the Book, there is one about the Plaister that was apply'd to the King's Stomach. He says, It was given out to have been *Mithridate*, and that one *Dr. Remington* had sent it to the Duke, as a Medicine with which he had cur'd a great many of Agues in *Essex*. Now *Eglisham* denies it was *Mithridate*, and says, Neither he nor any other Physicians could tell what it was. He adds, That *Sir Matth. w. Lister* and he being the Week after the King's Death at the Earl of *Warwick's* House in *Essex*, they sent for *Dr. Remington*, who liv'd hard by, and asking him, What kind of Plaister it was he had sent to *Buckingham* for the Cure of an Ague, and whether he knew it was the King the Duke design'd it for? *Remington* answer'd, That one *Baker*, a Servant of the Duke's, came to him in his Master's Name, and desir'd him, if he had any certain Specifick Remedy against an Ague to send it him; and accordingly he sent him *Mithridate* spread upon

A. Reg. 23. the Clamorous made so deep Impressions, that his Innocence could never wear them out. And one of *Buckingham's* great Provocations was thought to be his Fear, that the King being now weary of his too much Greatness and Power, would set up *Bristol*, his deadly Enemy, against him, to pull him down. And this Medicine was one of those Thirteen Articles that after were laid to his Charge in Parliament, who may be misinformed, but seldom accuse any upon false Rumour, or bare Suggestion; and therefore it will be a hard Task for any Man to excuse the King his Successor for dissolving that Parliament, to preserve one that was accused by them for poisoning his Father.

Lamb a Witch. For Dr. *Lamb*, a Man of an Infamous Conversation, (having been arraigned for a Witch, and found guilty of it at *Worcester*; and arraigned for a Rape, and found guilty of it at the *King's-Bench* Bar at *Westminster*; yet escaped the Stroke of Justice for both, by his Favour in Court) was much employ'd by the Mother and the Son, which generally the People took notice of, and were so incens'd against *Lamb*, that finding him in the Streets in *London* in the Year 1628. they rose against him, and with Stones and Staves knock'd out his Brains, as may be more particularly related in its due time.

Butler a Mountebank. And besides *Lamb*, there was one *Butler*, an *Irishman*, (which vaunted himself to be of the House of *Ormond*) who was a kind of Mountebank, which the Duke and his Mother much confided in. This *Butler* was first an Apprentice to a Cutler in *London*, and before his Time expired quitted his Master, having a running Head, and went to the *Bermudaes*, where he lived some time as a Servant in the Island; and walking by the Sea-side with another of his Companions, they found a great Mass of *Ambergreece* that the Seas Bounty had cast up to them, which they willingly conceal'd, meaning to make their best Markets of it. *Butler* being a subtle Snap, wrought so with his Companion, with Promises of a Share, that he got the Possession of it; and in the next *Dutch Ship* that arrived at the *Bermudaes*, he shipp'd himself and his Commodities for *Amsterdam*, where having sold his Bargain at a good Rate, and made his Credit with his Fellow-Venturer cheap enough, engrossing all to himself, he came into *England*, lived in a gallant and noble Equipage, kept a great and free Table at his Lodgings in the Strand, which were furnished suitable to his Mind, and had his Coach with Six Horses, and many Footmen attending on him, with as much State and Grandure as if his Greatness had been real. But tho' his Means lasted not to support this long, yet it brought him into great Acquaintance; and being pragmatical in Tongue, and having an active Pate, he fell to some Distillations, and other odd extracting Practices, which kept him afloat; and some Men thought he had gotten the (long dream'd-after) Philosopher's Stone; but the best Recipe which he had to maintain his Greatness, after his *Ambermoney* fum'd and vapour'd away, was suspected to come from his Friends at *Whitehall*: And the Story of his Death (if it be true) is one great Evidence of some secret Machination betwixt the Duke and him, that the Duke was willing

A. Reg. 23. to be rid of him: For Mischief being an ingrosser, is unsecure and unsatisfy'd, when their Wares are to be vented in many Shops. Therefore he was recommended upon some plausible Occasion by the Duke's Means (as *Fame* delivered it) to some Jesuites beyond the Seas; where he was entertained with a great deal of specious Ceremony and Respect in one of their Colleges or Cloysters; and at Night they attending him to his Chamber with much Civility, the Chamber being hang'd with Tapistry, and Tapers burning in stretch'd-out Arms upon the Walls; and when they gave him the Good-night, they told him they would send one who should direct him to his Lodging; and they were no sooner out of this Room of Death, but the Floor, that hung upon great Hinges on one side, was let fall by Artificial Engines, and the poor Vermin *Butler* dropp'd into a Precipice, where he was never more heard of. That there are such secret Inquisition-Conveyances, of a horrid Nature, is obvious; and such close Contrivances may fly up and down upon the Wings of Rumour; but it is impossible to find out the Bottom of such black Pitfalls, but with as much Danger as those that find the bitter Effects of them. And this was reported to be the end of *Butler*.

But to conclude with our King, whom this do concern. He was born a King, and from that Height the less fitted to look into inferior Things; yet few escaped his Knowledge, being, as it were, a Magazine to retain them. His Stature was of the middle Size, rather tall than low, well set, and somewhat plump, of a ruddy Complexion, his Hair of a light brown, in his full Perfection, had at last a Tincture of white. If he had any predominant Humour to ballance his Choler, it was sanguine, which made his Mirth witty. His Beard was scattering on his Chin, and very thin: And tho' his Clothes were seldom fashion'd to the Vulgar Garb, yet in the whole Man he was not uncomely. He was a King in Understanding, and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things: As in curing the *King's-Evil*, which he knew a Device, to aggrandize the Virtue of Kings, when Miracles were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, tho' he smil'd at it in his own Reason, finding the Strength of the Imagination a more powerful Agent in the Cure, than the Plaisters his Chirurgeons prescrib'd for the Sore. It was a hard Question, Whether his Wisdom and Knowledge exceeded his Choler and Fear? Certainly the last Couple drew him with most Violence, because they were not Acquisitions, but Natural. If he had not had that Allay, his high touring and mastering Reason had been of a rare and sublim'd Excellency; but these Earthy Dregs kept it down, making his Passions extend him as far as Prophaneness, that I may not say Blasphemy, and Policy superintendent of all his Actions; which will not last long, (like the Violence of that Humour) for it often makes those that know well, to do ill, and not be able to prevent it.

He had pure Notions in Conception, but could bring few of them into Action, though they tended to his own Preservation: For this

upon Leather, but knew not till then that it was design'd for the King. But, continues *Eglisbam*, Sir *Matthew Lister* and I shewing him a Piece of the Plaister we had kept after it was taken off, he seem'd greatly surpris'd, and offer'd to take his Corporal Oath, That it was none of what he had given *Baker*; nor did he know what kind of Mixture it was.

But the Truth is, This Book of *Eglisbam's* is wrote with such an Air of Rancour and Prejudice, that the manner of his Narrative takes off much from the Credit of what he Writes.

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A. Reg. 23. was one of his Apothegms, which he made no timely use of. *An. Christi 1625.* Let that Prince, that would beware of Conspiracies, be rather jealous of such, whom his extraordinary Favours have advanced, than of those whom his Displeasure hath discontented. These want Means to execute their Pleasures, but they have Means at pleasure to execute their Desires. Ambition to Rule, is more vehement than Malice to Revenge. Though the last part of this Aphorism he was thought to Practice too soon, where there was no cause for Prevention; and neglect too late, when Time was full ripe to produce the Effect.

Some Parallel'd him to *Tiberius* for Dissimulation, yet Peace was maintained by him as in the Time of *Augustus*: And Peace begot Plenty, and Plenty begot Ease and Wantonness, and Ease and Wantonness begot Poetry, and Poetry swelled to that Bulk in his time, that it begot strange Monstrous Satyrs against the King's own Person, that haunted both Court and Country, which express'd, would be too bitter to leave a sweet Perfume behind him. And

A. Reg. 23. though bitter Ingredients are good to Embalm and Preserve dead Bodies, yet these were such as might endanger to kill a living Name, if Malice be not brought in with an Antidote. And the Tongues of those Times more fluent than my Pen, made every little Miscarriage (being not able to discover their true Operations, like small Seeds hid in earthy Darknes) grow up, and spread into such exuberant Branches, that evil Report did often pearch upon them. So dangerous it is for Princes, by a remiss Comportment, to give Growth to the least Error; for it often proves as fruitful, as Malice can make it.

But, alas good King! here was an end of his Earthly Empire; and little did he imagine, that the last Period to Great Britain's Monarchy should not much exceed the Time of his own Reign, and in the true Extent come short of it.

Soli Deo Gloria.

THE CONCLUSION TO THE Discreet Reader.

HAVING now finished (I will not say perfected) my little Work of this Great King, without Prejudice to his Person, or Envy to his Dignity, not having (for filthy Lucre Sake) any Man in Admiration, and willing to be less than the least in the Time's flatus Opinion: I hope to free my self from that rigid censorious Humour, that foams in the Mouths of such whom the Venom of Passion hath corrupted, that I may clear the Way the better over the Precipices and prodigious Passages that will be found in the next King's Reign, which, to attempt, is a Daring unexpressible. For History seldom follows Truth so near the Heels, where a various and mixed Multitude may either pretend to, or really know more than one Man can well relate; and where Affection or Dislike to particular Men would willingly cover or sordidly lay open those Blemishes, which may blemish, if not quite deface, the living Character yet imprinted in their Memories. For though they that write near the Times are said to write partially, either for Fear or Friendship, yet they that write Truth must either do it from private Knowledge, or publick Report; and who can know better than they that live near the Times? according to the French Proverb, *Ce qu'on voit, est plus certain, que ce qu'on oit*; and, as *Horat.* saith, *Oculis potius credendum quam Auribus.* The Waters are the purest at the Fountain; they mingle and gather Dross by running through divers troubled Channels. And as every thing in a clear Spring will be perspicuous, so the Soil of Falshood or Mistake (if any be cast into it) will be the more visible. But some may retort the Argument, and say, In troubled Fountains the Waters are not so pure as they will be when they are further from the Spring; that Time may settle them, and then Men will take up that

which runs clearest. But nimium altercando Veritas amittitur, Truth may be lost in a Croud. And as all things are not to be spoken, so some things are not to be concealed; for it derogates from the Glory of God to have his Justice obscured, his remarkable Dispensations smothered, as if we were angry with what the Divine Power hath done, who can debase the Spirits of Princes, and is mighty among the Kings of the Earth. And though the Priest's Lips should keep Knowledge, yet (as the Prophet saith) he can make them contemptible and base before all the People. And therefore why should we grudge and repine at God's Actions? for his Thoughts are not as our Thoughts, nor his Ways as our Ways. His Judgments should teach us Wisdom, and his glorious Proceedings should learn us Righteousness, that his Anger may be turned away from us. And let them that stand, take heed lest they fall. For though God rewarded *Jehu* with the Kingdom, for the good Service he did him; yet because he walked not with him, God visited the House of *Jehu*, and laid the Blood of *Jezreel*, which he was commanded to shed, upon the Head of his Posterity. But all the Arguments of Men and Angels will neither penetrate nor make Impression in some ill-composed Tempers, till they are softened with the Fire of Love; and that holy Flame is best kindled with Patience, by willingly submitting to the all-disposing Providence that orders every thing: Before whose Altar (waiting for the Season of Grace) I will ever bring the best Fruits of my Labours. But if that which I intend should not come to Perfection, (the Day of Man's Life being but as a Dawning, and his Time as a Span) I will never be displeased with my Master (in long and dangerous Labours) for calling me away to Rest before my Work is done.



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